When does a 'house of studies' become a 'school'?: a comment on the Jesuits and the beginnings of modern schooling[1]

David Hamilton
Pedagogiska institutionen
Umeå University
901-87 Umeå
Sweden

david.hamilton@pedag.umu.se

ABSTRACT: The paper explores the relationship between the early history of the Jesuits and the beginnings of modern schooling. It considers the transition from medieval to modern thought in the context of the change from oral to written literacy. Besides answering the question posed in the title, it also reviews the transformation of the liberal arts, examines the difference between a lecture and a lesson, and identifies the difference between a *curriculum vitae* and a *curriculum scholae.*

§§§

> The story of the cavalier wounded on the ramparts of Pampeluna has often been told.
>
> (Thomas Hughes, 1904, p. 19)

> Nous ne savons rien de la vie d'Ignace de Loyola.
>
> (Roland Barthes, cited in Scaglione, 1986, p. 188n)

For many years, writings about the Jesuits have been shaped by two forces: the internal interests of the Society of Jesus and the indifference and/or reluctance of outside historians. The Society has a strong sense of its own history; creating and publishing an extensive corpus of source materials, in modern languages as well as in Latin. Much of that history, however, is internalist. It is built around idealised portraits of the founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius of Loyola, his fellow missionaries and their world-wide achievements, sacrifices and sufferings - individual and collective.

Even Jesuit historians have been aware of these problems. A 1976 review from the Institute of Jesuit Sources described earlier efforts, variously, as 'outdated and poorly organised',

---

[1] Paper presented at the annual conference of the History of Education Society, Cambridge (England), 12-14th December, 2003.

'rambling and disjointed', lacking in 'genuine penetration and understanding' and 'overpacked with insignificant men' (Bangert, 1976, p. 2). By 1986, Bartlett could record that *Dissertation Abstracts International* included only one dissertation on the *Ratio studiorum*. Written in 1914, it proved to be of 'no use' in the preparation of his own Ed.D. thesis (Bartlett, 1984, p. 210). And even a decade later, in 1996, the hagiographic phase of Jesuit historiography had not 'ended', remaining in place as a 'Jesuit preserve' (Oberman, quoted in McCoog, 1996, p.2).

Insofar as it is inward-looking, Jesuit scholarship also tends to celebrate a distinctive Jesuit contribution to western thought. In a volume published to mark the 450th anniversary of 'the Jesuit tradition in education and missions', Cesareo suggested that the only 'noticeable difference' between Jesuit and Humanist educators was that the Jesuits added 'more structure' to the humanist curriculum by introducing a 'systematic chronological progression of classes based on ability and age' (Cesareo, 1993, p. 17). In fact, this interpretation was already more than 20 years out of date. The Jesuit historian Gabriel Codina Mir, writing in French in a volume produced by the Society, had undermined it in the 1960s (Codina Mir, 1968, *passim*); and, as Scaglione noted in 1986, the 'regulation of teaching programmes', the 'enforcement of strict rules of behaviour' and the 'division of classes' had already become widespread in France before the foundation of the Jesuits in 1540 (Scaglione, 1986, p. 72).

Presentism

A further problem with histories of the early Jesuits is their presentism. The past is framed in the language of the present. Terms like 'class', 'college', 'teaching programme', and 'progression of classes' become floating signifiers. The same label is attached to disparate practices, effacing their educational and historical differences.

The problem of presentism is further exacerbated when the language of the present (e.g. English) is not the same as the language of the past (e.g. Latin). The difference between *schola* and *classis* provides an illustration. In his *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (1989), Grendler ponders why Jesuit documents of the late sixteenth century seemed to prefer *schola* over the word he expected, *classis* (1989, p. 24n). Grendler leaves this problem dangling, literally in a footnote, unable to come to any conclusion (see also Hamilton, 2001, p. 189).

Elsewhere, Garstein showed his awareness of the same problem. When commenting on the 'arrangement of studies' in Jesuit schools, he put quotation marks around the word 'school', while addding 'class' to clarify what was meant by school in the sixteenth century.

> The *studia inferiora* consisted of five, occasionally of six, 'schools' or classes forming a graded hierarchy of 'schools', each with its own distinctive objective. (1992, p. 44).

This last quotation, however, also suggests that Garstein was not all-embracing in his awareness of the problem of floating signifiers and lexical substitution. His claims about 'graded hierarchy' are as historically uncritical as Cesareo's identification of a 'systematic chronological progression of classes'. Nevertheless, Garstein demonstrates his sensitivity to another recurrent problem in Jesuit histories (and, especially, their textbook derivatives). He writes, correctly I believe, in terms of school registration, not school attendance (e.g. ' By 1584, the *Collegio Romano* in Rome had registered roughly 2100 students', p. 64). School attendance is not necessarily the same as school registration. Misrecognition of such semantic differences compounds the difficulty of reading the past through the eyes of the present.

Another problem - this time of semantic convergence - is associated with the word 'college'. Bartlett, for instance, suggests that, by 1556, the Jesuits were operating six 'kinds of colleges':

> (1) those that were residences for Jesuit scholastics who attended classes; (2) colleges in which Jesuit teachers instructed young Jesuits in nearby public universities; (3) colleges in which Jesuit professors taught both scholastics and externs; (4) colleges intended mainly for intern students but with a few Jesuit scholastics among them; (5) residences for candidates to the priesthood who went elsewhere for classes; (6) residences for lay students not aspiring to the priesthood. (Bartlett, 1984, p. 48)

While this listing is a valuable illustration of the diversity of residential and instructional provision, its status as a taxonomy is less secure. As a floating signifier, the word 'college' - then as now - embraces not so much a set of secure categories as, rather, a residential/non-residential continuum. A sharper comment on sixteenth century practice is, I believe, Elisabeth Stopp's passing observation that, by the time the Clermont College was opened in 1563, it was changing from a 'house of studies' into a 'school' for 'Jesuits working at the Sorbonne' (Stopp, 1969).

Re-reading early Jesuits

A new form of criticism is represented by Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle's *Loyola's Acts* (1997). She argues that Ignatius' autobiography is like the as-told-to or ghosted biographies currently produced for media personalities. It is not an autobiography, since Ignatius did not compose the text. Instead, it was composed as 'spiritual accounting' (p. 3) and was prepared by someone appointed by the Order, Luis Gonçalves da Câmaro. The process, however, was prolonged. While Ignatius recited what had 'passed through his soul' (p. 5), the auditor listened to these narratives and, thereafter, memorised them, made notes, transformed them into a written form and, finally, arranged for their transcription. As Boyle observes (pp. 3-4), Ignatius' autobiography was 'five times removed from his lips' (audition, memorisation, notation, composition, and transcription). But this was only the beginning. Transcription problems not only troubled the transition from oral to literate production, they continued into the twentieth century:

> The original manuscript is reported by the modern edition as lost, with the critical edition compiled from a partial version. Until that publication in 1943, even a Latin translation was used, rather than the Spanish and Italian copies of the lost original….with only copies of copies extant. (p. 4)

Accordingly, Loyola's *Autobiography* cannot be taken as a 'historical document' on the 'modern empiricist model'. Instead, 'Loyola speaks with the hollow voice of medieval texts' (p. 4). The *Autobiography* was transcribed and, in the process, it was also composed. It was assembled according to the literary conventions - 'latent texts' and 'intertextual allusions' - that animated the Society of Jesus as a particular community of practice (pp. 2-4).

Boyle's book, therefore, is an example of literary criticism appearing in the series: 'The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics' (edited by Stephen Greenblatt). Like any historian, Boyle searches for meaning in the Jesuit texts. Yet, as a literary scholar working at the turn of the twenty-first century, she is fully aware of the pitfalls of 'historical literalism' (p. 3). In effect, she reverses the relationship between text and context. It is as if the context must be read before the text.

The relation of text to context is, of course, a perennial problem in historical research. My own position, borrowing from Fish and others (See Hamilton, 2003a), is to regard text and context as mutually constitutive. Together, they embrace a community of practice which has a dynamism of its own. To study Jesuit texts is to study Jesuit practices, just as to study the Jesuit context is to study Jesuit texts. As a community of practice, the early Jesuits co-opted meanings from elsewhere; they used them to create new texts, like the *Autobiography*; and, through the use of such texts, they created new sets of meanings and, therefore, new opportunities for intertextual borrowing. Like all communities of practice, the Jesuits took from the past and left something to the future.

Mordechai Feingold, for instance, takes a similar position on the early Jesuits. Like Boyle, he offers a fresh reading of Jesuit history, linking it to the beginnings of 'modernity' and to the 'new science' that was also part of the modernist project (ref. pages). He rejects, therefore, a persistent stereotype: that the early Jesuits were 'plodding pedagogues and obscurantists' whose practices merely merited the 'disregard' of historians (Feingold, 2003a, p. vii). Moreover, he attributes this stereotype to the Jesuits themselves. It is a function, he suggests, of the 'official stance' they adopted, presumably for reasons of self-protection:

> The perception that its members were committed altogether to a sterile humanist pedagogy, to Aristotelian philosophy and to Thomist theology ensured that they would not be considered contributors to subsequent events. (Feingold, 2003b, p. viii)

By such means, the Jesuits could distance themselves from secular history, even as they simultaneously enabled secular historians to consign Jesuit sixteenth-century practices to a pre-modernist, scholastic past:

> The dismissal of the Jesuits as 'mere' pedagogues has been reinforced by the general tendency of scholars to view early modern universities as bastions of scholasticism inimical to new ideas or, at best, as institutions successful only in training clerics or imparting basic knowledge to the upper classes. (Feingold, 2003b, p. 5)

The Beginnings of Modern Schooling

The pursuit of Jesuit history is not easy. Claims about what the Jesuits have contributed to educational practice are easy to find, even if , as suggested, explanations for these innovations are relatively scarce. Why did the texts take the form that they did? This, then, is the riddle of the *Ratio Studiorum* and other Jesuit texts.

My approach has been to de-centre this problem; that is, to start somewhere else. My interest is not the Jesuits but, rather, the link between the early history of the Jesuits and the beginnings of modern schooling. Modern schooling, I suggest, took shape between about 1500 and 1650; that is, between the appearance of the word *syllabus* in the European lexicon and the publication of a notable codification of modernist instructional practice - Comenius' *Didactica magna.*

In developing this claim, I have been strongly influenced by: Robert McClintock's 'Toward a place for study in a world of instruction' (1971); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986); and John A. Olson's *The Journey to Wisdom: Self-education in patristic and medieval literature* (1995). Written without reference to each other, these texts focus on an educational transformation - from learning to instruction - that took place in the sixteenth century.

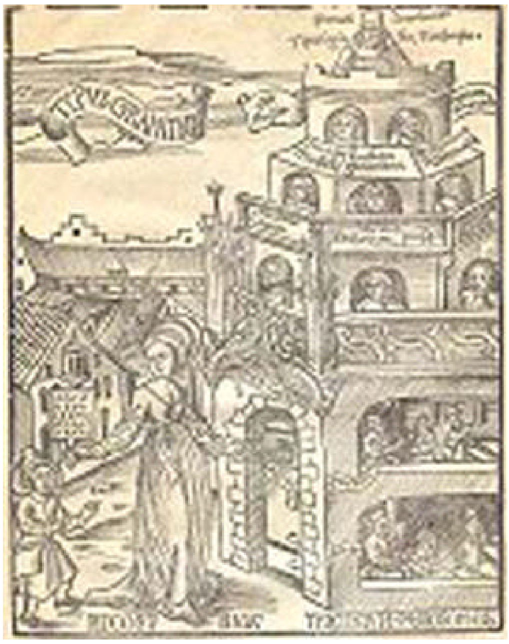
McClintock, for instance, explicitly focused on the difference between learning and instruction. He suggested that, before the 16th century, 'diverse forms of study' had been the 'driving force in education' (p. 167). By the latter part of the sixteenth century, however, the medieval world of learning had been overtaken, if not replaced, by the modernist 'world of instruction'.

Grafton and Jardine offered an analogous argument. Filling a 'gap' (p. xvi) in discussion about humanities teaching, they identify a major difference between the ideals and practices of the early humanists (e.g. Guarino Guarini, 1374-1460) and the 'northern methodical humanism' fostered through the later work of Rudolph Agricola (1443-1485) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). In the sixteenth century, the 'individualism' of 'early humanism' gave way, they suggest, to an ‘ideology of routine, order and, above all, "method" ' (p. 123). In turn, there was a transition 'from teachers to textbooks' (the sub-title of chapter six), a development which Grafton and Jardine associate with a transition from 'humanism' (an ideal) to the 'humanities' - a cluster of subjects and practices that became an instructional, 'all-purpose substitute for other forms of basic education' (p. 125).

Paul Olson's book-length argument also bridges medieval and humanist practice. His argument is that medieval education was built around 'humankind's capacity for self-direction' (p. x) and that, as a result, educational practice was structured around a 'journey' to spiritual wisdom.

Learning, Olson suggests, was a search for wisdom; and, by the time of the patristic period in European history (c100-450 AD), the focus of this adventure had become Christian wisdom. Exhorted by external and inner voices, as carried by the texts and commentaries used in and around the early universities, learners were invited to journey through the seven Liberal Arts - the trivium and quadrivium. Their journey, however, was not uniform. The terms trivium and quadrivium were also floating signifiers. They meant different things at different times. Dialectic was the dominant art in the Middle Ages; while rhetoric challenged for supremacy in the Renaissance.

The journey to wisdom, as characterised by Olson, reached its zenith in the early part of the Renaissance. An illustrative representation of this journey is included in a compendium - the *Margarita philosophica* (pearl of wisdom, 1503) - promulgated by a Carthusian monk, Gregor Reisch (1467-1525).



By the sixteenth century, however, idealisation of the journey to wisdom had begun to blur. Olson cites the impact, variously, of Niclas Copernicus (1473-1543), Galilei Galileo (1564-

1642), Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727). By Newton's time, wisdom had become merely the matter and motion of atoms, an image associated with Francis Bacon (1561-1626; see Olson, 1995, p. 199).The medieval past, that is, had been relinquished so that:

> Newtons *Principia* [1687], though written by a man who had religious interests, is not in itself a statement about the journey to wisdom. As scientists, Galileo and Kepler changed the tradition by emphasising the consistency of natural law and down-playing the element of special providence and miracle ….The world remains a 'Thou' for them as an object of contemplation but, as an object of examination, has become an 'It'. (pp. 197-198)

In sum: the work of McClintock, Grafton, Jardine and Olson helped me to make a distinction between pre-modern and modern schooling. Moreover, I could see how the early history of the Jesuits fell within this historical frame which, as a shorthand, I call the 'instructional turn'. The historical question, then, is how did the teachings of the Jesuits change over the same period? To address this question I have chosen to focus on two texts: the *Ratio studiorum,* published after decades of discussion, in 1599; and the *Ejercicios Espirituales* (*Spiritual Exercises),* which had their Spanish origins in the 1520s, but did not appear in Latin until 1548.

The Spiritual Exercises

The *Spiritual Exercises* were a product of the early years of the Jesuits. To understand them, it may be helpful to sketch the origins of the Jesuits. One of the key events took place during the Battle of Pamplona between the French and the Spanish in 1521. A key player - Ignatius of Loyola - suffered a leg injury and, so the story goes, was carried from the field of play, rather like a modern footballer. The seriousness of his injury meant that Ignatius left Pamplona, needing several months to repair the damage. During convalescence, Ignatius' mind turned to other things, including his future career. He began to look beyond his physical recovery, to his mental, spiritual and intellectual welfare. Through such self-education, he sought a new constellation to steer his life's journey. Indeed, it was this journey - taken in the 1520s - that inspired Ignatius to prepare a distillation of his own religious conversion - in the form of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Sketched out by Ignatius in Manresa (1522), field-tested in Alcala and Salamanca (1526-7), the *Spiritual Exercises* are described by the Norwegian scholar, Oskar Garstein, in the following terms:

> St Ignatius laid out paths to spiritual perfection: rigorous examination of conscience, penance and a resolute amnesia about guilt once God's forgiveness had been obtained. Measured out in four flexible 'weeks' of meditation [not necessarily of seven days duration] that began with a week on Sin, Death, Judgement and Hell, and moving on to Christ's Life, Passion and Resurrection, they are the basis of every Jesuit's spirituality, returned to for refreshment throughout his career. (1992, p. 54).

As far as I can tell, the *Spiritual Exercises* were a hybrid form. This is evident, for instance, in two novel features identified by Demoustier (1996). Although organised by a director (maître), the pedagogy of the *Spiritual Exercises* was indirect, avoiding the direct style of the 'dicté' (diktat). Instructions were not addressed directly to the 'exercitant'. Rather, they were expressed by a third voice which, nonetheless, offered a model for the candidate to follow. Despite the indirectness of the exercises, learners were both introduced to, and inducted into, a spiritual way of life.

Desmoustier also suggests that the *Spiritual Exercises* also had a second novel feature, one that also had hybrid characteristics. The *Spiritual Exercises* are the written form taken by something that, previously, was an oral encounter ('rencontre orale', p. 25). That is, as devotional exercises they had medieval - and oral - precedents. Demoustier, for instance, cites the influence of Ludolph de Saxe (†1377) and the Benedictine Garciá de Cisneros (1455-1510), abbot of Montserrat at the end of the fifteenth century.

Medieval devotional exercises were based on so-called silent reading (‘lecture individuale silencieuse’, p. 26). Stock (2001) provides an analysis of this genre. He suggests that an 'ancient contemplative practice' was turned into a 'new type of mental exercise' (p. 13). In their 'search for wisdom', medieval scholars (i.e. theologians) cultivated the 'interior life', following the journeys charted, for instance, in Augustine's *Confessions* (397-398). Yet, at the same time, these scholars 'left behind a large corpus of writings' (p. 14). In turn, these writings fostered a convergence between the spiritual exercise of meditation, and the literate practice of reading. In late and medieval Latin, therefore, *meditari* (to think, ponder, reflect) was associated with *legere* (to read). Further, Stock suggests that during the Middle Ages, reading became a prelude to meditation. The text spoke, sometimes literally, throughout the meditation. Indeed, Stock suggests that this sense of quasi-silent reading was a feature of medieval practice:

> in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the term *meditatio* retained its links with the sense of the Hebrew root *haga* which means to murmur in a low voice or to recite at a barely audible level. (p. 15)

Moreover, when medieval authors wrote of *lectio et meditatio*, they referred to 'oral reading that was followed by silent meditation' (p. 15). Thus,

> the text of the Bible, in which divine being was thought to reside, was silent until it was read, and silent again after the oral reading was finished and the meditation had begun. To proceed from *lectio* to *meditatio* was thus to ascend from the senses to the mind. (p. 16).

This last, ascending, process, Demoustier suggests, comprised the mentalisation of one of the foundations of monastic life, the *lectio divina*. In the hands of the Jesuits, this internalisation process was assured by oral repetition conducted within a structured learning environment. In Demoustiers own words:

> Un imprégnation progressive de la personne par les textes des Ecritures ou de la Liturgie, grâce a la répetition vocale selon un cycle regulier, dans un milieu de vie structuré par un règle quotidienne. (Demoustier, 1996, pp. 26-27).

For these reasons, meditation developed alongside a 'literary genre for personal devotions' (Stock, 2001, p. 16). The story narrated in devotions/exercises was not so much *of* a life as *about* a life, even if this narrative was 'inseparable from the life of a person who had demonstrated his physical existence in time'. To follow this narrative was to establish 'a habit of thinking' concerning the 'imitation of an ideal life' (p. 18). This was, as Demoustier put it, a 'pédagogie d'imitation' (p. 34) and, as Stopp (1969) suggests - presumably using a maxim from that period: *imitatio est anima praelectionis* (imitation is the soul of the reading).

Finally, Stock suggests that a 'major revival of contemplative reading techniques took place towards the end of the Middle Ages'. In effect, meditation and reading underwent a merger, with Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* becoming the paradigm case. 'Methods for meditation', Stock indicates, 'were subsequently codified and transformed in the influential spiritual exercises of Ignatius of Loyola' (p. 22).

What is not clear, however, is the relationship between murmuring, oratory and prayer. Stock identifies the historical relationship between meditation and murmuring. But what about murmuring and prayer? The historical problem is to distinguish between oratory and structured prayer. According to Demoustier, the ‘oraison metale’ (literally mental oratory) was a necessary prelude to formulating a conscious and vocal ‘demande’ (request) to God in a prayer.

The work of Cisnero may have been influential in this respect. Demoustier suggests that Cisnero systematically promoted l'oraison mentale' as a feature of the *lectio divina*. That is, reading, meditation and prayer were combined and, as in the case of Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, all of them were directed by a maître. Such a sense of 'l'oraison mentale' was formalised in Cisnero's *L'Exercitatoria de la vida espiritual* [date?]. The first three parts of this work followed the conventional three states of the spiritual life (purgative, illuminative, unitive); and the work was rounded off with a meditation on the life of Christ. Specific meditation topics were provided for each day of the week; and each meditation terminated with a prayer addressed directly to God.

Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, of course, also included the process of election. Having passed through the three states of the spiritual life, the 'exercitant' elects for a spiritual way of life. Further, exercitants chose their calling not in terms of a default option - the cloistered medieval ideal but, rather, in terms of the Jesuit calling: 'mobility and mission' (Giard, 1996, p. 42), within and across 'toutes les situations humaines' (Demoustier, 1996, p. 34).

In one sense, then, the *Spiritual Exercises* were dominated by the same medieval pedagogical assumptions highlighted by Olson. Through imitation and meditation, learners found a pathway to God. Yet, in a different sense, this pathway was structured according to an external discipline conceptualised as imitation, and according to vocal prayer (‘la prière orale’) that was also supervised by the maître.

Although their indirect form made the *Spiritual Exercises* different from doctrinal preaching, the tone of the texts gradually changed. A 'spontaneous conversation open to random inspiration of the Spirit' was replaced with 'a planned conversation which follows a pattern more or less determined in advance' (Clancy, 1978, p. 31). Indeed, Clancy claims that, in a 'desire for religious respectability', the 'later tradition' of spiritual conversation 'toned down' the 'resourcefulness and originality' (Clancy, 1978, p. 35) that Ignatius had experience 'once upon a place' - the opening words of Marjorie Boyle's *Loyola's Acts*.

Beyond the Spiritual Exercises

The *Spiritual Exercises* were the fruits not only of the Middle Ages, but also of Ignatius' formative experiences in the 1520s. Towards the end of that decade, however, Ignatius' life took a new turn. He found his way to the University of Paris in 1528, at the age of 37. He seems to have been a poor student, barely able to finance his disputation fees. Nevertheless, Ignatius' extended sojourn in Paris was also notable for two other phenomena. First, Ignatius assembled a group of like-minded activists who would take his ideas to all parts of Christendom, receiving the sponsorship of the Pope in 1540. Secondly, Ignatius' recruiting activities overlapped - at least in time, with the humanist - and pedagogic - innovations that acquired the label: *ordo et modus Parisiensis*.

At root, the *ordo et modus Parisiensis* illustrates the differences between scholasticism and humanism. Humanist thinking arose not only alongside the spread of moveable-type printing, it also entailed a different valuation of the elements of the trivium - grammar, dialectic, rhetoric. The roots of dialectic, for instance, lay in classical logic; and it blossomed as medieval scholasticism. Rhetoric, on the other hand, came to the fore in the Renaissance as language delivery and the accomplishment of persuasion challenged the attention hitherto given to logical analysis. These differences were also reflected in different understandings of teaching (and preaching). If teaching was merely a form of argumentation, the logic of the argument was paramount. But if teaching could equally be regarded as an act of persuasion, speaking grammatically and logically was a necessary but not sufficient condition; the ability to speak well (i.e. delivery) was also central to the teaching/preaching process. Indeed, the fusion - or harmonisation - of dialectic and rhetoric was the high point of northern (i.e. Protestant) humanism, ensuring that the delivery of an argument (rhetoric) was as important as the logic of the delivered argument (dialectic). As southern humanists, however, the Jesuits took a different position. They 'insisted on keeping the two arts [dialectic, rhetoric] separate' (Scaglione, 1986, p. 29). Jesuits used the dialectic of Thomas Aquinas - the doctrinal authority of the church - as one of its latent texts. In turn, the induction of prospective Jesuits retained a blend of medieval and humanist, print-derived practices.

But what did these two innovations - the advent of printing and the reorganisation of dialectic and rhetoric in the interests of delivery - mean for pedagogic practice? Two related practices, it seems, merit attention: questioning and lecturing.

The history of questioning is also the history of the catechism which, in its turn, is the history of delivery or pedagogical control systems. Dating back to classical Greece, catechising was originally a questioning process. Yet, after 1520 - initially in Germany - catechising began to take on a new meaning - as a question-and-answer form of instruction. The earliest date, then, in the title of Ian Green's *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (1996) signifies a turning point. Green illustrates this transformation by comparing the 'catechyzon' written in 1510 for boys admitted to St Paul's school (London), with the catechism in the first Edwardian Prayer Book of 1549. The first is a compendium of Christian beliefs (e.g. 'I believe in God the father almighty, creator of heaven and earth'). 'At no stage', Green reports, 'were any questions asked'. The 1549 catechism, on the other hand, is based on direct questions (e.g. What is your name? Who gave you your name?). Moreover, the catechumen had to memorise and offer warrants for these answers, presumably also by means of responses that could be memorised (Green, 1996, p. 16).

To answer the question: what had happened between 1510 and 1549, Green risks what he admits is a ‘rather crude simplification' (p. 16). He draws attention to the 'fusion' of three related but distinct methods of instruction by the 'second quarter of the sixteenth century' (p. 17) - rote repetition of statements, question and answer, and dialogue. The first of these is evident in the St Paul's catechyzon. The second, he suggests, stems from the 1520s and the Protestant concern that the faithful should not only know official doctrine by heart but could also be able to provide reasons for these beliefs. And the third practice - dialogue - was based on more open-ended questioning which, Green suggests, was 'in essence a literary rather than an oral genre' (p. 17), since it was scripted as a colloquy. Indeed, he goes on to suggest that 'an instructive dialogue' had 'two clear advantages' for a 'religious instructor in the early sixteenth century'. First, 'it would keep students on their toes better than rote repetition'; and secondly, 'by disguising and interspersing the didactic elements with conversational ones or with comments or praise put into the teacher's mouth, an author (sic) could not only try to keep the student's attention, but also give regular encouragement, so that the material might be absorbed more easily than by rote repetition' (p. 18).

Further, Green linked dialogues to reading:

> Most authors of dialogues seem, in fact, to have had in mind a literate, moderately well-informed audience who would gain knowledge and understanding through

> regular *reading* of the text, either privately or in class. Even if a dialogue was acted out in class, the emphasis would still have been on the ability to read in a meaningful way rather than memorization. (Green, 1996, p. 18)

Lecturing has its roots in the Latin word *lectio* (I read). But as noted, silent reading had yielded to reading-as-oratory by the sixteenth century. In turn, the Jesuits seem to have given particular attention to lecturing as an educational and missionary activity. O'Malley, for instance, reports that, by 1550, the Jesuits regarded lecturing as a 'distinct ministry, right after preaching' (1993, p. 104). While the Jesuits 'did not invent' the lecture, they contributed to its 'widespread diffusion'. Further, these lectures were not a 'mere transfer of material out of a university classroom'. Rather, following the Jesuit position regarding exercises, they were an 'adaptation of this material to the questions and needs of ordinary folk' (p. 105). The 'primary aim' of these lectures, O'Malley suggests, was 'instruction'. Moreover, members of the audience might also come equipped with 'writing materials' - in order to 'take down what they had heard' (p. 106).

This last point - the co-existence of oral and writing activities within the practice of a 'school' - is significant. And a clue to understanding this coexistence survives in at least two modern European Languages. In both Swedish and German, a lecture is known as a pre-reading (föreläsning and Vorlesung, respectively). Such a form seems to be a direct translation from the Latin word *praelectio.*

During the Middle Ages (and earlier) a *praelectio* was a preliminary practice whereby lecturers established the authenticity and probity of the hand-written manuscripts. In other words, readers had to confirm the literal sense of the text before they could explore its philosophical, theological or spiritual meanings. In effect, teachers orally proof-read (i.e. corrected) their texts. This was the pre-reading. But, as Knauss (2001) indicates: 'the ascendancy of print…made concerns about the integrity of its texts marginal and less visible compared to the situation of manuscript culture'. With printed resources, that is, humanist scholars did not 'need to labor through or even think about *praelectio* with quite as much urgency' as had been recommended by earlier teachers (e.g. Augustine). One consequence, Knauss suggests, was that humanists like Luther gave priority to *ennaratio* over *praelectio,* with the *ennaratio* - exposition is a reasonable translation - becoming a model for both the modern lecture and the modern lesson.

This last distinction was significant to the Jesuits. Sacred lectures were adapted to become 'lessons' in which teachers 'simply stated and explained the topics to pupils, who might then be asked to respond in set formulae, the essence of what was said'. (O'Malley, 1993, p. 119). The reported words of Ignatius, for instance, include a lecture/lesson on Christian Doctrine, probably from about 1540. It:

> begins with a few words about how to make one's confession to a priest, and then continues with a brief explanation of the Decalogue, of five so-called precepts of the church concerning matters such as the lenten fast, of the seven capital sins, of the five senses of the body, of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. (O'Malley, 1993, p. 119)

Yet, O'Malley also notes that 'like the medieval catechesis that it reflects' the above lesson 'pretends to no literary unity and bespeaks no theological viewpoint' (p. 119).

A comparable analysis of the practices of the lecture and pre-lecture - as a 'gymnastique de l'esprit' - can be found in Gabriel Codina Mir's *Aux Source de la Pédagogie des Jésuites - Le modus Parisiensis* (1968, p. 109ff.). Noting that to 'follow a course' still survives in certain European languages (e.g. Swedish) as 'to read a course', Codina Mir goes on to distinguish three terms that took on new meanings alongside the humanist educational intervention that constituted ‘le modus Parisiensis'. Teachers might start with a *praelectio* which, by this time, had become an explication (unfolding) of the grammatical and other rules followed by the author of the text. Secondly, the lecturer (maître) conducted an *expositio* (or *lectio*), reviewing the author's thinking for 'each phrase and each idea' (p. 110). Thereafter, the maître mined the text for *quaestiones,* propositions which could be discussed after the initial lecture, and as a prelude to the *disputatio*.

Thus, there is circumstantial evidence from, among others, O'Malley and Codina Mir that the Jesuits had, indeed, turned from learning towards instruction before Ignatius' death. To this extent, however, the Jesuits were no different from Protestant agencies -a point made on more than one occasion by Scaglione (1986). Nevertheless, the consolidation of the instructional turn among the Jesuits came in the second half of the sixteenth century - in the circumstances surrounding the compilation of the *Ratio studiorum*.

Ratio studiorum

This essay has focused on the production of different Jesuit texts. The intention has been to discover what, if anything, they tell us about education and schooling in the sixteenth century?

The *Ratio studiorum* is a further test case. Most of the interpretations of the *Ratio studiorum* - at least those I have read - are celebratory. They are portraits of the past that, like all portraits, are representations. Farrell's *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* (1938) is one such example. It is an invaluable secondary source; yet it is also an unashamedly rhetorical text. Here, for instance, is Farrell's comment on the 1599 *Ratio* and its rules on the 'sequence and arrangement of courses':

> Ignatius it was who established the principle of graduation and insisted upon it. 'One thing at a time, and in its proper place, and thoroughly,' was the sum of his perception, which he repeated and enlarged upon time and again. This led to the rules about the promotion of students, and the grade and scope of the individual classes….Method Ignatius did not enter into very thoroughly; but in Ledesma's *De ratione et ordine studiorum* will be found not only the gist but often the actual phrasing of the regulations…governing the conduct of the prelection, repetitions, written assignments and their correction, and other class exercises. (p. 315)

From a literary perspective, this short text has two tacit features. It is a priority claim about the impact of Ignatius' insistence on grading; and it is a claim about the relevance of the *Ratio* to educational practice at the time when Farrell was examining the Jesuit code - the USA of the 1930s. His claims were reasonable given that Farrell was a professor of education, a Jesuit, and, in both these roles, looking forward to the 400th anniversary of the Foundation of the Society (viz. 1940). His representations may, *prima facie,* offer access to the sixteenth century; but, as noted earlier, they cast a veil over the life and times of the Jesuits. They should be treated with caution, no less than the accounts that, in parallel, appear in textbooks on the history of education.

The *Ratio studiorum,* however, is difficult to place. Its full title *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* is indicative of its provenance. It can be seen as a codification (*ratio* or scheme) of a series of principles (*institutio),* that relate to a body of knowledge (*studiorum).* Yet these labels were floating signifiers; they denoted different things at different times in the sixteenth century. Indeed, it is possible to track these changes in emphasis.

As early as 1542, for instance, Ignatius followed the Parisian model (elaborated by Codina Mir, 1968) in the directions he gave to the students of the society in Paris. According to

Bartlett, the 'first' known document to set down principles for 'academic training' was entitled *Fundación de collegio* and appeared in 1541. Ignatius may have had 'a hand' in its production but it was 'not a plan of studies', Bartlett adds, but a 'sketch of a *ratio'*. The word *ratio* began to be used in conjunction with the founding of the first Jesuit college in Messina (Sicily) in 1548; while the sense of *studio* comes in a work, prepared by one of the Messina teachers who knew Ignatius in Paris, Jerónimo Nadal. This work - *De studio societatis Iesu* - was probably prepared in 1552 (Farrell, 1938, p. 54). A year later, Nadal left Messina and took responsibility for overseeing the colleges in the Spain and Portugal. Gradually, he began to 'put the studies in order', a claim that was not merely about the harmonisation of practice but also about the elimination of heretical practices. The culmination of these revisions - Nadal was an 'indefatigable writer' (O'Malley, 1993, p. 13) - was his production of an *Ordo studiorum*, after his return, in 1557, to the Jesuit College in Rome.

The Humanist or Jesuit sense of *institutio* may have been taken directly from Quintilian. Nevertheless, the word appeared in *De institutione grammatica* prepared by Emmanuel Alvarez, a professor at the university of Coimbra (Portugal) that had been committed to the Society's charge in 1555. Indeed, *De institutione grammatica* became 'the official textbook in all Jesuit schools' (Farrell, 1938, p. 116).

And the earliest version of a title that embraces *ratio* and *ordo* - cf. an organised scheme - is the programme written, after 1566 (Farrell, 1938, p. 154) for the Roman College: *De ratione et Ordine studiorum collegii romani.* Its senior author - like many Jesuit texts it was a collaborative production - was the Spaniard James Ledesma (1519-1575) who joined the Society in 1557 and taught at the Roman College until his death. According to Farrell, Ledesma and colleagues attempted to construct a scheme of studies that was 'complete in every detail and universally applicable' (p. 155). *De ratione* was culmination of this work. Farrell reports that this work contained 55 chapters or sections under:

> Three heads: First, some general considerations of an introductory nature (chapters 1-5); secondly, the *general* order and method of teaching the Humanities (chapters 6-23); thirdly, the *particular* order and method of teaching in each of the five classes of grammar, in Humanities and Rhetoric (chapters 24-55). (Farrell, 1938, pp. 170-171).

Nevertheless, the 'codification of materials' - the title that Farrell gave to his analysis of the three editions of the *Ratio studiorum* (1586, 1591, 1599) - is marked, as noted above, by the reduction of the methods and content of teaching, which had figured prominently in the 1586 edition, to a ‘body of general directives’ (Julia, 1996, p. 128) - the rules and principles of teaching. Bartlett's comment on this editing process was that it arose from the need to 'resolve all the different regional points of view on what kind of form the *ratio* should take' (1984, p. 162):

> There was a consistent criticism of the discursive nature and ill-defined character of the 1586 *Ratio*. The upshot of the deliberations was that the entire draft …had to be overhauled, reorganized, and codified, that is 'set forth in the form of rules for individual officials, subjects and classes’. (Bartlett, 1984, p. 163; quoting Farell, p. 286)

In the event, the 1591 edition was, slightly longer than the 1586 edition. It was not 'a series of discussions on different subjects divided into chapters' (Bartlett, 1984, p. 164) but, rather:

> a complete system of studies in a succession of rules for the Provincial, Rector, Prefect of Higher Studies (Philosophy and Theology), Prefect of Lower (Humanistic) Studies, the Professors of theology, philosophy, mathematics,

Scripture, and each of the five classes of the humanities. (Farrell, 1938, p. 386).

Nevertheless, the 1991 edition - although binding on the entire Society - was also sent out for review rather than, as in the case of the 1586 edition, merely for information and discussion. Indeed, visitors were sent to the Jesuit provinces to 'see what extent the 1591 *Ratio* was being used (Bartlett, 1984, p. 165). The final, 1599, version (208 pages) was shorter than the 1591 edition (400 pages); the number of rules was reduced from 837 to 467; and the entire work was made mandatory for almost 245 Jesuit schools (Bartlett, 1984, pp. 174-5; drawing upon Farrell, 1938, pp. 317-338).

Discussion

My original conjecture - that the *ratio studiorum* is a problematic text, by virtue of its title, has been supported in this essay. It was conceived as course of learning; but, in the same period of history that the word curriculum appeared, it was revised into a course of instruction.

My investigation of the Jesuits began with the question: why is the *Ratio studiorum* called a 'scheme of studies' rather than a scheme of instruction - as in the case of the *Didactica Magna*. Subsequently, I began to ponder the general relationship between the Jesuits and the beginnings of modern schooling. In the event I learned more than I expected - in at least two respects. First, I began to appreciate that the text of the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* carries with it not only a sense of the instructional turn, but also a sense of pre-humanist practice. That is, Ignatius' *Acts*, the *Spiritual exercises* and the *Ratio studiorum* were texts for learning that were remoulded as instructional texts.

Secondly, like others in the same century, the Jesuits engaged with the reconciliation of medieval practice and humanist educational assumptions. In the process, the devotional (quasi-silent) reading of texts became 'l'exposition du text'; the praelectio became a lecture and/or a lesson; and a course of life - the journey to wisdom or *curriculum vitae* - became a course of schooling (*curriculum scholae*). In these historical circumstances, then, a 'house of studies' became a 'school'.

Coda

I started this essay with two epigraphs: one was written by a Jesuit and appears in the textbook series, 'The Great Educators'. The other epigraph is by the French literary critique, Roland Barthes, and is reprinted in Aldo Scaglione's *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (1986, p. 188n). Scaglione's comment on Barthes was that, despite being 'perceptive as usual', the French critic was 'selectively informed' since he had failed to consult the 9000 pages of Loyola's collected works and Loyola's 'remarkable autobiography'. Having read Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle's re-interpretation of Ignatius' *Autobiography,* I can appreciate Barthes' candour.

I, too, have prepared this paper without reading the Jesuit canon. Further, I have not been able to consult the historical essays (e.g. by O'Malley) marking the 400th anniversary of the completion of the *Ratio studiorum* (Duminuco, 2000), nor to other recent texts, like Donnelly's biography of Ignatius (2003) or Cunningham and Kusukawa's monograph on Gregor Reisch (2004). I look forward to reading them, since I feel that they will leaven my appreciation of both the Jesuit's early predicament and the Society's subsequent contribution to modern schooling.

Like many conference papers, this analysis is an essay - more a provocation than a distillation. It does not represent a finished position; but please make of it what you will.

Bibliography

Bangert, W.V. (1976). *A bibliographic Essay: The history of the Society of Jesus (books in English).* St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources.

Bartlett, D. A. (1984). *The Evolution of the Philosophical and theological Elements of the Jesuit* Ratio Studiorum: *An historical study, 1540-199.* Ed. D. Thesis, University of San Francisco.

Boyle, M. O. (1997). *Loyola's Acts: The rhetoric of the self.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cesareo, F.C. (1993). Questions for identity: Ideals of Jesuit education in the sixteenth century. In C. Chapple (Ed.), *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-year perspective* (pp. 17-33). Scranton: University of Scranton Press.

Clancy, T.H. (1978). *The Conversational Word of God (a commentary on the doctrine of St Ignatius of Loyola concerning spiritual conversation, with four early Jesuit texts).* St Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources.

Codina Mir, G. (1968). *Aux Sources de la Pédagogie des Jésuites: Le modus parisiensis.* Rome: Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.

Cunningham, A. & Kusukawa, S. (2004). *Gregor Reisch, The Philosophical Pearl, and Natural Philosophy in the Age of Modern Devotion.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Demoustier, A. (1996). L'originalité des 'Exercices spirituels'. In L. Giard et L. de Vaucelles, (Eds.). *Les Jésuites à l'Âge Baroque* (pp. 23-35). Grenoble: Millon.

Duminuco, V. (ed.). (2000). *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum (400th Anniversary Perspectives)* New York: Fordham University Press.

Donnelly, J. (2003). *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits.* London: Longmans.

Feingold, M. (Ed.) (2003a). *The New Science and Jesuit Science: seventeenth century perspectives.* Dortrecht: Kluwer.

Feingold, M. (Ed.) (2003b). *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fish, S. (1980). *Is there a Text in this Class: The authority of interpretive communities.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Garstein, O. (1992). *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit educational strategy 1553-1622.* Leiden: Brill.

Giard, L. (Ed.). (1995). *Les Jésuites à la Renaissance (système educatif et production du savoir).* Paris: Presse Universitaires de France.

Giard, L. et Vaucelles, L. de (Eds.). (1996). *Les Jésuites à l'Âge Baroque*. Grenoble: Millon.

Grafton, A. & Jardine, L. (1986). *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in fifteenth and sixteen-century Europe*. London: Duckworth.

Grendler, P.F. (1989). *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and learning 1300-1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hamilton, D. (2001). Notes from nowhere (on the beginnings of modern schooling). In T.S: Popkewitz, B.M. Franklin & M.A. Pereyra (eds.) *Cultural History and Education: Critical essays on knowledge and schooling* (pp. 187- 206). New York: Routledge/Falmer.

Hamilton, D. (2003). Instruction in the making: Peter Ramus and the beginnings of modern schooling. Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, 21-25 April.

Hamilton, D. (2003a). Writing unbound: Bridging text and context in the history of education. Paper presented at the conference on *Pedagogik-historisk forskning - perspective, metoder, förhållningssätt*, held at the Lärarhögskolan, Stockholm, 25-27 September.

Hughes, T. (1904). *Loyola and the Education System of the Jesuits.* London: Heinemann.

Julia, M. (1996). *Généalogie de la 'Ratio studiorum'.* In L. Giard et L. de Vaucelles, (Eds.). *Les Jésuites à l'Âge Baroque* (pp. 115-130). Grenoble: Millon.

Knauss, D. (2001). Theories of interpretation from mansucript to print culture: The influence of the material conditions of scripture and the hermeneutics of Augustine, Erasmus, and Luther. Paper presented at the *Sixteenth Century Studies Conference*, Denver, 25-28 October. Retrieved 23rd October, 2003 from http://home.earthlink.net/~faerspel/dknauss/SCSC2001.htm

McCoog, T. M. (1996). *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England 1541-1588.* Leiden: Brill.

O'Malley, J.W. (1993). *The First Jesuits.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Scaglione, A. (1986). *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Stock, B. (2001). *After Augustine: The meditative reader and the text.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stopp, E. (1967). St Francis de Sales at Clermont College, *Salesian Studies, 6* (1), 42-63. (Available at http://www4.desales.edu/SCFC/Studies/ES-Clermont.html)

§§§§