Cultures of Calvinism in Early Modern Scotland ⓐ

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter highlights recent work on the history of Calvinist culture in Scotland between the Reformation of 1560 and the end of the reign of James VI and I (1567–1625). It looks at both disciplinary culture and the ways in which Calvinism manifested in familial, social, noble, and intellectual life. While cumulative research on the system of church courts and the 'culture of penitence' has led to a much better understanding of everyday religious life, this chapter suggests a variety of directions in which future research could be taken. These include examining the pace at which Reformed culture embedded itself in Scottish society post-Reformation; the role of the nobility in religion; the experience of religious life in relation to gender and sexuality; the legacy of Renaissance humanism; and the roles of Reformed scholasticism and neo-Latin in intellectual life.

Keywords: Scotland, Calvinism, gender, noble power, culture, education, Reformed scholasticism, neo-Latin

Introduction

UNTIL late in the twentieth century scholarship on the Scottish Reformation took a 'top-down' and polity-led approach, where historians (often working with a confessional agenda) made ever more sophisticated arguments for an 'episcopal' or 'presbyterian' narrative regarding the formation of the early kirk (Ryrie 2006a, 132–133; McCallum 2016a, 3–10; Donaldson 1960; Kirk 1972; 1989; Mullan 1986). Those days are thankfully over. The final word, for the moment, lies with Alec Ryrie, whose central thesis of a 'Scottish Revolution'—where the Reformation Rebellion of 1559–60 constituted a sudden and radical break with the Catholic past, arising from a contingent series of factors but which permanently disrupted and transformed the nation's confessional identity—helpfully avoids claiming the Reformation for a particular side of this argument (Ryrie 2006b; Green 2019; Lynch 1985, 227–228). Ryrie's conclusion that Scotland had 'unexpectedly, almost accidentally…stumbled into a new world' (Ryrie 2006b, 204) is reflected in the protracted and confused creation of a fully Reformed kirk in the reign of James VI and I, surveyed in Alan MacDonald's *Jacobean Kirk* (MacDonald 1998). MacDonald persuasively argued that the

largely silent majority of ministers were more flexible and fluid on issues such as bishop versus presbytery and crown involvement in ecclesiastical affairs than previous studies, narrowly focused on 'Melvillian' and 'Episcopalian' factions, were willing to admit. Much of the Reformed kirk's development in its first century was in fact muddled and transitional, and other recent work on early modern Scotland has emphasized a 'long reformation' where continuities from the medieval and Catholic past are clearly in evidence (McCallum 2010; 2016a; Reid 2011; Blakeway 2015). This chapter does not dispute the fact that a rigorous and controlling (p. 221) culture of Calvinist discipline emerged across Scotland by the early seventeenth century; the evidence for this is incontrovertible. However, the general perception of this culture as all-pervasive and monolithic fails to recognize the contested and often inchoate nature of the early post-Reformation church, and that other 'cultures' in early modern Scotland—gendered, noble, educational and intellectual—existed side-by-side, above and outside the religious one, but which were no less affected by Calvinism.

Area Studies and Studies of Dissemination of Worship

Research into the culture of Calvinism in early modern Scotland over the past four decades has focused on two separate but interrelated strands of enquiry. The first is the impact of the Reformation at the local level. Ian Cowan made the first serious call for a systematic examination of both pre- and post-Reformation cultural life in his 1978 pamphlet *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation*, and incorporated limited aspects of this approach into his 1982 survey of the Scottish Reformation (Cowan 1978; 1982; Haws 1971; Donaldson 1972; McLennan 1976–1977). The first full-length study of a local reformation was Michael Lynch's *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (1981), which found extremely limited evidence of support for reform in the city prior to the Reformation Rebellion of 1559–60 and an ongoing struggle between Catholic and Protestant factions for control of the town council throughout the 1560s, compounded by the latitude afforded to Catholics by the settlement of Mary Queen of Scots in the city from 1562 (Lynch 1981). Narrative accounts of local reformations appeared in the 1980s and 1990s on Angus and the Mearns, Perth, Aberdeen and Ayrshire, and in a range of unpublished theses for the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane and the city of Dundee (Bardgett 1989; Verschuur 2006; Sanderson 1997; Flett 1981; Todd 1973; White 1985; 1987; Yellowlees 1990). While these all provided much-needed details of the limited evidence of iconoclasm, 'privy kirks' and popular support for reform up to and including the events of 1560, they devoted little space to the actual culture that was established in each town or region in the decades afterward.[1] Jane Dawson's articles on the implementation of discipline in two very different localities, the east-coast city of St Andrews and the vast and sparsely populated region of the western Highlands, broke from this tradition by delineating how Calvinism was received and incorporated into the fabric of worship (Dawson 1991; 1994).

The second major strand, which has seen more recent activity, aims to understand the 'religion of the pew' and the cultural world of Calvinism in Scotland, usually via the main documentary sources for the kirk—kirk session, presbytery, and synod records. (p. 222) Michael Graham's study of the implementation of Reformed discipline in Scotland in the half-century after 1560 was pioneering in this regard, and set the development of a Reformed network of church courts in Scotland against broader comparative examples, such as the consistories of Huguenot France. However, it used a relatively small selection of case studies to underpin the statistical analyses (such as types of sin prosecuted) which were heavily relied upon as evidence (Graham 1996). David G. Mullan's *Scottish Puritanism* was an attempt to cast the later settled culture of Protestant worship in the mould of its English counterpart (Mullan 2000; 2010). Finally, Margo Todd's massive 2002 survey, *The Culture of Calvinism in Early Modern Scotland*, used virtually every known kirk session record from the first three generations after 1560 to assemble a detailed qualitative picture of the culture of Reformed religion in Scotland (Todd 2002).

It is hard to overstate the impact of Todd's work on the field, and it is worth outlining her central arguments in depth as much of the recent work done on the Scottish Reformation responds directly to them. Todd argues that the process of popularizing Calvinism in Scotland was a process of ongoing negotiation between the elite ministry and the parishioners of Scotland, driven from the outset by 'an unremitting campaign to provide an educated clergy and to establish a literate and theologically informed laity through catechism, examination, sermons, enforced family "exercises" and the founding of schools' (Todd 2002, 20). As the evocative sensory experience of Catholic worship was replaced with the austere, pared-back and logo-centric worship of the Reformed service, a greater emphasis was placed upon symbolic rituals such as the sacrament of communion, as a means to mitigate the sense of liturgical loss amongst Scottish parishioners (Todd 2002, chs. 1–2). The rites of passage involved in being correctly catechized and prepared for admittance to communion were heavily regulated. Parishioners were scrutinized for upright behaviour beforehand, expected to reconcile all faults with their neighbours, fast, and undertake other forms of penitence. The communion tokens, usually made of lead and stamped with the name of the parish and the date, became symbols of 'godly' status themselves, and reflected the unique nature of each parish. A similar symbolic focus was placed upon the communion vessels, with cups and bread plates initially provided post-Reformation from local families and then in bespoke fashion from the 1590s onwards (Todd 2002, 89–98, 101–102).

Kirk sessions, the parish-level court of the church after 1560, are rightly held up by Todd as the best insight into, and agent of, cultural change post-Reformation. Operating in some parishes from 1560 (in St Andrews and Dundee, just before this) and in as much as 80 per cent of parishes by 1600, the session comprised the minister and a group of lay elders (generally a dozen to twenty-five), drawn from substantial landholders down to working farmers in the 'landward' or rural parishes, and in towns from the mercantile elite to craftsmen and artisans, though wealthier and more prominent men tended to dominate. Sessions met weekly in most parishes, and up to four times weekly in urban centres, to investigate and render judgement in cases of sexual offence, drunkenness,

quarrelling, doctrinal error, and Sabbath breach. Elders discovered many of these offences themselves, by regularly 'visiting' around the parish, especially during Sunday service to catch Sabbath-breakers in the act.

(p. 223) Those guilty of serious offences—adultery, theft, sexual misconduct, gossiping, or hard drinking—would be tried before the kirk session and sentenced to public repentance (Todd 2002, ch. 3). In the first instance this involved being seated at the front of the kirk on 'repentance stools' with a visible marker such as a paper slip or hat noting the sinner's offence, while the minister fulminated above the unlucky transgressor. This treatment could be applied for a single Sunday (or during the week for a minor offence), and thereafter for three, six, a half-year or year of Sabbaths. Punishments then escalated to the use of physical restraints—serrated 'jougs' and 'branks', fitted round the head and neck, often with a suppressor plate or fork that went over the tongue for gossips. Sinners were also held in chains or stocks outside the parish church, or paraded around the town naked except for a sackcloth, the latter punishment being even more acutely humiliating given how little nudity the average early modern Scot would have encountered (Todd 2002, 147–148). If all else failed, jail was an option. In Perth there was a 'ward of the fornicators' where sinners would be kept until they realized the errors of their ways.

The imposition of this heavy-handed culture was mediated by flexibility towards 'superstitious' rituals such as the attendance at holy wells, the celebration of May Day and Yuletide, drinking and dancing at baptisms and weddings, and by the important 'social services' that the kirk sessions provided. These included the administration of poor relief, local education, and parochial finances, and most importantly intervention in cases of family and neighbourly dispute, domestic violence, and rape (Todd 2002, chs. 4–6).

Todd's portrayal of early modern Scotland as a 'puritan nation' (Todd 2002, Concl.) by the 1630s is a convincing one, because of the sheer level of anecdotal evidence brought to bear to support her arguments, and because her human-centric account of Scottish Calvinist culture makes obvious sense. This was an inclusive and systematic culture that accommodated the godly and ungodly alike within its network of oversight, provided community satisfaction for sin via the performance of repentance, and tolerated a limited amount of profane behaviour while mediating directly in every aspect of family life.

However, Todd's study specifically eschewed—indeed, in direct response to Graham's attempts to quantify the frequency and types of sin encountered in kirk sessions, rejected—any notion that the often incomplete and highly complex data in the records of the church courts could be reduced to statistical analysis. While it presents a convincing thematic sketch of a culture fully formed by the 1630s, it failed to provide any specific data on how this culture emerged or developed over time at the local level, or to recognize that this culture was less an immediate product of the Reformation than a result of a long gestational process of Reformed doctrine over more than half a century. Although only a handful of registers survive for the pre-1600 period (McCallum 2010, 44),[2] Todd was content to generalize that this culture was established by the '1570s or 1580s', based on the challengeable logic that since many later kirk session registers begin (p. 224) amid proceed-

ings, there must have been an earlier tradition of minutes now lost, or that they simply were not kept. Both claims are hard to justify when the sheer lack of extant records is set against the known propensity for documentation and record-keeping to legitimize the early kirk seen in places like St Andrews (Rhodes 2011).

Thus while the image of Calvinist culture 'on the ground' that Todd puts forward seems beyond dispute, how it emerged and became embedded remains an unanswered and ongoing question, and the range of area studies produced to date provides a mixed and inconclusive answer (Wormald 2010; Lynch 2002). Whether because of the relative smallness of the field of scholars actively researching the Reformation in Scotland, because of the late survival of the vast majority of kirk session, presbytery, and synod minutes (Graham 1996, 74–75), or because there is a perception that Todd's extensive survey is the definitive word, the pursuit of area studies has quietly fallen into desuetude. McCallum's work on Fife is the only recent published full-scale study to incorporate 'cultural' work into a broader narrative of the embedding of the Reformation, and to take a full-scale quantitative approach to the extant kirk session and presbytery data available for the region (McCallum 2010; MacLeod 2013; McMillan 2015; Burns 2018). By every yardstick—the establishment of a working parochial kirk session system with robust prosecution rates across a range of offences, the provision of a full parish ministry, the creation of an effective system of catechism and education—McCallum found that a Reformed culture only began to fully embed itself outside St Andrews from the 1590s onwards. McCallum echoes Michael Lynch's findings in a broader survey of provision of a preaching ministry that the church faced a serious shortfall in ministers in the last quarter of the century, with readers accounting for 70 per cent of the recorded ministry across Scotland in 1574 (Lynch 1985, 308–310). A key issue that McCallum highlights is the distinction between the provision of an actual minister to a parish versus a reader, who could provide regular scriptural lessons but was unable to administer the sacraments or carry out full ministerial duties. In the first three decades after 1560, ministers in Fife were allocated on average to between two and four parishes, often scattered widely in geographical terms (McCallum 2010, 13–33). Older area studies either claimed the appointment of readers as proof of the vitality of the early ministry post-Reformation, or elided their numbers together with those of official ministers.[3] Todd argued that in terms of dignity and authority within the parish, the reader, with his desk placed in front of the pulpit, would have been a close second to the minister (Todd 2002, 67–70). However, many of those readers were converted holders of pre-Reformation benefices who no doubt varied in quality, notaries, or young graduates. The rates of pay for the position were the lowest in the kirk and experienced the worst fall in real terms by the end of the century (Lynch 1994, 311; 1985, 247–249). McCallum argues that there was a distinction between preaching proper and the reading of the (p. 225) word, the latter possibly being an expedient continuation by the readership who had played a role in the pre-Reformation liturgy, suggesting that a preaching ministry would have been extremely thin on the ground (McCallum 2010, 85–93).

Cultures of Calvinism in Early Modern Scotland

New area studies paying much closer attention to the implementation of Reformed culture in the decades immediately after 1560 are required. As we have seen already, kirk session records are too sparse for the immediate post-Reformation period to reconstruct this story, but several recent PhD theses and monographs have pioneered new approaches to local studies that go beyond traditional ecclesiastical records. Elizabeth Rhodes has used the extensive but virtually ignored records of land and property transfer in St Andrews in the sixteenth century to show that the legal position and rules relating to chaplainries, benefices, and other ecclesiastical holdings remained virtually unaltered post-Reformation. Life—in landed and economic terms, at least—proved largely immune to disruption by religion (Rhodes 2019). The municipal records of the Scottish burghs contain a wealth of unexplored information in relation to everyday life in post-Reformation Scotland, especially on the close working links between council and kirk sessions, the appointment and maintenance of ministers, readers, and schoolmasters, the dismemberment and allocation of the patrimony of the pre-Reformation kirk, and on the competing tensions between varying forms of authority—noble, royal, and religious—in the towns (McGrath 1986; Goatman 2018). These sources—including the official minutes of the burgh council, trade guild records, and notary and protocol books—exist in much greater abundance and geographical spread than the records of the kirk, and have the added advantage of providing a long-term view of cultural life that goes back in many cases to the late-medieval period. The minutes of incorporation for the Perth Burgh Guilds, for example, survive from 1452 to 1601 and continue in virtually unbroken fashion, while Aberdeen has the largest collection of unbroken burgh council minutes anywhere in Europe, and are currently the focus of a major digitization project between the University of Aberdeen, the City Archives, and the National Records of Scotland (Stavert 1993, 245; Aberdeen Records). One of the most novel and overlooked resources for daily life in urban Scotland after the Reformation are Registers of Testaments and Protocol Books, which for Glasgow and Edinburgh were published in the nineteenth century in an extensive series of volumes (Grant 1897–1899; Renwick 1894–1900; Ewan 2000). These detailed statements of land transfers, marriages, and mercantile agreements could easily be manipulated using relational database software to show the social connections between landowners, tenants, families, and merchants in cities like Glasgow, and to create a visual map of how landholding and social and economic life changed over time in the wake of the Reformation.

Finally, there are a range of social aspects of cultural life in Calvinist Scotland which as yet have received only passing attention. Given the importance of the diaconate in Calvinist Geneva, John McCallum's recent work on poor relief and charity in Scotland is a welcome development (Olson 1989; Todd 2012, 55–60; Lynch 1985, 239; Brown 2000, 243–244). McCallum confirms that assistance to the poor was a central aim of kirk sessions from the moment they were established, and that they were at the heart of a fledgling network of relief which developed gradually in the century after 1560. While (p. 226) this support was often variable and the exact level of funding remains impossible to quantify, the network of relief that McCallum has uncovered, from a range of disparate sources,

completely overturns the older notion that early modern Scotland failed to provide for its poor (McCallum 2016b; 2018).

While there have been several collections of essays and articles relating to the family and to women in early modern Scotland, and works particularly focused on literature and on female religious poets such as Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, no full-scale examination of how Calvinism affected the lived experience of women has yet been undertaken (Stevenson 2012; Spence 2016; Reid-Baxter 2010; 2013; 2017; Ross 2015; Ewan and Meikle 1999; Ewan and Nugent 2008; Nugent and Ewan 2015). Nor has there been any study of masculinity and masculine culture, although the university sources (to give but one example) would provide ample testimony of daily life for young men and their masters. Discussions of sexuality and the kirk session have been produced by Todd and Graham, chiefly addressing whether or not there was a 'double standard' in kirk session inquisition, and suggesting that in relation to the treatment of adultery, rape, and other related crimes there was not (Graham 1996, 286–90; Todd 2002, 18–19, ch. 3). However, there is also virtually no discussion of homosexuality and its prosecution in early modern Scotland, save to mention it in passing in connection with incest and bestiality (Todd 2002, 295; Maxwell-Stewart 2002). The most systematic work in this field to date focuses on James VI and I's relationships with his various favourites, but has been heavily criticized for poor methodology and subjective use of evidence (Bergeron 1999; Young 2000; Lee 2000). The sources for such a study are thinner and would require careful and extensive combing of the documentary record, but are undoubtedly worth uncovering if we are to fully understand the full impact of Reformed culture on everyday life in early modern Scotland.

Noble Culture

The history of sixteenth-century Scotland has tended to treat the culture of politics and aristocracy separately from the narrative of religious life, although Keith Brown has led the way in surveying aspects of noble religion as part of his studies of blood feud, noble culture, and noble power (Brown 1986, ch. 7; 1989; 2011; Wormald 1983). The growing culture of Calvinism clearly played as much of a role in the end of blood feud in Scotland as the growing legal profession did, or the increasing centralization of the royal government which created new processes for the settlement of feud. Yet there has been little discussion of the day-to-day religious life of nobility—their married and family lives, their role in poor relief, and the interactions between the kirk sessions and the various levels of noble court. The system of noble patronage to benefices in the pre-Reformation church meant many parochial positions, chaplainries, and altarages remained unaltered after the Reformation, though to what extent is unknown. For example, the vast majority of masterships and chaplainries attached to St Salvator's (p. 227) College in St Andrews remained the effective property of the Kennedy earls of Cassillis well into the seventeenth century, and there are numerous examples of nobles directing their choice of candidate to Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews between 1576 and 1592, for confirmation in positions within the diocese (Donaldson 1966, numbers 21, 2686). Following the 1587 'annex-

ation of the temporalities of benefices' passed in Parliament, ecclesiastical patronage among the nobility extended to former abbey lands as well. There is still a general assumption that once the nobility had seized control of the church they showed little interest in either true Protestant piety or in actively supporting the parish ministry, except when it pertained to schemes to drain revenue from the former church lands (Brown 2000, 241; Lynch 1985, 243). However, this view arises in large part from a broader deficiency in the number of detailed biographies for the nobility at all levels (Goatman 2016). There is a summary narrative for most members of the Jacobean peerage in resources such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which can be supplemented with the original *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Scots Peerage*, and contemporary 'political' accounts such as that by James Melville of Halhill. However, detailed studies of individual nobility over the past three decades have tended to focus either on the more dangerous and unpredictable figures of the Jacobean court, such as Francis Stewart, fifth earl of Bothwell, or on magnates who noticeably stand outside the established church, such as George Gordon the Catholic sixth earl of Huntly. Yet as Rob MacPherson has noted, the earl of Bothwell was an active promoter and patron of the ministry of the 59 kirks within his landed territories, some 5 per cent of the total parishes in Scotland (Brown 2000, 241); and William Douglas the eighth earl of Angus was an unusually committed member of the kirk who set up a highly disciplined community of ministers and exiled nobility in Newcastle in the aftermath of the Ruthven Raid (Lynch 1985, 246–247; Donaldson 1960–1962, 76). A recent monograph by Miles Kerr-Peterson on George Keith, fourth earl Marischal, is the first examination of a more typical, even boring, Reformed Scottish magnate, albeit unusual by dint of the fact that he was the richest man in Scotland thanks to his extensive lands along the length of the east coast (Kerr-Peterson 2019). Marischal played a very minor role in court politics, but his private life is a fascinating insight into the world of a Reformed noble. As Kerr-Peterson notes, Marischal was an active patron of godly education in Scotland (he founded the second university in Aberdeen, the eponymous Marischal College, in 1593), and enjoyed studies on the continent which included a brief period in Geneva, where he deeply impressed Theodore Beza. Yet his attitude towards Reformed religion was ambivalent. He showed a lacklustre interest in promoting ministry to the parishes that he controlled, except where he was able to provide these as patronage to family and political allies. He was a poor husband and an adulterer, who ended up divorced from his first wife and in a bitter and often violent struggle with his second wife as she attempted to assert the rights of her children over those from her husband's first marriage. His own domestic architecture and decoration also showed more of an interest in Classicizing and Roman 'pagan' culture than was perhaps appropriate. Brown suggests that 'it is clear that much of the enthusiasm for the politicised religion, which was so evident among many who made the Reformation itself, did not transmit itself to their sons', and that by the 1590s an (p. 228) entrenched conservativism towards religion had emerged among the nobility that tolerated compromise on issues such as episcopacy and royal involvement in the church (Brown 1989, 579). Like area studies, broader culturally focused studies of the nobility have the potential to provide us with a much richer picture of religious life among the most influential circles of Scottish society.

Intellectual Culture

While everyday life at the parochial level in Scotland had departed radically by 1600 from the Catholic society that had existed before 1560, in the intellectual spheres of Scottish culture continuities were much more in evidence. Most work to date on Calvinism and intellectual culture in post-Reformation Scotland has focused on the extent to which the radically different resistance theories of John Knox and George Buchanan were influenced by Calvin or, in the case of Buchanan especially, to what extent their work was part of French and Genevan developments in resistance theory (Mason 1998). Yet the educational experience of Scots at both school and university after the Reformation has been the subject of much recent research. We now have a detailed calendar of all known pre-university schools between 1560 and 1633 thanks to John Durkan's *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters* (Durkan 2013). While one of the prime aims of the reformers in the *First Book of Discipline* (1561) had been to provide a school in every parish, Durkan has confirmed that this was a slow and gradual process. By the time of the parliamentary education act of 1633, which made the aspiration of the *First Book* a legal requirement for every parish, almost 800 schools were recorded, virtually all of which were based in the lowlands. Durkan's most surprising finding is the fact that around 300 of these schools were not directly connected to the parish, but were continuations or adaptations of medieval and Catholic schools. He speculated that many of these were either supported by the local gentry or were in fact the continuation of medieval 'lairdly' schools, where a chaplain or team of chaplains were attached to a collegiate foundation and educated the children of the granter while saying prayers for their family's souls. Moreover, while there was clear growth in general educational provision, the real casualty of the Reformation was the destruction of 'song' or music schools, which had often been attached to monastic and cathedral churches, and which were wiped out as part of the 'massive simplification of religious worship' in the Reformed service.

Continuity was also in evidence in the Protestant reform of the universities (Reid 2011). The Reformers made immediate plans in 1560 and 1561 to turn Scotland's three medieval and Catholic universities—the University of St Andrews (founded 1410x1413), comprising the colleges of St Salvator's (1450), St Leonards (1513) and St Mary's (1555), and the single-college institutions of Glasgow (1451) and King's College Aberdeen (1496)—into Protestant seminaries. However, these plans never materialized, for several reasons. In conservative Aberdeen, the university and its staff remained (p. 229) sympathetic to the Catholic cause until 1569, when the entire teaching staff were summarily deprived of their posts by the Regent James Stewart, earl of Moray, and a Protestant staff appointed in their stead. The majority of staff at Glasgow deserted the university at the onset of the Reformation Rebellion, and it limped along in a state of near-total financial collapse with just two staff (the principal John Davidson, and his assistant Robert Hamilton) for fifteen years. At St Andrews, the only substantive change to theological teaching in the 1560s was the removal of the works of Peter Lombard from the curriculum, and in arts the focus on Aristotle's works in Latin translation was upheld with the only concession that the col-

lege principals were allowed to choose supplementary texts for the core course in philosophy by Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and other classical authors.

Andrew Melville, principal of Glasgow between 1574 and 1580, of St Mary's College St Andrews between 1580 and 1606, and rector of St Andrews between 1590 and 1597, played a central role in the Calvinist redevelopment of education in Scotland. His approach is best summed up in the curriculum he introduced to Glasgow, which was enshrined in law with the formal re-foundation of the university, the *Nova Erectio* of 13 July 1577. Under Melville, Greek and Latin were taught to the first years through a variety of classical authors, and the *Dialecticae Libri Duo* of Petrus Ramus and the *Rhetorica* of his colleague Omer Talon were the textbooks to be used for inculcating basic logic in students. Ramus' method was highly controversial as it greatly simplified and reduced Aristotle's complex logical system to little more than what we would regard as a series of flowcharts and mind-maps. However, the works of Aristotle were still central to the tuition of moral and natural philosophy—by 1576 taught solely from the original Greek—with some supplementary texts by Cicero and Plato. Central to this whole enterprise was the teaching of biblical languages, and Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic were introduced to students using the Psalms, Ezra, and the Epistle to the Galatians.

At St Mary's College St Andrews, Melville established a four-year postgraduate course for the ministry, to be taught by himself and four masters, which surveyed the Old and New Testaments and the theological commonplaces, with solid training in the biblical languages. At the heart of this course was Reformed theology taught using biblical exegesis and the Ramist 'method' to break down every topic, from sin to predestination, into simplified and easily understandable components. This approach was ideal for dissemination by students in preaching and for recollection during disputes with Catholic theologians—and, for Melville's purposes, those who disagreed with his vision of radical Presbyterianism.

Melville had most success in disseminating his educational programme when, as at Glasgow and at St Mary's, he was personally involved in delivering the teaching. When he was taken out of the equation, his reforms met resistance at best, and failure at worst. Under the 'New Foundation' at St Andrews, St Leonard's and St Salvator's were to become undergraduate arts colleges teaching Melville's curriculum and were to feed students directly to St Mary's. However, in both colleges only a handful of the prescribed humanist texts were adopted and the masters refused to adopt Melville's enthusiasm for Ramist logic, remaining committed to teaching the most complex forms of Aristotelian (p. 230) logic and the works of Aquinas, Scotus, and other scholastic authorities. An attempt to implement a 'Melvillian' constitution for King's College Aberdeen in 1582–83 was suppressed by a young and very angry King James VI following his escape from the Ruthven Raiders, a coalition of nobility supported by the radical Presbyterians. His intervention left King's in a state of intellectual and constitutional limbo until the ascension of Bishop Patrick Forbes in 1617, who reasserted the rights and privileges of the original pre-Reformation foundation. At Glasgow, a student riot led by Thomas Smeaton, Melville's successor as principal, and his fellow masters in 1582 against the royal imposition of Robert

Montgomery as archbishop of Glasgow led to the temporary closure of the college and warding of the masters. During this period of suspension Smeaton died, and was replaced by Patrick Sharp, a royal placeman who used some elements of Melville's curriculum but lacked either his or Smeaton's ideological fervour. The new Protestant 'arts colleges' that were founded in Edinburgh in 1582 and in New Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal in 1593 adopted several of the elements of Melville's curriculum, noticeably in the adoption of Ramist texts in arts teaching at Marischal and in theology teaching under Robert Rollock at Edinburgh. Otherwise, they too made scholastic Aristotelianism the heart of their tuition. Thus collectively across the Scottish universities, there was no radical break from the medieval past, but a series of incremental steps towards a fully Calvinist educational culture which took several generations to bed down.

The 'long' continuity of scholastic method and philosophy in Scotland used to be perceived pejoratively (Shepherd 1975; 1982), but the use of scholasticism and its tools (as clearly evidenced by Richard Muller's extensive work on post-Reformation dogmatics) was essential to the Reformed intelligentsia internationally from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, as they developed a fully formed and robust systematic theology that could stand up to the intellectual rigours of Catholic dogma (Muller 2003; 2003–2006; Trueman and Clark 1999; Denlinger 2015b). A series of recent studies on intellectual and theological life among the Aberdeen Doctors, on Reformed orthodoxy in covenant-era Scotland, and on the influence and dissemination of Cartesianism in Scotland have collectively reassessed the practice and influence of Reformed scholasticism in Scotland (Denlinger 2012; 2015a; Broadie 2014; Raffe 2015; Reid 2016a; 2017; Ryken 1999). Chief among this body of work is Giovanni Gellera's systematic treatment of the university teaching of natural philosophy in the seventeenth century, which has argued that there was a uniquely 'Scottish' strand to this international movement. Scottish philosophers and theologians showed an unquestioning adherence to the use of the syllogism and the Aristotelian corpus, and a strictly Calvinist interpretation of most philosophical issues which included the firm denial of transubstantiation and a complete rejection of natural theology. However, Scots were surprisingly 'eclectic' in their willingness to draw on the work of a whole host of other authors, including other medieval writers and contemporary Catholic scholastics and Aristotelians such as the Coimbra School, to enrich and nuance their discussions (Gellera 2011; 2013a; 2013b; 2015). While this area is still very much under development, it promises to re-evaluate the ways in which we approach the intellectual legacies of Calvinism in Scotland.

(p. 231) Finally, two recent major research projects based at the University of Glasgow, studying the history of philosophy in seventeenth-century Scotland and the role of neo-Latin in Scottish intellectual life during the reign of James VI and I respectively, have found that just as scholasticism retained its vitality and importance post-Reformation, so too did the Latin language, particularly for the purposes of academic and scientific writing and poetry.[4] A study of all known printed works in Latin by Scottish authors between 1480 and 1700, undertaken as part of the second project, has revealed that the publication of Scottish Latin texts reached its zenith in the reign of James VI and I, in part because of the emergence of a mature domestic print market but also in part because of an

increased focus on literacy and education after the Reformation (Reid 2016b). The production of Latin literature by Scots was thus unique as a manifestation of Renaissance culture in Scotland because it did not develop in any meaningful way until after the Reformation of 1560, a fact that is paradoxical considering one would expect the focus in Protestant worship on accessibility to the Word to produce a corresponding emphasis on vernacular Scots and English in printed literature. Work undertaken by David McOmish, also as part of this project, uncovered a community of Edinburgh-based lawyers and academics, chief among them the Napier, King, and Craig families, who wrote detailed and critically minded treatises on trigonometry, astronomy, engineering, and mathematics (McOmish 2015; 2016). This network read and absorbed the works of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and other leading figures in the early stages of the Scientific Revolution. In their letters to one another and to their colleagues in the international Republic of Letters, they show a devotion to scientific rationalism and empirical thought that stands at odds with the theologically centred intellectual worldview of most of their 'godly' colleagues at the schools and universities. Further studies of Scotland's Latin writings in the Jacobean period are a desideratum, particularly the extent to which manuscript culture mirrors the trends seen in the evidence of the print record and how far the glimpses of this shared proto-scientific Latinate society was part of a wider national phenomenon.[5] It is this aspect of cultural life in Scotland, so large in terms of written volume but yet so well-hidden as a result of its linguistic inaccessibility, that perhaps has the greatest capacity to alter our conception of Calvinist 'culture' in early modern Scotland, and by extension to redefine our narrative of Scottish intellectual history between Reformation and Enlightenment.

Suggested Reading

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Notes:

([1]) With the exception of Sanderson (1997), who devoted several chapters to tracing the development of a Protestant settlement to 1600.

([2]) For example, only three kirk session MS registers survive for the whole of Fife pre-1600, and only one (St Andrews) is pre-1570.

([3]) Kirk (1989, 130) where he notes that over 240 men had been found to serve the kirk by 1561, but no distinction is made; Yellowlees (1990, 31–2, 278) where he notes that by 1574, 90% of parishes 'received Protestant ministration in some form', but notes that the diocese conformed to the average of 1 minister to 3–4 parishes and that the number of readers on record rose from 34 in 1567 to 64 by 1574.

([4]) 'Scottish philosophers in seventeenth-century Scotland and France', chaired by Alexander Broadie and funded by the Leverhulme Trust (2010–2013); and 'Bridging the Continental Divide: neo-Latin and its cultural role in Jacobean Scotland, as seen in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637)', chaired by Steven J. Reid and funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (2012–2015). Key results from both projects can be found in Broadie (2020); Reid and McOmish (2016); Reid and McOmish (2020); and at http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/. A project at the Université de Lausanne led by Christian Maurer between 2016 and 2020, entitled 'Tolerance, Intolerance and Discrimination Regarding

Religion' (https://wp.unil.ch/tolerance/), is currently examining Calvinism's engagement with philosophy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland.

([5]) For vernacular manuscripts, see Verweij (2016).

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