seventeenth century was the Heidelberg Catechism, while Lutherans often used Luther's Short Catechism.

Alongside children were servants or at the very least apprentices. Many were relatives – rural labourers who came to towns for work, or sons and daughters of cousins.

In respects to discipline, children and servants were the same. When it came to education, however, children, if the family could afford it, obtained formal schooling, while servants did not.

## Other Family?

Outside the nuclear family the reformation reevaluated old medieval bonds. First, since infant baptism was maintained by magisterial reformers like Calvin and Luther, there was disagreement over whether there ought to be godparents or not. Calvinists often took issue with the practice. Removing godparents had important implications as it also removed the

idea of spiritual kinship on the one hand, but also the social bonds that came out of godparentage. Often godparents had been social betters – thus it was a patron-client relationship that reformers targeted.

The feasting and celebration surrounding the ritual itself was also curtailed, especially in Calvinist areas.

Second, reformers in attacking purgatory and the ideas of surrounding indulgences and their notions of justification also undid the types of relationships living family members had with dead ones.

This had wider social implications – prayers for the dead were denied and forcibly removed from Protestant practices.

Reformation theologians effectively reshaped the family by implicating that those who were family were those living related by blood and intimately living in a residence.

No longer were the dead to be thought of as an integral component of the living family's life.

As a sign of this change cemeteries were often moved outside the centre of towns to outskirts of cities. Luther himself never wrote a burial service.

Problems Creating and Maintaining Godly Society Education

Access depended upon social status, gender, context as well as talent of the student. Education was geared towards boys, not girls.

Jurisdictional issues were present across Europe – were schools under the control of the magistrate or the minister? In the Netherlands the Synod of

Dordecht in 1574 urged that schoolmasters had to profess their faith – ie they were part of both church and state, and must adhere to its confession of faith.

At the top of the food chain were the universities – Basle and Heidelberg became centres of reformed theology and learning. There were 20 new universities in the Empire by the end of the sixteenth-century. Often to avoid the legal requirements for founding a university reformed cities, like Geneva, founded academies for university level education.

## Morality and the Family

The ideal family however was just that, an ideal.

Marriages were troubled, but they also existed in a context were fornication and adultery also took place. People were people and the early modern period was no different.

Luther thought that 1 in 100000 men were capable of remaining truly faithful to their wives.

Men and women had sex before marriage, in marriage and outside marriage and much of the duties of pastors and Calvinist consistories was to root out these sexual acts and immoral goings on.

In many places these sexual sins became criminalized, and could bring fines, whippings and imprisonment or even exile.

## **Public Morality**

For protestants, especially Calvinists and Anabaptists, the reformation sought repression of traditions shaped not only religious life, but European culture in general.

The stark austerity of Calvinism called for the abolition of holidays and festivals, the restriction of recreation and the eradication of drunkness. Just as the individual's sexual morals were closely monitored so too was public morality monitored by church elders.

That being said, implementation of changes was a process of negotiation between what reformers wanted and what people were willing to do. This meant that what reformers wished to reform outside the scope of church practices was not always successful and often they were faced with the very real need to make concessions to maintain adherence to Protestantism.

Certain generalizations can be made about the changes Protestantism wrought on European culture.

First, we find an assault on popular cultural 'spaces' and 'moments' links to festive traditional piety.

Second, any use of prereformation trends like using saints names for children is discouraged. Hence the preoccupation with scriptural names. Third, an obsession with seeing superstition at every turn in Protestant territories in the seventeenth century.

This fear is best seen in three instances – the role of saints being transferred to angels who visited the devout protestants, particularly in Germany; the problem of exorcism for protestants; and most famously the intense witchcraze which swept up Europe in the late 16<sup>th</sup> C and into the 17<sup>th</sup>.

Fourth, what people did for recreation, particularly on Sundays was a fierce issue of debate.

Dancing was prohibited in Geneva, but elsewhere games and sports became an important enough political topic that Lausanne saw youth openly mock the consistory in 1544, James VI of England wrote a treatise on it regarding what was proper for a Sunday afternoon.

The reformation, therefore change not only religious life, but fundamental aspects of European societies by reevaluating how they fit into scriptural religion.

Often this reinforced patriarchy – both in churches, but also in the family itself.

The entire purpose of European life was still ideally oriented on attaining heaven, but with the reformation came stricter guidelines on how important morality and education were indicators of someone who was saved. In this way those who stepped out of these guidelines provided by the reformed state or the consistory indicated their reprobate or damned nature.

The result was considerable tension surrounding the feasibility of putting reformers ideas into practice. This meant reformation society was a place of constant negotiation between the ideals reformers had about godliness, and the simple facts of day-to-day life.