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Dossier

The premodern university in motion. Mobility, innovation
and conflict in Europe (15th-17th centuries)



Universidad Carlos III de Madrid
Editorial Dykinson



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INTRODUCTION

The premodern university in motion. Mobility, innovation and conflict in Europe (15th–17th centuries)

La universidad premoderna en movimiento.
Movilidad, innovación y conflicto en la Europa
de los siglos XV–XVII

Coordinador: Kaspar Gubler

DOI: 10.20318/cian.2026.10551

The history of the European university is inseparable from movement. From its medieval beginnings, the university was never merely a clearly bounded institution of teaching and learning, but a space shaped by the circulation of people, texts, practices, and forms of knowledge. Students, professors, members of religious orders, diplomats, books, legal texts, symbols, and institutional models moved across geographical, linguistic, political, and social boundaries. In doing so, they contributed decisively to defining what university was and what it could become.

The present Dossier, which grew out of the Atelier Héloïse meeting held in Warsaw in 2024, examines the university as such a dynamic and multifaceted space. Atelier Héloïse has long provided a forum for the comparative study of university and knowledge history, with particular attention to mobility, prosopography, institutional networks, and the circulation of knowledge in Europe, as well as to digital methods. The contributions gathered here continue this perspective by examining academic life between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period through three interconnected fields: mobility and networks; innovation in teaching and symbolic practices; and the entanglement of the university with diplomacy, urban society, and conflict.

The first three contributions are devoted to academic mobility and networks. Mobility was one of the defining features of premodern universi-

ty life. It connected distant regions, enabled scholarly careers, and allowed knowledge to circulate between people and institutions. At the same time, mobility depended on political circumstances, religious affiliations, institutional opportunities, financial resources, and personal or collective strategies. To study academic mobility therefore means analysing both the circulation of knowledge and the conditions that made this circulation possible.

Mlada Holá and Martin Holý open this part with their study of the academic mobility of Prague university professors from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period. Their contribution situates Prague within a broader Central European university landscape and examines how professorial careers were shaped by institutional change, political transformations, and confessional developments. Prague was one of the most important university centres of medieval Central Europe, yet its history was marked by profound ruptures. By tracing the movements of professors between 1458 and 1622, the chapter shows how academic careers responded to larger historical changes. Mobility was not merely an expression of individual ambition; it reflected the changing position of the university within regional and transregional networks of power, education, and confession.

Stefania Zucchini's contribution shifts the focus to the *peregrinatio* of Hungarian friars to Perugia between the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. Her chapter highlights the importance of religious orders as agents of academic mobility. The movement of members of religious orders to Italian centres of study formed part of a wider ecclesiastical and intellectual geography in which theological education, institutional discipline, and transregional networks were closely connected. Perugia appears here not only as a place of study, but also as a contact zone between local academic structures and broader religious networks. The *peregrinatio* of Hungarian friars makes clear how deeply mobility was embedded in the structures of monastic and mendicant education.

Franco Benucci's chapter on ultramontane students in Padua develops the theme of mobility further by focusing on those students who, from an Italian perspective, came from beyond the Alps. Padua was one of the great international universities of premodern Europe. It attracted students from many regions and created a complex social world of nations, privileges, scholarly expectations, and everyday encounters. The category of the *ultramontani* was not merely geographical. It also designated a social and institutional position within the university. Students from beyond the Alps had to navigate local customs, academic regulations, group identities, and the practical demands of life in a foreign city. Mobility therefore appears here not as a

single event, but as a process that shaped academic identities before, during, and after study.

The second part of this special dossier of CIAN turns from mobility to practices of teaching, communication, and symbolic representation. Universities were always institutions of tradition and, at the same time, places of innovation.

Kaspar Gubler's contribution examines Thomas Murner as an innovator of university teaching. Murner, who was active around the turn of the sixteenth century, developed didactic games and connected his teaching of law with vernacular translation and explanation of central legal texts. In doing so, he sought to make learned knowledge more understandable and accessible to a wider circle of learners. His didactic games introduced visual, material, and playful elements into the learning process. They made complex legal knowledge more intelligible and opened up new possibilities for memorisation, participation, and conceptual ordering. At the same time, the translation of legal texts points to a broader challenge in the history of education: how could learned law be made comprehensible and useful for different audiences? Although Murner's innovations in the field of didactic playing cards did not find a lasting place in regular university teaching, his translations into German were of enduring importance for the development of the German legal language.

Francisco Javier Rubio Muñoz's contribution examines rectors, nations, and student graffiti at the universities of Bologna and Salamanca in the sixteenth century. The chapter shifts the focus from formal teaching to symbolic culture. Graffiti, inscriptions, names, and visual signs reveal how students inhabited and appropriated academic spaces. At the same time, they point to shared forms of representation at different universities. Bologna and Salamanca were distinct institutions with their own specific histories, yet student practices created comparable symbolic worlds. Nations, rectors, and student communities were not only administrative units or offices; they were also represented, remembered, and spatially materialised. Graffiti therefore provide access to a dimension of university life that is difficult to grasp through statutes and official records alone: the everyday presence of students, their desire for visibility, and their participation in a shared academic culture.

The last two contributions examine the university in its relationship to political authority, diplomacy, and urban life. Universities were never isolated from the societies in which they existed. They depended on privileges, patronage, protection, legal frameworks, and urban infrastructures. At the same time, they could generate tensions. The presence of students, the auto-

nomy of academic communities, and the claim to university freedom repeatedly came into conflict with urban order. The university was therefore both a partner of political power and a possible source of unrest.

Massimo Galtarossa's chapter on the ambassadors of the Republic of Venice as agents of knowledge circulation highlights the diplomatic dimension of academic networks. Ambassadors were not only political representatives. They also moved information, books, observations, contacts, and reputation. In the Venetian context, diplomacy and knowledge were closely intertwined. Ambassadors could observe academic institutions, maintain relations with scholars, and participate in the wider circulation of learned culture. Their activity shows that knowledge did not circulate only through students and professors. It also moved through political channels. Universities and learned milieus mattered to diplomacy because they were places of expertise, prestige, and information; conversely, diplomatic networks contributed to the movement and evaluation of knowledge.

Alessandro Benedusi's chapter on the *scolari* provides a counterpoint by approaching university life from the perspective of brawls, books, and *libertas*. The title already captures the ambivalence of student existence. Students were learners and readers, but at the same time social actors whose presence could disturb urban order. The idea of *libertas* was central to academic identity, especially at a university such as Padua, where privileges and freedoms formed part of the institution's self-understanding. Yet freedom could also become a source of conflict. Student violence, tensions with residents, and disputes with authorities point to the fragile balance between academic autonomy and urban control. Benedusi's contribution thus places everyday conflicts at the centre of analysis, showing how the boundaries of the university were tested in practice.

Across its three parts, this volume presents the university as a mobile, innovative, but also contested space. It thus argues for a broad understanding of academic history. Universities should not be studied solely as formal corporations or as sites of curriculum and graduation. They were also networks of movement, places of pedagogical innovation, symbolic landscapes, and social zones of contact and conflict. In this sense, the contributions gathered here reflect the wider aims of Atelier Héloïse: to understand European university history comparatively and from the perspective of mobility, networks, and the circulation of knowledge. They show that, even in the premodern period, the university was not a closed world, but an open and multifaceted space. Universities shaped premodern Europe not because they stood apart from the world, but because they were deeply embedded within it.

Academic mobility and networks

Academic mobility of Prague University professors. From the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period (1458–1622)

Movilidad académica de los profesores de la Universidad de Praga. Desde finales de la Edad Media hasta los inicios de la Edad Moderna (1458–1622)

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Abstract: The study analyses a group of 199 individuals who held teaching positions as *magistri actu regentes* or *professores ordinarii* at the Utraquist University in Prague from the mid-15th century until its transfer to the Jesuit Order in 1622. Their academic trajectories reveal significant patterns regarding geographic origin, pre-university preparation, university education, and mo-

Resumen: El presente estudio analiza un grupo de 199 individuos que ejercieron como *magistri actu regentes* o *professores ordinarii* en la Universidad Utraquista de Praga desde mediados del siglo XV hasta su transferencia a la Compañía de Jesús en 1622. Sus trayectorias académicas revelan patrones significativos en cuanto a origen geográfico, formación pre-universitaria, estudios superiores y movilidad.

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bility. Given that approximately 85% of these professors were of Bohemian origin, their preliminary education typically occurred at Utraquist Latin schools in Bohemian and Moravian towns. Many students attended multiple institutions, reflecting the high degree of mobility characteristic of Central European private and municipal schools. While information concerning this early educational phase remains fragmentary –particularly for the late Middle Ages– surviving school regulations, textbooks, and occasional records indicate a relatively uniform curriculum centered on Latin proficiency and the liberal arts.

In contrast, university studies can be reconstructed with greater precision through extant matriculation registers and graduation records. Although the majority of professors obtained their initial academic degrees at the University of Prague, over one-quarter spent significant periods at foreign universities. Prior to the Reformation, Italian universities –specifically Padua and Bologna– were the preferred destinations, primarily for candidates seeking advanced training in medicine or law. From the 1530s onwards, Protestant universities such as Wittenberg and Leipzig dominated academic migration, though some individuals pursued studies at more distant institutions across the Holy Roman Empire, Switzerland, and Italy. As higher doctorates in law, medicine, and theology were unavailable within the Bohemian lands, numerous professors interrupted their tenures in Prague to obtain these degrees abroad, subsequently returning to academia or, more frequently, transitioning to careers outside the university. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that the educational pathways of Prague's Utraquist professors integrated local rootedness with selective yet significant patterns of international mobility, shaped by confessional identity, regional opportunities, and broader European intellectual trends.

Keywords: Charles University, Prague, academic mobility, professors, pre-university studies, university education, confessionalization, Utraquism, Central Europe.

Dado que aproximadamente el 85 % de los docentes procedía de Bohemia, su educación inicial se desarrolló habitualmente en escuelas latinas utraquistas de ciudades bohemias y moravas. La alta movilidad en las instituciones municipales de Europa Central propició que muchos estudiantes asistieran a diversos centros. Aunque los datos sobre esta etapa son fragmentarios, especialmente para la Baja Edad Media, los reglamentos y libros de texto conservados sugieren un currículo uniforme centrado en el latín y las artes liberales.

En contraste, los estudios universitarios pueden reconstruirse con mayor precisión mediante los registros de matriculación y actas de graduación. Si bien la mayoría obtuvo sus grados iniciales en Praga, más de una cuarta parte realizó estancias en universidades extranjeras. Antes de la Reforma, los destinos predilectos fueron los centros italianos –especialmente Padua y Bolonia– para cursar medicina o derecho. A partir de la década de 1530, las universidades protestantes como Wittenberg y Leipzig dominaron la migración académica, aunque algunos individuos se desplazaron a instituciones del Sacro Imperio, Suiza e Italia. Debido a que los doctorados superiores en derecho, medicina y teología no estaban disponibles en las tierras de Bohemia, numerosos profesores interrumpieron su actividad en Praga para titularse en el extranjero, regresando posteriormente a la docencia o integrándose en otros ámbitos profesionales. En conclusión, el estudio demuestra que las trayectorias de los profesores utraquistas integraron el arraigo local con patrones selectivos de movilidad internacional, condicionados por la identidad confesional, las oportunidades regionales y las corrientes intelectuales europeas.

Palabras clave: Universidad Carolina, Praga, movilidad académica, profesores, estudios preuniversitarios, educación universitaria, confesionalización, utraquismo, Europa Central.

Introduction

From the Hussite period until its transfer to the Jesuits in 1622, the Utraquist University in Prague remained a vital intellectual center in the Bohemian Lands, providing university education to hundreds of local inhabitants. Established in 1348 by Charles IV, King of Bohemia and of the Holy Roman Empire, as the first studium generale north of the Alps and east of the Rhine, the university underwent a fundamental shift at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Decree of Kutná Hora (1409), issued by Wenceslaus IV in response to the Papal Schism, secured victory for the natio Bohemica within the university, but it also triggered a mass exodus of German students and masters. The subsequent controversy about John Wycliffe, the rise of the Hussite reform movement, and the widespread adoption of Utraquism (communion sub utraque specie) in the Bohemian Lands reinforced this isolationist trend. Concurrently, the higher faculties –law, medicine, and theology– suffered a gradual decline and, despite later reform efforts, were not fully restored until the post-White Mountain era.¹

Consequently, the Utraquist University transformed into a provincial academy effectively limited to the Faculty of Arts, characterized by significantly reduced numbers of students and professors and a diminishing foreign presence. This trajectory stood in stark contrast to broader European developments of the period, where many universities were increasingly evolving into vibrant, transnational hubs of humanistic learning and, later, centers of confessional network-building.² The status of the Utraquist University's academic community was increasingly challenged by the arrival of the Jesuit

¹ From foreign-language works, see at least Peter Moraw, "Die Universität Prag im Mittelalter. Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte im europäischen Zusammenhang". In *Die Universität zu Prag*, edited by Richard W. Eichler (München: Verlagshaus Sudetenland, 1986), 9-134; František Kavka, Josef Petráň, ed., *A History of Charles University I* (Prague: Karolinum, 2001); František Šmahel, "L'Université de Prague de 1433 à 1622: recrutement géographique, carrières et mobilité sociale des étudiants gradués". In *Les Universités européennes du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle 1*, edited by Dominique Julia et al. (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986), 65-88; Idem, "Die Karlsuniversität Prag und böhmische Humanistenkarrieren". In *Gelehrte im Reich* (Beiheft ZHF 18), edited by Rainer C. Schwinges (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), 505-513; Idem. *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter - Charles University in the Middle Ages. Gesammelte Aufsätze - Selected Studies* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007); Martin Nodl. *Das Kuttenberger Dekret von 1409: von der Eintracht zum Konflikt der Prager Universitätsnationen* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

² Cf. at least Walther Rüegg (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa II: Von der Reform zur Französischen Revolution (1500-1800)* (München: C. H. Beck 1996).

order in 1556. Founded by Ferdinand I, the Jesuit Clementinum emerged as a formidable competitor, particularly after it secured the authority to confer academic degrees, further integrating Prague into the fiercely competitive, pan-European educational strategies of the Catholic Reformation.³

The present paper⁴ examines the academic mobility of professors at the Utraquist University in Prague during the period spanning from the mid-fifteenth century –specifically the turn of the 1450s and 1460s, which marked the definitive confirmation of the university’s Utraquist character and the departure of Catholic masters– until its transfer to the Jesuit order in 1622. The study analyzes a total of 199 individuals, typically designated as *magistri actu regentes* or *professores ordinarii*,⁵ who taught at the university in Prague during this period. By analyzing this specific cohort, the study not only maps local institutional history but also provides a crucial comparative perspective on how Central European academic mobility and intellectual networks functioned –and diverged– compared to those in the Holy Roman Empire or Western Europe during an era of profound religious fragmentation.

The number of professors at the university fluctuated; however, from the 1470s to the middle of the 1490s, it stabilized at approximately sixteen to twenty persons.⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century, the faculty had shrunk to just twelve members. This number continued to decline in subsequent decades –falling to nine professors by 1547, and even fewer thereafter⁷– and

³ Alois Kroess. *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu I* (Wien: Ambr. Opitz Nachfolger, 1910), 13-70; Martin Holý. *Vzdělanostní mecenát v zemích České koruny (1500-1700)* [Educational Patronage in the Bohemian Lands (1500-1700)] (Praha: Academia, 2016), 73-80.

⁴ The text is based on research summarized in the book Mlada Holá, Martin Holý et al. *Profesoři pražské utrakvistické univerzity v pozdním středověku a raném novověku* [Professors of the Utraquist University of Prague in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period] (Praha: Academia, 2022). For a basic summary of the research, see also iidem, “Professors of the Utraquist University of Prague in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (1458-1622)”, *History of Universities* XXXV, no 2 (2022), 84-105.

⁵ In addition to these individuals, there were others, such as extraordinary professors or foreign scholars staying in Prague, who fulfilled various teaching roles.

⁶ In detail, Jiří Pešek, “Některé otázky dějin univerzity pražské jagellonského období” [Certain Questions of the History of the University of Prague during the Jagiellonian Period], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* [AUC-HUCP] 18 (1978), no 1. 129-171, here mainly 142sq., who points out that it is very likely that there were three or four masters more in total than indicated by the available data. M. Holá – M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 33sq.

⁷ Compare also Karel Beránek, “Akta komise pro reformu pražské univerzity z roku 1547” [Proceedings of the Committee for the Reform of the University of Prague from 1547], *Studie o rukopisech* 31 (1998-1996), 60-62; idem, ed., *Manuál rektora se jmény studentů zapsaných v*

increased only slightly following the university reform prompted by the Letter of Majesty in 1609.⁸

Given the predominantly provincial character of the university, the cohort under investigation consisted primarily of individuals born in the Bohemian Lands. Approximately 85% were natives of Bohemia, whereas representation from Moravia amounted to no more than 4.5%. Contributions from other regions of the Bohemian Crown were marginal, including only one individual from the Opava region and four from Silesia. The only foreigners with a notable presence were Poles, with a total of five professors teaching in Prague during the late Middle Ages (2.5%), and a few natives of Upper Hungary who, unlike the Poles, appeared exclusively in the pre-White Mountain period (four individuals, 2%). The Holy Roman Empire and Italy were represented by only a single scholar each: John of Lübeck (d. 1502) and Hieronymus Balbus (d. 1535?), respectively. Balbus spent only a brief time in Prague and apparently supplemented his income through private tuition.⁹ This striking geographical homogeneity presents a fascinating anomaly in the European comparative landscape, standing in sharp contrast to the highly internationalized faculties that characterized contemporary universities in Italy, France, and parts of the Empire.

Pre-university studies

The professors' educational profiles were determined significantly more by their geographic origins than by their social backgrounds. Unfortunately,

ztracené matrice UK v Praze v letech 1560–82. Poznamenání jmen profesorův a jiných preceptorův v učení pražském z roku 1604 [Rector's Handbook with Names of Students Entered in the Lost Register of Charles University in the Years 1560-82. Record of the Names of Professors and other Teachers at the University of Prague from 1604] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1981), 173; Archiv Univerzity Karlovy [Archive of Charles University], ms. B 14, fol. 83r-84r, 586v-587r; ms. B 25, fol. 15r, 109r, 304v.

⁸ On attempts to reform the University of Prague after 1609, see Wenzel Wladiwoj Tomek. *Geschichte der Prager Universität* (Prag: Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1849), 207-240; Jiří Rak, "Karlova univerzita v pravomoci defenzorů 1609-1622" [Charles University under the Authority of Defensors], *AUC-HUCP* 17 (1977), no 1, 33-46; Martin Holý, "Vereitelte Hoffnungen? Der rudolfische Majestätsbrief und das nichtkatholische höhere Schulwesen in Böhmen". In *Religion and Politik im frühneuzeitlichen Böhmen. Der Majestätsbrief Kaiser Rudolfs II. von 1609*, edited by Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Jiří Mikulec and Martina Thomsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014), 171-176.

⁹ M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 51sq.

data concerning their education prior to university studies remains insufficient. In the case of individuals born in Bohemia and Moravia, most attended Latin schools situated within the royal towns of Bohemia and, less frequently, Moravia. A portion of them, however, attained their elementary education privately (either within the family, via tutelage under town officials or private tutors), or at s.c. „minor“ schools.¹⁰

Regarding the Latin schools, these were primarily Utraquist municipal institutions. Both they and their Catholic counterparts were typically divided into three to five grades.¹¹ Overall, there were dozens of such schools, most of which were governed in organizational and disciplinary terms by the Utraquist University of Prague. The university rector regularly appointed their administrators, often from the ranks of (former) students at the Faculty of Arts.¹²

Given the fragmentary nature of the sources and the incomplete information regarding the pre-university education of many individuals –especially those from the late Middle Ages– any attempt to statistically analyze attendance at specific municipal schools would be highly distorted. We generally lack data on the duration of studies at these schools, meaning the total length of pre-university education remains unknown in most cases. For the Bohemian lands prior to the Battle of White Mountain, no registers of enrolled students have been preserved for this type of institution. This stands in contrast to other Latin schools, such as the Jesuit grammar schools in the Bohemian lands or various foreign institutions, where the systematic recording of students –at least in higher Latin schools in major locations– was established earlier. Regarding Prague University, we possess records of

¹⁰ On the system of (urban) schools in the period before 1620, compare at least Zikmund Winter: *Život a učení na partikulárních školách v Čechách v XV. a XVI. století* [Life and Teaching at Latin Schools in Bohemia in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries] (Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1901); M. Holý. *Vzdělanostní mecenát*, 61-69, 130-134; Idem. “Ähnlichkeit oder Differenz? Bildungssysteme in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert“. In *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungssysteme im interkonfessionellen Vergleich. Inhalte - Infrastrukturen - Praktiken*, edited by Christine Freytag, Markus Friedrich and Sascha Salatowsky (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2018) 39-51.

¹¹ Although Z. Winter distinguishes between three levels (*schola minor*, *schola mediocris*, and *schola superior* or *gymnasium*), it is our opinion that the transition from the lower to the middle grades of Latin school was often fluid, as the level of instruction and grade divisions fluctuated over time. Therefore, we categorize the Latin school simply into lower grades (1-3) and higher grades (4 and above). Z. Winter. *Život a učení*, 24-28.

¹² Compare at least Jiří Pešek, “Pražská univerzita, městské latinské školy a měšťanské elity předbělohorských Čech (1570-1620) [The University of Prague, Urban Latin Schools, and Urban Elites of Pre-White Mountain Bohemia], *Český časopis historický* 89 (1991), 336-355.

depositio beanorum only for the period 1560-1582, which document some future professors during their pre-university studies.¹³

The situation is further complicated by the fact that a significant portion of the individuals under review did not study at a single Latin school, but rather attended several successively. We possess comprehensive data regarding the duration of study at a particular institution –as well as the specific trajectory, such as progress through individual classes– for only a small number of future Prague professors. This lack of data is evident even for the early seventeenth century, and it is even more pronounced for earlier periods. However, it is highly probable that, in at least some instances, these were merely episodic stays. Student mobility among particular schools was quite high in the Bohemian lands; this phenomenon was not unique to Bohemia and Moravia, despite their exceptionally dense network of such institutions, but reflected a broader European trend.

To illustrate this, several examples can be cited. The famous rector of Prague University, Martin Bacháček of Nauměřice (d. 1612), who came from a serf background, attended at least four town schools: Slaný, Tábor, Prague (at St. Stephen), and Klatovy. A well-known colleague of his, John Campanus (d. 1622), first attended school in his hometown of Vodňany, followed by studies in Klatovy, Domažlice, and Jihlava. Similarly, John Matthias of Sudetis (d. after 1618), aided by the connections of his father—an ennobled official attended a private court school in Týn nad Vltavou before continuing his education in Písek, Vodňany, and Linz.¹⁴

¹³ *Manuál rektora*, passim; Jiří Pešek, “Manuál rektora Curia-Dvorského: kniha záhadná” [Handbook of Rector Curius-Dvorský: A Mystery Book], *AUC-HUCP* 26, (1986), no 1, 97-108; Idem, “Pražská univerzita a městské latinské školy” [The University of Prague and Urban Latin Schools]. In *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1. 1347/48-1622*, edited by Michal Svatoš (Praha: Karolinum 1995), 219-226; Michal Svatoš, “Univerzitní studenti v manuálu mistra Curia” [University Students in the Handbook of Master Curius]. In *Seminář a jeho hosté. Sborník k 60. narozeninám doc. dr. Rostislava Nového*, edited by Zdeněk Hojda, Jiří Pešek and Blanka Zilynská (Praha: Univerzita Karlova 1992), 163-170; Idem, “Učitelé pražských partikulárních škol v manuálu Mistra Curia” [Teachers of Prague Grammar Schools in the Handbook of Master Curius]. In *V komnatách paláců, v ulicích měst. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Václavu Ledvinkovi k šedesátým narozeninám*, edited by Kateřina Jišová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2007), 87-95. Concerning *depositio beanorum* see at least: Marian Füssel, „Riten der Gewalt: zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pennalismus in der frühen Neuzeit“, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 32 (2005), No. 4, 605-648; Martin Holý, “Die akademischen Rituale an den Universitäten Prag und Basel im späten 15. bis frühen 17. Jahrhundert“, *Historia scholastica* 8 (2022), no. 1, 17-20.

¹⁴ With further literature and sources Lucie Storchová, ed. *Companion to Central and East European Humanism 2/1* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter 2020), 219-236; M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 267-269, 284-288, 384-386.

Like John Matthias of Sudetis, several of his colleagues from Bohemia and Moravia also received institutional education at Latin schools outside the Bohemian lands. However, such instances were relatively rare. When they did occur, these were typically non-Catholic educational institutions, a pattern consistent with the confessional composition of Prague's *magistri actu regentes*. While records have been preserved for some of these institutions, documentation for others remains absent. Even where sources are available, information regarding the specific educational trajectories of the individuals under consideration remains fragmentary. Frequently, the sources document only the commencement of their studies, offering scant detail regarding their progression, duration, or completion.

When future professors of Charles University from Bohemia or Moravia pursued pre-university studies in neighboring regions of the Bohemian Crown or abroad, they usually first attended a local Czech or Moravian school. For instance, Paul Pressius (d. 1586) studied in his hometown of Kouřim, then in Prague and Annaberg (Saxony), and from 1562 in Wittenberg, where he obtained his master's degree four years later. Similarly, George Šultys of Felsdorf (d. after 1623)—a native of Kutná Hora and professor of rhetoric at Prague University from 1615—initially studied in his hometown (documented at least 1606-1607). He subsequently attended the grammar school in Görlitz for several years (1608-1610) before continuing his education at the renowned college in Litoměřice (until 1612).¹⁵

The scope and quality of knowledge acquired by future Charles University professors at the aforementioned Latin schools can be estimated from several sources. These include specific school regulations preserved for certain institutions, various general study guidelines, and supplementary materials such as published or utilized textbooks.¹⁶ However, it is crucial to recognize that while these sources often derived directly from practical teaching experience, they frequently reflect an idealized rather than an actual pedagogical reality.

Although teaching variations existed among individual schools—concerning, for instance, material distribution across classes or textbook selection—and were largely contingent on the specific instructors, the fundamental curriculum remained notably consistent across most private educational institutions, both domestic and foreign, irrespective of their specific denomination. This curriculum primarily entailed comprehensive mastery of both

¹⁵ Ibidem, 422sq., 454sq.

¹⁶ See the following footnote.

spoken and written Latin, alongside the fundamentals of the seven liberal arts and other subjects (e.g. catechism, geography, history). Such an education was designed to prepare students for advanced studies at contemporary universities.¹⁷

We now examine the second group of individuals who subsequently became professors at the Utraquist University of Prague: those not originating from Bohemia and Moravia. As previously noted, their representation constituted a relatively small proportion, comprising 10.5% of documented individuals. However, a comprehensive or statistical analysis of this group is hindered by the paucity of primary sources, as records for most foreign schools are largely unavailable. Nevertheless, some insights are occasionally gleaned from supplementary materials such as correspondence, diaries, *alba amicorum*,¹⁸ and contemporary occasional literary productions. Unsurprisingly, the pre-university studies of professors from abroad exhibited greater diversity. Yet, consistent with the pattern observed for their colleagues from Bohemia and Moravia, most began their studies in their hometowns, with many subsequently attending multiple grammar schools.

To illustrate this point, we can examine the case of Peter Fradelius (d. 1621). Born into a German patrician family in Banská Štiavnica, he first studied in his hometown before attending the Evangelical academic grammar school in Graz in the 1590s. After 1600, he resided and taught in Prague and Žatec, subsequently also residing in Nymburk. Concurrently, he pursued studies at Prague University, earning a bachelor's degree in May 1607 and a master's degree in August of the subsequent year.¹⁹

The educational migration patterns of future Prague University professors from Upper Hungary exhibited distinctive characteristics. Notably, a significant number of them did not follow a similar trajectory to Peter Fradelius;

¹⁷ See at least Martin Holý, "Schulbücher und Lektüren in der Unterrichtspraxis an böhmischen und mährischen Lateinschulen des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 15 (2012), 105-119; idem, "Die protestantischen Lehrbücher als Kommunikationsmedium in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert". In *Reformation als Kommunikationsprozess. Böhmisches Kronländer und Sachsen*, edited by Peter Hrachovec, Gerd Schwerhoff, Winfried Müller and Martina Schattkowsky (Wien: Böhlau 2021), 155-168.

¹⁸ Cf. Jörg-Ulrich Fechner (ed.), *Stammbücher als kulturhistorische Quellen* (Kraus International Publications: München 1981); Marie Ryantová, *Památníky, aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum. Kulturně historický fenomén raného novověku* [Památníky or štambuchy, id est Alba Amicorum: A Cultural-Historical Phenomenon of the Early Modern Period] (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita 2007).

¹⁹ L. Storchová, ed. *Companion* 2/1, 424sq; M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 311-313.

instead, after initial studies in their hometowns, they typically moved to Moravia or Bohemia rather than the Austrian lands. For instance, Daniel Basilius of Deutschenberg (d. 1628) resided in Prague and attended a private school at St. Henry's Church prior to his university studies. Similarly, Laurentius Benedikt of Nudožery (d. 1615) pursued his grammar school education in Jihlava.²⁰

The reasons for such educational immigration to the Bohemian lands, which has been one of the least researched topics to date, could have been varied. We only know them in a few individual cases. One of the reasons recorded *expressis verbis* in the sources was the desire to learn the Czech language here. Although the schools that such boys and young men often attended from distant locations were Latin educational institutions, contact with Czech classmates, as well as long-term stays in a Czech-speaking environment, provided ample opportunities for this. The Czech language could be useful to them in their later careers, among other things.²¹

University studies

Regarding the university studies of future Charles University professors, preserved sources offer a considerably more comprehensive insight. However, complete records are not available for all European universities or academies where these individuals studied, encompassing over 20 contemporary higher education institutions across Central, Southern, and Western Europe. Even when documentation has been preserved, it frequently lacks coverage for the entire period under investigation. From this perspective, the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the subsequent century are particularly problematic. Furthermore, the informative value of these registers is constrained by other factors, such as errors in student records, corrupted names, and insufficiently detailed entries.

Regarding the higher education of these professors, the vast majority pursued their university studies at Prague University. This institution's dominance was further accentuated by the absence of other non-Catholic hig-

²⁰ L. Storchová, ed. *Companion* 2/1, 159-161, 167-169; M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 271-275. To Basilius cf. Eva Frimmová. *Daniel Basilius (1585-1628). Život a diela* (Bratislava: Veda 1997).

²¹ On example of nobility Martin Holý. *Zrození renesančního kavalíra. Výchova a vzdělávání šlechty z českých zemí na prahu novověku (1500-1620)* [The Birth of the Renaissance Chevalier. The Upbringing and Education of Nobility from the Bohemian Lands on the Threshold of the Modern Period] (Praha: Historický ústav, 2010), 192sq.

her education institutions within the Bohemian lands, a factor influencing the professors' geographic, linguistic, and confessional composition. Many professors established early ties with the university during their Latin school education. Upon completion of their Latin schooling, they often participated in academic rituals commonly practiced at many European universities. These included formal registration, frequently coupled with the *depositio beanorum* – a traditional custom involving a symbolic initiation or „hazing“ of new students.²² The next logical step was to continue their education in Prague, during which time they also worked as teachers at urban Latin schools in Bohemia and Moravia.

More than a quarter of the individuals examined undertook studies, of varying duration, at a foreign university. While concrete evidence exists for 56 professors, the total number was undoubtedly higher, as some periods of study may remain undocumented in the available sources. For instance, we possess only a record of Gallus of Kouřim's plans to travel to Italy, but the sources provide no confirmation of the actual journey. Similarly, it is plausible that short periods of study occurred during trips undertaken for other purposes, or that an academic degree was awarded without the specific awarding institution being identifiable from the available documentation.²³

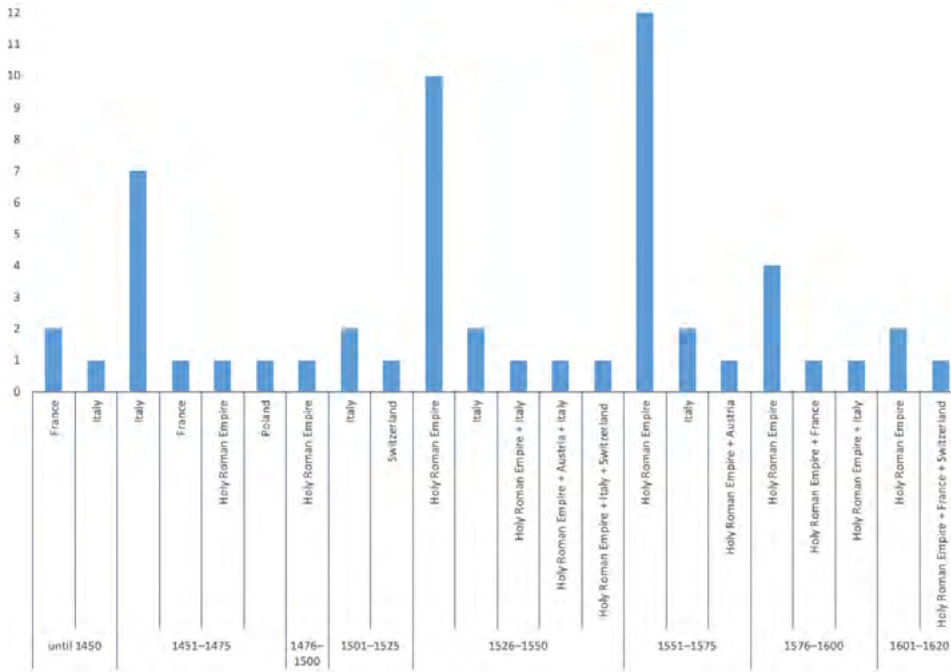
At the beginning of the period under examination, several professors who had studied at foreign universities were employed at the Utraquist University in Prague. Italian universities were particularly favored, especially by those pursuing studies in medicine or law (see Graph 1). The completion of studies or doctorates by a number of future Prague professors at Padua and Bologna is well documented. In addition, three others studied in Paris during this time. Until the 1460s, other institutions of higher learning were represented only in the case of teachers coming from abroad. For instance, on 22 June 1452, Paul of Dobrzyń (d. after 1467) applied for admission to Charles University as a master from the University of Krakow, and less than fifteen years later, John of Lübeck, a graduate of the University of Rostock, was admitted in a similar manner.²⁴

A marked decline in frequency occurred during the last three decades of the fifteenth century, when evidence exists only for the studies of Wenceslaus Candidus of Úraz (d. ?1530) at Leipzig, where he enrolled in the winter semester of 1491. He subsequently obtained his bachelor's and master's

²² On this premodern academic festivity, compare references above in footnote 13.

²³ M. Holá – M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 72, 361.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 72sq., 304sq., 378sq.



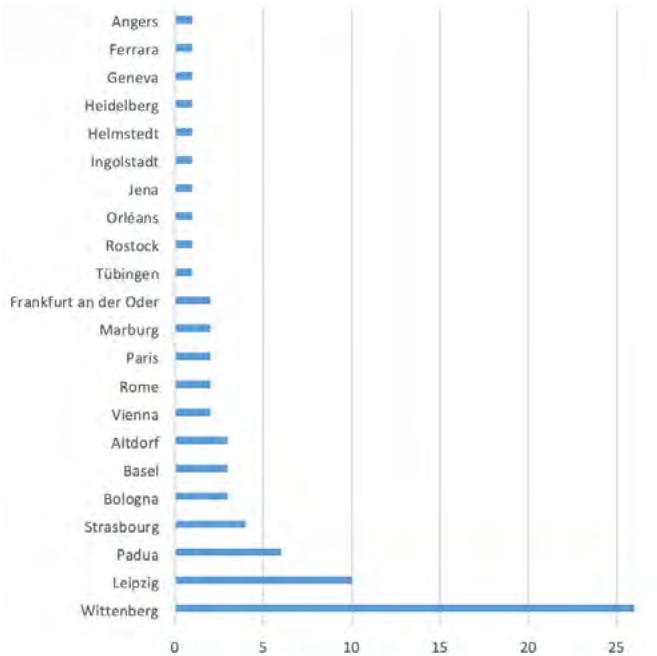
Graph 1. Places of foreign university studies of Prague professors.

degrees at Prague (1499, 1502).²⁵ This likely reflected concerns about conversion to Catholicism, concerns that were reinforced by the life stories of certain university students and graduates.²⁶

The frequency of international academic mobility increased significantly following the reception of the Reformation in Europe, particularly from the 1530s onwards. During this period, the Universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig emerged as the primary destinations for the „peregrinatio academica“ of the individuals under study (see Graph 2). Other frequently attended institutions were located in close proximity to the Bohemian Crown, most notably Jena and Vienna. Nevertheless, several individuals who later joined the faculty of Prague University also attended more distant *studia generalia* within the Holy Roman Empire or Italy (e.g. Altdorf, Basel, Bologna, Ferrara, Frankfurt an der Oder, Helmstedt, Padua, Strasbourg or Venice). With the exception of Italy, where non-Catholics were commonly educated, these destinations were predominantly Protestant institutions.

²⁵ Ibidem, 287-289.

²⁶ F. Šmahel. *Alma mater Pragensis*, 532.



Graph 2. Matriculation of Prague professors at foreign universities or academies (1526-1622).

A number of individuals who later held professorships in Prague pursued portions of their education at foreign academies or universities, yet returned to the Bohemian Lands to complete their baccalaureate or master's degrees. A notable example is Thomas Hussinecius of Vodňany (d. 1582); after initial studies in his hometown and Žatec, he earned a bachelor's degree at Prague University in 1548 before seeking further education abroad. In 1549, he was enrolled at the University of Leipzig, followed by stays at various academic centers within the Empire (Strasbourg), Switzerland (Basel), and Italy. In Italy, he attended the University of Padua and visited Rome, where he eventually obtained a doctorate in medicine. He subsequently returned to Prague to receive his master's degree in 1552.²⁷

For students from the Bohemian lands, the most prestigious qualifications were doctorates in law, medicine, and theology. During the period under review, these degrees could not be obtained within Bohemia or Moravia. Consequently, most Prague professors pursued these higher degrees only after completing their initial studies in Prague. Many scholars interrupted their careers at the Utraquist University to seek advanced education abroad. A notable example is Adam Huber of Rysenpach (d. 1613), a Master of the Univer-

²⁷ M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 333sq.

sity of Wittenberg and, from 1567, a professor at Charles University. In 1570, Huber traveled abroad alongside a group of noblemen to continue his studies at the universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Vienna, and Marburg. He ultimately obtained a doctorate in medicine on August 23, 1577, in Wittenberg, a preeminent center of the Lutheran Reformation. Upon returning to Bohemia, Huber resumed his tenure at Prague University, serving as Dean of the Faculty of Arts until 1580. That same year, he married and resigned from his university post. However, Huber returned to academia following the reforms of 1609 and concluded his career serving as *rector magnificus* in 1612-1613.²⁸

Similarly, numerous other professors did not return to the university –or did so only briefly– as they preferred to pursue alternative careers after being awarded their doctorates. One such figure was Simon Proxenus of Sudety, a Master of the University of Frankfurt an der Oder and a professor at Charles University from 1556 to 1562. Accompanied by his noble protégé, Julius Šlik, he subsequently resided in various locations across the Netherlands and France, eventually obtaining a doctorate in law in Orléans in 1566. Upon his return to Bohemia, Proxenus was appointed a councilor of the Court of Appeals and served within the Habsburg diplomatic service. Nevertheless, he remained committed to his *alma mater* and recognized the vital role of education in social mobility. This commitment was evidenced, among other things, by the scholarship foundation established in his will of 1575.²⁹

Conclusion

The aforementioned educational pathways –both pre-university and university– were combined by the observed individuals in various ways. While some trajectories may be considered relatively stereotypical, others exhibited atypical elements, particularly regarding their specific progression– namely the sequence of institutions attended, the duration of study, and the subjects completed. This educational trajectory was shaped by a multitude of contemporaneous circumstances and environmental factors: the family's financial standing, its social and religious affiliations, regional educational opportuni-

²⁸ L. Storchová, ed., *Companion* 2/1, 578-585; M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 329-333.

²⁹ Martin Holý, "Šimon Proxenus ze Sudetu (d. 1575) jako renesanční mecenáš" [Simon Proxenus of Sudet (d. 1575) as a Renaissance Patron]. In *Jdi svou cestou a nech lidí mluvit: variety sociálních a kulturních dějin*, edited by Oldřich Chládek, Tomáš Petráček, Jan Síč and Veronika Stachurová Kucrová (Praha: NLN 2018), 259-273; M. Holá - M. Holý et al. *Profesoři*, 78, 162-165, 424-426.

ties, and the local availability of both institutional and private schooling. Furthermore, various contemporary trends influenced the demand for specific subjects and, consequently, the selection of particular academic institutions.

Given the considerable limitations of the sources, the pre-university curricula educationis of the individuals studied can be described as relatively stereotypical, both in terms of the types of schools attended and their individual representatives, as well as the length of study, its content, etc. This is mainly due to the fact that the vast majority of future professors at Charles University came from Bohemia and Moravia, were of non-Catholic faith, and were educated mainly at municipal Latin schools administered by the Utraquist University in Prague. As indicated above, however, we also know that some of the personalities under consideration studied at Latin schools outside Bohemia and Moravia, whether in Upper Hungary, Silesia, Upper Lusatia, the Austrian lands, or elsewhere.

The pedagogical content across individual Latin schools in the Bohemian lands and abroad remained remarkably consistent, exhibiting minimal variation regardless of confession or geographical region. However, the rigor of instruction and its curricular distribution varied considerably. This divergence was primarily due to the diverse institutional landscape, which comprised both lower Latin schools with a limited number of grades and advanced *gymnasia* consisting of six to ten classes. Some of these advanced institutions partially integrated higher-level subjects into their curricula – material that was typically reserved for contemporary academies or universities.

The educational pathways leading to university for future *magistri regentes* of Charles University exhibited a high degree of uniformity, particularly among those who obtained their higher education within the Bohemian lands. Nevertheless, certain individuals deviated from this normative pattern. Detailed information regarding these exceptions remains scarce, as their trajectories are typically reconstructed solely from matricula entries and, in a limited number of cases, from correspondence, *alba amicorum*, or scattered literary mentions. Regrettably, extant diaries or autobiographies covering the formative years of this specific group are exceptionally rare. Beyond the aforementioned structural determinants, historical contingency – much like in the present day – undoubtedly played a pivotal role in shaping the specific educational course of the individuals under study.

By maintaining these persistent links to foreign centers, the Prague academic elite functioned as a vital bridge between the Bohemian periphery and the wider European *Respublica litteraria*. This pattern of mobility underscores how even confessionally isolated institutions remained integrated

into broader intellectual networks, reflecting a common Early Modern strategy of overcoming regional institutional constraints through international scholarly exchange.

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Studying theology in Perugia. The *Peregrinatio* of the hungarian friars to Perugia between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries^{*}

Estudiar teología en Perugia. La *peregrinatio* de los frailes húngaros hacia Perugia entre finales del siglo XV y comienzos del siglo XVI

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Abstract: This essay aims to examine the *peregrinatio academica* of Hungarian students to Perugia between the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, situating it within the broader context of the academic mobility of Hungarian students to universities outside the Kingdom of Hungary. Drawing on the prosopographical data of the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* and of *Onomasticon. Prosopografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*, the analysis shows that a large proportion of the Hungarian students in Perugia belonged to the mendicant Orders, particularly the Dominican Order. The role of the Dominican convent of San Domenico in Perugia and of its *studium* in attracting friars from the Hungarian province is then explored in greater detail, especially in the second

Resumen: Este ensayo tiene como objetivo examinar la *peregrinatio academica* de los estudiantes húngaros a Perugia entre finales del siglo XV y comienzos del siglo XVI, situándola en el marco más amplio de la movilidad académica de los estudiantes procedentes del Reino de Hungría hacia universidades situadas fuera de sus fronteras.

A partir de los datos prosopográficos del *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* y de *Onomasticon. Prosopografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*, el análisis muestra que una proporción considerable de los estudiantes húngaros presentes en Perugia pertenecía a las órdenes mendicantes, en particular a la Orden de Predicadores.

Se examina a continuación, con mayor detenimiento, el papel del convento dominico

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half of the fifteenth century, when the flow of Hungarians to Perugia was at its height. Finally, the academic careers of individual friars are briefly retraced, offering concrete examples of the broader dynamics highlighted in the essay. The resulting picture is one in which Perugia emerges as a significant node within a wider European network of circulation of people and knowledge between East and West.

Keywords: academic mobility; Hungarian students; mendicant *studia*; theological studies; Dominican Order; Perugia; fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

de San Domenico de Perugia y de su studium en la atracción de frailes procedentes de la provincia húngara, especialmente durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV, cuando la presencia de húngaros en Perugia alcanzó su mayor intensidad.

Por último, se reconstruyen brevemente las trayectorias académicas de algunos frailes a título individual, con el fin de ofrecer ejemplos concretos de las dinámicas más generales puestas de relieve en el ensayo. El cuadro resultante muestra a Perugia como un nodo significativo dentro de una red europea más amplia de circulación de personas y saberes entre Oriente y Occidente.

Palabras clave: movilidad académica; estudiantes húngaros; *studia* mendicantes; estudios teológicos; Orden de Predicadores; Perugia; siglos XV-XVI.

This essay investigates the mobility of Hungarian students to Perugia between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and the ways in which it was embedded within the academic networks of the late Middle Ages. The subject is approached from several perspectives. First, this mobility is treated as a specific case study, significant not only for the quantitative extent of the phenomenon but also because it forms part of the broader circulation of students and teachers between Eastern and Western Europe. The geographical area involved is in fact very extensive, since between the eleventh century and the early sixteenth century the Kingdom of Hungary included, in addition to the territory of present-day Hungary, the so-called Carpathian Basin, comprising present-day Slovakia and a substantial part of Romania, Ukraine, Austria, Serbia, and Croatia¹.

Against this broader geographical and institutional background, the comparison between the sources employed by Hungarian and Italian research groups offers a concrete illustration of the extent to which the

¹ Cf. András Kubinyi, "A középkori magyarországi városhálózat hierarchikus térbeli rendjének kérdéséhez", *Településtudományi Közlemények* 23 (1971): 58-78; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London-New York: I. B. Tauris & Company, 2001), XIII; for a general overview of Hungary between the 10th and the 16th centuries, see Peter F. Sugar, Péter Hanák, Tibor Frank (eds.), *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 15-82; László Kontler, *A History of Hungary. Millennium in Central Europe* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 41-136; András Kubinyi, "Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében", *Történelmi Szemle* 46, 1-2 (2004): 1-30.

researcher's perspective shapes historiographical interpretation, particularly when the analysis concerns complex dynamics involving entities that differ substantially from one another at both geographical and institutional levels. These entities include Italian and Hungarian cities; the convents from which the friars originated and those to which they returned after their studies; and the universities themselves, which were secular institutions distinct from mendicant environments.

The Databases Repertorium Academicum Hungariae and Onomasticon. Prosopografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia

Within this wider geographical and institutional setting, prosopographical evidence becomes essential for understanding the presence and academic paths of Hungarian friars in Perugia. The analysis presented in this essay draws primarily on two complementary prosopographical tools. The first is the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae*², the outcome of a major research initiative originally developed through collaboration between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, MTA) and Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), and later extended through the Hungarian Research Network (HUN-REN). Since 2013, the HUN-REN-ELTE Research Groups have worked to assemble and publish systematic information on students from the medieval and early modern Kingdom of Hungary who pursued higher education both domestically and abroad from the Middle Ages to 1850. This long-term project culminated in a database documenting Hungarian students from the eleventh to the twentieth century. As László Szögi has observed, and as Péter Szabó Haraszti has further elaborated, approximately thirteen thousand Hungarian students attended European universities during the Middle Ages, a number that grew to nearly eighty-seven thousand in the modern period³. The NKFIH research group, directed since 2024 by Beatrix

² Cf. <https://rahprojekt.elte.hu/index.php> [accessed 10 December 2025]. The digital *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* database is complemented by a series of printed publications. For the period and the geographical areas relevant to the present study, see Péter Szabó Haraszti and Borbála Kelényi, *Magyarországi diákok francia, angol, itáliai és német egyetemeken a középkorban. 1100-1526* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára és Levéltára; MTA ELTE, 2019); and Beáta Szlavikovszky, *Magyarországi diákok itáliai egyetemeken. I. rész 1526-1919 (Gli studenti ungheresi in Italia dal 1526 al 1918)* (Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, 2007).

³ Cf. László Szögi, "Egy évszázados adósság – A Magyar Értelmiségi Adattár (Repertorium Academicum Hungariae) elkészítése", *Gerundium* 8, n. 3 (2017): 149-172 [149-152], and Pé-

F. Romhányi, has recently expanded this line of inquiry by examining regional differences within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary⁴.

For the specific context of Perugia, another source of information is represented by *Onomasticon. Prosopography of the University of Perugia*⁵. Created in 2008 to mark the seventh centenary of the university's foundation, the database provides information on the *Studium Perusinum* and on its teachers and students from the fourteenth century onwards. At present, it includes nearly eight thousand individuals, a number expected to increase thanks to the recent digitisation of previously unpublished archival materials, such as the university's graduation registers⁶.

Taken together, these two databases provide complementary perspectives that allow for a more nuanced reconstruction of the movement of Hungarian friars and their academic trajectories in Perugia. Between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* records fifty-two Hungarian students in Perugia (with four additional names appearing only in the printed edition), whereas *Onomasticon* lists three, all active in the second half of the sixteenth century. The marked discrepancy between the two databases can be explained on two levels. First, it derives from the sources on which they are based: *Onomasticon* relies above all on local institutional serial records (professors' appointments and salaries, student matriculation registers, graduation records) and on a selected bibliography used to deepen the study of individual students and teachers; the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae*, by contrast, makes use of a much broader range of sources, not necessarily linked to the university (such as, for example, the minutes of the general chapters of the Franciscan

ter Szabó Haraszti, "Possibilities and Results in Medieval Hungarian University History Research – with A Prosopographical Focus", *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis XIII* (2024): 129-147 [130-134]. On Transylvanian students at European universities, see also Andrea Fara, "I Sassoni di Transilvania nelle Università d'Europa tra XIV e XVI secolo", *Annuario dell'istituto romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia* 8 (2006): 119-133.

⁴ Cf. <https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/113660>; <https://ojs.elte.hu/hsce/article/view/9327> [accessed 10 December 2025].

⁵ <https://onomasticon.unipg.it/onomasticon/home.do> > statistiche [accessed 10 December 2025].

⁶ For the documentation preserved in the Historical Archive of the University of Perugia and currently being digitised, see Stefania Zucchini and Monica Fiore, "Acquisire, custodire, digitalizzare, restituire: per una digitalizzazione del patrimonio archivistico e librario dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia", in *Approcci digitali al patrimonio culturale delle Università. Gli oggetti, le collezioni, i luoghi della scienza*, ed. Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, Silvano Montaldo, Clara Silvia Roero (Bologna: il Mulino, 2024), 127-136.

and Dominican Orders). To this difference in the nature of the sources must be added the only partial overlap in the object of inquiry: the Perugian database contains information relating exclusively to the *studium generale*, whereas the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* includes all teaching centres of whatever kind, without further specification. In its individual entries, in fact, the *Repertorium* does not indicate the institution, but only the city and the field of study.

Analysis of the data relating to Perugia –particularly abundant for the fifteenth century– immediately shows that these were students coming from Hungarian convents, whose friars were sent to Perugia to pursue advanced theological study, with frequent reference –as will be seen– to the convent of San Domenico: of the fifty-nine students, forty-five studied theology, four arts and/or medicine (two of them appearing only in *Onomasticon*), two law, while for a further eight no field of study is indicated (see Appendix, Table 1).

Theological studies

To interpret these patterns, and particularly the prominence of theological study among the Hungarian friars in Perugia, it is necessary to consider the institutional setting of theological education in late medieval Italy. In that period, the teaching of theology was generally carried out in the convents and *studia* of the mendicant Orders⁷ and thus differed from the “secular” university instruction in law (both canon and civil) and in arts and medicine, which fell within the remit of the urban *studia generalia*. From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, in many university centres –including Perugia– the point of convergence between mendicant and civic *studia* was represented by the establishment of Faculties of Theology. While a friar could obtain the degree of bachelor within the *studium* of the Order, the doctoral title in theology could be acquired only after passing an examination before the members of the doctoral college and the chancellor of the *studium*, following a procedure analogous to that required in law, arts, and medicine. It was not uncommon, however, for friars to stop at the bachelor’s degree without proceeding to the *magisterium*, and thus not to appear among the

⁷ For studies on the schools and universities of the mendicant orders, see the essays contained in the proceedings of two fundamental conferences held in 1976 and 2001: *Le scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti. Atti del XVII Convegno storico internazionale* (Todi, 11-14 ottobre 1976) (Spoleto: CISAM, 1978) and *Studio e studia. Le scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo. Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale* (Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001) (Spoleto: CISAM, 2002).

students enrolled at the civic universities. As Roberto Lambertini has noted in his study of the educational system of the mendicant Orders, the attainment of the doctoral title was the exception rather than the rule⁸.

This institutional context helps explain both the academic trajectories of the Hungarian friars and the ways in which their presence was recorded, or omitted, in different types of sources. In the case of Perugia, while the local archives preserve extensive documentation relating to the *studium generale* –for both teachers and students– the traces concerning the Perugian mendicant *studia* and their theological instruction are far more fragmentary. For this reason, the information provided by the religious sources employed in the Hungarian database proves all the more valuable.

Hungarian Students in Italian Cities

Before turning to the specific case of Perugia, it is useful to outline the broader *peregrinatio* of Hungarian students to various European cities, drawing on the data preserved in the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* and on the findings presented by Péter Szabó Haraszti in his study on the *peregrinatio academica* of Hungarian students⁹. The period considered here extends from 1100, the date of the first attestation, to 1526, the final year of the Kingdom of Hungary under the Jagiellonian dynasty, which came to an end with the death of Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia at the battle of Mohács against the Ottoman forces led by Suleiman the Magnificent (29 August 1526)¹⁰.

For much of the Middle Ages, Hungary lacked stable university institutions: the university of Pécs was founded in 1367 and that of Óbuda at the end of the fourteenth century (1395-1400), but both had an irregular history. Consequently, those wishing to continue their studies were obliged to travel outside the Kingdom of Hungary¹¹. Between the twelfth century and

⁸ Roberto Lambertini, “Il sistema formativo degli Studia degli Ordini Mendicanti a partire dai risultati di recenti indagini”, in *Die Ordnung der Kommunikation und die Kommunikation der Ordnungen. Bd. 1 Netzwerke: Klöster und Orden im Europa des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 135-146 [135-136].

⁹ Cf. Szabó Haraszti, “Possibilities and Results”, 131-134.

¹⁰ On the Kingdom of Hungary under the Jagiellonian dynasty and its demise, see Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 345-371.

¹¹ On the foundation of the two universities, see Márta Font, “Hope of Success and Causes of the Failure: Founding Universities in Medieval Hungary”, in *University and Universality: the Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day. International University History Conference 12-13 October 2017*, ed. Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai, István Len-

the mid-fourteenth century, the *Repertorium* records only 168 students who moved to the principal, and more traditional, European centres of study, with a marked preference for Bologna, Padua, and for Italy more generally (see Appendix, Table 2A). These modest numbers may reflect a scarcity of sources for such an early period, although the absence of universities in Central and Eastern Europe may also have played a role. A significant shift occurred with the foundation of the universities of Prague (1347), Kraków (1364), and Vienna (1365) in the mid-fourteenth century: between 1350 and 1526 these three universities attracted more than eleven thousand Hungarian students; Vienna alone, between 1365 and 1526, welcomed nearly seven thousand (see Appendix, Table 2B and Map 1). These *studia* appear to have filled a substantial gap, responding to the pressing need for advanced training that could not easily be met by the more distant universities of Western Europe.

It is noteworthy that, save for rare exceptions, Hungarian students do not appear in European cities lacking a *studium generale*, and even in those that did possess such an institution, their presence is documented only after the foundation of the relevant *studium*. This point is particularly significant, because not all Hungarian students attended *studia generalia*: in a considerable number of cases, their destination was represented by other institutions, such as the *studia* of the mendicant Orders.

One is therefore led to consider that the *studia generalia* not only exerted strong attraction in their own right but also influenced the appeal of other cultural institutions within the same city. It is plausible that such influence derived from the fact that doctoral degrees, including those in theology, were for a long time granted exclusively by the doctoral colleges, upon completion of specific academic programmes that required, at least in part, attendance at a *studium generale*¹². It may thus be supposed that studying in a city with a *studium generale* offered the advantage of having access to such an institution if one wished to complete a degree. Equally important, however, were the academic exchanges and contacts fostered between insti-

gvári and Éva Schmelczler-Pohánka (Pécs: University Library of Pécs and Centre for Learning, 2017), 49-73, in particular 52-62.

¹² For the conferral of doctoral degrees, see the essays collected in the miscellany *Lauree. Università e gradi accademici in Italia nel Medioevo e nella prima età moderna*, ed. Anna Esposito and Umberto Longo (Bologna: Clueb, 2013). For the role of doctoral colleges in the Italian university system in particular, see Stefania Zucchini, "Collegi dottorali e Università. Il ruolo dei collegi dottorali negli esami di laurea delle università italiane del tardo Medioevo", in *Examins, grades et diplômes. La validation des compétences par les universités (XIIe-XXIe siècle)*, ed. Bruno Belhoste, Thierry Kouamé, Boris Noguès, Emmanuelle Picard (Paris : Editions de la Sorbonne, 2023), 107-118.

tutions. We know, for example, that in Montpellier, Padua, and Bologna, the *studia generalia* and the *studia* of the mendicant Orders coexisted independently, yet their personnel and teaching structures frequently interacted¹³.

As for the Italian cities, Bologna remained the principal destination until the fourteenth century, later overtaken by Padua, which retained an undisputed pre-eminence throughout the fifteenth century and into the early sixteenth (see Appendix, Figures 1 and 2)¹⁴. Focusing on the fifteenth century –the period that records the highest number of Hungarian students in Italy– the data show that Hungarians chose Italian cities, particularly Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Rome, primarily to study law, both civil and canon, for which Italy continued to serve as a leading centre in Europe even after the first celebrated generation of Bolognese and Paduan masters. The dominance of legal studies is unsurprising; less predictable, however, is the second most frequently pursued discipline: theology (see Appendix, Figures 3 and 4). This is not only because –as noted above– the teaching of theology generally lay outside the curricula of the *studia generalia*, but also because the *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* shows that theology was the only subject studied by Hungarians in centres such as Perugia, Siena, Florence, and Naples. In these cities, Hungarian students of law or of arts and medicine are exceedingly rare.

Those Hungarians who travelled to Italy to study theology were, for the most part, friars who left their convents in Hungary to continue their studies in the convents of their respective Orders in Italy (see Appendix, Figures 5-7). Predominantly Dominicans, but also Augustinians and Franciscans, set out from the convents of Buda, Pécs, Sibiu, and others to refine their education in the Italian houses of their Orders.

The Dominican Convent of Perugia

In the fifteenth century, one of the convents most frequently chosen for study was precisely the Dominican convent of Perugia, which hosted 35% of all Dominican friars who travelled to Italy for scholarly purposes (see Appendix, Figure 5).

¹³ Roberto Lambertini, “Intersezioni: ancora su *Studia* mendicanti e facoltà di Teologia a Bologna”, in *L'Università in tempo di crisi. Revisioni e novità dei saperi e delle istituzioni nel Trecento, da Bologna all'Europa*, ed. Berardo Pio, Riccardo Parmeggiani (Bologna: Clueb, 2016), 113-121 [115].

¹⁴ On Hungarian students in Bologna, see Ágnes Mihálykó, “Magyar diákok Bolognában”, *Első Század* 12, 1-2 (2013): 1-15.

The Friars Preachers had established themselves in Perugia in 1234 with the construction of a church and convent¹⁵. As early as 1269, the convent housed a *Studium Artium* of the Roman province, which was later enriched with courses in philosophy and theology. In the fifteenth century, the Dominican *studium* of Perugia obtained the rank of *Studium solemne* in theology, second only to the *studium generale* of Florence, the only *studium* of the Roman province to hold such status¹⁶.

The convent possessed a small scriptorium and two libraries –one *maior* and one *minor*– which expanded throughout the fifteenth century. The books of the *bibliotheca minor* were kept in a cupboard, to which they were secured by chains, or in a chest in the dormitory. In the inventory of 1458 (one of the three surviving fifteenth-century inventories), the books kept in the cupboard were classified as follows: *libri utriusque iuris, libri theologie, libri philosophie, libri sacre scripture, sermones et predicabilia, libri doctorum diversorum*. The chest, by contrast, contained unbound volumes and notebooks, incomplete books, and fragments of works. From the description of

¹⁵ On the origins and the early centuries of the Dominican convent of Perugia, see Stanislao Da Campagnola, “Gli Ordini religiosi e la civiltà comunale in Umbria”, in *Storia e arte in Umbria nell’età comunale, Atti del VI Convegno di Studi Umbri (Gubbio, 26-30 maggio 1968)* (Gubbio-Perugia: Centro di Studi Umbri-Casa di Sant’Ubaldo in Gubbio e Palazzo della Sapienza in Perugia, 1971), II, 469-532 [498-503]; Anna Imelde Galletti, “Insediamenti degli Ordini mendicanti nella città di Perugia. Prime considerazioni e appunti di ricerca”, in *Les Ordres Mendicants et la ville en Italie Centrale*, in *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 89/2 (1977): 587-594 [590-592]; Giulia Barone, “L’ordine dei predicatori e le città. Teologia e politica nel pensiero e nell’azione dei predicatori”, *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome* 89/2 (1977): 609-618 [618]; Anna Imelde Galletti, “Insediamento e primo sviluppo dei frati Minori a Perugia”, in *Francescanesimo e società cittadina: l’esempio di Perugia. Studi storici per il VII centenario del Convento francescano di Monteripido in Perugia (1276-1976)*, ed. Ugolino Nicolini (Perugia: CISAM, 1979), 1-44 [7, 23]; Luigi Pellegrini, “Cura parrocchiale e organizzazione territoriale degli ordini mendicanti tra il secolo XIII e il secolo XVI”, in *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. XIII-XV), Atti del VI convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia (Firenze, 21-25 sett. 1981)* (Roma: Herder, 1984), I, 279-306 [295]; Giovanna Casagrande, “Monasteri, nuovi ordini, movimenti religiosi e spazi laicali (secc. XII-XV)”, in *Una Chiesa attraverso i secoli. Conversazioni sulla storia della Diocesi di Perugia*, coordinate da Giovanna Casagrande e Luciano Tosi, I. *L’origine e l’età medievale*, a cura di Giovanna Casagrande (Perugia: Quattroemme, 1995), 81-104 [88]; Giovanna Casagrande, “Perugia: il sacro e la città”, in *Itinerari del Sacro in Umbria*, a cura di Mario Sensi (Firenze: Octavo, 1998): 339-358 [339-342]; Costanza Del Giudice, Paola Monacchia, *Le pergamene due-trecentesche del convento di San Domenico e del monastero di Santa Giuliana* (Perugia: Voluminia Editrice, 2000): xx; Andrea Maiarelli, *La cronaca di S. Domenico di Perugia* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1995): LI, LII.

¹⁶ Cf. Tommaso Kaeppli O.P., *Inventari di libri di San Domenico di Perugia (1430-1480)* (Roma: Ediz. di Storia e Letteratura, 1962), 12-13.

the cupboard and the chest, it would seem that these readily accessible and commonly used books were employed in the teaching not only of theology, but also of subjects not taught within the Dominican *studium* but rather within the civic *studium*¹⁷.

In 1474, construction began on a new library modelled on that of San Marco in Florence. The initiative was undertaken by the new Master General of the Order, Leonardo Mansueti of Perugia¹⁸, who enriched it with a substantial number of volumes (454 in total, including 323 manuscripts and 131 incunabula), which he bequeathed to the convent in his will¹⁹. Under Mansueti's generalate, the reputation of the Dominican *studium* of Perugia grew considerably, supported by its newly endowed and exceptionally rich library, admired even by the municipal authorities. Moreover, from the 1460s until his death in 1480, Mansueti served as a crucial link between the Dominicans and the civic *studium*, appearing on several occasions among the university's teaching staff²⁰. Furthermore, in 1477 and 1478 –when he had already risen to the highest office of the Order– the *magister in facultate theologie* Leonardo Mansueti acted as *promotor* at the theology graduations of his fellow friars, *frater* Baldasar Bernardi of Strasbourg and *frater* Jacobus Nieman of Lübeck²¹. Although it is highly unlikely that, as Master General, Mansueti could still have held lectures at the civic *studium*, his role as *promotor* at the degrees of the two German friars is nonetheless highly significant.

Leonardo Mansueti was evidently a member of the Perugian College of Theologians. The college, presumably founded in the second half of the fourteenth century, is attested from 1416, the year in which its statute was reformed in the presence of the bishop of Perugia –chancellor of the *studium* – and twenty-three doctors and masters belonging to the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Servite Orders, all members of the Sacred College of Theologians²².

¹⁷ Kaeppli O.P., *Inventari di libri*, 16-17.

¹⁸ On Leonardo Mansueti, see Luciano Cinelli, "Leonardo Mansueti", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 69 (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2007): [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leonardo-mansueti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leonardo-mansueti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed 10 December 2025].

¹⁹ Kaeppli O.P., *Inventari di libri*, 21, 38 and 41.

²⁰ Cinelli, "Leonardo Mansueti".

²¹ Anna Alberti, "Fonti inedite di archivio per la storia dello *Studium Perusinum* (secc. XV-XVI)", *Annali di storia delle Università Italiane* 18 (2014): 139-150 [145-146].

²² The statute of the College of Theologians of Perugia is preserved, in a sixteenth-century copy, in the Historical Archive of the University of Perugia: Perugia, Università degli Studi, *Archivio Storico*, 273, *Ordinationes, Decreta, Constitutiones, Statuta et Diffinitiones Almi sacre Theologie Collegii Perusini plures innovata et confirmata*. The list of friars whose presence confirms

In 1416, precise rules were established for admission to the college and, more generally, for obtaining the doctoral degree in theology. If a bachelor or master wished to enter the college, he had to have a *promotor* from within the college and undergo an examination before the dean, the scribe, and the members of the college. If, on the other hand, the candidate for the degree was a secular presbyter, a layman, or even a friar, the examination followed the same procedure as that required in law and medicine, in the presence of the bishop, chancellor of the *studium*²³.

The Academic Careers of Hungarian Friars in Perugia

Until the first half of the fifteenth century, Perugia does not in fact appear among the destinations chosen by Hungarian Dominicans for study: the only four friars who travelled to Perugia between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries belonged to the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine²⁴. In the second half of the century, however, Dominican convents in Hungary began to send their friars to Perugia on a regular basis (see Appendix, Table 1). As Beatrix F. Romhányi observes, every Dominican convent in Hungary had a *lector*, and from the foundation of the Hungarian province of the Order, Ofen (Buda) possessed a *studium particulare*, which in 1304 was elevated to the status of *studium generale*. Other *studia particularia* probably existed at Fünfkirchen (Pécs), Kaschau (Kassa, Košice), Klausenburg (Kolozsvár, Cluj-Napoca), Stuhlweissenburg (Székesfehérvár), Szeged, and Hermannstadt (Nagyszeben, Sibiu)²⁵. These are all centres from which at least one friar was sent to study in

the reform of the statute is found on fol. 3r. On the Perugian College of Theologians, see Erminia Itrace, "Il Collegio dei teologi (1416-1841): primi appunti per future ricerche", in *Doctores excellentissimi. Giuristi, medici, filosofi e teologi dell'Università di Perugia (secc. XIV-XIX), Mostra documentaria (Perugia, 20 maggio-15 giugno 2003)*, catalogue edited by Carla Frova, Giovanna Giubbini and Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni (Città di Castello: Edimond, 2003), 30-36.

²³ Perugia, Università degli Studi, *Archivio Storico*, 273, c. 5rv.

²⁴ These individuals are *Paulus de Ungaria* (1358), *Johannes de Cuamarra* (1384), *Nicolaus de Ungaria* (1422) and *Andreas de Vachia* (1439); *Thomas*, originally from Nógrád [Vác] (1384), is identified as *prior de Vacia*, without further specification; *Mathias de Torda* (1384) is described as belonging to the Province of Hungary, though no Order is indicated; see Appendix, Table 1.

²⁵ Cf. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban", in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996-1526)*, ed. Katalin G. Szende (Győr: Xantus János Múzeum, 1996), 35-40 [36, 38-39]. On the Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation, see also András Harsányi, *A Domonkos-rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* (Debrecen: Nagy Károly Grafikai Műintézete, 1938).

Perugia during the second half of the fifteenth century. More specifically, nine friars came from Székesfehérvár, six from Pécs, four from Buda, three from Pest, three from Szeged, two from Kolozsvár, two from Sibiu, and one from Kassa. Additional convents not listed by Romhányi but represented among those that sent friars to Perugia include Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt), with two friars, Győr with another two, and Esztergom with one²⁶. As Romhányi notes, it was as though each convent had its preferred *studium generale*²⁷.

Given that many of the friars arriving in Perugia came from convents possessing *studia particularia*, it would seem that the Dominican convent of Perugia was chosen as a place to complete studies already begun at home.

Despite the high number of Hungarian friars, the chronological distribution of these students does not allow us to speak of a Hungarian “community”; rather, what emerges is a steady flow, particularly regular in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (see Appendix, Figure 9).

Turning to individual careers, only two friars are known with certainty to have obtained the title of *magister* in Perugia and thus to have undergone the doctoral examination at the civic *studium*: *Antonius Blasii* of Tóka, a friar of the convent of Pécs, and *Benedictus de Ungaria*, a friar of Buda.

Antonius Blasii was assigned to Perugia as *biblicus* on 14 November 1475; he became bachelor in 1477 and, on 30 August of the same year, was instructed to lecture on the *Sentences*. On 22 May 1478 he was granted permission to carry the doctoral *insignia*, and three days later, on 25 May, he received authorization to collect alms for the completion of his doctorate²⁸.

Benedictus de Ungaria is attested as *lector* in Perugia on 8 April 1489; two years later (22 May 1491), he was again sent to Perugia as *baccalaureus extraordinarius* in theology. On 23 July 1492, he advanced to *biblicus*, and on 16 October 1493 he received the doctoral *insignia* after having completed the course on the *Sentences*. On 6 April 1495, now *magister*, he was assigned to the convent of Buda as head of the *studium baccalaureorum*. Two years later he was again in Italy, this time in Siena²⁹.

A further friar who may have obtained the title of *magister* was *Antonius Erasmi* of Braşov, who was «assignatur ad legendum sententias ordina-

²⁶ Cf. Appendix, Table 1.

²⁷ Romhányi, “A koldulórendek”, 36.

²⁸ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 8; all the biographical entries briefly mentioned in the text have been based on Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*. For the biographical information on *Antonius Blasii* see Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 286 (no. 716).

²⁹ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 13; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 290 (no. 734).

rie [...] pro anno M CCCCCI»³⁰ in May 1500; on 3 June 1501 *Antonius* entered the Roman confraternity of the *Sanctus Spiritus* as bachelor in theology, together with another bachelor, George of Pécs³¹. He continued to describe himself as bachelor even though the general chapter of Rome, begun on 30 May 1501, had approved his *magisterium*. In *Antonius Erasmi's* case, it is impossible to determine whether the sources failed to record the change of status or whether he was ultimately unable to sit for the examination before the chancellor of the *studium*³².

Three other Dominican friars obtained in Perugia the degree of bachelor, which was conferred within the convent itself without the need for an examination before the bishop and the masters of the college: these were *Antonius de Hungaria*, probably from Zagreb; *Gregorius de Gara*, likewise from present-day Croatia; and *Paulus Vysz* of Kolozsvár, bachelors respectively in 1475, 1489, and 1490³³.

Among the Augustinians –the only other Order to send friars from Hungary to study in Perugia– only *Nicolaus* of Bátmonostor held the title of bachelor, obtained, however, in Padua in 1474, long before being transferred to Perugia in 1482. Later, in 1494, *Nicolaus* was elected head of the Hungarian province³⁴.

The cases briefly outlined already show that Perugia often represented only one stage in a more articulated course of study, which frequently involved residence in other cities: of the thirty-five Hungarian Dominican friars attested in Perugia in the second half of the fifteenth century, twenty-four (68.57%) were also assigned to another centre of study, mostly Italian, though not exclusively³⁵.

An emblematic example is that of *Antonius de Hungaria*: on 14 November 1475 he was sent to Perugia as *biblicus* for the purpose of obtaining the doctorate. He was probably also in Rome and Padua in 1476 and again in Italy in 1500; in 1476 he appears as bachelor in the convent of Zagreb, a title presumably obtained in Perugia. Later, he is attested as master in the conventual college of Buda. It is highly likely that he is the same royal chaplain

³⁰ Endre Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221-1864* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941), 314.

³¹ Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken*, 256.

³² Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 7; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 293 (no. 752).

³³ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, nno. 9, 24 and 49; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 286, 289, 339 (nno. 717, 730, 731, 1088).

³⁴ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 44; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 228 (no. 494).

³⁵ Cf. Appendix, Table 1.

and bishop of Korbávia/Modruš (1480-1486), Antal Zárai, who received the doctoral *insignia* at the *studium* of Buda on 8 September 1477. He remained at the Hungarian royal court, where he served as court chaplain and confessor to Queen Beatrix³⁶.

In other cases, the sources attest to more troubled academic paths: such was the case of *Johannes Crisostomus de Alba Regali* (today Székesfehérvár). Attested in Siena in 1490 and in Florence in 1491, he was in Rome in 1494, where on 16 February he was deprived of his bachelor's degree «propter insufficientiam». Little more than a month later (22 March 1494) he managed to regain the title, having demonstrated his competence before the authorities, on the condition that he continue his studies in Perugia for two years. There he might have obtained the degree of *magister*, but only with the express written authorization of the Master General. On 14 June 1497, in Perugia, he was granted permission to proceed to the doctorate, but he did not succeed, at least for the following two years, since in 1499 he was still recorded as bachelor³⁷.

As for students of other disciplines, the years spent studying away from home were not only demanding but also costly: doctoral expenses fell upon the students themselves – even friars, who possessed no personal property. The necessary funds were raised through alms, collected either by the friars themselves or by their fellow friars. For example, so that *Antonius Erasmi* of Braşov might obtain the title of *magister*, his fellow friar Bernát, a member of the convent of Sibiu, collected alms on his behalf, having received specific authorization to do so³⁸. The difficulty of securing adequate funds is even clearer in the case of *Johannes de Almaas* of the convent of Pécs. In 1476 (or 1477) he was sent to Perugia to study theology and was authorized to collect alms for this purpose; his studies were perhaps interrupted, since nearly twenty years later, in 1494, the Master General again sent him to Perugia to study theology and obtain an academic degree. On 11 October 1495 he received permission to visit his relatives to retrieve books he had pawned and to ask them for alms, with authorization, if necessary, to sell his books. The journey was successful, since Master Bálint, prior of Pécs, lent him twenty-two ducats. On 15 May 1496 he obtained permission to receive the doctoral

³⁶ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 9; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 286 (no. 717); the entry in the online version provides more information than the printed edition: <https://rahprojekt.elte.hu/databases2.php#results> [accessed 10 December 2025].

³⁷ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 29; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 283, 291, 298, 339 (nno. 697, 744; 776, 1093, 1095).

³⁸ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 7; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 293 (no. 752).

insignia, and on 28 May the Master General transferred him as licentiate to the convent of Pécs; at the same time, under penalty of excommunication, the Master General ordered Bálint to return the money –together with the books, clothing, and other belongings– to *Johannes*, who remained a member of the convent of Pécs until 1501. On 2 April 1500 the Master General approved his *magisterium*, which *Johannes* had received from *magister* Paolo da Genova, Master of the Sacred Palace. On 29 February 1503 *Johannes* was authorized to collect alms to assist students, on condition that this not be detrimental to the convent³⁹. It would seem, then, that once he had finally obtained the title of *magister*, the friar sought to spare his fellow friars the hardships he himself had endured in raising the necessary funds for the degree.

From what has been outlined so far, it is already clear how extensive the network of study was in which the Perugian convents and the Faculty of Theology were embedded – part of a truly European constellation of institutions.

Viewed as a whole, the data analysed suggest that, in the culturally vibrant fifteenth century –both for the Kingdom of Hungary and for Europe as a whole– the institutions of learning in Perugia also contributed to the circulation of knowledge between East and West. Admittedly, the figures for Perugia pale in comparison with the many thousands of Hungarian students who moved across Europe during the century, drawn above all to the new universities of Vienna and Kraków. Yet if attention is focused on the *peregrinatio* of members of the religious Orders who travelled to Italy to study theology, the Perugian evidence takes on a very different significance. In the specific field of theology, Perugia emerges in the fifteenth century as the most attractive city, even ahead of Padua and Bologna, both seats of ancient and prestigious universities. In the last quarter of the century, in particular, the Dominican convent of Perugia hosted Hungarian friars almost every year, who chose Perugia as the destination –or as a stage– in their advanced studies.

The convent certainly benefited from the activity and reputation of *magister* Leonardo Mansueti, member of the local College of Theologians, professor at the *studium generale*, and, above all, from 1474 onwards, Master General of the Dominican Order. Mansueti's own biography illustrates the close relationship between the Order's *studium* and the civic *studium generale*. Just as he did not confine himself to an exceptional career within the Order but crowned his dedication to study at the civic university, so too the training of theology students within the convents found its culmination in a

³⁹ Cf. Appendix, Table 1, no. 28; Szabó Haraszti and Kelényi, *Magyarországi*, 280, 286-287 (nno. 680, 718).

final examination before the College of Theologians and the bishop himself, chancellor of the *studium generale*.

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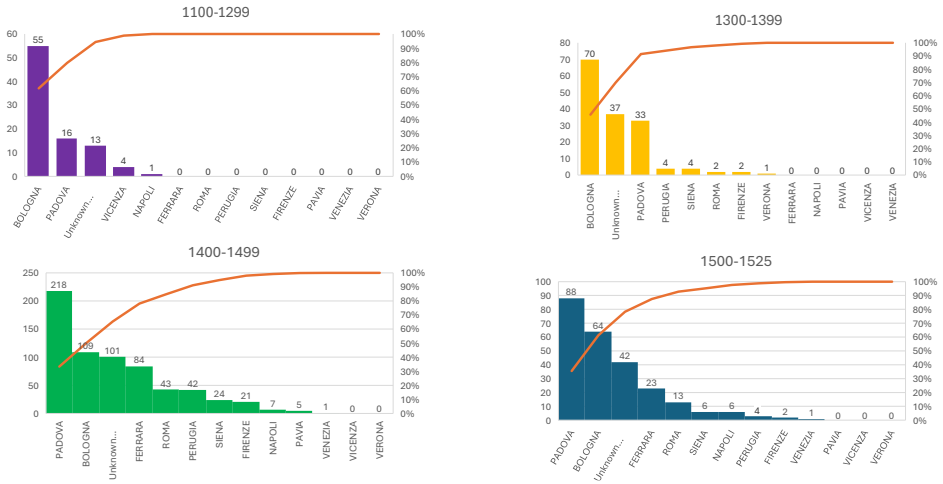
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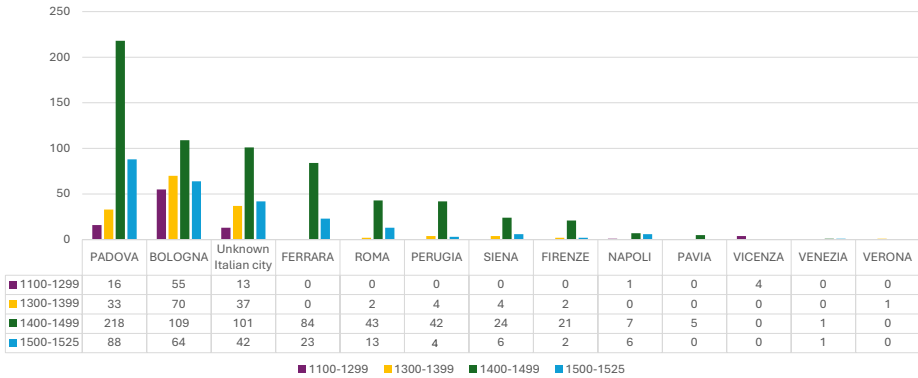
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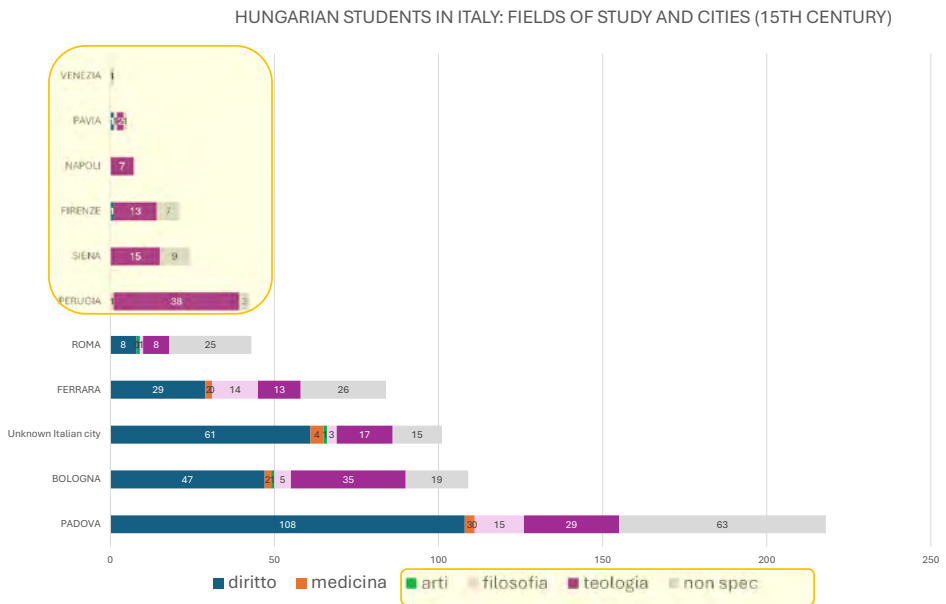
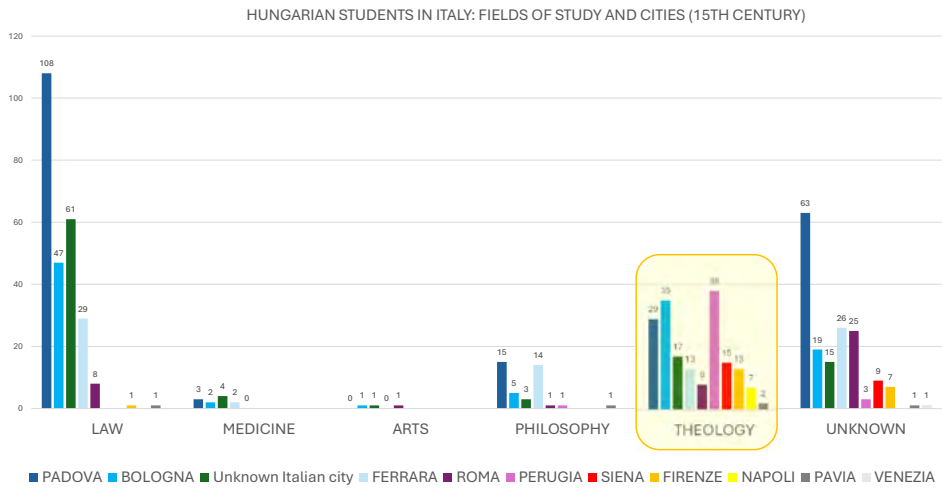
Appendix

HUNGARIAN STUDENTS IN ITALY

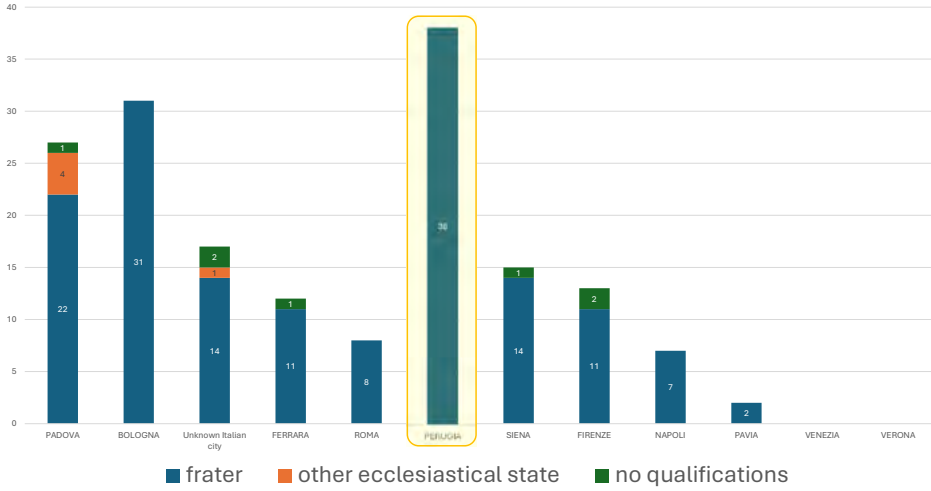


HUNGARIAN STUDENTS IN ITALY



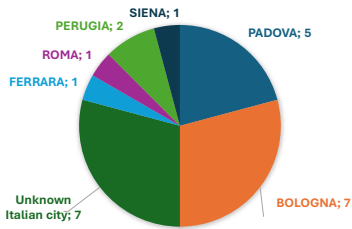


STATUS OF HUNGARIAN THEOLOGY STUDENTS IN ITALY (15TH CENTURY)



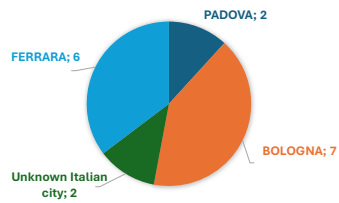
ORDO HEREMITARUM SANCTI AUGUSTINI (15TH CENTURY)

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS: 24



ORDO MINORUM (15TH CENTURY)

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS: 17



OTHER MENDICANT ORDER (15TH CENTURY)

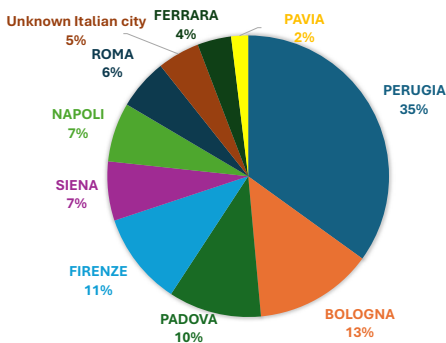
ABSOLUTE NUMBERS: 4



3: Ordo Sancti Petri (Ordo Morronensis)
1: Ordo Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae

ORDO PREDICATORUM (15TH CENTURY)

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS: 103



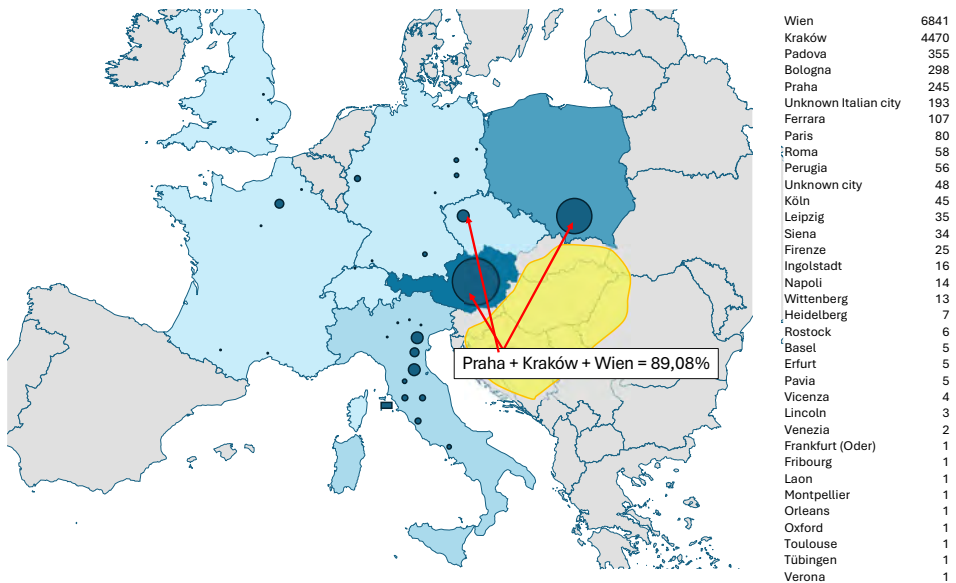
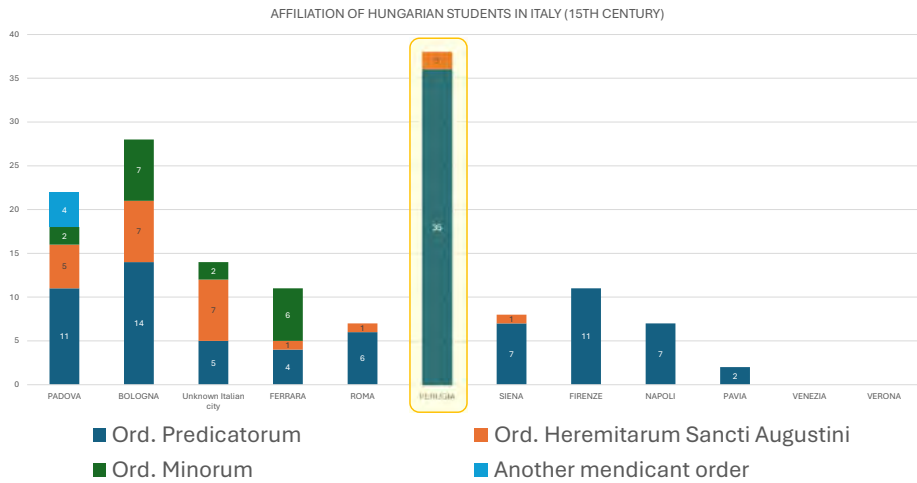


Table 1. Hungarian Students in Perugia (14th–16th Centuries)

Legend:

SH-K 19 = Péter Szabó Haraszti and Borbála Kelényi, *Magyarországi diákok Francia, Angol, Itáliai és német egyetemeken a Középkorban. 1100-1526* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára és Levéltára; MTA ELTE, 2019) printed version of the RAH (*Repertorium Academicum Hungariae*)

ON = *Onomasticon. Prospografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia* (<https://onomasticon.unipg.it/onomasticon/home.do>)
 RAH = *Repertorium Academicum Hungariae* (<https://rahprojekt.elte.hu/index.php>)

All the names appearing in SH-K 19 are also included in the RAH. In the table below, the entry numbers of the students recorded in SH-K 19 are given, while for the ON and for the RAH reference should be made directly to the databases.

Name	Father's name or origin	Provenance	Origin	Status	Religious Order	a/m/d	Discipline	Other place of study	Source
1 Albertus	<i>de Jaurino</i>	Győr	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1490.04.18	Theology		SH-K 19: 738; RAH
2 Alexander	<i>Fraxinus</i>	Ungvarus/ Magyarország		<i>magister</i>		1552.12.01	Ars and Medicine		ON
3 Ambrosius	<i>de Alba Regali</i>	Székesfehérvár (Fejér)	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Albensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1489.10.28	Philosophy; Liberal Arts	Siena 1491	SH-K 19: 795; RAH
4 Ambrosius	<i>de Ungaria</i>	Malontia (Fejér)?	Hungary	<i>frater Srigrigoniensis conventus</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1478.04.28	Theology	Parigi 1489; Pavia 1491	SH-K 19: 789, 813; RAH
5 Andreas	<i>de Pest</i>	Pest	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1495.07.06	Theology	Naples 1501	SH-K 19: 747; RAH
6 Andreas	<i>de Vachia</i>	Vác (Nógrád)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini</i>]	1439.07.09	Theology		SH-K 19: 714; RAH
7 Antonius	<i>Erasmii Trasinii de Corona</i>	Brassó/Brasov (Brassó vidéke)	Romania	<i>frater conventus Coronensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1500.05.05	Theology; Philosophy; <i>magister of Liberal Arts</i>		SH-K 19: 752, 1101?; RAH

Name	Father's name or origin	Provenance	Origin	Status	Religious Order	a/m/d	Discipline	Other place of study	Source
8 Antonius	<i>Blasii de Tucia, Tona</i>	Tőka/Tauka (Vas)	Austria	<i>frater conventus Quiqueeclesiensis</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1475.11.14	Theology: <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1477); <i>magister of Theology</i> (1478)		SH-K19: 716; RAH
9 Antonius	<i>de Hungaria</i>	Zágráb?	Croatia	<i>frater</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1475.11.14	Theology: <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1475)	Rome 1476?, Padua 1476?, Italia 1500?	SH-K19: 717; RAH
10 Bartholomeus	<i>de Ungaria</i>		Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1507.06.06	Theology		SH-K19: 754; RAH
11 Bartholomeus	<i>Danielis de Ungaria, de Transilvania</i>	Brassó/Braşov (Brassó vidéke)	Romania	<i>frater conventus Coronensis</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1474.08.02; 1486.07.04	Theology; Canonical law	Perugia 1474, Siena 1475	SH-K19: 715, 786; RAH
12 Benedictus		[Székesfehérvár (Fejér)]	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Albensis</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1489.04.08	Theology	Bologna 1488?	SH-K19: 733; RAH
13 Benedictus	<i>de Ungaria</i>	[Buda (Pilis)]	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1489.04.08	Theology: <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1492); <i>magister of Theology</i> (1493)	Siena 1497	SH-K19: 734, 1026; RAH
14 Benedictus	<i>de Usano Ongaro</i>	Ursz?	Hungary	<i>miser</i>		1491		Siena 1497	SH-K19: 804
15 Blasius	<i>de Alba Regali</i>	Székesfehérvár (Fejér)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[Ordo Praedicatorum]	1491.05.22	Theology		SH-K19: 739; RAH
16 Blasius	<i>Simonis de Hungaria</i>	Sárospatak (Zemplén)	Hungary	<i>frater de conventu laurtensis</i>	Ordo Praedicatorum	1478.11.14	[Theology]	Krakow 1474, Siena 1478, Naples 1478	SH-K19: 656, 723; RAH
17 Briccius	<i>Ethwes</i>	Ötvös	Hungary	<i>sacerdos dioecesis laurtensis, familiaris et continuus commensalis papae</i>		1499	Law: <i>utriusque iuris doctor</i>		SH-K19: 574, 1358

	Name	Father's name or origin	Provenance	Origin	Status	Religious Order	a/m/d	Discipline	Other place of study	Source
18	<i>Dominicus</i>		[Buda (Pilis)]	Hungary	<i>frater de conventu Budensi</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1494.03.12	Theology		SH-K 19: 745; RAH
19	<i>Emericus</i>	<i>de Ungaria</i>	Pécs, Zebini; Magyarországon		<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1478.05.10 ¹	Theology	Cologne, 1471, Ferrara 1472, Vienna 1472, Naples 1478	SH-K 19: 657, 837, 1183
20	<i>Fraxinus Casparus</i>	<i>Kőrösi</i>	Szeged (Csongrád)				1552.11.30	Philosophy, Artes and Medicine		RAH
21	<i>Gaspere</i>	<i>Konosi da Seghedino</i>	Szeged		<i>student of Ultramontane Province</i>		1552	Medicine		ON
22	<i>Gregorius II</i>	<i>Bornemisza</i>	Erdély	Romania			1598	Law	Olmitz 1592, Ingolstadt 1594, Roma 1597, Bologna 1600	RAH
23	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Cerdonis (Lederer)</i>	[Nagyszeben (Sibiu)]	Romania	<i>frater conventus Cibiniensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1497.08.24	Theology		SH-K 19: 750; RAH
24	<i>Gregorius</i>	<i>de Gara</i>	Gara (Valkó megye)	Croatia	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1488.03.18	Theology, <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1489)	Padua 1487, Rome 1490	SH-K 19: 730; RAH
25	<i>Gregorius</i>	[<i>Pest</i>]	Pest	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Pestensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1497.12.18	Theology		SH-K 19: 751; RAH
26	<i>Joannes</i>	<i>Beken</i>	Ophen, Buda	Hungary			1598.03.13			RAH
27	<i>Johannes</i>	<i>de Cuamarra</i>	Zalakomár (Zala)?	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini Provinciae Ungariae</i>]	1384	Theology		SH-K 19: 710; RAH

Name	Father's name or origin	Provenance	Origin	Status	Religious Order	a/m/d	Discipline	Other place of study	Source
28	<i>Johannes de Almas</i>	Almás/Aljmas (Valkó)	Croatia	<i>frater conventus Quinqueecclesiensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1476.02.05	Theology	Rome 1500, <i>Studium Curiae</i>	SH-K 19: 680, 718; RAH
29	<i>Johannes Crisostomus de Alba Regali</i>	Székesfehérvár (Fejér)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1494.02.16	Theology	Siena 1490, Firenze 1491, Rome 1494, Perugia 1494	SH-K 19: 697, 744; 776, 1093, 1095; RAH
30	<i>Jonas de Albarregali</i>	Tolna (Tolna)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1489. 10.12	Theology	Padua 1480, Siena 1490	SH-K 19: 513, 794; RAH
31	<i>Leonardus de Alba Regali</i>	Székesfehérvár (Fejér)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1493. 06.27	Theology	Siena 1491	SH-K 19: 743, 796; RAH
32	<i>Lucas de Ungaria (Boh?; Bala?)</i>	Szilás?, Szilagy?, Zilah?	Romania; Transylvania	<i>frater de conventu Pestiensis</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1477.09.23	Theology	Vienna 1449?, 1451?	SH-K 19: 721; RAH
33	<i>Lucas Cronacus</i>	[Pécs (Baranya)]	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Quinqueecclesiensis</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1479.09.06	Theology		SH-K 19: 725; RAH
34	<i>Marcus Antonius Longus</i>	Wellenberg?				1562.12.04			RAH
35	<i>Marcus Gebel</i>	[Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)]	Romania	<i>frater conventus Colosvariensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1489.04.02	Theology	Krakow 1488	SH-K 19: 736; RAH
36	<i>Martinus</i>	[Székesfehérvár (Fejér)]	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Albae Regalis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1489.09.29	Philosophy; Liberal Arts; Theology		SH-K 19: 737; RAH
37	<i>Matheus de Thata</i>	Komárom	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Albae Regalis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1486.07.08	Theology	Vienna 1468?, Naples 1487	SH-K 19: 729; RAH
38	<i>Mathias de Torda</i>	Turda	Romania	<i>lector</i>	<i>provinciae Ungariae</i>	1384			SH-K 19: 711; RAH
39	<i>Clementis de Zagrabia</i>	Zágráb	Croatia	<i>subdiaconus, frater</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1479.05.17	Theology		SH-K 19: 726; RAH

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40 Michael	<i>Zechel/Zeckel (Székely) de Labatlan</i>	Lábatlan (Esztergom)	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Quinqueecclesiensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1494.03.12	Theology	Paris 1489, Siena 1493, Padova, 1495, Bologna 1497, Ferrara 1498	SH-K 19: 287, 553, 746, 798, 892; RAH
41 N. N.			Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1481.06.10	Theology	Padua 1491, Ferrara 1498, Siena 1507	SH-K 19: 541, 727, 807, 893; RAH
42 Nicolaus	<i>de Ungaria</i>	Magyarország	Hungary	[<i>frater</i>]	[<i>Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini</i>]	1422.08.17	Theology	Siena 1419	SH-K 19: 713, 784; RAH
43 Nicolaus	<i>de Posegavar</i>	Pozsega	Croatia	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1506.01.10	Theology	Köln 1505 ?, Siena 1507?	SH-K 19: 753; RAH
44 Nicolaus	<i>de Batmonostora</i>	Bátmonostor	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini</i>]	1482.06.01	Theology; <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1474)	Padua, 1474	SH-K 19: 494
45 Nicolaus Galeotus	<i>de Foro Sempronii</i>	Fossombrone	Italy			1488			SH-K 19: 1087; RAH
46 Palfy	<i>family</i>	Magyarország				Second half of the 16th century			ON
47 Paulus	<i>de Ungaria</i>	Magyarország	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	<i>Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini</i>	1358.09.24	Theology	Bologna 1358	SH-K 19: 709; RAH
48 Paulus	<i>de Septemcastris</i>	Ardeal/Erdély	Romania, Transylvania	<i>frater</i>	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>	1478.08.26	Theology	Venezia?	SH-K 19: 724; RAH
49 Paulus	<i>Vysz de Septem Castris (Vysz/Nagy/Nays/Naip/Wéiss)</i>	[Kolozsvár/Kolozs] (Cluj-Napoca)	Romania	<i>frater conventus Colosvariensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1488.09.01; 1490.07.09	Theology; <i>baccalaureatus</i> (1490)		SH-K 19: 731, 1088; RAH
50 Petrus	<i>de Cassovia</i>	Kassa/Košice (Abauj)	Slovakia	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1495.07.06	Theology	Pavia 1498	SH-K 19: 748, 815; RAH

Name	Father's name or origin	Provenance	Origin	Status	Religious Order	a/m/d	Discipline	Other place of study	Source
51 Petrus	<i>de Kálmánchehi (Szántói Kálmáncsehi)</i>	Kálmánca mh Szántó (Somogy)	Hungary	<i>frater conventus Quinqueecclesiensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1476.02.04	Theology		SH-K 19; 719; RAH
52 Sebastianus	<i>de Buda</i>	Buda (Pilis)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1491.08.23			SH-K 19; 740; RAH
53 Stephanus	<i>de Quinqueecclesiis</i>	Pécs (Baranya)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1495.03.18	Theology	Krakow 1492?	SH-K 19; 749; RAH
54 Thomas	<i>de Quinqueecclesiis</i>	Pécs (Baranya)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1476.02.05	Theology		SH-K 19; 720; RAH
55 Thomas		[Vác] Nógrád	Hungary	<i>prior de Vacia</i>		1384			SH-K 19; 712; RAH
56 Thomas	<i>Comaromiensis</i>	Komárom (Komárno)	Hungary	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1492.01.19	Theology		SH-K 19; 742; RAH
57 Thomas		[Nagyvárad (Bihar)]	Romania	<i>frater conventus Varadiensis</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1511.11.25	Theology		SH-K 19; 755; RAH
58 Valentinus	<i>de Hungaria</i> ²	Magyarország	Hungary or Romania	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1481.06.10	Theology		SH-K 19; 728; RAH
59 Vincencius	<i>de Posegavar de Ungaria</i>	Possega (Požega)	Croatia	<i>frater</i>	[<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i>]	1491.05.22	Theology	Siena 1491	SH-K 19; 741; RAH

¹ On 10 May 1478 he transferred from the convent of Perugia to that of Naples to study Theology (SH-K 19; 657); the date thus does not refer to his entry into the Perugian convent, but rather to his departure from Perugia.

² Valentinus de Hungaria, present in Perugia in 1481 and described in the sources as "Magyar", may be identical with Valentinus de Septem Castris de Ungaria, originally from Erdély (Ardeal), active in Cologne in 1488, in Bologna in 1491 (magister on 9 April 1491) and in Padua in 1500 (SH-K 19; 274, 587, 1192), or he may instead be Valentinus de Quinqueecclesiis, from Pécs, active in Bécs in 1492, in Siena in 1493 and in Ferrara in 1507 (SH-K 19; 800, 907).

Estudiantes ultramontanos en Padua. Antes, durante y después

Ultramontane students in Padua. Before, during, and after

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Resumen: Tras un esbozo de la estructura del *Studium Patavinum*, el artículo se centra en la caracterización de los estudiantes procedentes del otro lado de los Alpes matriculados en la Edad Moderna, considerados en tres etapas: la fase formativa previa a su llegada a Padua (las cualificaciones con las que accedían al *Studium* y sus probables expectativas respecto a su estancia paduana), su permanencia en la ciudad (vida estudiantil, relaciones con sus compatriotas, las demás comunidades lingüísticas, culturales y confesionales presentes en el *Studium*, los profesos-

Abstract: After a brief outline of the structure of the *Studium Patavinum*, the contribution focuses on the characterization of students from beyond the Alps who enrolled in the modern age, considered in the three moments of the formative phase preceding their arrival in Padua (the qualifications with which they arrived at the *Studium* and their likely expectations related to the Paduan period), of their stay in the city (student life, relationships with compatriots, other linguistic, cultural and confessional communities present at the *Studium*, teachers, authorities and economic and cultu-

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res, las autoridades y los agentes económicos y culturales de la ciudad, las exigencias de reconocimiento y protección de su estatus y de sus necesidades sociales, económicas y formativas, la participación en las actividades docentes, en los momentos solemnes que marcaban el inicio y la conclusión de los itinerarios formativos, en la vida de las *Nationes*, en la gestión de las *universitates* y en la ritualidad política conexas, la obtención o no de un título y la consiguiente elección y valoración del respectivo 'canal' etc.), y de su regreso a la patria al término de los estudios (trayectorias existenciales y profesionales, relevancia o no de la experiencia vivida en Padua en su etapa adulta).

Palabras clave: *Studium Patavinum*, *universitates*, *nationes* y *Nationes*, estudiantes ultramontanos.

ral operators of the city, needs for recognition and protection of their status and their social, economic and educational needs, participation in educational activities, in the ritual moments that marked the beginning and conclusion of academic courses, in the life of the *Nationes*, in the management of the *universitates* and in the connected political rituality, obtaining or not a degree and consequent choice and evaluation of the respective 'channel' etc.) and of the return to their homeland at the end of their studies (existential and career trajectories, relevance or otherwise of the Paduan experience in their adult life).

Key words: *Studium Patavinum*, *universitates*, *nationes* and *Nationes*, Ultramontane students.

Fundado en 1222, a raíz de una diáspora de estudiantes y maestros juristas (civilistas y canonistas) procedentes de la *Alma Mater* boloñesa, el *Studium* de Padua se caracterizó desde el principio por una estructura estatutaria análoga a la de la escuela en la que tenía origen: una fundación 'desde abajo', simplemente reconocida y respaldada por las autoridades locales a través de magistraturas específicas (inicialmente el Comune y luego la Señoría de los Carrara con los cuatro *tractatores Studii*; posteriormente, a partir de 1405, la República de Venecia, con los cuatro *reformatores*, aún elegidos entre los ciudadanos de Padua, que en 1517 fueron reducidos a tres, elegidos entre los patricios venecianos, y así permanecieron hasta la época napoleónica), y no por decreto de alguna autoridad universal (ya fuera laica o religiosa); la ambición de convertirse en un *gymnasium omnium disciplinarum* uniendo con los Juristas a los escolares y maestros 'artistas' (filósofos, médicos, teólogos: inicialmente totalmente subordinados a los Juristas, adquiriendo autonomía a partir de 1360 y total independencia a partir de 1399), carácter corporativo de las *universitates* estudiantiles, administradas por los síndicos y sometidas a la autoridad y la jurisdicción de los rectores (en un principio dos, uno para los *citramontani* y otro para los *ultramontani*, luego uno solo para todos con una alternancia (casi) regular en el cargo entre los *ultra-* y los *citramontani*, luego de nuevo dos, uno para los Juristas y otro para los Artistas, también alternando entre los *ultra-* y los *citramontani*, que, con el tiempo, sin embargo, se degradaron a vicerrectores, prorectores y finalmente

síndicos-prorectores) y de los respectivos vicarios (desaparecidos a lo largo del siglo XVI), protagonistas (inicialmente absolutos y luego, para los docentes, cada vez más formales) en la elección y contratación de los lectores y del personal de apoyo (notarios, libreros, conserjes, porteros etc.) y articuladas, dentro de la macrodivisión entre *ultra-* y *citramontani*, en *nationes*.

Estas últimas –que en un principio eran simples agrupaciones étnico-lingüísticas destinadas a la matriculación de los estudiantes y a la elección anual del grupo de consejeros que debían colaborar con la tríada rectora en la gestión de la *universitas* durante ese año académico– estaban previstas en un número de nueve para los *ultramontani* (*Alemana, Boema, Polona, Ungara, Provenzale, Burgunda, Hispana, Angla* y *Ultramarina*, en este preciso orden de precedencia, con el consejero *Alemano* dotado de doble voto, correspondiente al mayor número de estudiantes germanoparlantes, procedentes de un vastísimo territorio que se extendía desde Ora/Auer hasta el Cabo Norte, y desde Flandes y Alsacia hasta un punto indefinido de Moscovia, de acuerdo con la situación geopolítica medieval, en cuyo interior se encontraban los enclaves de habla eslava que confluían en la *Boema* o en la *Polona* y el magiar representado por la *Ungara*) y de diez para los *citramontani* (*Romana, Sicula, Marcanconitana, Lombarda, Mediolana, Tusca, Veneta, Marcatarvisina, Furlana* y *Dalmata*, además de la *natio Paduanorum*, que no tenía derecho a consejero, y con una efímera variación en los estatutos de finales del siglo XV, donde *Furlana* y *Dalmata* estaban unidas y, en cambio, la *Apula* se separaba de la *Romana*), obteniendo de este modo la paridad de votos entre las dos macrocomponentes de la *universitas*. Con los trastornos geopolíticos de la Edad Moderna, se añadieron a la lista de las *nationes* la *Pedemontana* en 1534, debido a la ruptura de las relaciones entre los duques de Saboya y los reyes de Francia y al consiguiente traslado de su capital de Chambéry a Turín, compensada al mismo tiempo por la *Scota*, separada artificialmente de la *Angla*, y la *Genovesa* en 1562, separada de la *Mediolana* tras el cese del dominio de los Sforza sobre el Genovesado: el desequilibrio de votos resultante se subsanó mediante un complejo mecanismo de *supplendae*, por el cual las *nationes* que no alcanzaban un número mínimo de matriculados y otras previstas en los estatutos (la *Veneta* siempre, la *Pedemontana* en años alternos) debían estar representadas en la *banca* por un consejero designado por otra *natio*, no necesariamente perteneciente a la misma componente *citra-* o *ultramontana*, de modo que todos los escaños quedaran cubiertos y el número legal establecido para deliberar sobre los diversos asuntos estuviera siempre asegurado. A lo largo de los siglos XVI y XVII, con la división confesional de Europa y el surgimiento de numerosas universidades en la Europa central

y occidental, y en consecuencia con la progresiva disminución de la afluencia a Padua de estudiantes procedentes de esas zonas, muchas de las *nationes ultramontane* (de forma estable *Boema, Ungara, Provenzale, Burgunda e Hispana*, a veces también *Angla y Scota*, raramente *Polona*) pasaron a ser privilegio exclusivo de los alemanes, que acogían en su matrícula a los pocos nativos y designaban a su consejero, reforzando así aún más su papel dominante dentro de la *universitas* jurista, lo que se manifestaba, además de en el doble voto del consejero *Alemano* y en su derecho de poder llevar la espada donde a los demás les estaba prohibido, en el hecho de que este era también, de oficio, prosíndico de la *universitas*, asumiendo así automáticamente su dirección en caso de ausencia o impedimento del rector o vicerrector y del síndico-prorector.

Entre los Artistas, una vez alcanzada la plena autonomía de su *universitas*, las *nationes* eran menos numerosas y estaban ordenadas de forma diferente (*Tusca, Ultramontana o Alemana, Ultramarina o Cypria, Lombarda, Tarvisina, Romana, Anconitana*), pero cada *natio* designaba a dos consejeros: ya hacia mediados del siglo XV, la *natio Tusca* –que en el medioevo era la más numerosa e importante entre los Artistas– comenzó, sin embargo, a perder miembros, llegando en el siglo XVI a ser *supplenda*, casi regularmente, por al menos uno de los consejeros, designado por los alemanes (al igual que la *Anconitana* y, en ocasiones, la *Romana*) y, en 1643, tras dos años de vacante oficialmente declarada, fue suprimida definitivamente, cediendo también en este caso la primacía a la *natio Ultramontana*, que reunía en su matrícula a todos los estudiantes no ‘italianos’ excepto los griegos, y cuyo consejero principal gozaba de los mismos privilegios que su colega jurista. Además de la *banca* de consejeros, en la Edad Moderna la *universitas artistarum* elegía cada año también a los *massari* o consejeros anatómicos, destinados a asistir al profesor encargado de la organización y realización de las demostraciones anatómicas (desde 1595 acogidas en el aún existente Teatro Anatómico permanente, impulsado por Girolamo Fabrici d’Aquapendente), en un número que inicialmente variaba de uno a tres y que luego se fijó en dos (un *ultra-* y un *citramontano*)¹.

Si en un principio, como se ha dicho, las *nationes* no eran más que ‘contenedores’ para la matriculación de los alumnos y ‘circunscripciones electorales’ para la elección de los consejeros, dejando a la libre iniciativa personal las actividades extraacadémicas y las relaciones de solidaridad entre estudiantes

¹ La estructura del *Studium* se resume en el esquema de la fig. 1; el mapa de las *nationes citramontane* en la fig. 2.

precedentes de la misma zona geolingüística, con el paso del tiempo, las más numerosas y dinámicas, especialmente entre las *ultramontane*, se desarrollaron hasta constituirse de forma estable, en fechas diferentes, como auténticas y propias asociaciones: así surgieron la *Natio Germanica Iuristarum* y la *Artistarum*, la *Natio Polona* y, por último, la *Natio Ultramarina* (aunque también dejaron algún rastro la *Natio Angla* y la *Natio Dalmatica*), dotadas cada una de su propia sede y biblioteca a disposición de los socios, sus propios administradores y colaboradores matriculados (farmacéutico, conserje, profesor de idiomas, maestro de esgrima, pintor, miniaturista, tipógrafo, barbero etc.: véanse las figs. 3-4), su propio erario, tesoro y sello, sus propios oficiales (consejeros, síndico, procuradores, bibliotecarios, asesores, recaudadores etc.), cuya jerarquía interna se reflejaba en el orden de ocupación de las distintas *supplendae* fijas u ocasionales que se cubrían en la *universitas*; su propia documentación oficial (matrícula, a menudo abierta también a los compatriotas, poderosos o no, de paso por Padua sin fines académicos inmediatos, *Acta*, correspondencia, inventarios etc.), sus propios lugares de sepultura y eventuales altares en las iglesias de Padua (los Juristas alemanes en los Eremitani, los Artistas alemanes en Santa Sofía, los polacos en el Santo con altar), monumentalizados y adornados con sus respectivas insignias nacionales, que en el caso de los Juristas competían con las de la *universitas* (altar y tumba en Santa Caterina: véanse las figs. 5-6), su propio noble paduano ‘protector’ a quien invocar como mediador en los conflictos con otras *Nationes* y *nationes* y en las interacciones más delicadas con las autoridades públicas, a quien confiar el tesoro y los documentos nacionales en los periodos de ausencia de los oficiales y a quien erigir luego monumentos funerarios conmemorativos (fig. 7).

Se adquiría la condición de estudiante, con los privilegios que ello conllevaba (exención de aranceles para los libros y los efectos personales traídos a la ciudad, derecho –cada vez más limitado– a portar armas, adscripción inicial a la jurisdicción separada del rector etc.), en el momento de la matriculación en la *universitas* (directamente o a través de la *Natio* de referencia) y, a la inversa, se dejaba de serlo al obtener el grado doctoral, lo que en el caso de los rectores, síndicos, consejeros etc. implicaba también la destitución del cargo y la salida del ‘paraíso’ universitario, con la elección de un sucesor: una pérdida de estatus y privilegios que muchos subsanaban durante su eventual estancia posterior en Padua matriculándose de manera oportunista en la otra *universitas*, jurídicamente independiente de aquella a la que habían pertenecido hasta la obtención del título de doctor. A este respecto, hay que señalar que los ‘canales’ disponibles para alcanzar el grado, tanto en Padua como en otros lugares, eran diferenciados y constituían en su conjunto una

estructura independiente de las *universitates*, aunque paralela a estas en el ámbito institucional del *Studium* (véase la fig. 1): la vía maestra consistía, tanto para los Juristas como para los Artistas, en el examen riguroso que se realizaba, previa *praesentatio* por parte de dos o más profesores promotores, ante uno de los tres Sagrados Colegios de la ciudad (de los Juristas, de los Filósofos y Médicos y de los Teólogos), formados por los profesores del *Studio* y por todos los doctores en esa disciplina de la ciudad, y que se celebraba normalmente en una sala habilitada del palacio episcopal de Padua (que aún hoy se denomina *Collegio Sacro*) y era presidido por el obispo (aunque más a menudo por un vicario suyo) en su calidad de canciller del *Studio*, responsable de la validez legal del título expedido, seguido de la ceremonia de entrega, en forma privada o pública y solemne (entonces en la catedral), de las insignias doctorales por parte de los promotores. Debido a los impuestos y *propinae* a favor del obispo, de la *universitas* y de la ciudad, así como a las *bursae* y donaciones que correspondían a cada doctor convocado, se trataba de una vía muy costosa: quien quisiera ahorrar un poco y, tal vez, incluso tener un examen menos severo, podía, sin embargo, recurrir a los oficios de los Condes palatinos (de nombramiento imperial) o de la Sacra aula lateranense (palatinos papales), que entre sus privilegios tenían también el de crear doctores; a menudo se trataba de profesores del mismo *Studium*, o en cualquier caso de doctores en la disciplina del grado (que entonces requerían la presencia de promotores), quienes, tras un examen realizado en su domicilio, expedían de forma privada títulos de igual valor legal, pero sin duda menos prestigiosos que los obtenidos en el Sacro Colegio.

A partir de 1564, tras la Reforma protestante y el Concilio de Trento, la bula *In sacrosancta* del papa Pío IV impuso que la obtención del título en el Sacro Colegio solo fuera posible tras haber prestado juramento de fe católica: además respecto a los pocos judíos que estudiaban medicina y de los *ultramarini* de fe ortodoxa, súbditos o no de Venecia, que desde siempre habían frecuentado el *Studio*, la nueva disposición planteó un grave problema a los numerosos *ultramontani* que se habían convertido al luteranismo, al calvinismo, zwinglianos etc., que comenzaron a recurrir masivamente a los Condes palatinos, o bien estudiaban en Padua pero luego iban a obtener los grados académicos en una universidad transalpina que no pusiera obstáculos confesionales. Con el paso de los años, la situación se volvió insostenible tanto para los estudiantes –especialmente los alemanes– que amenazaron con abandonar en masa Padua, con evidentes perjuicios económicos, políticos y de prestigio para la ciudad y para Venecia, así como para la propia República, que en 1612 prohibió, por razones político-jurisdiccionales, recurrir

a los *Palatini*, que actuaban en nombre de autoridades ajenas a la República: las ya antiguas peticiones de los estudiantes reformados, de encontrar una solución que les evitara ser acosados *religionis causa*, obtuvieron un primer resultado en 1616, cuando Venecia creó el *Collegio Veneto* artista, formado únicamente por profesores no paduanos de filosofía y medicina, y que garantizaba, tras un examen igualmente riguroso pero menos costoso que el del *Collegio Sacro*, la concesión de grados de doctorado *auctoritate Veneta*, sin interferencias religiosas. A esta primera institución experimental, presentada diplomáticamente como una obra de caridad en favor de los estudiantes *poveri et altri*, le siguió en 1635 la creación análoga del *Collegio Veneto* jurista, que consolidó y convirtió en permanente la iniciativa, que se mantuvo viva hasta la época napoleónica, dando así un gran paso hacia una ‘universidad de Estado’ tal y como se concibe hoy en día.

Más allá de la documentación de archivo, reflejo inmediato de las *banche* que gestionaban las dos *universitates* estudiantiles, normalmente elegidas y constituidas a principios de agosto para entrar en funcionamiento en noviembre con la apertura del *Studio* y permanecer en el cargo hasta el siguiente mes de julio, estaban los ciclos heráldicos, ordenados y estructurados según el orden de precedencia de las naciones (fig. 8) y a cargo de dos asesores de armas elegidos expresamente (un *ultra-* y un *citramontano*), que reunían cada año las insignias de todos los consejeros (y, entre los Artistas, de los *massari* anatomicos) en torno a aquellas de los oficiales superiores de la respectiva *universitas* (a menudo enriquecidas o repetidas con retratos, bustos y monumentos), y que aún hoy decoran, con un total de más de 3100 monumentos y escudos pintados al fresco o esculpidos (lamentablemente muy retocados a partir de mediados del siglo XIX), las bóvedas y las paredes del palacio del Bo, en pleno centro de la ciudad (figs. 9-11), adquirido en 1493 y sede unificada de los Juristas desde 1498, y posteriormente, desde 1542, también de los Artistas. La noble tradición, que consistía en colocar en los muros bovinos una media total de entre 45 y 48 escudos al año, se mantuvo hasta 1687, cuando Venecia le puso fin por orden oficial, por razones tanto estáticas (los escudos de piedra pesaban ya más de lo que la estructura podía soportar) como político-culturales (la agenda se centraba entonces en las «provisioni contra le pompe» –medidas contra la ostentación– tanto de los magistrados municipales como de las *banche* estudiantiles y en la sistemática *scarpellatura* de sus recuerdos heráldicos colocados en lugares públicos, salvándose solo los de los dogos y procuradores de San Marcos). El hilo conductor de nuestro análisis de algunos casos ejemplares de estudiantes *ultramontani*, considerados someramente desde una triple perspectiva: sus

orígenes, formación y expectativas al llegar a Padua; sus experiencias universitarias, concluyeran o no con la obtención del título; y su relación con la ciudad y las autoridades durante su estancia paduana así como sus posteriores experiencias vitales y profesionales al término de los estudios, serán, *in primis*, los testimonios heráldicos que nos han quedado o que fueron documentados antes de su desaparición en épocas más o menos recientes.

1. Es paradigmático el caso, recientemente puesto de relieve, de Hans Hartmann Graman, *nobilis Moscoviensis*, matriculado en la *Natio Germanica Artistarum* (en lo sucesivo también *NGA*) el 25 de octubre de 1667, presentándose como *Medicinae licenciatus*, quizás el más oriental entre los estudiantes del *Studium* paduano (en competencia quizás con los chipriotas que lo frecuentaban en los siglos anteriores, antes de la conquista turca de 1573, y que entonces constituían la mayor parte de la *natio Ultramarina*) y, sin duda, el más oriental de entre los elegidos para el cargo de consejero de la *Natio* (el primer *ultramontano* de la *universitas*), que ocupó de abril a octubre de 1668: los estudios que había cursado anteriormente solo le habían permitido obtener la licenciatura en medicina, por lo que técnicamente seguía siendo un estudiante, destinado además a seguir siéndolo incluso tras su año paduano, que no parece haber concluido con el doctorado, quizás, buscado posteriormente en otra institución, pero sin duda enriquecido por los conocimientos específicos de anatomía humana adquiridos en Padua gracias a las demostraciones realizadas mediante la disección de cadáveres, práctica que no se realizaba en otros lugares, y que a menudo constituían el motivo por el que estudiantes ya avanzados o incluso médicos titulados o profesores de filosofía de otras universidades europeas acudían a Padua para perfeccionar su formación. La escasa documentación existente sobre él, recogida en los *Acta* nacionales, nos indica que, a pesar de haber sido un apreciado consejero durante siete meses, su escudo, elegantemente iluminado en los mismos *Acta*, no encontró cabida en el ciclo lapidario de la *universitas* artista de 1667-68 porque, en noviembre de 1668, al inicio del curso académico, ya no ocupaba el cargo. Al enterarse de ello, y probablemente decepcionado, en septiembre de 1669 escribió a la *Natio* solicitando que, de todos modos, se erigiera en el Bo un monumento heráldico en su memoria: la *Natio* accedió a la petición y, obtenido el permiso de la *universitas* ya el 16 de octubre de 1669, en junio de 1670 firmó un contrato con el cantero encargado de realizar el ciclo de 1669-70 y el escudo, con la placa conmemorativa IOHANNI HARTMANNO GRAMAN, NOBILI MOSCOVIENSI, OB GESTOS CVM APPLAVSV SEMESTRALES CONSILIARIATVS FASCES, POSVIT I(NCLITA) N(ATIO) G(ERMANICA) A(RTISTARVM) A(NNO)

1670, que finalmente se expuso al mismo tiempo que dicho ciclo, después del 11 de julio. Documentado gráficamente en 1841, el escudo desapareció lamentablemente después de esa fecha y también la placa, colocada hoy en el Aula Magna (pared norte), ya no se encuentra en su ubicación original, probablemente la sala de Medicina (fig. 12).

Interesante por otros motivos es el ciclo dedicado a los Juristas de 1624-25, pintado al fresco en la bóveda de la sala «Nievo» (antiguo *Auditorium Juristarum*), en la planta baja del Bo: a ambos lados del gran escudo dedicado VINCENTIO NIGRO VICE(N)TINO, SYNDICO, PRORECTORI, ORATORI ET EQVITI, OB SPLENDIDAM LEGATIONEM APVD SER(ENISSIMVM) VENET(ORVM) DV(CEM) IOH(ANNEM) CORNELIVM MEMORANDO, VNIVERSITAS IVRISTARVM, cuyo yelmo exhibe en la gorguera la insignia de Caballero de San Marcos, las 22 armas heráldicas de los consejeros incluyen, entre las de muchos estudiantes 'normales', las de CHRISTOPHORVS FORSTNER AVSTRIVS EQVES D(IVI) MARCI para la húngara, del ILL(VSTRISSIM)VS D(OMI)N(V)S ALEXANDER DEODAT(V)S SAPIEHA GVBERNATOR IN ORSA (Orsza, hoy Orša en Bielorrusia) para la polaca y del ILL(VSTRISSIM)VS ET ECC(ELLENTISSIM)VS D(OMI)N(V)S ISAACK WAKE EQVES ET MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS LEGATVS ANGLVS para la inglesa (fig. 13). La obligación de enviar una legación gratulatoria a Zuane Corner, elegido dux el 4 de enero de 1625, (y, en el caso de la *Polona*, también la visita a Padua en el otoño de 1624 del príncipe Ladislao Vasa, hijo de Segismundo III y Ana de Austria, antiguo zar de Rusia, 1610-1613, y futuro Ladislao IV de Polonia y Lituania, 1632-1648, a su regreso de Roma) explica la presencia en la *banca* universitaria de nombres tan ilustres y de un segundo Caballero de San Marcos, además del síndico-vice-rector, a quien tradicionalmente se le garantizaba la investidura al final de su mandato² (que ese año coincidió con la solemne visita a Venecia, celebrada a finales de julio), y muestra el nivel de interacción social y política que incluso los consejeros de origen más humilde podían experimentar durante su mandato universitario, con evidentes consecuencias positivas en cuanto a contactos, experiencia y prestigio, y que repercutían *a posteriori* también en sus familias.

También resulta instructivo el caso del ciclo dedicado a los Juristas de 1675-76 (o lo que queda de él), marcado por las consecuencias de la análoga legación gratulatoria (24 de febrero-9 de marzo de 1676) a Nicolò Sagredo,

² Otros ejemplos monumentales en el Bo, además de los muchos *citramontani*, son Gustav Adam Banner, sueco, prorector jurista de 1650-51, y Johann Caspar Sparr, de Frankfurt, síndico-prorrector artista de 1675-76.

antiguo reformador del *Studio*, elegido dux el 6 de febrero de 1675: tanto el escudo de la *Boema* como el de la *Hispana*, completamente fuera de formato, están compuestos, de hecho, por dos escudos yuxtapuestos, como en el caso de la sustitución de un consejero que se doctoró durante el año: el escudo de la *Hispana* une, de hecho, VLDARICVS ALBERTINVS RHETVS HISPA(NV)S CON(SILIARIVS) con el altisonante FORTVNATVS MAGNVS D(E) PARTHINIS A WESTERSTETTERS S(ACRI) ROM(ANI) IMP(ERII) NOB(ILIS) PROVINCIALIS COMITATVS TYROLIS CONSIEIARNS (!), CIVIS VENETVS AC CONSILIARIVS HISPANVS CVM LEGATIONE AD SERENISS(IMVM) NICOLAVS (!) SAGREDO³ y la *Boema* yuxtapone a [I]OA(NNES) FRA(N)CIS(CVS) [S]VGGAR [CA-R]YNTHY (!) CO(NSILIARIVS) al mucho más humilde IO(ANNES) BAP(TIS)-TA PHILOMENA VENETVS (fig. 14). Tanto Hans Franz Suggar, de Klagenfurt, como Ulderico Albertini *Campovascensis*, noble de Coira, pertenecían desde hacía tiempo a la *Natio* y seguirían siendo miembros activos de ella incluso después de la ceremonia veneciana, ya que el primero se había inscrito el 18 de noviembre de 1672 (primer bibliotecario del 4 de septiembre al 14 de octubre de 1673 y de nuevo del 18 de septiembre de 1675 al 24 de marzo de 1676, y posteriormente consejero hasta el 22 de mayo) y el otro el 3 de mayo de 1674 (segundo bibliotecario del 24 de marzo de 1676 al 24 de mayo de 1677): en esta ocasión, los cambios no se debieron, por tanto, a sus títulos universitarios, sino a otros factores. Como se recoge en los *Acta Nationis Germanicae Iuristarum*, Parthini (matriculado el 24 de noviembre de 1675) era, de hecho, el agente imperial en Venecia y se encargó de que Filomena, recomendado también por Girolamo Giustinian, podestá veneciano de Padua, participara en la misión honorífica lagunar, previa ‘adopción’ de conveniencia por parte de la *Natio* (el 10 de febrero de 1676) y su nombramiento como consejero. Presiones político-ceremoniales, que en aquella circunstancia no eran, por otra parte, un caso aislado, y que ejemplifican también el frecuente recurso, especialmente por parte de los alemanes⁴, al instituto de la ‘adopción’, utilizado, sin embargo, habitualmente para cubrir puestos prestigiosos cuando faltaban candidatos adecuados, o para acoger a desertores de otras *nationes* con las que no había buena relación.

³ Anotaciones similares también se encontraban en los registros de los escudos de armas perdidos de *Franciscus Nicolaus Widmann nob(ilis) Carinthus, Cons(iliarius) Scotæ cum legat(ione) ad Sereniss(imum) princ(ipem)* y del *Pedemontano, Angelus Bevilacqua nob(ilis) Asyl(ensis) cum legat(ione) ad Serenissimum Sagredum*.

⁴ Sin embargo, el instituto de la adopción aparece también, en el mismo ciclo de 1675-76, en el registro del consejero *Veneto, Ioseph Maria abbas Zaghius adopt(ione) Tarvisinus*.

2. La única fuente iconográfica relativa a los ciclos bovinos anterior a las modificaciones contemporáneas, el estudio de Grotto dell'Ero de 1830-1840, da testimonio de la presencia «sull'arco dell'ingresso superiore della scala della statua» (escalera sur) del patio antiguo de restos de frescos hoy completamente desaparecidos, entre los que se encuentra un par de armas yuxtapuestas, catalogadas entre los Juristas y consideradas «d'epoca incerta», con los datos transcritos como *Julius Rosinus Abbadensis Pensinsulanus-Petrus Murhabocius Maboslaviensis Polonus*: de Giulio Rosini de Badia Polesine se conserva en la bóveda oeste de la galería superior del mismo patio el escudo completo de segundo consejero *Lombardo* artista de 1614-15; del polaco Piotr Mucharski de Jarosław, en cambio, no queda ningún rastro material ni en la documentación universitaria conservada. Sin embargo, el registro de la *Natio Polona* indica que el 24 de julio de 1617 él «divo Stanislao Regni Poloniae suoque patrono singulari unum scutum obtulit manu propria», presentándose como «artium liberalium magister et philosophiae doctor», y que posteriormente fue elegido cinco veces asesor nacional de los Artistas, en el cargo desde el 1 de agosto de 1618 hasta febrero de 1621, mientras que en las actas del Sacro Colegio de Artistas figura su grado en medicina, obtenido gratuitamente el 31 de mayo de 1616, con la presentación del aristotélico Cesare Cremonini: por lo tanto, Grotto dell'Ero se equivocó al atribuir esos restos heráldicos a los Juristas, mientras que la combinación de un *citra-* y un *ultramontano* sugiere que se trataba de los dos consejeros anatómicos de 1617-18, año del que se han perdido las *Acta* de la *universitas Artistarum*. La breve biografía de Piotr Mucharski (1589-1666), redactada por los editores del registro de matriculación, indica que, antes de su estancia en Padua, había sido estudiante en Cracovia desde 1608, donde se doctoró en filosofía en 1612, y que luego fue escolástico mayor en la colegiata de San Nicolás y Todos los Santos en Cracovia, desde aproximadamente 1614, mientras que posteriormente se convirtió en secretario y archiatra real en 1645, así como profesor de medicina en Cracovia desde 1654, con un claro cambio de orientación y carrera, probablemente favorecido por la experiencia paduana. Su familia pertenecía al *herb* (clan) Gozdawa, cuyo escudo, normalmente de rojo con un lirio de plata, presenta una variante con campo azul, muy frecuente en el Bo y compatible con los restos esbozados por Grotto dell'Ero, de plata con dos 'cestas' azules (probablemente las asas situadas entre los lóbulos laterales del lirio), con el jefe azul con tres estrellas de plata (quizás las extremidades superiores de los tres pétalos: véase la fig. 15).

Un par de escudos similares, esculpidos en piedra e idénticos en su forma y decoración exterior, flanqueaban a IO(ANNES) BAPTISTA AVOGA-

DRVS BRIXIENSIS, ANATOMIE CONSILIARIVS, PHI(LOSOPHI)Æ ET MEDICINÆ DOCTOR (que aún se encuentra colocada en la galería superior) y PAVLVVS MOLLERVS VILNA LITVANVS PHI(LOSOPHI)Æ ET MEDICINÆ DOCTOR MDCXXXVIII (rota, en depósito): el segundo, súbdito del rey de Polonia y gran duque de Lituania, procedía sin embargo de un territorio 'germánico', que en el medioevo había pertenecido a los Caballeros Teutónicos, y por lo tanto, según los estatutos universitarios de Padua, estaba obligado a matricularse no en la *Natio Polona* sino en la *Germanica*⁵ en cuyo registro está efectivamente inscrito: «Paulus Mollerus Vilna-Lituanus, solutis de more solvendis, Inclytæ Germanicæ Nationis albo nomen suum inseruit anno 1636 die 26 maii». Posteriormente fue procurador nacional desde el 11 de junio de 1636 hasta el 12 de septiembre de 1637, y el 11 de noviembre de 1637 la *Natio* lo eligió consejero anatómico (decisión confirmada en la *universitas* el día 17) para asistir en el curso de anatomía del «*excellentissimus dominus Iohannes Weslingius, popularis noster honorandus*» (Wesling, ilustre botánico y anatomista, además de caballero de San Juan de Jerusalén y destinatario de varios honores heráldicos en el Bo, era de Minden y había estudiado en Leiden y Groningen), que comenzó el 9 de diciembre: el 31 de diciembre Moller se convirtió en «*Philosophiæ et Medicinæ Doctor in Collegio universitatis*» (es decir, en el *Collegio Veneto*, como casi todos los alemanes de aquel año: solo dos se doctoraron *in templo cathedrali*), pero siguió siendo *Consiliarius anatomicus* (cargo no reservado a los estudiantes) hasta el final del curso de Wesling y, en marzo de 1638, fue elegido asesor de la *Natio* (fig. 16).

Otro súbdito polaco procedente de territorios que antes eran teutónicos y otro colaborador de Wesling fue Christoph Gilbert de Spaignart, *Dantis-canus Borussus*, hijo de Georg Gilbert de Georg Bernhard Gilbert, y hermano de Paul Gilbert, Christian Gilbert y Theodor Gilbert, miembro de una conoci-

⁵ Esta obligación, explícita en los estatutos y que también proviene de la herencia boloñesa, explica asimismo la futilidad de toda búsqueda de una matriculación del prusiano Copérnico en la *natio Polona* durante su estancia padovana (1501-1503, mucho antes de que esta se constituyera como *Natio* en 1592), intentada repetidamente en el pasado y siempre concluida con su invención o con el firme deseo de que algún día pueda salir a la luz: al igual que en Bolonia, donde se ha conservado la documentación, el futuro astrónomo figura matriculado entre 1496 y 1499 en la *natio Germanorum*, así también en Padua, donde en cambio se ha perdido, habría tenido que inscribirse en la *natio Germanica*, como todos sus compatriotas de los que queda constancia documental, y ello independientemente de si estaba registrado entre los Artistas (como habrían requerido sus intereses científicos y los estudios de medicina para los que en 1501 había obtenido la licencia del Capítulo de Warmia) o entre los Juristas (como se ha sugerido recientemente en consideración a sus estudios previos en Bolonia, coronados el 31 de mayo de 1503 con el doctorado en derecho canónico, conseguido en Ferrara).

da familia de teólogos, pastores, pedagogos y economistas protestantes, originaria de Hungría y que se extendió en el siglo XVI por Bohemia (Praga), Sajonia (Wittenberg, Magdeburgo) y Prusia (Graudenz/Grudziadz, Königsberg, Gdansk), que cruzó los Alpes como cirujano en el séquito del 'príncipe' Jan Zamoyski el Joven, conde de Tarnow y Jarosław, y que se inscribió en el registro polaco en noviembre de 1643, de camino a Roma y Nápoles, y de nuevo el 20 de abril de 1645, antes de continuar hacia París. Antes y después de su estancia en Padua durante el otoño-invierno de 1643-44, Christoph debió recibir una primera formación práctica e itinerante en diversas escuelas de medicina de Europa e Italia, de modo que, en su segunda estancia paduana, tras matricularse (a diferencia del 'príncipe') en la *Natio Germanica Artistarum* el 9 de febrero de 1645, obtuvo ya al día siguiente la licencia en cirugía en el *Collegio Veneto*. Durante una tercera etapa en Padua, a su regreso de París, la *Natio* lo eligió consejero anatómico el 7 de diciembre de 1648 y lo propuso en la *universitas* al día siguiente: a pesar de las protestas de los consejeros griegos, que solicitaron en vano una modificación de los estatutos, la elección se confirmó el 13 de diciembre, lo que le permitió formar equipo con Francesco Tissi, de Brescia, y el 11 de enero de 1649 ambos comenzaron a trabajar con Wesling. Christoph permaneció en Padua incluso tras finalizar su mandato, presentándose el 5 de junio de 1649 al cargo de consejero nacional y donando más de 1,5 ducados a la propia *Natio* en el curso académico 1649-50, pero no consta que se doctorara en medicina, título que probablemente obtuvo en otro lugar durante el viaje de regreso a Polonia, donde se convirtió en archiatra real de Jan II Kazimierz (1648-1668): el «Thomas Casimirus Gilbertus de Spaygnart Borussus», inscrito el 21 de octubre de 1675 en la *Natio Germanica Iuristarum* de Padua, era, por lo tanto, muy probablemente su hijo, bautizado así en honor del soberano. Único vestigio del ciclo artístico de 1648-49 (o, junto con el escudo del bresciano Francesco Massari, prosíndico-prorrector, ¿la única parte realizada?), su escudo, que originalmente se encontraba en la galería superior del patio antiguo, a la salida de la escalera norte, se encuentra ahora en la sala de la Cocina Anatómica (fig. 17).

El caso de Andreas Ludwig Morell, austriaco de Krems, y Hans Böhm, prusiano de Mohrunge/Morąg, muestra trayectorias inicialmente comunes pero que, finalmente, divergen. Del primero, matriculado en la *NGA* el 22 de diciembre de 1670, candidato fallido en la primavera de 1671 a los puestos de primer *Ultramontano* y primer *Marcanconitano*, elegido finalmente asesor nacional en mayo, luego segundo bibliotecario y primer *Romano* el 18 de septiembre, y licenciado en filosofía y medicina en el Colegio Sacro el 29 de diciembre de 1671, nos quedan dos escudos: el primero,

partido y en depósito, lleva las inscripciones *[Ro]mana* y ANDREAS LODOVICVS MORELL AVSTRIACVS CREMPSENSIS CON(SILIARIVS) ANA(TOMI)Æ, PH(ILOSOPHI)Æ ET ME(DICIN)Æ DOC(TOR); el segundo, colocado en el Aula Magna (pared norte) y también titulado *R[oma]na*, presenta, en cambio, las mismas armas y los mismos datos personales (abreviados de forma diferente y sin ANA(TOMI)Æ) junto a las armas de IOHANNES BOEHN MORVNGA BORVSS(V)S CONSIL(IARIVS) ANATOM(ICVS) PHIL(OSOPHIÆ) ET MED(ICINÆ) DOC(TOR) (fig. 18). Tras obtener el título, Morell dimitió de la *universitas*, siendo sustituido por Böhm, pero continuó prestando servicio en la biblioteca hasta junio de 1672, cuando abandonó Padua y regresó a Austria. En cuanto a Böhm, que se matriculó en la *NGA* el 16 de junio de 1671 y se licenció en filosofía y medicina en el *Collegio Veneto* ya el 14 de octubre de 1671 (mucho antes, por tanto, que su colega), Padua debió ser, en cambio, la última etapa de una formación médica previa, a la que, sin embargo, no siguió el regreso a su patria: una nota añadida a su inscripción en el registro informa, de hecho, que «praxin exercet Venetiis», probablemente al servicio de los mercaderes alemanes del *Fontego*. Tal y como especifican los registros de los escudos, ambos fueron consejeros anatómicos en 1671-72, pero la pérdida de los expedientes universitarios de ese año impide conocer los detalles de su sucesión, especialmente en lo que respecta a la consejera *Romana*, vedada a los graduados.

Prusiano de Danzig era también David Stoll, matriculado en la *NGA* el 4 de noviembre de 1653, presentándose como *Philosophiæ et Medicinæ Doctor*; y que, al no poder participar plenamente en la vida de la *universitas*, su intención apuntaba, evidentemente, a seguir el curso de Antonio Molinetto, catedrático de anatomía desde 1649: el 19 de noviembre los oficiales de la *Natio* lo eligieron consejero anatómico *ultramontano*, en competencia con el hamburgués Jacob Martini, matriculado desde el 16 de junio de 1651 pero protagonista de una trayectoria tormentosa (asesor y procurador nacional desde septiembre de 1651, expulsado en abril de 1652, readmitido en mayo de 1653, pero nuevamente implicado en septiembre en enfrentamientos con dos Juristas alemanes), la *universitas* confirmó la elección *in absentia*, asignándole como compañero a Paolo Federici de Brescia, primer consejero *Marcanconitano* (a quien sucederá tras la graduación el también bresciano Giovanbattista Tonesi, desterrado en 1657 por el Consejo de Diez por el asesinato del promotor Guidantonio Albanese «per ingiustissima et iniquissima causa del *pro maiori* havuto nel suo dottorato»), elegido entonces como anatomista *citramontano*, y el 7 de enero de 1654 ambos prestaron juramento de fidelidad, comenzando a trabajar en las *anatomicis administrationibus* de

Molinetto. El escudo del anatomista Federici ocupa aún hoy su ubicación original en la galería superior del patio antiguo, no lejos del ciclo anual (con la inscripción de los Diez y el escudo de Tonesi cincelado por *damnatio memoriae*) y del elogio fúnebre de Molinetto, de 1685, mientras que el de Stoll se trasladó a la sala de la Cocina Anatómica, convertida en sede de la exposición histórica sobre la universidad (fig. 19).

3. Un episodio relatado por Heinrich Frise, «Regiomontanus-Borussus, Inclytæ Nationis Germanicæ Artistarum consiliarius, almae universitatis vicesyndicus», en los *Acta NGA* de 1661 ilustra bien las mencionadas motivaciones ‘anatómicas’ que impulsaban a muchos, ya licenciados en medicina en otras universidades, a seguir asistiendo a los cursos de Padua, así como las artimañas que a menudo se ponían en práctica (o se intentaban) para obtener entonces el privilegiado *status* de estudiante al que ya no tenían derecho y la compleja red de relaciones de autoridad en la que operaban las *Nationes*:

De anno 1661 [...] hoc totum esset quod referre vobis dignum existimavi nisi unum adhuc urgeret, quod praetereundum ego minime existimo, non alium ob finem quam ut successoribus meis informationem aliquam relinquerem simili modo supra Statuta et privilegia tenere a Serenissima Republica gratiose nobis concessa. Nimirum accidit non ita pridem, ut clarissimus et doctissimus dominus Ferdinandus Curtius Ubio-Bonnensis, postquam Bononiae Medicinae Doctor creatus esset atque instante anatomia nostra hac civitatem ingressus, studiumque anatomicum frequentando, nomen suum, cum ad id per me et per nuntium nostrum ordinarium invitatus esset, matricula nostra inserere recusaret; ego vero obligatus publico bono providere eaque quae in praeiudicium privilegiorum nostrorum abire videntur avertere, ad illustrissimum dominum Protectorem nostrum id ipsum deferre curavi, qui auctoritate sua qua pollet apud excellentissimum Capitaneum id effecit, ut praedictus dominus Ferdinandus Curtius ad immatriculationem coactus fuerit. In quo negotio non praetereunda nobis est mentio dominorum Legistarum, et imprimis nobilissimi ac generosi domini Beck equitis Dani, pro tempore consiliarii eorundem, quod tale testimonium amicitiae nobis praestitit, ut posthabito omni eo quod in contrarium ipsi a suis suasum fuit, id quod iustum comperit atque e re nostra praevalere fecerit, ipsumque supradictum Curtium ad immatriculationem quam petiit in sua Natione, arceperit atque ad nos remiserit. [...] Haec sunt quae sub consiliariatu meo gesta et ab Inclita Natione approbata fuerunt. Quae in aeternum floreat atque vivat.

El resultado positivo de aquel episodio, gracias a la acción conjunta de las dos *Nationes Germanicae*, de Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti, protector de los Artistas y entonces catedrático de medicina práctica, y de Leonardo Zane, capitán-vicepodestá veneciano, queda confirmado por la inscripción del interesado en la *NGA* («Anno Domini MDCLXI, consiliario Henrico Frisen Regiomontano Borusso [...] Ferdinandus Curtius Ubio-Bonnensis, 22 martii 1661»), pero el atractivo de los cursos de anatomía, incluso entre los no mé-

dicos, era conocido desde hacía tiempo, desde la tormentosa inauguración del Teatro Fabriciano, como muestran también las *Acta NGA* de diciembre de 1594 y enero de 1595:

Effluxerat commodum annus feliciter et tempum ipsum anatomiam efflagitabat, invitabat coelum aura etiam benigniore. Et ecce Aquapendens aurearum suarum pollicitationum immemor, memor vero pristinae et iam per annos aliquot obduratae calliditatis, novas officias quibus varie Universitatem agitabat comminiscitur. Quippe nihil egregie, nihil utiliter, nihil frugifere se spectatoribus suis et auditoribus condocerere aut demonstrare posse saepe removuit, nisi duo Massarii, sive Anatomistae, ut vocant, singulis septimanis novi, ex Consiliariis eligerentur ac rei anatomicae praeficerentur.

La *universitas* nombró entonces a los encargados de la anatomía, se obtuvieron los cadáveres para la disección y un decreto de los reformadores estableció que las demostraciones anatómicas fueran gratuitas y abiertas a todos, cargando los gastos al *Studium*, que se pagarían con fondos públicos a razón de 4 florines a la semana, hasta un máximo de 20 florines al año (5 semanas): en la inauguración del curso, el 16 de enero de 1595, una inmensa multitud de todos los estratos sociales invadió el recién construido Teatro Anatómico, impidiendo cualquier actividad:

ad XVII kal. Febr. anatomen magno spectantium accursu auspicatur. Confluxerat eo tota quasi civitas, et extremae etiam farinae homines tamquam ad forum cupedinis: subsellia occuparunt hebraei, sedentarii magistri, sartores, calceolarii, solearii, carnarii, salsamentarii et his inferiores baiuti et corbuli illi, adeo ut in dubium relinqueres plus ne collegii scholares anatomici sectioni ac dexteritati attenderent, an hiantia huiusmodi homuncionum ora aspicerent. Nec tamen in hac odiosa confusione nisi sperantur Triumvirum Studii litterae, quae administrationibus sumtus publicos subministrarent [...] Neque eorum standum esse sententiae unquam qui liberam anatomiam quasi rei literariam pestem in hoc statu academico, atque fenestras seditio- nis ac caedis latissimam contra morem antiquum et ad nostram hanc usque aetatem servatum, introducere conantur. Etenim quid nobilissimus Gymnasii celeberrimi studiosos, privilegiis singularibus prae ceteris et immunitatibus gaudentes, commoveret vehementius aut ad armas excitaret celerius, quam invidio conspicerere oculo aut pati oscitantium etiam mechanicorum et proletariorum hominum extremae sortis cater- vam, subsellia immo universum Theatrum occupare, fructum illum anatomiae iucun- dissimum conculcare quasi, minuere, impedire?

En los días siguientes estallaron incluso enfrentamientos con los Juristas, que también querían asistir gratuitamente a las clases de anatomía, y grupos armados, liderados por el consejero *Mediolano*, se enfrentaron a los Artistas alemanes en las calles alrededor del Santo, acusándolos de pretender que las disecciones y el gasto público estuvieran reservados solo para ellos. La situación llevó a Fabrici a declararse incapaz de llevar a cabo las de-

mostraciones por motivos de salud, y la *impasse*, que amenazaba con hacer pasar en vano la estación fría, indispensable para ‘anatomizar’ con el mínimo riesgo biológico, se resolvió parcialmente solo tras un viaje suyo a Venecia cuando, ante la insistencia de los alemanes, aceptó que otro cirujano, su alumno y *familiaris*, impartiera un curso para estos últimos: el 24 de enero,

Aquapendens Venetias profiscitur, unde rediens, ventre solummodo inferiori absoluto, fidem ac diligentiae suae finem facit. Attamen ne tam opportunum et sectionibus aptum elaboretur absque fructus aliquo tempus, [...] eum alloqui ac rogare amice tentavimus, ut cum nobis ac promissis suis propter morbum, quem credo articularem praetendebat, satisfacere haud possit, chirurgo aliquo excellenti privatam secandi provincia concederet. [...] Postriduo ab aliis nonnullis compellatus, qui laudum decantatione mulcebant senis aures suaviter, petitioni nostrae se facilem praebet. Itaque Excellentissimus Iulius Placentinus ad hoc munus rogatus, etsi initio praxi et privatis aliis se excusavit, postmodo tamen foetu ipsi a nobis oblato, in nostratium gratiam rem aggreditur, atque sectionem cum circa vasa umbilicalia, tum etiam quo ad foetus generationem attinet felicissimo successu auspicatur. Quo absoluto, unanimi omnium adsensu, duo ipsi cadavera, virile et foemineum procuratum fuit, in quibus non solum quoque perfectam et absolutam anatomen administravit, sed etiam varias operationes chirurgicas summa laude et studio accuratissime demonstraverat.

Como prueba de la influencia de los estudiantes *ultramontani* (es decir, de la *NGA*) a la hora de determinar la evolución de la actividad docente y científica del *Studium*, además del curso oficial de Aquapendente (cuando se impartía), los estudiantes alemanes dispusieron desde entonces de uno reservado para ellos, impartido cada invierno por el piacentino Giulio Casseri, incluso en su propia casa, que concluía con un discurso público en su honor y la ofrenda de dos candelabros de plata: esta práctica (destinada a reanudarse unas décadas más tarde) terminó en 1609, cuando los celos no apaciguados del maestro hicieron que Casseri fuera trasladado a la cátedra de cirugía, donde permaneció hasta su muerte en 1616. Para recuperar entonces la confianza de los alemanes, en enero de 1609 Fabrici les donó el cadáver del ladrón utilizado en el anterior curso de anatomía para que expusieran su esqueleto en la biblioteca nacional, contribuyendo así a mantener el atractivo de la *Natio* (y de Padua) en un momento de crisis interna debido a las controversias religiosas, cuando muchos estudiantes reformados estaban abandonando la ciudad para dirigirse a Basilea y a otros *Studia*: como anotó *manu propria* en los *Acta* el consejero Hermann Solemänder *Lengoviensis Westphalus*,

nec tandem aequitas et debita gratitudinis recordatio sicco pede me transire sinit, illum D. ab Aquapendente favorem et benevolentiam, quam erga Inclytam nostram Nationem declaravit, imo quae ab eadem plane exulare multis hactenus visa fuit in pristinum restituit. Cum enim [...] eum compellaremus et Nationi ut cadaver quoddam

sceleti extruendi gratia donaret rogaemus, tantum abfuit ut petitioni nostrae non acquievisset, ut potius cadavere istius furis, cuius antea mentio iniiciebatur, concesso, simul sese Nationis, ut semper, ita et nunc studiosissimum esse referret. Ex cadavere in quem finem impetraveramus, progresssa (pro nostro facultatum et eruditionis hac in arte modulo) anatomia et adiuvantibus nonnullis Nationis membris, quae se ultro ad hoc obtulerunt [...], skeleton concinnavimus, id Nationi in Bibliothecae ornamentum et nostri memoriam offerentes, atque etiamnun obsecrantes, ut levidense hoc donum a nobis fronte serena accipere, nos amore et favore suo prosequi, nec numeris exiguitatem, sed benevolum donantium animum respicere dignetur.

4. De Girolamo Fabrici d'Aquapendente, además de la inscripción de 1638 en el dintel de la puerta del Teatro Anatómico, que conmemora sus treinta años de docencia en anatomía, se conservan en el Bo dos escudos, ambos de 1604, cuyos datos lo identifican como *Supraordinarius*: el primero, de piedra y situado originalmente en los locales de servicio del propio Teatro, se encuentra ahora dividido entre el Aula Magna (pared norte, el escudo) y el pasillo entre el patio antiguo y el patio nuevo (placa: véase la fig. 20); el segundo, pintado al fresco, pertenece en cambio al ciclo de la *Anatomistis universitas* en la pared del fondo de la sala de Medicina, junto con los escudos del rector artista Francesco Tornone, de Martinafranca (Apulia), y de Pietro Quaglioti de Brescia, Gianandrea Locatelli de Lanzi de Bérgamo y Pawel Jerzy Boym de Leópolis, *massari* anatómicos de aquel año (fig. 21). Resultan interesantes la figura y la trayectoria paduana de este último, muy representativas de la identidad multifacética de muchos *ultramontani* que llegaron al *Studium* de Padua y de la variada red de relaciones que allí se podían establecer: matriculado en la primavera de 1602 en la muy católica *Natio Polona*, el 10 de mayo de 1602 y el 31 de mayo de 1603 fue testigo en las profesiones de fe para las graduaciones de sus conciudadanos Krzysztof Rottendorps (en teología, rector de Todos los Santos de Szynwałd, en la diócesis de Cracovia) y Jan Ursyna (en medicina, también testigo para Rottendorps), el 12 de enero de 1604 entró precisamente en el trío de *massari* anatómicos del año y el 12 de noviembre de 1604 fue finalmente elegido síndico de la *universitas Artistarum* para el año académico 1604-05, ganándose así, a pesar de ser de origen burgués, el epíteto de *nobilissimus dominus*. Permaneció en el cargo todo el año (aún se conserva el escudo de piedra colocado en el paso entre los patios), presenciando en esa condición, ante el Conde palatino Sigismondo Capodilista, la licenciatura en cirugía del bresciano Marcantonio Carrara (19 de enero de 1605) y la graduación en medicina de Leone y Aronne Lucerna, judíos de Pavía, hijos del rabino Moysè, médico de corte del archiduque Mateo de Austria (3 de febrero de 1605), y el 12 de julio de 1605 dimitió porque «gradum

doctoratus assequendus»: la *praesentatio* y la profesión de fe católica ya se habían celebrado el día anterior; el 13 de julio recibió los *puncta* del examen y el 14 se convirtió en *Filosofía et Medicina Doctor* en el Colegio Sagrado. El 20 de julio fue testigo de nuevo de las profesiones de fe de Pietro Quaglioti, que ya era su colega *massaro* de anatomía, y de Francesco Antonio Monato, salentino de Morciano di Leuca (compatriota del rector de 1603-04 y de Giangiacomo Flosalisio de Lecce, antiguo primer consejero *Romano* y su sucesor en el sindicato), que se doctoraron *in utraque* el día 23, y el 8 de agosto a la de su conciudadano Szymon Birkowski, graduado en medicina el día 11 (que ya había sido testigo de su profesión de fe, además de protegido de Jan Zamoyski y futuro médico de su hijo Tomasz Zamoyski), regresando así a su patria para dedicarse al comercio internacional y a la profesión médica (profesión que también emprendió su hijo Pawel Konstanty, estudiante y licenciado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1634, y posteriormente matriculado en Padua en noviembre de 1635 y doctorado en medicina allí mismo el 16 de diciembre de 1636; el tercer hijo, Michał Piotr, fue en cambio jesuita, misionero y agente diplomático en China de 1641 a 1659, llegando en 1652 a Venecia y Roma como representante del último emperador Ming), y convirtiéndose en médico de corte de Segismundo III Vasa († 1632), administrador del Hospital del Santo Espíritu en 1613, consejero municipal en 1620 y balivo en 1641, el mismo año de su muerte a la edad de solo 60 años⁶. Si en el registro polaco figura simplemente como «Paulus Dziordzi Boim Leopoliensis» y los (imprecisos) datos personales de los escudos solo especifican PAVLVS GEORGIVS BOYM LEOPOLIENSIS POLONVS, en los actas posteriores que le conciernen, incluida la de su elección como *massaro* anatómico, aparece la calificación de *Ruthenus* o *Roxianus Polonus* (es decir, de *Ruskie*, voivodato del que Leopoli era capital⁷), mientras que al término de su experiencia paduana, su identidad compuesta –común a muchos de los habitantes, quizá a todos, de ese complicado rincón de Europa y, al mismo tiempo, ciertamente diferente de la de ellos– emergió plenamente en toda

⁶ Fue enterrado en la capilla familiar cerca de la catedral latina de Leópolis, que aún existe y está reconocida por la UNESCO como Patrimonio de la Humanidad, fundada en el año 1609 y construida en 1617 por el arquitecto Andrzej Bemmer, inspirándose en la capilla de Segismundo de Cracovia, pero integrando en ella varios elementos italianos, entre ellos la estructura renacentista de la fachada, decorada con estatuas de Pedro y Pablo, clipeos de profetas y relieves narrativos dedicados a la Pasión de Cristo.

⁷ El sintagma, en la forma *Poloni ex regno Russie* (es decir, de *Rus'*), también está atestiguado el 28 de abril de 1603, para algunos testigos en el grado *in utraque* de un judío, también oficiado por Sigismondo Capodilista.

su complejidad, explicitada en las actas de profesión de fe y de graduación mediante la formulación «dominus Paulus Boym Ruthenus Polonus, filius domini Georgii Ungari»⁸.

El tema de la identidad era crucial también para muchos otros súbditos polacos, originarios de territorios que en la Edad Media habían pertenecido a la Orden Teutónica, como Prusia y la zona báltica, y que, por lo tanto, como ya se ha mencionado, estaban obligados a inscribirse en la *Natio Germanica*: los restos del ciclo heráldico artista de 1613-14 (fig. 22) nos ofrecen un ejemplo notable, sobre el que merece la pena detenerse. En la matrícula de la NGA se lee, de hecho, que «Matthias Littau Vilmensis, libenter a nobilissimis virtutum omnium splendore ac dignitate vitae fragrantibus viris ac dominis Consiliariis ac dominis Procuratoribus in Inclytam Germanorum Societatem receptus, nomen suum (diu debitum) deposuit atque scripsit deditque aureum Ungaricum anno 1613 die 10 augusti». En aquella fecha, Mattia Littau llevaba ya algún tiempo en Padua, tras una *peregrinatio academica* por Europa (Gdansk, Vilna, Basilea, París, Lovaina) y un año pasado en Bolonia, pero había dudado mucho antes de matricularse en la *Germanica*, probablemente debido a su doble identidad como lituano de Vilna (al igual que el ya mencionado Paul Moller), y por tanto súbdito del rey católico de Polonia y gran duque de Lituania, y como miembro de una familia reformada alemana: al final se dejó convencer por las ‘fragantes virtudes’ de los oficiales de la *Natio* (los consejeros Daniel Fabriczy, prusiano de Danzig, también protestante, y Tobias Böhme, austriaco de Sankt-Pölten, y los procuradores Victor Mang, austriaco de Schrättenthal, y Johann Christoph Kaiser, bávaro de Ansbach), quizá más ‘fragantes’ que las del consejero polaco (católico) Aleksander Stadnicki, de Żmigrod, y el 7 de noviembre de 1613, con un solo voto en contra, «illapso forsan per errorem in capsulam negantem calculo», fue elegido síndico de la *universitas* para el año académico 1613-14, en sustitución del difunto Andrea Curabate, de Soglio Valtellina, en los Grisones, elegido el 3 de agosto.

En la *universitas* y en la *Natio*, la situación era problemática, no solo por la muerte del síndico, sino también debido a la difícil convivencia entre estudiantes católicos y protestantes, a la profesión de fe católica impuesta por Pío IV para poder obtener el doctorado (que, por otra parte, hasta entonces

⁸ Jerzy Boym había llegado a Polonia desde Hungría en 1574, como secretario del nuevo soberano Esteban I Báthory, esposo de Ana Jagellón, hermana de Segismundo II Augusto, elegida para ocupar el trono polaco tras la renuncia de Enrique de Valois, que pasó a ser Enrique III de Francia.

siempre habían eludido los reformados con el consentimiento de Venecia), a la posición poco clara de los teólogos (solo católicos) dentro de la multiconfesional *universitas Artistarum* etc., pero también a nivel personal no debían faltar motivos de malestar (siempre definido por los alemanes como *nostrae Nationis membrum* y presentado en actos públicos junto a los consejeros alemanes, juristas y artistas; viajes de servicio a Venecia para reunirse con los reformadores, siempre financiados por la *Natio Germanica* debido a la falta de dinero de la *universitas* etc.), lo cual, sin duda, hacía que la situación fuera menos ‘fragante’ de lo previsto y sugería una solución diferente para el año siguiente: según el registro de la *Natio Polona*, resulta que «Matthias Littau Elbingensis, Almæ Universitatis D.D. Philosophorum et Medicorum florentissimi Gymnasii Patavini pro tempore Syndicus etc., Inclytæ Nationi Polonæ nomen suum inseruit deditque ad publicum ærarium libras decem. Anno 1614 die 19 aprilis. Vivat diu Patriæ, sibi, et suis foelix. Sua dextera scripsit».

Además de trasladar su propia matriculación de la *Natio Germanica Artistarum* a la *Polona*, abierta a todos, pero dotada de representación institucional únicamente en la *universitas* jurista, vemos que Littau también había modificado la indicación de su origen: ya no era *Vilnensis*, sino *Elbingensis*, es decir, de Elbląg, la antigua capital de la Orden Teutónica, en su época ciudad ‘libre’ de la Prusia real habitada por una población étnica y lingüísticamente mixta, en cuyo *Gymnasium* luterano se había inscrito en 1605. Presentarse como prusiano en lugar de lituano no debía, en teoría, alterar su obligación de matricularse en la *Germanica*, pero evidentemente ‘al corazón no se le puede mandar’ y, como síndico, se le habrá concedido la excepción, que ponía, aún más, de relieve su directa sujeción a la corona polaca. El hecho de que saliera a la luz esta faceta de su compleja identidad no le impidió, por otra parte, cumplir hasta el final con sus obligaciones como síndico, incluso en favor de sus correligionarios alemanes: el 16 de junio asistió en el Colegio Sagrado a la graduación en filosofía y medicina del leopolitano Kasper Szolc (desde 1615 profesor en la Academia Zamojska y ‘archimédico’ de la casa Zamoyski), mientras que del 4 al 7 de octubre de 1614, ya en el siguiente curso académico, realizó su última misión en Venecia junto a Daniel Fabriczy y Crato Seyler *Lycopolitanus Hassus*, nuevo consejero alemán, para solicitar que se encontrara una solución a los problemas religiosos de la *universitas* y ser investido como Caballero de San Marcos; poco después se doctoró *in utraque* y regresó a Polonia, donde se convirtió en archiatra de los príncipes Radziwił y, en 1632, de Ladislao IV Vasa, obteniendo finalmente el título nobiliario de *indigenato* polaco en 1635. Sin embargo, el fruto inmediato de su esfuerzo fue la creación, en 1616, del Colegio Veneto artista, del que, según

indica una anotación interlineal en el registro *NGA*, el ‘fragante’ Fabriczy fue el primer graduado: «Daniel Fabricius Dantiscanus Borussus, Inclytae Germanorum Nationi, dato reale Ungarico, sese addicebat die Divae Catharinae [25 de noviembre] anno 1612. Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctor pronunciatu et creatu est Patavii in aula augustiori Gymnasii Patavini die 1 iunii anno 1616. Primus qui *al Bo* in Doctorem promotus est. In patria felicissime praxin exercet Reipublicae physicus ordinarius».

Siempre con el tema de las identidades múltiples y fluidas, cuando no se trata de una cuestión de conveniencia, pero dirigiendo la mirada hacia Occidente y de nuevo hacia los Juristas, un caso interesante es el de los franceses Laurent y Jean Geofle, padre e hijo, cuyas imágenes de tres cuartos, probablemente procedentes de la colección familiar, cuelgan en el Bo, en la sala de Medicina, incluidas de forma impropia en una serie de retratos de médicos y anatomistas famosos (fig. 23). A lo largo del borde superior del retrato del padre, casi calvo y representado con atuendo de jurisconsulto, con cuello de solapas almidonadas y borlas según la moda francesa de mediados del siglo XVII, la mano derecha sobre el corazón y la izquierda oculta, tal vez en un bolsillo del costado de la *vesta*, la leyenda reza LAVRENTIVS GEOFLE STEMPANVS GALLVS ANNO CHRISTI MDCXLIIX ÆTATIS LXIV OBIIT ANNO MDCLI, donde la indicación *Stempanus* se refiere a Étampes, localidad situada a 54 kilómetros y medio al sur de París, en el actual departamento de Essonne (Île-de-France). No muy lejos, el retrato del hijo, representado con una larga melena castaña, un traje muy similar al de su padre, la mano derecha señalando al progenitor y la izquierda, con un llamativo anillo engastado en el meñique, levantada para sostener un sombrero negro invertido y adornado con cintas plateadas y doradas que forman una especie de lirio, reza en cambio IOANNES GEOFLE PATAVINVS ANNO CHRISTI MDCLII ÆTATIS XVII: el año siguiente a la muerte de su padre, de quien era heredero y como tal se mostraba también profesionalmente, el joven Geofle era, por tanto, definido como paduano, sin duda por su lugar de nacimiento, en 1635.

Sin embargo, dos años más tarde, a la edad de 19 años, Jean se matriculó en la *Natio Germanica Iuristarum*, registrándose simplemente como «Ioannes Geofleus, anno 1654 8 octobris. Solutu numo aureo 15 ½ libris», sin ninguna indicación de su origen: la explicación se encuentra en las *Acta* de la *Natio* con fecha del 19 de julio de 1661, cuando Franz Christoph Radhaupt von Rosenberg, *Styriae et Carinthiae provincialis*, consejero entonces en funciones, especifica que Geofle era «olim Paduanus sed, cum a Germanis parentibus natus, in matriculam nostram illatus». Dado que su padre era *Stempanus Gallus*, la supuesta ascendencia germánica del joven, que entonces tenía

veintiséis años, solo podía provenir de su madre; pero, sin duda, presentarse como estudiante alemán y no paduano había sido una buena estrategia para él, sobre todo si aspiraba a algún puesto en la *universitas*, dado el prestigio y los privilegios de que gozaban los miembros de la *Alemana* y, por el contrario, la exclusión estatutaria de los paduanos de los cargos de la *banca*.

La razón por la que el consejero germánico se ocupaba de él en aquel momento no era, sin embargo, debido a una honorífica elección como consejero, sino a un grave hecho de crónica negra: a principios de julio de 1661, Jean había sido detenido y tuvo que pasar muchas semanas en las prisiones del capitán con dos juicios pendientes en su contra, uno penal y otro político, «quia hic ageretur et de gestatione et explosione pistolae contra lictores, ut crimine lesae maiestatis», dado el *status* público de los objetivos del enfrentamiento armado, lo que llevó a Radhaupt a intervenir en tres ocasiones ante el capitán-vicepodestá Leonardo Zane, primero «gratiae impetrandae causa [...] ne incarceraretur, quod esset membrum Nationis» y luego para solicitar y pedir su liberación, pero en vano «cum tantum delictum privilegiis nostris eludere non possemus». Una laguna en los *Acta* alemanes nos impide conocer el desarrollo de los acontecimientos en los meses siguientes, pero todo debió resolverse, finalmente, de la mejor forma, ya que en el curso académico 1663-64, con 28 o 29 años, el aún estudiante Geofle alcanzó por fin el ansiado cargo universitario, convirtiéndose en consejero *Provenzale*, recuperando así 'por las ramas' su identidad original: el 10 de septiembre, cuando fue elegido tardíamente, y luego de nuevo el 3 de octubre de 1663 y el 29 de marzo de 1664, fue designado de hecho como *Ioannes Goflé* (o *Glofeus*) *Parisiensis*, y al final de su mandato, en el registro del escudo colocado en julio-agosto de 1664 en el *Auditorium magnum* de los Juristas, que aún se conserva en su ubicación original (Aula Magna, pared norte), se le designa, aún más precisamente, como IOANNES GEOFLE STEMPANVS, denominación que cierra idealmente el círculo con la cualificación paterna, aunque no consta que Jean obtuviera título alguno de doctorado y nos es desconocido su destino profesional y existencial.

5. Como se ha mencionado, la celebración de demostraciones anatómicas 'en vivo' constituía un fuerte reclamo para muchos estudiantes *ultramontani* que se encontraban en una fase avanzada de sus estudios y que ya formaban parte del cuerpo docente de su *Alma Mater*, que acudían a Padua para perfeccionar su formación y culminar sus estudios con un prestigioso título de medicina. El registro de matriculados de la *Natio Polona* contiene así numerosos nombres de quienes, tras obtener el título de *Magister*,

Philosophiae Doctor eiusdemque in Alma Academia Cracoviensi professor (o fórmulas análogas), previa oferta *in honorem sancti Stanislai patroni nostrae gentis* (y titular del altar nacional dedicado al Santo), *nomen suum hic inscribi faci[eba]t* para poder continuar y completar los estudios en el Bo y emprender luego diversos caminos en la vida (fig. 24).

Este es el caso, entre muchos otros, de Andrzej Szymonowicz, de Leopold (matriculado el 28 de febrero de 1667 y consejero *Polone* en el año académico 1667-68, graduado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1661 y en medicina en Padua el 2 de febrero de 1668, posteriormente médico y consejero municipal en Leopold desde 1674, y luego archiatra real), Wojciech (Alberto) Kazimierz Rezler, de Cracovia (matriculado el 4 de agosto de 1668 y consejero *Polone* en 1671-72 y 1672-73, doctorado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1664 y en medicina en Padua el 8 de agosto de 1673, posteriormente botánico, poeta y archiatra de Jan Sobieski, fallecido ya en 1687), Aleksander Wojciech Będkowski, de Poznań (matriculado el 21 de mayo de 1673 y consejero *Polone* en 1673-74, graduado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1672 y en medicina en Padua el 3 de octubre de 1673, posteriormente de nuevo profesor en Cracovia, médico y consejero municipal en Poznań) etc.

Pero también había quienes, tras su paso por Padua, proseguían sus estudios con *curricula* más o menos diversos, como Franciszek Józef Przewoski (matriculado el 10 de abril de 1670 y consejero *Polone* en 1669-70 y 1670-71, graduado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1652 y ya profesor en la Academia de Poznań desde 1655, doctorado en medicina en Padua el 31 de julio de 1670 y luego de nuevo en Cracovia en teología, en 1684, posteriormente secretario real, preboste de San Florián, autor de obras de lógica y teología) o como Jan Brożena (matriculado el 6 de octubre de 1660 y consejero *Polone* en 1660-61, doctorado en filosofía en Cracovia antes de 1652 y ya profesor de matemáticas en la Academia de Poznań desde 1655, pero graduado *in utroque iure* en Roma el 8 de abril de 1661 y, posteriormente, de nuevo profesor en Cracovia, autor de un conocido calendario festivo anual y de tratados astronómicos y matemáticos, fallecido en 1677) etc. Y no faltan los casos de estudiantes para quienes Padua, además de ser un importante centro de estudios, constituía también un paréntesis de serenidad en medio del torbellino de acontecimientos bélicos que azotaban la Europa de la época: «Magister Martinus Lesczyna Inclitae Nationi Polonae hac periodo aemulae tot circum hanc undique furibundis bellorum motibus, non sine horrendo ac exitiali impetu se rotantibus, attamen sui tutelaris sancti Stanislai iuvamine velut axe suffultae, cum nomen suum consecraret cultui tanti patroni ad suum altare promovendum ungarum unum devote adiecit, die ipso Cenae Domini [18 aprilis] anno Vir-

ginei partus 1658, manu propria», también graduado en filosofía en Cracovia en 1655, consejero *Polone* en 1658-59 y doctor en medicina en Padua el 10 de octubre de 1659, luego secretario real, consejero municipal en Cracovia y gran coleccionista de libros de materia médica.

En los casos que acabamos de ver, los datos biográficos que se recogen no proceden del registro polaco, que solo en el caso de Rezler y Brożena proporciona la noticia de su fallecimiento (aunque en este último caso sin fecha), sino de investigaciones y consultas modernas, realizadas por los editores del propio registro allá por 1971, o más recientemente por quien escribe; muy a menudo, sin embargo, cierta información esencial sobre la vida (y/o la muerte) del matriculado procede del propio registro, donde fue anotada ‘en tiempo real’ por alguien que conocía a la persona (y que, en su caso, la apreciaba o, por el contrario, tenía mala opinión de ella) y quería así perpetuar su memoria ante la comunidad nacional de la que había formado parte en su juventud. Estos ejemplos, de los que a continuación ofrecemos un breve resumen, recogen, por tanto, una fuente que, en su naturaleza original, es administrativa, individual e ‘instantánea’, y que, al convertirse también en documento colectivo, resulta duradera en el tiempo y de un valor que podríamos calificar de afectivo, lo cual resulta especialmente evidente cuando la incorporación de notas biográficas no se produjo en una sola ocasión, sino mediante un aumento progresivo y una actualización de la información, a veces hasta la noticia final del fallecimiento del interesado.

Siguiendo todavía con la matrícula polaca, encontramos, entre muchos otros (las notas añadidas y escritas por otra mano aparecen en cursiva), el caso de Marcin Władisław Weiher, que llegó a Padua probablemente en agosto de 1604, tras haber estudiado en 1603 en Würzburg y en 1604 en Ingolstadt, consejero *Polone* en 1605 y fallecido ya en 1610 sin haberse graduado nunca y tras haber servido a su rey en Francia, los Países Bajos y Alemania: «Anno Domini 1604 [...] Martinus Wladislaus Weyher de Leba et Nowydwor dedit duos ungaros. *Occisus in primo bello Moscovitico a Moscic. Cubicularius intimus Sigismundi 3., Rex Poloniae et Sueciae*», o el de Jakub Zadzik (c. 1582-1642), antiguo alumno del colegio jesuita de Kalisz y de Cracovia, que llegó a Padua en 1602 y se trasladó luego a Perugia, donde se graduó en *utroque iure* el 13 de agosto de 1604, y a Roma, llegando a ser secretario real, canciller del Reino, decano de Poznań, custodio de Varsovia, obispo de Chełmno y, finalmente, de Cracovia: «Anno Domini 1602, pridie calendis Augusti [...] Jacobus Zadzik dedit libras quatuor. *Primo Episcopus Gulmensis et Regni Poloniae supremus Cancellarius. Et postea Episcopus Cracoviensis. Mortuus*».

Ejemplos similares encontramos también en los registros alemanes de los Artistas y los Juristas, aunque no podemos aportar datos biográficos complementarios sobre ellos (fig. 25): en el primer caso, citamos los de «David Placotomus Dantiscanus, retulit in album nomen suum anno [15]90 die 26 octobris ac more consueto 112 coronatum numeravit. *Medicus licentiatus Patavii 1592. Obiit Gedani 1607*» (fue *massaro* anatómico en 1597-98 y vicerrector muy controvertido en 1598-99, nunca se graduó y fue recordado en el Bo mediante un escudo y una placa colocados póstumamente, aunque con fecha de 1599, por iniciativa privada de su amigo y vicario Mondino Mondini), «Henricus Ellenberger Cattus nomen suum in Germanae Nationis album retulit anno salutis reparatae [15]95, 10 maii, dedit 6 libras. *Doctor. Professor medicinae Marpurgi, postea Archiater ducis Saxoniae*» (fue primer consejero *Ultramontano* y asesor en 1596-97), «Ioannes Lysias, de Hamburgo nomen albo, libras sex fisco dedit anno [15]96, 4 maii. *Doctor. Flenspurgi medicinam foelicissime exercet. Obiit magno sui relicto desiderio*» (fue consejero secundario *Tusco* en 1596-97), «Christophorus Albinus Francofurtanus 19 septembris anno [15]97. 6 libras. *Doctor. Apud Stetinenses Pomeranos hodie medicinam cum honore et applausu facit*», (fue segundo consejero *Ultramontano* en 1598-99), «Ioannes Fridericus Egs Reinfeldensis Rauracus nomen suum in album Inclytæ Germanorum Nationis retulit et solvendis fisco libras Venetas VI lubens numeravit 23 februarii anno 1599. *Medicus in patria et chymicus multis admirandus consultis. Thessalus Tertius. Obiit in Moravia anno 1637 †*» (fue primer consejero *Ultramontano* en 1599-600), «Martinus Paelianus Harlemo-Batavus, Medicinae baccalaureus Monspeliensis, solutis solvendis, in albo Inclytæ Nationis Germanicæ nomen suum lubens meritoque inseruit XX novembris anno epochæ 1604. *Doctor. Nunc temporis doctor ordinarius patriæ suæ*» (fue primer consejero *Ultramontano* en 1604-05), «Henricus Heyll Dantiscanus Borussus, solutis solvendis, nomen dedit Inclytæ Nationi Germanicæ ipsis calendis novembris anno 1605. *Doctor. Basileæ in doctorem promotus anno 1608*» (fue primer consejero *Ultramontano* en 1606-07 y segundo *Ultramontano* en 1608-09, con un curioso retroceso en su carrera). De la matrícula de Juristas extraemos, por otra parte, estos pocos casos significativos: «Blasius Kirchmarius scripsit anno 1580 die 12 mensis iunii. Dedit. *Serenissimi archiducis Caroli Austriaci consiliarius. Obiit Greci*» (fue sustituto *Scoto* en 1581-82), «Otto Brahe Axilli filius Danus 7 augusti anno 1599. Dedit 9 libras. *Anno 1611 in obsidione Calmariensi pro patria periit miles strenuus*» (fue consejero *Alemán* en 1599-600 y 1600-01), «Georgius Sigismundus Prakschicky a Zastrzizell Moravus 21 februarii anno 1600. Dedit libras 10. *Filius eius adscripsit 1644*» (fue consejero *Boemo* en 1600-01).

Si bien en el caso de los personajes conocidos, como los consejeros nacionales o aquellos que posteriormente desarrollaron carreras civiles o eclesiásticas destacadas, la mención de los resultados concretos de su vida y carrera y la actualización ‘paso a paso’ de la información resultan especialmente comprensibles, no faltan los casos de estudiantes ‘corrientes’, a veces casi anónimos, pero igualmente seguidos en su época con afecto (o, por el contrario, con críticas más o menos explícitas) y atención (detallada o de simple recuerdo piadoso) en sus vicisitudes posteriores a su etapa paduana (o que en Padua tuvieron definitivamente su término). La ejemplificación, ordenada cronológicamente y necesariamente resumida, pero en cualquier caso interesante por el variado panorama humano así delineado, procede en este caso íntegramente del registro de matrícula de los Juristas alemanes: «Anno MDXLVIII XV maii. Ioannes Babbtista Heintzl Augustanus. *Gnad dir Gott. Hast aber schon Töchteren hinderlassen*», «Marquardus a Berga canonicus. Praepositus Papebergensis. *Hodie episcopus Augustensis. Obiit 1577 †*», «Anno MDXLVIII I augusti. Stephanus Hauptmann Viennensis philosophiae magister. *Gnad dir Got † Obiit Viennae professor iuris primarius et consiliarius Imperatoris, et Universitatis ibidem rector anno LX*», «Anno MDLII XV octobris. Adamus Zäch Tyrolensis. *Iuris utriusque doctor. Reipublicae Augustanae cancellarius*», «Georgius Tanner Austriacus ex Ernersdorf. *Iuris utriusque doctor. Viennae atticae linguae professor primarius*», «Henricus Ioham Alsatius Argentoratensis. *Praetor ibidem. Genade ihm Gott*», «Anno MDLIII 19 februarii. Antonius Geuder Norimbergensis. *Viva. Septemvir Reipublicae Norimbergensis †*», «Ioannes Pupschitz Silesius consiliarius. *Nunc capitaneus et praefectus comitatus Glacensis pro Sacra Romana Caesarea Maiestate. Iam vero consiliarius Imperatoris in Camera Slesitica*», «Syfridus Ribisch Silesius. *Consiliarius Caesareae Maiestatis in Camera Silesiae*», «Anno 1560 die 17 septembris. Amandus a Gera Carinthius. *† Vivit Viennae. Obiit in Ungaria. Gnad dier Gott*», «Adamus a Gahlen diocesis Coloniensis, 16 decembris anno 1560. *Satrapa ducis Bipontini*», «Ioannes Gotthardus utriusque iuris doctor, Ingolstadiensis Bavarus, reverendissimi episcopi Ratisbonensis consiliarius adque Sacrosanctam Synodum Tridentinam orator, anno 1562 6. die augusti. *Postea factus episcopi Pataviensis cancellarius. Mortuus Spiraie in comitiis anno 70*», «Elias Corvinus Ioachimicus, anno salutis 1562 18. die septembris. *Poeta. Postea iuris utriusque lauream adeptus. Poeta laureatus et professor Viennensis. Nunc excelsi regiminis Viennae assessor*», «Casparus a Seckendorff Francus scripsit anno salutis nostrae 1562 18. die octobris. *Canonicus Bambergensis et Wurtzburgensis. Atque episcopus Aystettensis †*», «Philippus Luchs Eistetensis, anno 1562 18 octobris. *Iuris utriusque doctor et episcopi Eistetensis consiliarius*», «Raymundus im Hof

Augustanus, 13 calendas novembris anno 1562. *Obiit Venetiis anno 1591 mense novembris circa principium*», «Iob Steinort Pomeranus, 20 novembris anno 1562. *Utriusque iuris doctor. Advocatus Stetini ibidemque obiit*», «Christophorus Vintler a Plätsch Tyrolensis, anno a nato Christo 1562 nonis decembris. *Nunc regens consiliarius archiducis Oeniponti. Nunc anno Domini nostri 159... summus canonicus cathedralis ecclesiae Eyste...*», «Iohannes Schwartzenthaler, 12 calendas iunii [1565]. *Professor codicum Viennae*», «Iohannes Iacobus Hundius de Lautterbach in Kaltenberg Bous, nonis iunii anno 1565. *Degit in arce Dachau, vir cum in gratia tum in eruditione nobilis. Consiliarius ducis Bavarici Monaci*», «Iohannes Gailing, nonis iunii anno ut supra. *Iuris utriusque doctor Pisis*», «Christophorus Ender Silesius, 13 iunii, dedit coronatum. *Obiit in itinere Melitensi investituram ordinis petiturus*», «Albertus Hung Ingolstaediensis Bavarus, anno 1566 XI calendas octobris. *Vir eloquentissimus. Professor primarius ethices Ingolstadii et ibi cancellarius viget Academiae*», «Ioannes Andreas Geuder Norinbergensis scripsit nomen suum vigesimo quarto die mensis octobris anno salutiferi partus 1587. Dedit dimidium coronatum. † *Obiit hic adulescens optimus et nobilissimus in ipso aetatis flore magno suorum luctu*», «Adamus Remboldus Augustanus den 20 November. Dedit 4 libras. *Nunc agit militiam in Ungaria. Nunc Ingolstadii libris operam navat. Et nunc in bello Ungarico obiit anno 96 †*», «Fridericus ab Aleveldt Holsatus, 15 december 1587. Dedit coronatum. *Gnadt ihm Godt*», «Iacobus Wiffelt, 15 die decembris anno MDLXXXVII. Dedit coronatum. *Magnus regis Daniae cancellarius et senator. Obiit 1630*», «Caspar Masbachius Lipsensis, 17. die mensis decembris anni 87. Dedit 4 libras. † *Gnadt dir Gott*», «Adamus Geizcofler, die 21 decembris anno 1587. Dedit coronatum. *Romae diem suum obiit magno cognatorum dolore*», «Christianus Barnekau Danus nonis ianuarii [1588]. Dedit 6 libras. *Pro patria oneste occubuit anno 1611*», «Laurentius Moller Lubecensis, 11 maii. Dedit 4 libras. *Pro tempore supremus patriae consul anno 1634*», «Sigvardus Grubbius Danus, 11 maii. Dedit coronatum aureum. *Nunc incliti regni Daniae secretarius*», «Petrus Paulus Steurnagel Augustanus, 14 maii. Dedit 4 libras. *Iuris utriusque licentiatus. Advocatus Camerae Spirensis*», «Martinus Selge a Gebeldehausen Eichsfeldiacus, armatae iuxta et literariae militiae studiosus, iam tunc ex strepitu Gallici tumultus et servitio Henrici III regis Francorum ad pacatum literariae militiae studium rediens, Patavii in nobilem hunc Germanorum coetum, Germanus eo ipso profitendo animum, nomen suum inseruit 19. die mensis maii anno Domini MDLXXXVIII. 4 Libras. *Obiit Senis in Hetruria 15 martii anno 1590*», «Iacobus Schanterus a Lauban cum per novennium syndici et archigrammathae offitio in inclyta Wormacia Imperii civitate libera functus esset, se Patavium contulit et amplissimae Ger-

manicae nationis nomen dedit 10 augusti. Dedit 4 libras. *Vita Iacobi Schanteri Grosser Kerl. Stultitiarum praetium dignitates*».

Y es en su memoria, la de ellos y la de todos sus colegas *ultra- y citramontani* que han asistido al *Studium Patavinum* y lo han hecho grande desde hace más de 800 años, que se concluye esta contribución, con el deseo de que los casos aquí ejemplificados, con mayor o menor detalle, puedan, por un lado, estimular el conocimiento y la profundización cada vez mayor de las mil historias que componen la Historia –en general y, en un modo particular, en el caso de una comunidad juvenil tan amplia y duradera como fue y es la de los estudiantes paduanos– y, por otro lado, contribuir a poner de relieve la contribución que la afluencia de estudiantes procedentes de Europa Central ha aportado al desarrollo y la difusión del conocimiento, así como al perfeccionamiento de la enseñanza en el *Studium Patavinum*, y el impacto que esto ha tenido tanto en los países de origen de los estudiantes y en sus respectivas carreras como en la interacción entre la universidad, los distintos componentes de la ciudad de Padua y la ‘dominante’ veneciana, con su política cultural y su milenaria tradición de buen gobierno.

Nota bibliográfica

El ensayo se basa íntegramente en fuentes publicadas o muy conocidas, especificadas caso por caso, en trabajos anteriores del mismo autor y en estudios de terceros de fácil acceso; por lo que se prescinde de las referencias bibliográficas puntuales, que no harían más que recargar el trabajo y que, en cualquier caso, son fácilmente localizables a partir de los nombres, las fechas y las fuentes que se han ido indicando; se presenta, ordenada por temas, la bibliografía completa utilizada y algunas entradas de referencia general, donde se encuentran todas las referencias específicas a fuentes de archivo y otras entradas de profundización y detalle.

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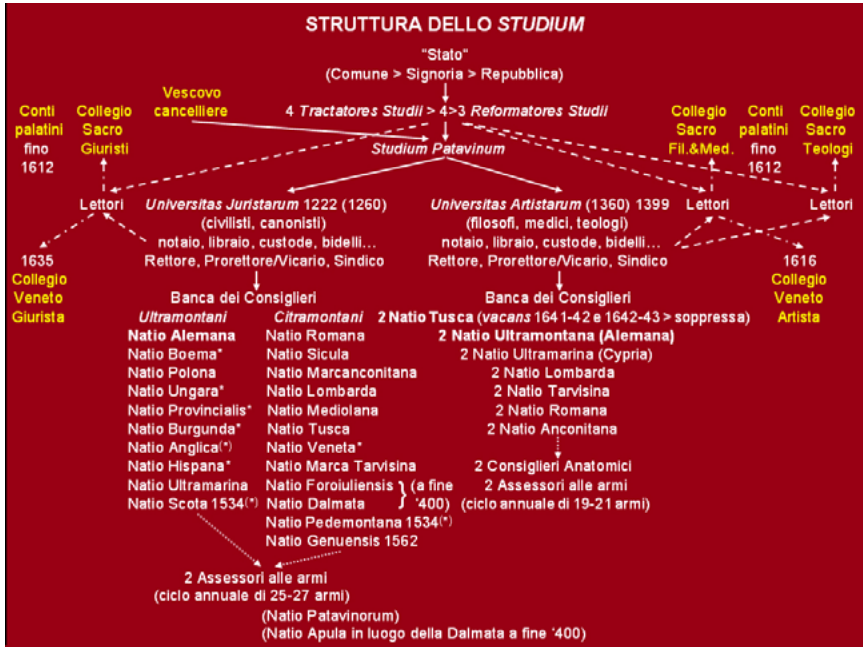


Figura 1.

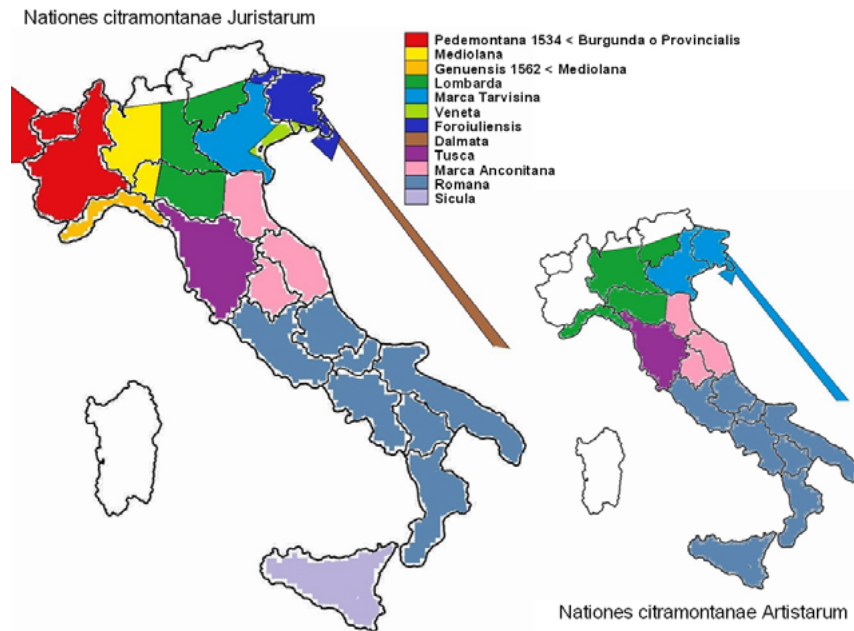
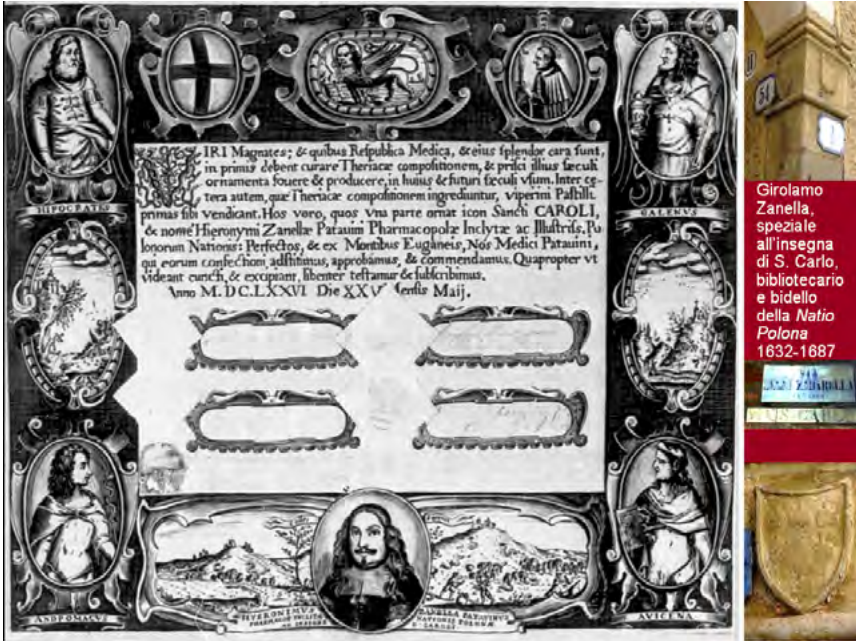


Figura 2.



Girolamo Zanella, speciale all'insegna di S. Carlo, bibliotecario e bidello della Natio Polona 1832-1887

Figura 3.



Figura 4.



Figura 5.



Figura 6.



Figura 7.



Figura 8.



Bo, il Cortile Antico

Figura 9.



pareti ovest, nord e est oggi

Bo, Aula Magna

pareti sud e ovest ante 1938

Figura 10.



Figura 11.



Figura 12.



Figura 13.



Figura 14.



Figura 15.



Figura 16.



Figura 17.



Figura 18.



Figura 21.



Figura 22.

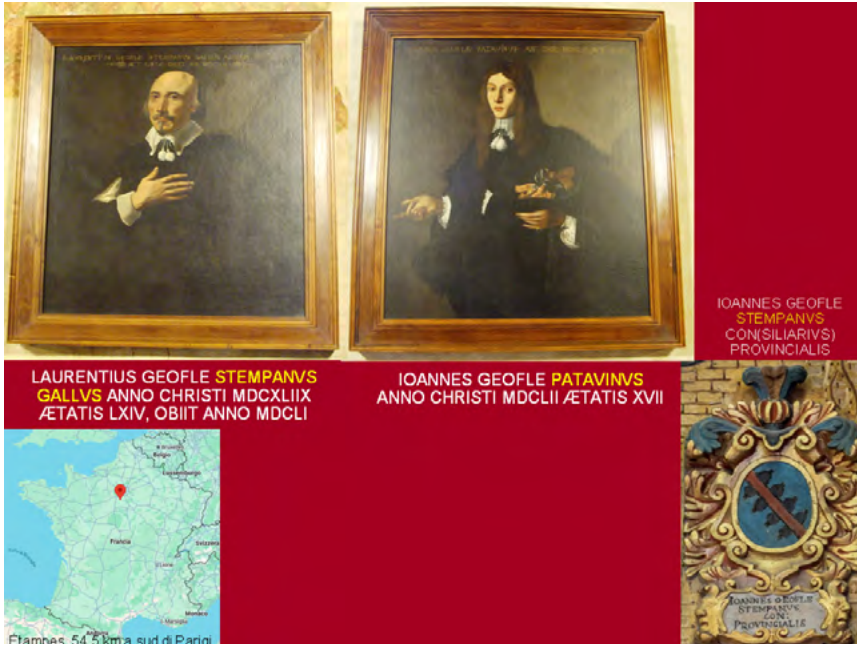


Figura 23.



Figura 24.



Figura 25.

Innovation in teaching and symbolism

Thomas Murner (1475–1537) as an Innovator in university teaching. Didactic games and the translation of legal texts

Thomas Murner (1475–1537) como innovador
en la enseñanza universitaria. Juegos didácticos
y la traducción de textos jurídicos

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Abstract: Thomas Murner is still regarded in scholarship primarily as a controversial theologian and a prominent opponent of Martin Luther. This perspective, however, obscures the fact that a substantial part of his work is rooted in late medieval and early modern cultures of education and knowledge. This article foregrounds Murner as an innovative didactician and examines the conditions and functions of his game-based forms of teaching within the university context around 1500.

The point of departure is Murner's didactic learning games, card games as well as chess and dice variants, with which he made logic, Roman law and prosody learnable through visualisation, ordering, and memorative repetitio. Within the framework of the *ars memorativa*, Murner was the first of his time to employ the medium of the playing card systematically as a teaching and mnemo-

Resumen: Thomas Murner sigue siendo considerado por la investigación, ante todo, como un teólogo polémico y un destacado adversario de Martín Lutero. Sin embargo, esta perspectiva oscurece el hecho de que una parte sustancial de su obra está arraigada en las culturas del saber y de la educación del final de la Edad Media y de la primera modernidad. Este artículo sitúa en primer plano a Murner como un didacta innovador y examina las condiciones y funciones de sus formas de enseñanza basadas en el juego dentro del contexto universitario en torno a 1500.

El punto de partida son los juegos didácticos de aprendizaje de Murner, tanto juegos de cartas como variantes de ajedrez y de dados, con los que hizo enseñables la lógica, el derecho romano y la prosodia mediante la visualización, la ordenación y la repetitio memorativa. En el marco del *ars memorativa*, Murner

nic apparatus for academic subjects. At the same time, contemporary reactions, ranging from admiration to mockery and suspicions of magic, reveal how strongly these experiments oscillated between academic norms and didactic transgression. Added to this are his achievements as a translator, through which he rendered learned knowledge, especially legal texts, into the vernacular, while also teaching in that language and thereby opening up new forms of mediation between university scholarship and a broader public.

What is new is the positioning of Murner within the history of universities and knowledge from a digital-historical perspective: prosopographical analyses based on the data of the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG) sharpen his profile as an exceptionally mobile and innovative scholar.

Keywords: digital history, university teaching, didactic games, playing cards, Thomas Murner.

fue el primero de su tiempo en emplear sistemáticamente el medio de la carta de juego como instrumento didáctico y mnemotécnico para materias académicas. Al mismo tiempo, las reacciones contemporáneas, que iban desde la admiración hasta la burla y las sospechas de magia, muestran hasta qué punto estos experimentos oscilaron entre las normas académicas y la transgresión didáctica. A ello se suman sus logros como traductor, gracias a los cuales vertió el saber erudito, en especial los textos jurídicos, a la lengua vernácula, al tiempo que enseñaba en esa misma lengua y abría así nuevas formas de mediación entre la erudición universitaria y un público más amplio.

La novedad reside en la ubicación de Murner dentro de la historia de las universidades y del saber desde una perspectiva de historia digital: los análisis prosopográficos basados en los datos del *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG) perfilan con mayor nitidez su figura como la de un erudito excepcionalmente móvil e innovador.

Palabras clave: Historia digital, enseñanza universitaria, juegos didácticos, naipes, Thomas Murner.

1. *Thomas Murner in (Digital) University History*

Thomas Murner (1474-1537), a Franciscan friar from Alsace, is still presented in scholarship primarily as a sharp-tongued controversial theologian and an implacable opponent of Martin Luther (1483-1546).¹ In many accounts he appears above all in the context of the confessional conflicts of the early Reformation, in which he acted with drastic imagery and polemical sharpness. This perception is historically understandable, but it isolates only one prominent part of his work and obscures the diversity of his intellectual profile. A substantial portion of his oeuvre is not shaped by theological controversy, but is instead deeply embedded in late medieval and early modern cultures of education and knowledge. Here Murner emerges as a scholar who took the didactic challenges of his time seriously and sought to address them with remarkable creativity. He was thus far more than the sharp polemicist he so often appears to be in Reformation propaganda and in later historiographical

¹ For a general overview on Murner see: Ukena, „Murner, Thomas“, 616-618.

tradition.² Two facets of his activity can therefore be distinguished in principle: on the one hand the aggressive controversial theologian, and on the other the innovative didactician. The latter is the focus of the following discussion.

In both aspects of his activity, a central trait of Murner's character becomes clearly visible: provocation. In many of his undertakings - whether as a combative theologian, in his sharp criticism of learned jurists, in his early German translations of Roman as well as imperial law for urban use, or finally in the development of didactic games - Murner deliberately positioned himself in fields marked by conflict. Through his games, he moreover entered a domain that universities increasingly sought to regulate, as they attempted in particular to curb gambling as well as card and dice games, in order to enforce temporal and moral regimes of discipline upon students.³ Murner thus appears to have consciously sought out institutional border zones in which resistance was to be expected - precisely by means of card games which, in the late Middle Ages, were not only extraordinarily popular but were simultaneously subjected to ever tighter normative control.⁴

Engaging with Thomas Murner entails the difficulty of maintaining an overview in view of his extensive work, often published in parallel, comprising both texts and didactic games, as well as his numerous academic and monastic stations. In this respect, the account by Worstbrock is particularly helpful, as it systematically brings together Murner's biographical data and works and situates them within their respective scholarly contexts.⁵

Earlier scholarship long regarded these games as marginal curiosities within his work, a view shaped above all by the legal - historical and literary-historical research of the nineteenth century.⁶ More recent studies have successfully rehabilitated Thomas Murner as a visionary of visual knowledge transmission and an outstanding didactician.⁷

Pauser's research explicitly recognises Murner as the creator of the first genuine educational card games of the Renaissance in the European context.⁸ Pauser rightly emphasises Murner as a pioneer of play-based didactics whose methods of knowledge transmission were far ahead of his time. Mo-

² Henseleit, *Murner als Autor*, 25.

³ Pauser, *Frevel*, 197-198.

⁴ For Nuremberg see for example Smoller, „Playing Cards and Popular Culture“, 190-191.

⁵ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“.

⁶ Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist*, 45, for the negative assessments of Murner; see *ibid.* 7 n. 1.

⁷ For example Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist* or Heger, „Der Meister der Murner-Zeichnungen“, S. 530, who quite rightly describes Murner as a “multitalent”.

⁸ Pauser, „Welch Frevel!“, Pauser, „The Invention“.

reover, as Pauser further argues, Murner was among the first to recognise the potential of the printing press to translate complex subject matter, such as the *Institutiones* of Roman law, logic, and prosody, into a systematic visual learning game. Scholarship has already illuminated various aspects of these games. Earlier research focused above all on the juridical card game (*Chartiludium institute*) and on the logic game (*Chartiludium logicae*).⁹ By contrast, far less attention has been paid to the learning game on prosody (*Ludus studentum Friburgensium*) and to the unfinished manuscript *Instituta Helvetiorum*, probably produced in Lucerne, which stands in close succession to the juridical card games.¹⁰ Stoffers and Thijs (1999) examined the card games from the perspective of the history of mentalities.¹¹ They demonstrate how perceptions of his teaching methods shifted from contemporary admiration, or suspicions of magic, to later rejection. Hoffmann (2000) situates Murner's playing cards against the background of the late medieval popularity of playing cards and emphasises the formal and functional similarities between the two.¹² It follows that with his playing cards Murner did not merely adapt a fashionable phenomenon, but also recognised the new possibilities of print technology and innovatively integrated the media - technological transition from manuscript to print into his play - based didactics, since his earliest card games were in all likelihood drawn by hand. In 2017, Delgadillo published a bilingual edition and translation of Murner's logic card game. In an accompanying article from 2019, he analyses Murner's system as a "world of symbols" and emphasises that Murner was the first logician to translate logic into a playful didactic form.¹³ Wójcik (2011) interprets Thomas Murner's *Chartiludium* as the product of a Europe-wide space of knowledge in which *ars memorativa*, visualisation, and playful forms of teaching were transferred between Strasbourg, Freiburg, Paris, and Kraków.¹⁴ In this context, Kraków appears less as a place of origin than as a central node and experimental space in which Franciscan Observant actors in particular shaped mnemotechnical practices. Alongside Murner's play-based didactics, more recent research has especially

⁹ Sieber, *Kartenspiel*; Erler, *Murner als Jurist*; Sondheim, *Illustrationen*.

¹⁰ On the *Ludus studentum Friburgensium* see the research by Sondheim, *Frankfurter Drucke*, 42-49, 79-80 and especially the overview of the different version by Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 321-322., on the *Instituta Helvetiorum* see the research by Kaib, „Zu den juristischen Schriften Thomas Murners“, 104-110.

¹¹ Stoffers and Thijs, „A Question of Mentality“.

¹² Hoffmann, „Die mnemonischen Kartenspiele“, 589-590.

¹³ Medina Delgadillo, „A World of Symbols“, Murner, *El Juego de Cartas de Lógica*.

¹⁴ Wójcik, „Straßburg - Freiburg - Paris - Krakau“.

highlighted his achievements in the field of visual mediation. In her study of Murner's German translation of the *Aeneid* (1515), Frick (2019) shows how he employed visual formulas as interpretative and mnemonic media in order to enable his pupils to understand complex Latin texts.¹⁵

The most recent comprehensive scholarly work to address Thomas Murner's activity as a publicist, and thus also his visual didactics, is Henseleit's dissertation, which examines Murner as an author and controversial theologian in Strasbourg and Lucerne. It pays particular attention to Murner's handling of mockery as well as to his visual self-representation, which is closely linked to his mnemotechnical methods.¹⁶ This more recent perspective from media history, the history of education, and the history of knowledge makes it clear that Murner's playful didactics by no means stood at the margins of his work, but formed part of a broader transformation of European knowledge cultures in which visualisation and materiality increasingly gained importance. A substantial part of Murner's work is therefore not directly connected to confessional conflicts, but is instead best understood within the context of late medieval and early modern cultures of education and knowledge. Particularly striking is his readiness to deploy game mechanics deliberately as instruments of knowledge transmission. This becomes evident in the learning games that Murner developed between approximately 1500 and 1526, card games, chess variants, and dice games that conveyed juridical, logical, or poetic knowledge in playful, visual, and structured ways. Images had already been known in ancient rhetoric as mnemotechnical aids in their memory-supporting function, but later receded into the background before being taken up again in the late Middle Ages through the doctrine of the *loci et imagines*. Within the teaching of the art of memory, however, Murner was the first and only figure of his time to employ the specific medium of playing cards systematically in university teaching for logical and juridical mnemonic structures. In general, it should be noted that Murner's didactic card games likely circulated initially in hand-drawn form before being printed. They were subsequently embedded in book publications that provided systematic explanatory texts.¹⁷

Thomas Murner's academic biography is exceptional in several respects and provides a key to understanding his didactic innovative capacity. As a theologian, jurist, and European itinerant scholar, he moved through

¹⁵ Frick, *Visual Narrative*.

¹⁶ Henseleit, *Murner als Autor*.

¹⁷ Pauser, *Frevel*, 209-210.

different educational spaces and thereby became acquainted with a wide variety of modes of engaging with knowledge. It was precisely this mobility and intellectual multifacetedness that shaped his later play - based didactics, in which he developed novel ways of transmitting knowledge. Yet to date, scholarship has lacked a positioning of Murner's work within the framework of more recent university and knowledge history. A more differentiated appreciation began as early as von Liebenau (1913), who was the first to provide an extensive biographical account.¹⁸ Erler (1956) further rehabilitated Murner as a jurist and gave particular recognition to his creative linguistic achievement in the Germanisation of juridical texts.¹⁹ Von Liebenau and Worstbrock examine his academic stations in detail.²⁰ Murner's significance for university teaching practice, as well as the concrete use of his games in academic instruction, has not yet been systematically examined in the history of universities, let alone from a digital-historical perspective.

The present article takes this gap as its point of departure and at the same time interprets Murner's learning games within the context of his academic, cultural, and media environment. Its starting point is provided by prosopographical analyses based on the research data of the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG) and its digital methods for reconstructing premodern spaces of knowledge.²¹ Large-scale datasets make it possible to visualise his academic mobility and network position, showing that his didactic experiments did not emerge solely from local traditions, but from the interaction of different European spaces of knowledge.

The article first reconstructs Thomas Murner's academic mobility and situates it within European knowledge spaces. Building on this, it outlines the historical preconditions of late medieval cultures of play and memory and places Murner's learning games within their media-historical context. An analysis of the individual games in the context of university teaching cannot be undertaken within the scope of this article and is therefore reserved for separate studies. The added value of the contribution lies in the prosopographical contextualisation of Murner within the RAG, through which his distinctive position within late medieval learned culture becomes clearly visible. The focus is not on Murner's well-known profile as an controversial theologian with a sharp pen, but on his contributions to new forms of

¹⁸ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*.

¹⁹ Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist*.

²⁰ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*; Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“.

²¹ On the RAG project see Schwinges, „Ursprung und Entwicklungen“; Gubler, „Digital History Project“.

knowledge transmission, whether through the didactic format of learning games, through the first translations of learned content into the German vernacular, or through media and technological activities such as the founding of printing presses. Moreover, Murner's example shows that innovation in the age of the Reformation did not arise solely from university teaching, but to a significant extent from his education and activities within Franciscan monasteries. This brings the monastery into view as a productive site of didactic innovation.

2. Making Knowledge Accessible through Didactic and Technological Innovations

Thomas Murner explicitly understood himself as a teacher. He encapsulated his pedagogical self-conception in the programmatic phrase "Docere volui", which characterises his entire pedagogical and scholarly activity.²² Accordingly, the forms and locations of his activity were highly diverse: the development of didactic learning games, university teaching, the translation of central juridical texts of Roman law such as the *Institutiones*, and the deliberate promotion of printing through the establishment of printing presses in Franciscan monasteries in Strasbourg and Lucerne. These activities mark a consciously broad model of early modern knowledge transmission operating between monastery, university, and the public.

The following discussion focuses on those places and spaces in which Murner's innovative activity within the university context becomes particularly evident. Starting from his education between monastery and universities, it shows that Murner's engagement with playful forms of learning and mediation arose largely from his confrontation with complex academic bodies of knowledge and what he perceived as their frequently overcomplicated modes of transmission. This experience repeatedly prompted him to organise content, simplify it didactically, and make it accessible to a wider audience through new formats, in particular learning games and translations into German. This audience consisted primarily of students. At the same time, through his translation of imperial law for urban use into the German vernacular, Murner pursued the aim of opening access to legal knowledge for broader segments of the population and protecting them from being misled by learned jurists. In this sense, Murner understood himself both as

²² Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist*, 12.

an advocate of students and of legal laypeople, without restricting himself solely to these groups. With his German translation of the *Aeneid*, Murner built on strategies of media mediation that Sebastian Brant had already developed in his Strasbourg edition of Virgil from 1502. Its woodcuts were explicitly conceived as *pictura laicorum litteratura* and thus opened access to ancient epic for *indocti* and *rusticoli viri*. Murner expanded this approach by translating the text itself into the vernacular, thereby making the *Aeneid* readable even without Latin mediation.²³ In this consistent turn towards the vernacular and the didactic preparation of complex subject matter, Murner fulfilled a core concern of the Franciscan Order, whose self-understanding was traditionally shaped by proximity to everyday life and to the people. His proactive and innovative approach is ultimately also evident in his deliberate use of printing technology. By establishing printing presses in the Franciscan monasteries of Strasbourg and Lucerne, he created the conditions for disseminating his teaching methods and bodies of knowledge by means of the most advanced technical media of the time.

3. Creativity, Initiative, and Innovation: Familial Preconditions

For a better understanding of Murner's academic career and his efforts to make complex bodies of knowledge accessible, a brief look at his family background is helpful. Murner's father Matthäus worked as an advocate in Strasbourg and also served as a legal expert for the city's Grand Council. He passed on his interest in jurisprudence not only to Thomas, but also to another son, Johannes. In the case of the latter, however, university education has not yet been the focus of attention. In the scholarly literature, Johannes is generally described as a "jurist", although evidence for a corresponding education or even a university degree is lacking. Yet Johannes did in fact study at the University of Paris, at least for a time, together with Thomas.²⁴ His studies in Paris are indirectly attested through the first theological attempt of his brother Thomas, an unfinished treatise on the Immaculate Conception. The text is conceived as a scholastic disputation between the brothers and explicitly presupposes Johannes as a Thomist studying in Paris. A covering letter dated 1499 further documents an intra-familial conflict over

²³ Frick, „Visual Narrative“, 250-251, 266-267 on the reception of this model in Thomas Murner's German translation of the *Aeneid* (1515).

²⁴ With regard to the following: Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 313.

theological orientation, in which Thomas urges his brother to return to the Marian doctrine of Duns Scotus. The treatise thus attests both Johannes's period of study in Paris and the period-typical confrontation between Thomism and Scotism around 1500, particularly at the University of Paris. The accompanying letter moreover makes clear that Johannes, unlike Thomas, was still studying in Paris at that time.²⁵ It may furthermore be assumed that Johannes studied at the Faculty of Arts in Paris without aiming at a formal degree; evidence for such a qualification is lacking, just as it is for his brother Thomas. Unlike Johannes, however, Thomas later explicitly describes himself as a *magister artium* and as a student of theology in Paris, although this need not imply formal enrolment in the theological faculty; for Murner, study within the Franciscan educational milieu in Paris appears more likely just as it would also have been possible in the other university towns he visited.²⁶ For his later activity in the juridical field, Johannes evidently acquired the requisite specialised knowledge by extra-university means. He also undoubtedly benefited from the juridical experiential knowledge available within the family. It is therefore no coincidence that Johannes, like his father before him, later worked as an advocate for the city of Strasbourg. The juridical terminology employed by Johannes likewise recalls that of his father and brother, both of whom adopted a critical stance towards a socially aloof juristic elite. According to Weinacht, Johannes used precise juridical terminology, but expressed it in a strongly dialect-inflected style.²⁷ This emerges from a public justification addressed to the cathedral canons Cosmas and Johannes Andreas, members of the Strasbourg Wolff family. Johannes accused the two of having seduced several daughters of burghers, including his sister Maria, and at the same time denounced ecclesiastical and legal abuses

²⁵ The wording of the incipit and the accompanying letter dated to 1499 suggest that Thomas Murner sent the treatise to his brother Johannes in Paris. The phrase *parisius proficienti* presupposes that Johannes was studying in Paris at that time, while the designation of the text as *missus* implies a spatial separation between sender and recipient. The accompanying letter, in which Thomas urgently exhorts his brother to return to Scotist Mariology, is therefore to be understood as part of a written intervention in a theological dispute conducted at a distance, see Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 313.

²⁶ See Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 142-145 on education and the pursuit of degrees among Conventuals and Observants, and 165 on Paris; see also Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 10: Conrad Pellikan's remark that around 1500 some 350 Franciscans were studying in Paris strongly suggests the scale and importance of the Franciscan studium there, making it more likely that Murner's theological studies in Paris took place within the order's educational framework.

²⁷ Weinacht, „Murner, Johannes“, Sp. 815.

in contemporary Strasbourg. Both in his dialectal and thus popular style and in his criticism of abuses, a clear affinity with his brother Thomas becomes apparent. Like Thomas, as will be shown below, Johannes also entered the service of a nobleman. Johannes Murner entered the service of Duke Anton II of Lorraine (1489-1544) after he had fled his home city as a result of a private feud with the Strasbourg patrician Wolff family.²⁸

3.1. *Early Insights into Legal Practice, Support from His Father*

As Murner himself later recorded, among other places in a text written for Basel law students, his father and uncle in Strasbourg repeatedly drew his attention to how often laypeople were disadvantaged or misled by learned jurists. These experiences certainly contributed to his decision to convey complex juridical content not only to students, but also to a broader public in a clear and accessible form. Murner was not the only member of his family to turn towards new forms of knowledge transmission. Two of his brothers, Beatus (Batt) and Sixtus, worked as printers and at times collaborated with him.²⁹ This family environment, characterised by a pronounced openness to new forms of juridical, publishing, and technical practice, contributes to an understanding of Thomas Murner's proactive and innovative role.

In comparison with his siblings, Thomas Murner was clearly favoured by his father in the financing of his education. This is attested, on the one hand, by Murner's own statements. In the preface to his work *Germania nova*, published in August 1502 and addressed to the councillors, patricians, and magistracy of the city of Strasbourg, Murner emphasises that he had expended a considerable paternal fortune in order to attend the faculties of various universities, so that he might be able to defend his fatherland against bad advisers, here primarily referring to his adversary Jakob Wimpfeling.³⁰ He lists the stations of this years-long academic peregrination explicitly in the concluding prayer of the same work: Paris, Freiburg, Cologne, Rostock,

²⁸ Müller, „Murner, Johannes“; Rott, „Johannes Murners Streitigkeiten“.

²⁹ After the death of their father in 1506, Johannes Murner was appointed curator (guardian) for his siblings who were still underage at the time, including Sixtus and Beatus (Batt), cf.

Sondheim, *Frankfurter Drucke*, 37-40; As further siblings, Rudolph is named, as well as the sisters Gertrud, Ennelia, Richardis, Barbara, and Maria. On Beatus, see also Kelchner, „Murner, Beatus“.

³⁰ Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 201.

Prague, Vienna, and Kraków.³¹ The costs of his studies were dismissed by Murner's opponents in Wimpfeling's circle as mere "boasting". Thus Johannes Auriga, a pupil of Wimpfeling, mocked Murner in the polemical tract *Defensio Germaniae*, claiming that because of his extensive travels Murner had spent the money not on his studies but rather on carters, innkeepers, stable hands, and boatmen. Petrus Coquus, for his part, reproached Murner with having boasted that he had now attained the goal of his studies and would henceforth, like one of the "fathers", possess his own living quarters, a heated room, and a bath. In this way, he insinuated that the Franciscan Murner's studies had led to social aloofness.³²

According to scholarly conjecture, the special support afforded to Murner was not based solely on his exceptional talent, but also on his physical impairment, as Murner suffered from a slight limp, that has been attributed to childhood paralysis.³³ The physical impairment thus also constituted a decisive factor in shaping his intellectual career. At a later point, Murner specified a concrete sum for his university studies, which he put at 600 guilders, excluding the periods of study in Freiburg and Paris. He mentioned this amount in a later source from 1524 in the context of his dispute with the city of Strasbourg over the dissolution of the Franciscan convent there. In this context, he claimed the expenses incurred for his studies as a demand for compensation. In the course of a settlement, Murner ultimately renounced all further claims against the city and in return received an annual life annuity of 52 guilders. It is noteworthy that Murner emphasised his decision to forgo further legal action, even though as a doctor of both laws he was sufficiently trained and experienced in legal matters.³⁴

4. Thomas Murner: A Singular Position in the RAG

Murner's distinctive position within late medieval learned culture can also be made visible through his inclusion in the RAG database. The RAG records around 62,000 scholars with their biographical key data for the period from 1250 to 1550, thereby enabling a precise contextualisation of individual educational trajectories. This coverage is based on clearly defined prosopo-

³¹ Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 32.

³² Both passages in Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 39.

³³ Heger, „Der Meister der Murner-Zeichnungen“, 538.

³⁴ Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist*, 78.

graphical criteria of inclusion. Included are all individuals who can be shown to have attended a university within the Holy Roman Empire and to have obtained the degree of *magister artium* there, or to have studied at a higher faculty (law, theology, or medicine). This applies regardless of whether they obtained a formal degree at the higher faculties. An exception is made for members of the nobility, who are always recorded at German universities, even without graduation or attendance at a higher faculty. A further exception comprises the comparatively small group of individuals from the Holy Roman Empire who did not study at a German university, but exclusively at a foreign one, where they acquired their academic qualifications. These selection criteria produce a comprehensive and multifaceted group of the learned elite of the Holy Roman Empire in the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period. This group, and herein lies a central conceptual decision of the RAG, was in principle capable of exerting social influence by virtue of its academic training; it is this potential that the project investigates through the activities its members pursued after leaving the university.³⁵

It is precisely within this academic field, characterised by mobility, multiple qualifications, and institutional diversity, that Murner occupies a striking position. His wide-ranging places of study and activity can be reconstructed on a data-driven basis using the RAG and show him as part of a European learned world, from which the uniqueness of his didactic experiments emerges even more clearly.

In addition to Murner, the RAG records 254 members of the Franciscan Order, who would merit a separate investigation, as would members of other orders such as the Benedictines or Dominicans. How exceptional Murner's academic mobility was becomes apparent across the scholars recorded in the RAG: only fourteen individuals, like Murner, studied or taught at nine or more universities. This number also includes universities outside the Holy Roman Empire, which scholars with particularly high levels of mobility frequently visited in addition to German universities.³⁶ Murner is moreover the only scholar recorded in the RAG who studied at (or at least visited) the universities of Basel, Freiburg, Kraków, Cologne, Paris, Prague, Rostock, and Vienna. He thus moved between studies in the arts, law, and theology at leading universities of his time. He does not form part of a "standard path", but

³⁵ Schwinges, „Ursprung und Entwicklungen“; Gubler, „Von Daten zu Informationen und Wissen“.

³⁶ Database query in the RAG project by the author, November 2025; see also Henseleit, *Murner als Autor*, 27 n. 139 and Dollinger, „Das Leben Thomas Murners“ on his exceptional mobility.

represents a special case of academic mobility. This shows that even during his university education, as well as in his later activities, he exhibited distinctive characteristics. Further unique features within the RAG include the fact that Murner is the only Franciscan recorded there who, as will be shown below, was promoted to the degree of doctor of both laws. Decisive here is the doctorate in civil law, which was exceptional for a member of a religious order. Equally unique are his professorships in civil law, which he held at the universities of Trier and Basel.

4.1. Education and Mediation between Monastery and University

His academic stages of learning and teaching, as well as his activities as a lector in various Franciscan monasteries, may be briefly outlined here to provide an initial orientation.³⁷ His first training took place in the Franciscan monastery in Strasbourg, followed by university studies in Freiburg im Breisgau where he almost certainly did not obtain a promotion to *magister artium*, then he studied in Paris.³⁸ The subsequent sequence, around 1500, of his university visits remains uncertain, but it included further studies, primarily in theology, or at least visits to universities, at Cologne, as well as stays in Rostock, Vienna, Prague, and Kraków, where he was promoted to bachelor of theology. From 1501 he served as a lector in the Franciscan monastery in Strasbourg. Around 1506 he may have been a professor of logic in Kraków, although this remains uncertain. In the same year he was promoted to doctor of theology in Freiburg. He participated in the General Chapter in Rome around 1506-1507. On his return journey, older scholarship (Liebenau) reports a stay at Bologna and a longer period in Venice, where he is said to have taught.³⁹ Further teaching activities followed as a lector in Franciscan monasteries in Freiburg (in parallel lecturer at the university there) Bern, and Frankfurt am Main, and probably also in his capacity as head of the Franciscan monasteries in Speyer and Strasbourg. From 1515 he was a professor

³⁷ Cf. on Murner's career stages the corresponding entry in the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG): Thomas Murner (RAG-ID: ngPF5e476PX2belBjOie7NbG). The permanent link to the biographical profile is: [https://resource.database.rag-online.org/\[URI\]](https://resource.database.rag-online.org/[URI]) and must in each case be supplemented by the specific URI (in the case of Murner: ngPF5e476PX-2belBjOie7NbG). For reasons of readability, the reference is given below in abbreviated form.

³⁸ On Murner's education and intellectual formation see generally Roest, *Franciscan Learning*; Fuchs, "Thomas Murners Belesenheit"; Smolinsky, "Thomas Murner."

³⁹ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 44-45.

of civil law in Trier. In 1519 he was promoted to doctor of both laws at the University of Basel and served there as professor of civil law. In 1525 he became lector in the Franciscan monastery in Lucerne.⁴⁰

The educational path and teaching activity of Thomas Murner between monastery and university correspond to a widespread pattern of clerical scholarly careers. Medieval universities were by no means closed institutions, but were in exchange with the religious orders, in particular the mendicant orders. Dominicans and Franciscans maintained their own internal systems of study, which remained legally autonomous but were functionally closely connected with the theological faculties of the universities. Their members served as lectors and masters, participated in university disputations, and obtained regular academic degrees.⁴¹ The strong presence of members of religious orders among students of theology also explains the high level of mobility within this group, which was facilitated by a dense network of monasteries that provided accommodation and board and thus a stable travel infrastructure. The mendicant orders therefore pursued a deliberate policy of placing brothers as students and teachers in as many university towns as possible in which they maintained convents or centres of study.⁴² By contrast, monastic orders such as the Benedictines remained outside this model of university integration. Their educational activity was organised primarily within the monastery; university studies took place only sporadically and on an individual basis, rather than as part of an order-wide strategy of education.

Returning to his *peregrinatio academica*: Murner himself once names the universities he attended in connection with his Solothurn sermon, which was published as an appendix to *Germania nova*. In this prayer, Murner presents himself as a Christian wanderer moving between universities.⁴³ Murner

⁴⁰ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 212.

⁴¹ See on this Asztalos, „The Faculty of Theology“, 409-441 (see esp. 414ff. on the relationship between mendicants and the faculty and Verger, „Patterns“, esp. 60f. on colleges and convents.

⁴² Cf. on this in particular Schwinges, „Admission“, 201f. on the mobility of the orders, as well as Asztalos, „The Faculty of Theology“, 414ff. on the strategic training and placement of the friars.

⁴³ Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 232-233 (Excerpt): „Erinnere dich, selige Jungfrau, wenn du vor dem Angesicht meiner Gegner stehst, dass du Fürsprache für mich einlegest, damit sie ihren Unwillen abwenden, da mich das bestimmte, tapfere und unwandelbare Vertrauen in dich gestärkt hat, als ich von der Zeit an, wo mir der zarteste Flaum spross, unter deiner Führung die Universitäten zu Paris, Freiburg, Köln, Rostock, ja sogar die ketzerische zu Prag und die Hochschulen zu Wien und Krakau mit Eifer und Fleiss besuchte, nicht um

Fig. 1. Stages of Thomas Murner's life in the RAG, visualised by the author, December 2025, Places of study (blue), places of activity (red), place of origin (brown).



asks in the prayer the Virgin Mary for assistance against his opponents and refers to his faithful devotion to her throughout his entire period of study. Murner's enumeration in this prayer functions like an "academic curriculum vitae" in the guise of a devotional text. Instead of listing his credentials in a formal document, he embeds the stages of his educational trajectory within a religious supplication, thereby seeking to legitimise both his learning and his moral integrity in the face of his critics.⁴⁴

In the appendix to this work, one finds the list of universities compiled by Murner himself that he attended the universities mentioned.⁴⁵ Prague was, in this context, explicitly described by him as a "heretical" university, a characterisation that must be understood against the background of

Gehässigkeit auszuüben, sondern in der Absicht, meine Fähigkeiten auszubilden und der Wahrheit nachzuspüren – und als ich in der Treue, mit der ich dir ergeben bin, versprach, mein ganzes Studium und alle Mühen zu deiner Ehre anzuwenden, wie ich es gelobt habe, da ich als Wanderer die im christlichen Glauben verschiedenen Universitäten kennenzulernen mich bemühte. Da du mich nun, nachdem ich viele Wechselfälle der Seele und des Körpers durchgemacht habe, nach Verlauf von sechzehn Jahren wiedergefunden und zum väterlichen Herde zurückgeführt hast, so widme ich dies Werkchen, das freilich deines Namens unwert ist, ganz und gar deiner Ehre, nachdem ich es in zwei Tagen, wie du selbst bezeugen wirst, mit feurigster Seele vollendet habe..."

⁴⁴ Printing of the prayer in Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 232-233.

⁴⁵ See especially the overview provided by Worstbrock, "Murner, Thomas", Sp. 301, on his academic stations; it is not clear from where Heger derives the information on the universities Murner attended, including the specific semesters, see Heger, "Thomas Murner", 296.

Bohemia's Utraquism tradition.⁴⁶ It reflects less a concrete situation around 1500 than a confessionally shaped, polemical perception that was widespread in Catholic circles. According to the list, Murner then visited the universities of Vienna and Kraków. Whether Murner actually attended the universities in the order given cannot be established with certainty. Only Freiburg can be securely placed before Paris. Moreover, in 1501 he travelled back to Strasbourg via Vienna.⁴⁷ For the remaining stations, the sequence may in principle be correct, especially since Murner is likely to have stayed only briefly at some locations and reliable evidence for more intensive study at universities exists only for Freiburg, Paris, and Kraków. The enumeration of universities does not follow an exact itinerary, but rather a roughly west-to-east progression that is rhetorically structured. Paris functions as a western point of reference for academic authority, while Prague is marked as a confessional counterpoint; Vienna and Kraków form the eastern conclusion of this educational space. In the same list, Murner speaks of sixteen years of wandering between universities, although this figure was probably misread and a period of around seven years seems more plausible.⁴⁸ With regard to the documentation of Thomas Murner's periods of study at universities, it must be borne in mind that in the course of the incorporation of religious orders into individual universities, such as that of the Franciscan Order at the University of Cologne, members of orders were not necessarily required to matriculate individually. For Murner, matriculations at the University of Freiburg and the University of Kraków are attested in university records; other periods of study at universities, by contrast, can be inferred only indirectly, mostly through self-statements in his own works. In addition, a structural gap in the sources must be taken into account: Schwinges has pointed to the absence or fragmentary survival of university matriculation registers at institutions outside the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁹

In an overall view, two focal phases can be identified in Murner's academic activity as a mediator of knowledge. A first phase is characterised by the development and use of various didactic learning games up to around 1518. In a second phase, the translation of central juridical works into German moved to the foreground, accompanied by the introduction of German-language teaching. This began in 1515 with an initial lecture on Roman law

⁴⁶ Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 232-233 (Excerpt): "... unter deiner Führung die Universitäten zu Paris, Freiburg, Köln, Rostock, ja sogar die ketzerische zu Prag..."

⁴⁷ Worstbrock, Murner, Thomas, Sp. 301.

⁴⁸ Here Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, p. 58 n. 34, should be followed.

⁴⁹ Schwinges, „Why Were There Almost No Matriculation Registers“.

Table 1. Chronological and thematic overview of the didactic games developed by Thomas Murner and his activities as professor and translator, compiled by the author, 12/2025.

Year	Activities	Title	Print / Drawings	Place of printing / sphere of activity	Content
ca. 1499	Card game	Chartiludium logicae	Drawings	Kraków / University	Logic (lost)
1500-1502	Card game	Chartiludium Institute	Drawings		Institutiones (lost)
1504-1508	Card game	Chartiludium Institute (Iuridicum)	Print	Strasbourg (?)	Institutiones
1507 (?)	Card game	Chartiludium logicae	Print	Kraków / University	Logic (lost)
1507 (?)	Professor			Kraków / University	Logic
1508/09	Lecturer / Professor			Freiburg i.Br. / University and Monastery	Didactics of Prosody (Verse Theory)
1508-10	Chess and dice game	Ludus studentum Friburgensium (3 versions)	Print	Basel / Frankfurt	Didactics of Prosody
1509	Card game	Chartiludium logicae	Print	Strasbourg	Logic
1511	Chess and dice game	Ludus studentum Friburgensium	Print	Frankfurt	Didactics of Prosody
1515	Professor			Trier / University	Institutiones (German)
1515	Translation	Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i>		Strasbourg	(German)
1518	Card game	Chartiludium Institute	Print	Strasbourg	Institutiones
1518	Translation	Utriusque juris tituli et regulae	Print	Basel	German - dedicated to law students in Basel
1519	Professor			Basel / University	Institutiones (Comparison Latin - German)
1519	Translation	Instituten (complete translation)	Print	Basel	German - dedicated to Basel students and audience
1521	Translation	Der keiserlichen statrechten	Print	Strasbourg	German - dedicated to law students in Basel
1526	Chess and dice game	Instituta Helvetiorum	Drawings	Luzern	Institutiones

delivered in German. In Basel, Murner further intensified his translation activity, perhaps not coincidentally in the Upper Rhine region, which at that time emerged as an innovative centre of juridical knowledge production and transmission. The following tabular overview brings together the stations discussed, with a focus on Murner's games and his activities within the university environment.

5. Influences from Freiburg and Paris on Murner's Early Conception of Games

Already at his first academic station, the University of Freiburg, Murner received impulses for his later game conceptions. In Freiburg, Jakob Locher was among his most influential teachers, as Murner himself emphasised.⁵⁰ Through Locher, Murner also came into more intensive contact with the *ars memorativa* within the university context, the field that he later developed further in his didactic games in a methodologically and visually distinctive manner. Locher himself had already received impulses from the art of memory before his professorship in Freiburg, notably through his teacher Conrad Celtis at the University of Ingolstadt around 1492. Wójcik has drawn attention to this connection and at the same time emphasised that another contemporary and influential representative of the Freiburg Faculty of Arts, Gregor Reisch, also moved within the same intellectual milieu. In his *Margarita philosophica*, Gregor Reisch treated the *ars memorativa* as an integral component of Artes teaching and contributed decisively to its systematic and visually supported transmission.⁵¹ A playful or experimental implementation of the art of memory, however, is not found in his work. Further inspiration for play-based didactics was almost certainly gained by Murner at the University of Paris, his next academic station. In Paris, Murner was probably promoted to *magister artium*. The place of this promotion, however, cannot be established with certainty.⁵² Whether the University of Freiburg can be considered as the place of promotion is rather doubtful, since no evidence exists for this, and within the RAG project all scholars attested in the sources who obtained a promotion to *magister artium* at a university in the Holy Roman Empire have been systematically recorded. For

⁵⁰ With regard to the following: Wójcik, „Masters, Pupils, Friends and Thieves“, 412.

⁵¹ Wójcik, „Straßburg - Freiburg - Paris - Krakau“, 65.

⁵² See Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, col. 301, and Sondheim, „Illustrationen“, pp. 8-9, on the alleged promotion to *magister artium* at the University of Kraków, a title that is erroneously stated on Murner's early work *Practica* (1498).

Freiburg, the records of the Faculty of Arts concerning graduations for the relevant period at the end of the fifteenth century have survived and have also been included. This includes, for example, the promotion of Nikolaus Zengel to *magister artium* in the winter semester of 1499.⁵³ Like Murner and other scholars holding the same degree at the same university, Zengel came from Oberehnheim. The likelihood that Murner would have appeared in these registers, had he been promoted in Freiburg, would therefore be correspondingly high. That Murner studied in Paris is beyond doubt. Before that, however, Murner studied in Freiburg together with the nobleman Johannes (Hans) Werner von Mörsberg, whose preceptor he became, and with whom he may also have studied together in Paris.⁵⁴ The close connection of von Mörsberg to the academic world is shown by the fact that after this possible stay in 1499 he became honorary rector of the University of Freiburg.⁵⁵ He later became provost of the cathedral chapter in Basel. Murner's stay at the University of Paris is attested by dedications that he addressed to his pupil von Mörsberg, for example in two of his early works.⁵⁶ In the work *Invectiva contra astrologos*, dated 8 May 1499, Murner describes himself on the title page as master of the liberal arts and in the dedication as *sacrarum litterarum studens Parisiensis*.⁵⁷ The reference to the study of Holy Scripture in Paris may also point to an order-based course of study among the Franciscans. Murner further mentions his studies in Paris in a letter to Wimpfeling from 1502.⁵⁸ Murner himself also recalls his period of study in Paris in his work *Narrenbeschwörung*.⁵⁹

It is plausible that during his stay in Paris he came into contact for the first time with game-based techniques of knowledge transmission within the university environment.⁶⁰ The renowned scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis) taught there and already used cards to teach his

⁵³ Nikolaus Zengel (RAG-ID: ngSI3p173Rq96hoqmS3h5)

⁵⁴ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 385-386; Sondheim, *Thomas Murner als Astrolog*, 9-12 on the relationship between Johannes Werner von Mörsberg and Murner and on the vague evidence for the two men's stays at the University of Paris. As Sondheim rightly notes, there is no unambiguous proof for von Mörsberg in this regard.

⁵⁵ Johannes von Mörsberg (RAG ID: ngWM3N577V63glsmqVFhUiH)

⁵⁶ Johann Werner von Mörsberg was the son of the imperial *Landvogt* in Alsace, Kaspar von Mörsberg of Belfort. He was later elected honorary rector of the University of Freiburg (in October 1499).

⁵⁷ USTC 747318.

⁵⁸ Sondheim, *Thomas Murner als Astrolog*, 11.

⁵⁹ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 10-11.

⁶⁰ Pauser, „Frevel“, 221; RAG-ID (ngAQ9R173ZI91pwWuZ3p5YmN1ZN)

students the art of verse.⁶¹ The strongest indication that Murner had become acquainted with this methodology in Paris is provided by another Alsatian humanist, Matthias Ringmann.⁶² He himself, as he is quoted in a letter, stated that he had learned a school game from his teacher d'Étaples in Paris, the *Rithmomachia*, which he still remembered vividly on many occasions.⁶³ The *Rithmomachia* by Lefèvre d'Étaples was first published in Paris in 1496.⁶⁴ Around 1500, thus somewhat later than Murner, Ringmann stayed in Paris and thereby came into contact with these play-based techniques. It was not Ringmann himself, however, who conceived the idea of publishing his *Grammatica figurata* as a set of playing cards, but rather Walter Lud, secretary to René II of Lorraine (1451-1508). On the occasion of the composition and publication of the *Grammatica figurata* (printed in 1509 in Saint-Dié), Lud mentioned in his dedicatory letter to the Bishop of Toul Ringmann's impaired state of health. As a result of the intensive and continuous study of Greek manuscripts, Ringmann had become physically weakened. Lud therefore urged him to interrupt this strenuous activity temporarily and to turn instead to less demanding yet stimulating pursuits for the sake of recuperation. In this context, he encouraged Ringmann to develop a grammatical card game. Ringmann accepted this suggestion without resistance, since he recalled from his time as a student in Paris a school teaching game that he had learned from his renowned teacher Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, the so-called *Rithmomachia*. This game, which he still remembered vividly, was not based on cards but on an arithmetical board game using playing pieces. The *Rithmomachia* therefore cannot be regarded as a direct model for the *Grammatica figurata*. Rather, Walter Lud oriented himself towards those school compendia in the form of card games that Thomas Murner had developed a few years earlier and which had since circulated in Strasbourg and elsewhere. More generally, it can be observed that playful elements increasingly gained prominence in learned circles during the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ As an exponent of this development, mention may be made of Bernhard Hirschfelder from Nördlingen, an expert in the art of memory with a university background. Hirschfelder matriculated in the winter semester of 1454/1455 at the University of Leipzig. He is regarded as an important precursor of Thomas Murner in the field of

⁶¹ Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, RAG-ID (ngAQ9R173ZI91pwWuZ3p5YmN1ZN)

⁶² Kühlmann, „Ringmann, Matthias“, 635-636.

⁶³ Wieser, *Ringmann*, 8. The citation of Ringmann in Walter Lud's letter to the Bishop of Toul.

⁶⁴ Wieser, *Ringmann*, 8 n. 2.

⁶⁵ See general on the subject: Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 222-226, 227-235.

playful knowledge transmission. Around 1470-1475, he devised a work entitled *Carteludium memorativum*, which can be considered one of the earliest examples of mnemotechnical educational card games.⁶⁶

5.1. Kraków and the Beginnings of Murner's Card Games: *Chartiludium logicae* (1507)

The earliest evidence that Murner employed didactic playing cards in university teaching dates from his time in Kraków, after his return from Paris. He first visited in quick succession the universities of Cologne and Rostock, and possibly Prague as well. He then proceeded to Kraków, where he was promoted to bachelor of theology. As a franciscan friar, he was required for the academic ceremony to lay aside his habit and instead wear secular dress, a circumstance that one of his principal adversaries, Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), later accused him of as constituting apostasy (*crimen apostasiae*).⁶⁷ Elsewhere in Murner's biography, however, it becomes clear that he maintained a decidedly pragmatic attitude towards the religious habit, which was by no means untypical of mendicant orders with a stronger orientation towards the world. In this context, Murner expressed critical views on outward appearance and on practices of ostentatious poverty among Franciscan friars, which he disparagingly described as *Affenspiel*, in contrast to his own piety, which he regarded as grounded in personal integrity.⁶⁸

Of Murner's numerous university visits, which are known primarily from literary references, his first stay in Kraków is in fact attested in the university sources. Thomas Murner can be shown with certainty to have attended the University of Kraków in the winter semester of 1499/1500, as evidenced by his matriculation.⁶⁹ In addition to his matriculation, further evidence for Murner's stay in Kraków from the academic context has been preserved. Again deriving from literary sources, as in the case of the promotion to *magister artium*, information is available concerning Murner's promotion to bachelor of theology in Kraków, which is likely to have taken place around 1500. In his work *Germania nova*, published in 1502, he explicitly described himself as *baccalaureus cracoviensis*. On the title page of the first

⁶⁶ Pauser, *Invention*, S. 118; Volkmann, „Ars memorativa“, 154.

⁶⁷ Cited in Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 12.

⁶⁸ Cited in Erler, *Thomas Murner als Jurist*, 90 n. 204.

⁶⁹ Thomas Murner (RAG-ID: ngPF5e476PX2belBjOIe7NbG)

edition of his logic textbook and game *Chartiludium logicae* (Kraków 1507, now lost), he is likewise listed - at least in the eighteenth-century bibliographical record - as *sacrae theologiae baccalaureus* of the University of Kraków, although the precise type of degree is unclear.⁷⁰

More recent scholarship assumes that Murner conceived his first card game, the one devoted to logic, at the University of Kraków and employed it there in teaching. A possible second stay in Kraków is associated with the printing of this card game in 1507 in Kraków, which, however, is attested only by an eighteenth-century bibliographical reference. A copy of this 1507 edition is believed to be held in the Vatican Library.⁷¹ It is possible, however, that this actually refers to the 1509 Strasbourg edition preserved in the same Library.⁷² Murner's stay in Kraków can thus be dated to the period between 1499 and 1501, since he is securely attested as being back in Strasbourg by around 1501.

If one assumes that Thomas Murner was already using his first playing cards in Kraków around 1500, then the development of his second known card game, the *Chartiludium Institute* on Roman law, is likely to fall within the same period, perhaps shortly thereafter or even in parallel. By 1502 at the latest, these cards, apparently still in the form of drawings, were in circulation and already known, as a contemporary letter suggests. In contrast to the Kraków logic cards, this second card game is located by scholarship more in the Strasbourg milieu. Its composition is assumed to have taken place after Murner's return there, possibly stimulated by the success he had achieved with his logical card game among students. That the game on Roman law initially existed in an early, not yet fully elaborated form is suggested by the fact that a set of cards without accompanying instructions, in effect a "rough version", was rediscovered in Basel only at the end of the nineteenth century in a library. It was only years later, in 1518, that the work appeared in print with detailed rules of play and instructions for use. A comparable process could likely to have taken place in Kraków as well: an early card version around 1500, perhaps a first publication in 1507, and finally an expanded and commented version in the prints of 1509.

In his art-historical investigations, Sondheim provides the central evidence concerning the lost Kraków first edition of the logic card game from

⁷⁰ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 321; Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 12 n. 4, 47.

⁷¹ Worstbrock, „Murner Thomas“, Sp. 321; Alberici, *Mazzo*, 38.

⁷² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, catalogue entry for Thomas Murner, *Logica memoria chartiludiu[m] logice* (1509), accessed March 11, 2026, <https://opac.vatlib.it/stp/detail/10332239>

1507.⁷³ He notes that the Polish bibliographer Janocki was the first to describe this edition in detail in 1776. Nevertheless, Sondheim emphasises that despite extensive searches in German, Polish, and Russian libraries, no physical copy survives today. Sondheim advances the hypothesis that the Kraków edition may have been produced without Murner's knowledge. He considers it conceivable that a student took notes during Murner's lectures and copied his drawings, which the printer Johann Haller then had printed as a "practical handbook". A strong indication of this is that in his Strasbourg print of 1509 Murner speaks approvingly of his work in Kraków, yet ignores Haller's 1507 print. A possible second stay in Kraków around 1506/07 is therefore assumed in the scholarship only on the basis of biographical gaps and the date of the lost copy from 1507 with the place of printing given as Kraków.⁷⁴ Such a second stay therefore appears unlikely, as more recent scholarship also suggests.⁷⁵

5.2. Kraków Traditions of the Art of Memory

Murner employed his first logic card game within an intellectually stimulating environment that, much like Freiburg and Paris, is likely to have contributed significantly to consolidating his interest in the art of memory and in didactic learning games. Various factors in Kraków played a role in this regard.

The *ars memorativa* was an integral component of university teaching in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.⁷⁶ As *memoria artificiosa* one understood a learnable technique by means of which knowledge could be systematically impressed and made retrievable through order, visualisation, and repetition. This art of memory was taught in particular within the study of the Artes and served to manage extensive bodies of material in rhetoric, logic, and theology. Around 1500, Kraków constituted a multifaceted space of knowledge in which university teaching, studies within religious orders, and extra-academic practices of knowledge were closely intertwined. At the University of Kraków, studies in the Artes, theology, and law were combined with a pronounced training in rhetoric and mnemotechnics, with the Franciscans in particular, as teachers and preachers, shaping techniques

⁷³ Sondheim, *Illustrationen*, 20.

⁷⁴ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 46.

⁷⁵ Wójcik, „Straßburg - Freiburg - Paris - Krakau“, 65.

⁷⁶ Cf. the example of the University of Erfurt in Kemper, „Gedächtniskunst als akademische Übung“, 272.

of ordering knowledge, visualisation, and memorisation. It is within this milieu that the didactic card games of the Franciscan Thomas Murner are to be situated. They do not represent a departure from the *ars memorativa*, but rather its didactic further development, insofar as they translate the mental ordering of *loci* and *imagines* into material, play-based forms that were especially well suited to university teaching.

The *ars memorativa*, an art of memory developed since antiquity, was firmly established as an academically legitimised practice that was at the same time imaginatively effective, and in Kraków it certainly found particular resonance also because of the openness towards astronomy, astrology, and border areas of knowledge. Lectures on the art of memory were therefore also delivered in Kraków by local, Polish professors. Remarkably, all known teachers of mnemotechnics at the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century were of Polish origin and closely connected with the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order.⁷⁷ At the University of Kraków, almost all teachers of the *ars memorativa* who were active there, with the exception of a few humanists, were Franciscan Observants. The order functioned as a decisive carrier and multiplier of mnemotechnical practices. The University of Kraków thus emerges as one of the most important centres of the art of memory in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. There, the *ars memorativa* was taught, practised, compiled, and printed, by both humanists and members of religious orders.⁷⁸

In addition, there were other significant scholars from outside Kraków who taught the art of memory at the University of Kraków. In principle, this group, both with regard to its specialisation in the *ars memorativa* and in relation to games such as those developed by Murner, would merit closer investigation within the RAG as a whole, particularly with respect to the dissemination of their specialised knowledge.⁷⁹ Only a few scholars will be mentioned here by way of example, all of whom also have a connection to the University of Kraków and may therefore have been of interest as sources of inspiration for Murner.

For Thomas Murner, Jacobus Publicius was certainly a pioneer in Kraków, as he was at other universities. After his teaching activity on the art of memory in Erfurt, Publicius taught at various other universities. He matri-

⁷⁷ Wójcik, „Masters, Pupils, Friends, and Thieves“, 403.

⁷⁸ Wójcik, „Straßburg - Freiburg - Paris - Krakau“, 77-83.

⁷⁹ I am following the approach of Wójcik, “Masters, Pupils, Friends, and Thieves”, on the dissemination of the *ars memorativa* among early German humanists.

culated in Leipzig in 1467, then in Cologne in 1468, in 1469 at the University of Kraków, and finally in 1469/70 in Basel. His itinerant teaching of the art of memory reached back to the mid-1460s, attesting to a long and mobile career across several universities. An illustrative example of his teaching is provided by a rare set of lecture notes from 1466/1467 recording Jacobus Publicius's lecture in Erfurt, written down by the student Johannes Knaes, who later became a jurist, professor, and rector at the same university.⁸⁰ Publicius was trained as a physician, but appeared primarily as a teacher of rhetoric and poetics. The lecture notes contain, among other things, material relating to the teaching of the Spanish itinerant humanist, which comprised instruction in punctuation, rhetoric, epistolography, and illustrated mnemotechnics.⁸¹ Jacobus Publicius, for example, introduced movable elements into his books, such as parchment volvelles with which letter combinations could be practised, as well as an illustrated alphabet.⁸² Murner was familiar with the works of Jacobus Publicius and was therefore able to build on his visual methods. Whereas Publicius still presented mnemotechnical images primarily in book form, Murner radicalised this approach by translating them physically into playing cards in order to convey learning material.

Jacobus Publicius was followed, particularly in Kraków, by other important itinerant scholars who earned their livelihood in university towns, especially within the Holy Roman Empire, among other things by passing on techniques of artificial memory to students. It is noteworthy that the culture of memory initiated by Publicius found particular resonance in Kraków among the Observants, the Bernardines. Professors such as John of Glogau, under whom both Conrad Celtis during his Kraków stay (1489-1491) and later Thomas Murner studied, integrated these influences into a system that combined astronomy, logic, and the art of memory. In doing so, Glogau created an intellectual infrastructure that made it possible to establish mnemotechnical procedures as legitimate tools of the exact sciences.

Sustained impulses for the transmission of the art of memory also emanated from Conrad Celtis.⁸³ In Kraków, Celtis also devoted himself in particular to mathematics and astronomy. In addition to Celtis, Wójcik names Hermann von dem Busche as another significant pioneer of the art of memory, which gained prominence especially among German humanists at

⁸⁰ Jacobus Publicius (RAG-ID: ngMC5b173L29vbiUgLVb6KyX); Johannes Knaes (RAG-ID: (ngKA7R577KC3tzgYeKDz9IwV)).

⁸¹ Kemper, „Gedächtniskunst als akademische Übung“, 272-273.

⁸² Green, „Mnemonic Alphabet of Jacobus Publicius (1482)“.

⁸³ Conrad Celtis (RAG-ID:ngFV7I072GX80ubBzFeuoDrW)

the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. For many of them, Celtis served as a model in the field of the *ars memorativa*.⁸⁴

A formative example of the long-term establishment of the art of memory is the career of Johannes Enclen de Cusa (Cusanus). His *Tractatulus artificiose memorie*, which circulated widely from 1510 in Frankfurt an der Oder and from 1514 in Vienna, documents the methodological maturity of this discipline.⁸⁵ That Cusanus was still explicitly listed in Kraków in 1529 as *lector artificiose memorie* in the register of university teachers underscores the fact that the art of memory there had attained the status of an independent and highly specialised field of instruction. By noting that he had taught in seven countries and at nineteen universities, including Cologne, Erfurt, and Vienna, Cusanus stands as an exemplary representative of those mobile scholars who disseminated mnemotechnical knowledge across Europe. For Murner, this environment meant that in Kraków he encountered not merely isolated stimuli, but a deeply rooted and professionally cultivated culture of memory that had already accepted the play with places and images as an established component of academic education.

5.3. Learning Successes at the University of Kraków: Accusations of Magic and Rehabilitation

Within the context outlined above, it can hardly be coincidental that Murner encountered at the University of Kraków an intellectual openness that enabled him to employ his novel play-based didactics successfully in teaching. In Kraków, his previously acquired experiences with the art of memory and with didactic games, as known at least from Freiburg and Paris, took concrete shape, even though his methodology here too initially met with suspicion. Thomas Murner was a student of John of Glogau (c. 1445-1507), whom he cites as his teacher. Glogau played a decisive role in the establishment and legitimation of the art of memory and of didactic games at the University of Kraków. He was a highly esteemed professor of philosophy, logic, mathematics, and astronomy, who prepared the intellectual ground for mnemotechnical innovations, including those of Thomas Murner. Among other students, he also taught Nicolaus Copernicus.

⁸⁴ Wójcik, „Masters, Pupils, Friends, and Thieves“, 412.

⁸⁵ Kiss, „The Art of Memory in Hungary“, 143-145; Johannes Cusanus (RAG-ID: ngVL6o072Ut-8gkrHpU2keThG)

Johannes von Glogau thus became an important patron for Thomas Murner in Kraków. The background is provided by a well-known episode. The introduction of this didactic method at the University of Kraków led to considerable difficulties for Murner. The success of his teaching method was so striking that in Kraków he fell under suspicion of practising magic.⁸⁶

It was assumed that he was using supernatural means, since his students learned logic in only about one month. In order to justify himself, Murner was required to demonstrate his game publicly before the professors of the University of Kraków. The renowned professor John of Glogau, a leading member of the university assembly, thereupon issued Murner a highly laudatory testimonial (*testimonium magistrale*), in which the method was admired as a “divine invention” (*divinum potius ingenium*). More recent scholarship, however, has also expressed doubts about the authenticity of this report attributed to Glogau and considers that it may, at least in part, represent a form of self-promotion on Murner’s part.⁸⁷

In Kraków, Murner taught dialectic and logic using his mnemotechnical card game (*Chartiludium logicae*), for which he himself drew the cards.⁸⁸ This emerges from the preface to the Strasbourg (1509) edition of the *Logica memorativa*, where he also notes that in Kraków he taught the logic of Petrus Hispanus by means of the cards. In the prefaces to the *Chartiludium logicae*, Murner repeatedly attributes clear learning successes to his cards. He emphasises in particular the easier introduction to logic even for those with little prior training, a rapid overview of the entire field of dialectic, and a lasting memorative mastery of the material through playful repetition. Concrete indications of time are generally lacking; programmatically, however, the learning outcome is presented as faster, more stable, and more accessible than in conventional lecture-based teaching.

A specific indication of time is contained in the testimonial of his teacher Johannes von Glogau printed in the Strasbourg edition. There it is stated that within four weeks the students had made such considerable progress that suspicion arose that Murner was practising magic or employing “magical things”. In order to clear himself of this accusation, Murner was summoned before the college of professors. He had his students swear an oath not to disclose the secret of the cards for two years and not to reveal to anyone their content, a measure that is likely to have reinforced suspicions of illicit

⁸⁶ Pauser, *Invention*, 25.

⁸⁷ Wójcik, „Straßburg - Freiburg - Paris - Krakau“, 64.

⁸⁸ Regarding what follows Sondheim, *Illustrationen*, 18-19.

practices. Murner was then required to disclose his method and to present the cards to the learned audience. The professors recognised that his success was not due to magic, but to an extraordinary pedagogical talent. As a result of this achievement, Murner was officially admitted to the circle of Kraków teachers and received a reward of twenty-four Hungarian guilders. Murner was so proud of this attestation that he later published it as evidence of the effectiveness and legitimacy of his teaching method in his printed works, such as the Strasbourg edition of the *Logica memorativa* (1509).⁸⁹ The *testimonium magistrale* functioned for Murner like an acquittal that at the same time served as a seal of quality for his innovative teaching method. It transformed the accusation of dark magic into recognition of his didactic invention.

Murner repeatedly attributes considerable learning successes to his logical card games, in particular a rapid overview of dialectic and a lasting memorative mastery of the material. From a source-critical perspective, these claimed successes must be read as programmatic self-ascriptions, yet they are indirectly supported by contemporary reactions, the dissemination of the printed editions, and the further development of the didactic model. Unlike in the case of the juridical card game, Murner did not provide concrete time indications for these learning outcomes. He also explicitly understands the game as a guarantor of *repetitio*: through repeated play, logical contents are recapitulated more frequently than would be possible through mere reading or listening, which he regarded as a central prerequisite for sustainable memorative acquisition.⁹⁰

5.4. The First Juridical Card Game: *Chartiludium institute (iuridicum)* (ca. 1500-1502)

After his stay in Kraków, Murner returned to his homeland and from around 1501 worked as a lector for his order in Strasbourg. With this, his great *peregrinatio academica* came to an end. From this point onwards, Murner remained largely within the Upper German and Swiss regions. It is plausible that, at the latest after his successes in Kraków, Murner entertained the idea of transferring not only logic but also the juridical material of the *Institutiones* into a didactic game. The juridical card game represents the first didactic card game designed for the teaching of Justinian's *Institutiones*. This

⁸⁹ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 12.

⁹⁰ Pauser, *Frevel*, 219.

text constituted the introductory work for the study of Roman law and was regarded as particularly difficult, as it is complex, highly systematic, and rich in technical terminology. Murner's motivation was therefore clear. He sought to create a didactic access that did not alter the substance of the material, but made its structure visible and memorisable, enabling learners to grasp the order and inner architecture of the *Corpus iuris civilis*.

It is very likely that Murner developed the juridical card game in parallel with the logic game. Perhaps, as a later source claims, he had already drawn the juridical playing cards during his time in Kraków. According to this source, he is said to have divided the four books of the *Institutiones* into playing cards already during his Kraków period.⁹¹ In any case, by this point Murner had already acquired a solid command of Justinian's *Institutiones*. In the *Defensio Germaniae* (1502), Murner was criticised for boasting that he was without equal in civil law, particularly in the *Institutiones* of Justinian, and that he had moreover attained the highest rank in the mathematical sciences, an allusion to the mathematics-oriented profile of the University of Kraków. According to the *Defensio Germaniae* (1502), Murner in his lecture on Boethius accused Wimpfeling of ignorance in mathematics.⁹² The accusation concerning civil law referred in particular to Murner's claim, made in a letter of 1502 to the renowned indulgence preacher Geiler von Kaisersberg, that apart from himself no one had organised the study of Justinian's *Institutiones* so practically through a variety of exercises for teaching purposes. This statement at the same time constitutes the earliest reference to the juridical card game.⁹³ In the same year, Murner stated in one of his writings that he had tried to explain the *Institutiones* by means of cards, partly to stimulate the desire to read and partly to displace bad games.⁹⁴ Murner's opponents immediately seized upon this statement as an occasion for further mockery. They remarked that it was astonishing why Emperor Maximilian I had not long since appointed such a great jurist to his council, or why the prince-electors had not delegated him as an assessor to the *Reichskammergericht*.⁹⁵ More generally, Murner's self-fashioning as a universally learned Franciscan, who at the same time claimed the highest authority in Roman law and in theology, was subjected to caricature and ridicule.

⁹¹ Regarding what follows: Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 119.

⁹² At the faculties of arts, a *lectio Boethii* generally referred to instruction based on the works of Boethius as the canonical authority for the subjects of the *quadrivium*; cf. Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 64.

⁹³ Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner*, 65.

⁹⁴ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 118.

⁹⁵ Sieber, „Thomas Murner“, 287, n. 1.

That Murner possessed and employed a juridical card game for didactic purposes by 1502 at the latest is, however, unequivocally attested by a source. A key piece of evidence is a letter from the Strasbourg jurist Thomas Wolff, who had been promoted *doctor decretorum* at the University of Bologna, dating from 1502. In this letter, Wolff reproaches Murner for having disfigured the venerable *Institutiones* of Justinian with foolish glosses and little “pictures” in the margins.⁹⁶ In this letter, Wolff mocked the fact that it was a sacrilege for imperial edicts to appear as playing cards. In a reply (1503/4), written as a defence, Murner confirmed the existence of this game and stated that he had created a *cartiludium institutionum* in order to make it easier for students to memorise the text.⁹⁷ He justified this by arguing that through this “wholesome game” he wished to displace inferior games and to stimulate a desire for reading. Murner initially appears to have employed this early juridical card game (or images of playing cards) within the framework of his activity as a lector in the monastery. A renewed institutional connection with the university is only securely attested again for the year 1506, when he was promoted to doctor of theology.

These first juridical playing cards created by Murner were probably hand-drawn and have not survived.⁹⁸ The phase of material consolidation (after 1504) marks the transition to the printed medium. As Sondheim demonstrates, it was during this period that the physically tangible sets of cards were produced - the ones now preserved in Basel, Vienna, and Milan.⁹⁹ Sondheim demonstrated that the surviving printed cards of the Basel set contain a figure, the herald, which is a copy of a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair from 1504.¹⁰⁰ Since a print of 1502 cannot have used a model from 1504, these physical cards must have been produced after 1504. Around 1873, the Basel University librarian Ludwig Sieber discovered the incomplete set of 119 cards in a dusty corner of the juridical section of the library.¹⁰¹ The Basel cards contain only brief keywords or questions. The actual instructions and the detailed definitions of terms are included in the

⁹⁶ Regarding what follows: Pauser, *Frevel*, 209; Thomas Wolff (der jüngere) (RAG-ID: ngPF8W072QX81eXjQIe0Nbi)

⁹⁷ Sieber, *Kartenspiel*, S. 289.

⁹⁸ On the various versions of Murner’s juridical card games, see in detail Sondheim, *Illustrationen*, 10-18.

⁹⁹ Pauser, *Invention*, 125.

¹⁰⁰ The copy dating from after 1503 can be found on *e-rara*: https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/doi/10.3931/e-rara-56100

¹⁰¹ Sieber, *Kartenspiel*, S. 275.

book edition published in 1518 (*Chartiludium institute summarie*). The game is structured into twelve suits, represented by coats of arms and images of the Emperor and the princes of the Empire (as aces). The reverse sides of the cards were, for the first time, printed with coats of arms in order to indicate the systematic organisation of the legal material (persons, things, actions).¹⁰² Also preserved is a handwritten fragment, or, according to Sondheim, simply a copy of the juridical card game, produced after 1515.¹⁰³ It is the only known manuscript of the juridical card game; it also contains the Trier lecture announcement of 1515. In terms of content, it corresponds in part to the later printed version, while other passages are entirely absent or appear in a different arrangement. This manuscript is to be understood as a preliminary stage of the Strasbourg print of 1518. It demonstrates that Murner did not develop his didactic system only in theory, but had already tested it in university practice in Trier in 1515. At the same time, the absence of certain elements that appear in the later print shows how Murner gradually refined and expanded his concept didactically between 1515 and 1518.

For instance, Murner provides in the Trier *Intimatio* (1515) chronological indications of learning success for the *Institutiones*. He promised that they could be mastered within a period of only four weeks.¹⁰⁴ He asserts that even someone entirely ignorant could acquire complete knowledge and an exact memory of the legal material within this period. But in the *Chartiludium Institute summarie* (1518), Murner emphasized that the use of his legal playing cards as an exercise was only permissible and beneficial once the student had already understood the text through prior instruction. Without such foundational comprehension, the game was “forbidden”. In the same work, Murner sets out his didactical method. The prospective jurist was first to study the *Theorica* carefully and master it by heart, then to work through the explanatory *Declaratio*. Only on this basis could he attain a proper understanding of the law of the *Institutiones*, for which a teacher was required who would expound the entire material within no more than six weeks. Murner emphasises that he himself was accustomed to completing this task within four weeks. If the Latin text presented particular difficulties, he recommended recourse to his German translation, which, although criticised by some law teachers as a profanation of jurisprudence, had proved practica-

¹⁰² Pauser, *Frevel*, 213 with a tabular presentation explaining the significance of the playing-card illustrations in relation to the chapters of the *Institutiones* to be learned.

¹⁰³ Sondheim, *Illustrationen*, 10-18; Pauser, *Frevel*, 210.

¹⁰⁴ Sieber, *Thomas Murner*, 302-303.

ble and had already achieved wide circulation; some had even appropriated it unlawfully. Those who rejected the German language could instead consult a more extensive Latin edition of the *Institutiones*, whose imminent appearance in print was announced.

6. Criticism of Murner's Methodology

Criticism of Thomas Murner's play-based didactic approaches and his mnemotechnical card games began with their first appearance and accompanied his work throughout the contemporary learned world. While in Kraków - despite initial resistance - Murner was able to achieve tangible successes with his new methodology, it encountered early opposition in his Alsatian homeland. Established jurists in particular reacted negatively, directing their criticism not only against the playful mediation of law, but also against Murner's German translations of juridical texts, which were alleged to promote a profanation of the law. Murner's play-didactic programme might perhaps have been more widely received had it not from the outset been exposed to this ill-fated concentration of critical voices. For the objections were directed, on the one hand, against the unusual didactic procedure itself, but on the other hand repeatedly also targeted Murner as a person and his outsider position within the learned field. It must also be borne in mind that critical voices, then as now, are often more readily heard and documented than the many possible voices of students who achieved learning successes through the didactic games, and of scholars who viewed the methodology with goodwill.

Well known is the criticism voiced in the Strasbourg milieu of the jurist Thomas Wolff in 1502, who disparaged the playing cards. Yet this criticism also had its specific background, since, as noted, the influential Strasbourg patrician Wolff family had for decades been embroiled in fierce disputes, above all with Thomas and Johannes Murner. Satirical mockery by contemporaries reached Murner in 1515 in the so-called satirical *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. People laughed at Murner's claim that logic could be learned through cards or the art of verse through a game of chess.¹⁰⁵

A fundamental rejection was articulated by the renowned Freiburg jurist Ulrich Zasius, particularly after the appearance of the expanded version of the juridical card game in 1518. Zasius took a firm stand both against

¹⁰⁵ Pauser, *Frevel*, 224.

the translation of civil law into the German vernacular and against playful approaches to the acquisition of legal knowledge, intensifying his criticism to the polemical demand that those who refused to abandon such practices should be punished.¹⁰⁶ The vehemence of this reaction suggests that Murner's didactic approaches did indeed find resonance. Zasius evidently perceived them not merely as a curiosity, but rather as a trend that was being imitated, a circumstance that helps to explain the intensity of his opposition.

It was subsequently Ulrich Zasius who sought to prevent Murner's solemn promotion to doctor of both laws in Basel. In a letter of 1 March 1519 to his friend Claudius Canticula in Basel, Zasius attempted to persuade him not to promote Murner to the doctorate, arguing that Basel was already notorious for conferring doctoral degrees in law on insignificant individuals.¹⁰⁷ Zasius feared for the reputation of the faculty of law. In the same letter, he described Murner as an unwashed man who, with his fool's cap, would profane the sacred law. Murner, he claimed, knew as much about both laws, the canon and the civil, as a blind man knows about colour.¹⁰⁸ As early as 1518, Zasius fundamentally criticised what he perceived as a profanation of the law.¹⁰⁹ Zasius's primary aim was to prevent a lavish promotion ceremony. Probably at Canticula's instigation, two preliminary questions were raised: whether, under the statutes of the Franciscan Order, it was permissible for a poor Franciscan to celebrate a splendid doctoral promotion, and whether a Franciscan could be promoted doctor of imperial law. The academic senate decided to seek a ruling from the Holy See on these matters. Even before this, the senate forbade the town musicians of Strasbourg, whom Murner had engaged and who had already arrived, from accompanying the promotion festivities, on the grounds that Murner was a Franciscan.

In the summer of 1519, Murner travelled to Italy in order to clarify the matter and to obtain papal approval for his undertaking, which he did successfully.¹¹⁰ After his return, Murner was promoted to doctor of both laws in Basel in June or July 1519, albeit without the originally planned festivities owing to the controversies. In fact, with his promotion to *doctor utriusque iuris*, Thomas Murner represents a singular exception among the Franciscans

¹⁰⁶ Pauser, *Frevel*, 224; Liebenau, „Murner in Basel“, 81-82.

¹⁰⁷ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 120-126; Liebenau, „Murner in Basel“, 82.

¹⁰⁸ Letter printed in Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 121, n. 1..

¹⁰⁹ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 22-23.

¹¹⁰ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 13, n. 18. Erler notes that with this journey Murner may at the same time have sought to avoid the plague, which was raging in Upper Germany at the time.

recorded in the RAG, since no comparable promotion can be demonstrated for any other member of the order.¹¹¹

Erasmus of Rotterdam, by contrast, voiced primarily pedagogical reservations about Murner's approach. He argued that card and board games absorbed the minds of learners too intensely for serious learning oriented towards understanding to be possible. As Pauser rightly points out, Erasmus thus falls into a certain contradiction. For it is precisely the *repetitio* of the material, which Erasmus fundamentally endorsed, that constitutes a central element of Murner's play-based didactic concepts. Murner's games are not aimed at distraction, but at repeated practice and consolidation of what has already been learned.¹¹² Overall, it can be stated with regard to the criticism of Murner's play-based didactics that, while influential voices among leading scholars expressed rejection, the great majority of scholars exercised restraint.

7. From Logic and Law to Prosody and Metre: Ludus studentum Friburgensium (1511)

Before Murner moved to Basel, he taught at the universities of Freiburg and Trier. At both institutions he once again emerged as an innovative teacher and broke new ground in academic instruction. In Freiburg, by virtue of his promotion to doctor of theology on 27 March 1506, Murner had undertaken an obligation to teach at the university for at least one year.¹¹³ After his promotion, Murner stayed in Rome, where he took part in the General Chapter of his order. As already mentioned, beyond the stay in Bologna and Venice reported by older scholarship, no firm evidence is known that he used this brief journey to Italy for formal university studies. In the winter semester of 1508/9, Murner then taught not only at the University of Freiburg, but also in the Franciscan monastery in Freiburg. In this milieu, and in particular for the students of the university, he developed his learning games devoted to prosody and metre. This game has two precursor versions.¹¹⁴ It began with the *Scacus quantitatis syllabarum* (1508/09), a combined chess and rotating-game apparatus designed to practise prosodic rules. This was followed by *De*

¹¹¹ Data query in the RAG database conducted by the author, December 2025.

¹¹² Pauser, *Frevel*, 224.

¹¹³ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 45-46.

¹¹⁴ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 321-322.

sillabarum quantitibus (1510), an expanded version in which the wheel game was replaced by the Guidonian Hand and supplemented with general rules on syllable quantity. The final stage is represented by the *Ludus studentum Friburgensium* (1511/12), which brings together the earlier game instruments, develops them didactically, and adds a tric-trac game. In this way, Murner created the first known instructional game for the teaching of Latin metre in a university context. The fact that Murner lectured the Version of 1510 at the university of Freiburg appears in the print.¹¹⁵ In addition to the chessboard, a new game was incorporated: a tric-trac board with dice, integrated in order to practise what had been learned in a playful manner.¹¹⁶

Once again, Murner was the first through his inventive ingenuity, and this in a twofold sense. The *Ludus studentum Friburgensium* is the first known instructional chess game for the teaching of Latin metre. At the same time, in 1511 it represents the earliest known print produced in Frankfurt am Main, where Thomas Murner's brothers, Sixtus and Beatus, were active as printers and operated the first printing press in the city. The *Ludus studentum* was printed by Beatus in several editions (1511 and 1512), which may indeed point to a growing interest in Murner's play-based didactic methods.¹¹⁷ In Freiburg, Murner acted not only as an academic teacher, but also as a preacher in the Franciscan convent. In doing so, he came into conflict with the university by touching upon the contentious field of parochial rights and mendicant preaching privileges.¹¹⁸ On 25 November 1508, the University of Freiburg, under its rector Angelo de Besutio, a nobleman from Milan, forbade him to present from the pulpit any content that might infringe the rights of the parish church or provoke tensions between the parochial clergy and members of religious orders. Subsequently, the university denounced Murner to his superiors in the order on various grounds. As late as 8 June 1509, under the rectorship of Blasius Eichhorn, it justified its actions in response to a complaint by Murner as having been carried out in accordance with its duty.¹¹⁹ These disputes are likely to have contributed to Murner's subsequent transfer to Bern as Lector of the Franciscans. Prior to Bern, Murner served for a time as guardian of the Franciscan monasteries in Speyer and Strasbourg, positions that could also involve teaching activities.

¹¹⁵ *In Alma Universitate Friburgensi lecta*, cited in Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 322.

¹¹⁶ Sondheim, *Frankfurter Drucke*, 12, 49.

¹¹⁷ Sondheim, *Frankfurter Drucke*, 5-6.

¹¹⁸ Regarding what follows see: Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 57.

¹¹⁹ Angelo de Besutio (RAG-ID: ngYO1X173X29knuosXHn1Wkr); Blasius Eichhorn (RAG-ID: ngPF5e476PH2zelHjPoe7NbW)

He is then documented as a lector of his order in Frankfurt am Main from 1511 to 1513

8. Murner as Professor of Civil Law at the University of Trier

After a brief interlude as head of the principal Franciscan convent in Strasbourg in 1513, Murner returned once more to the university sphere. At the latest following his teaching activity at the University of Freiburg, he thus increasingly turned again towards juridical subject matter. Murner arrived in Trier in the first half of 1515. From St. Andrew's Day (30 November) onward, he is documented as having delivered lectures on Justinian's *Institutiones* at the local University.¹²⁰ The lecture covered the four books of the *Institutiones*, which were regarded as the foundation of imperial law. Murner promised the students that, even with only moderate prior education, he would teach them the material completely within just four weeks, enabling them to master the individual paragraphs with the greatest precision and permanently.¹²¹ The lecture announcement in Trier from 1515 is reproduced in the *Chartiludium Institute summarie* printed in 1518.¹²² Once again, Murner appears as a pioneer with what was the first lecture on the *Institutiones* delivered in the German language. As he later did at the University of Basel, he likely adopted a didactically valuable approach by juxtaposing the Latin original text with his German translation in his teaching. As Erler has emphasised, Murner was thus not only the first translator of the *Institutiones* into German, but at the same time the first university teacher to deliver a juridical lecture in the German vernacular.¹²³ His intensified engagement with juridical material in the following years is reflected in the extensive publication of the learning game on Justinian's *Institutiones*, which had originally been conceived as a set of playing cards. This period also saw the translation of central juridical texts into German. In this field as well, Murner acted as an innovator and contributed significantly to the formation of a German legal language.¹²⁴ Yet Murner was not innovative only in juridical

¹²⁰ Pauser, *Frevel*, 206.

¹²¹ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 82; Pauser, *Frevel*, 210; Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 51-52.

¹²² Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 51.

¹²³ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 47.

¹²⁴ An overview of Murner's juridical writings is provided by Kaib, „Zu den juristischen Schriften Thomas Murners“.

terms during this period. In 1515, his translation of Virgil's Aeneid also appeared for the first time in German.

9. Murner at the University of Basel: Teaching and Translations

His intensive engagement with jurisprudence continued after Trier at the University of Basel, where it was further accompanied by the translation of significant legal texts. Murner's stay in Basel between 1518 and 1519 was highly productive. He arrived in Basel in the first half of 1518 and enrolled at the local university, already holding a doctorate in theology.¹²⁵ On 11 June 1519 he was awarded the doctorate in both laws (*utriusque iuris*) in Basel, as earlier in Trier, Murner taught as a professor of civil law - this time with a municipal salary - and continued to lecture in German. During this period, he also published several key works aimed at making juridical knowledge more accessible, above all through translation and didactic adaptation. The *Utriusque iuris tituli et regulae* appeared 1518 from the press of Adam Petri in Basel. It contains, among others, a register of the title rubrics of the Justinianic law books as well as translations of the *regulae iuris civilis et canonici*.¹²⁶ For the first time, Murner added a German translation to the Latin titles. In the preface, he addresses the Basel law students directly and justifies his approach against critics who accused him of profaning the law through the use of the vernacular and of "casting pearls before swine".¹²⁷ This was followed by the expanded version of the juridical card game, *Chartiludium Institute summarie* (1518), which, although printed in Strasbourg by Johannes Prüß, is closely connected with Murner's teaching activity and preparatory work in Basel. Here Murner makes use of images and playing cards (121 illustrations) in order to convey the material of the *Institutiones* and to explain it in far greater detail than was possible with the original card sets. The book contains a reprint of the Trier lecture announcement (*Intimatio*) of 1515 mentioned above, in which he promises to teach the students the entire subject matter within just four weeks. In this text, Murner also reports accusations that his rapid teaching successes were due to magic or the assistance of a demon, accusations he rejects by invoking divine grace.

¹²⁵ Regarding what follows see: Liebenau, „Murner in Basel“; Erler, *Murner als Jurist*; Pauser, *Frevel*.

¹²⁶ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 10, also it contains all sources of the so called *Kaiserrecht* around 1500.

¹²⁷ Liebenau, „Murner in Basel“, 76.

Another work followed with the translation of the *Institutiones* (prepared in 1518, printed in 1519). In Basel, Murner worked on the first complete German translation of the *Institutiones*. In the preface to the work published in 1519, he emphasises that he had already submitted his translation project for discussion at a scholarly gathering in Basel prior to publication, where it had been described as an impossible undertaking.¹²⁸ Before undertaking the translation, he had first publicly compared the text with the Latin original as a Professor in his, as pointed out, regular teaching at the University of Basel, and only thereafter committed the translation to writing. Murner's German translations thus mark the beginning of a development that was fundamental to the emergence of a new German legal language.¹²⁹

With the work *Der kaiserlichen statrechten ein ingang* (1521), Thomas Murner moreover transferred his didactic concept to urban legal practice. While his early production was still focused on academic training, this work aimed at a far broader popularisation of the law. Murner broke with Latin learned culture by translating complex imperial statutes into the vernacular and arranging them systematically in such a way that they became directly applicable for a non-academic, urban audience, in particular city councils.¹³⁰ This *Ingang* is therefore far more than a mere translation; it represents an attempt to transform the law, through structuring and simplification, into a reliable instrument of everyday civic life. In this way, the work can be situated within Murner's overarching didactic programme.

Through his translations of major legal texts, Murner thus presented himself not only as an advocate for students and for lay users of the law, but also as a polemicist against learned jurists, who held influential positions in the Upper Rhine region, particularly at the universities of Freiburg and Basel. His promotion to doctor of civil law further sharpened this challenge to the learned jurists. In Basel, Murner also assumed a pioneering role in a broader sense: in 1527, Paracelsus likewise delivered medical lectures in German. As in Murner's case with his vernacular legal translations, Paracelsus too was confronted with accusations of charlatanry.¹³¹ According to Worstbrock, Murner was the first, and for a long time the only one, to recognise that debates over matters of faith could not be left to learned theologians alone. In order to achieve a broader impact, the central texts had to be translated into

¹²⁸ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 35-36.

¹²⁹ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 339.

¹³⁰ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 341.

¹³¹ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 45.

the vernacular and made accessible to a non-academic audience.¹³² In this respect, Murner acted in a manner comparable to Martin Luther, in that he likewise relied on German-language pamphlets - an aspect of his activity that cannot be pursued further here.

10. Murner's Critique of Learned Jurists

Between Murner and certain learned jurists in the Upper Rhine region there existed a conflictual relationship. Murner articulated a fundamental critique of their learned detachment from practice and at the same time attacked them polemically in his works. Thus, for example, it was said of jurists that they were good Christians only as corpses.¹³³ His attacks were also directed against the excessive commentary of the law through glosses, which in his view contributed to its distortion, as well as against the fundamental social injustice that resulted from the Latin monopoly over the transmission of legal knowledge. This criticism was aimed not only at juridical teaching at universities, but equally at urban legal practice, as Murner knew it from the milieu of his father and his uncle.

In the dedicatory preface to his work *Der kaiserlichen statrechten ein ingang* (1521), Murner mentions his father Matthäus and his uncle Jakob by name. There he writes that he had "so often heard them complain" about how poor people were deprived of their rights by legal scholars (the *Baretlisseleut*) on account of the Latin language. He laments that in many German cities councillors and citizens, because of their lack of knowledge of Latin, had to "beg" the imperial law by which they were supposed to judge from the "Latin doctors".¹³⁴ Murner further argued that jurists deliberately prolonged legal proceedings in order to increase their own profit. He saw this as a conscious strategy by jurists to keep the populace in a state of dependence. His own translations of the legal texts mentioned were intended to break this monopoly. In this sense, Murner also expressed himself in his translation of the *Institutiones* (1519), which was not meant to serve learned judges alone, but above all the lay users of the law, so that everyone might thereby

¹³² Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 342.

¹³³ Liebenau, „Murner in Basel“, 80: In his works *Narrenbeschwörung* (c. 1522) as well as *Schelmzunft* (1512), Murner mocked learned jurists.

¹³⁴ Cited in Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 47-48.

“behelfen mag in allen hendeln alle tag”, that is, be able to make use of it in all matters of everyday life.¹³⁵

In his satire *Narrenbeschwörung* (1512), Murner claimed that jurists were not good Christians, since they twisted the law according to their own will in order to enforce even godless causes by force. Such a corrupt legal practice, Murner further asserted in an antisemitic vein, was a Jewish invention.¹³⁶ At the same time, he directed his criticism against university learning itself. Murner mocked the academic jurists of his time as mere theoreticians. He compared their understanding of the law to that of a blind man shooting at a target or attempting to judge colours. Erler notes that Murner’s opponent Ulrich Zasius later inverted this comparison, claiming that Murner understood the law about as well as a blind man understands colours.¹³⁷ Murner’s pointed remark is particularly striking: “Great books, great fools.” He accused scholars of an art that consisted merely in turning pages and making themselves important with “rusty decretals”, without grasping the true core of the law. A principal target of his attack was the gloss, the juridical commentary. Murner rejected the domination of the gloss over the original text. He versified that the gloss was a “rogue” that kept “baptising” the text until its original meaning was completely distorted. Glossing, he argued, was the root of legal uncertainty and served jurists merely to ensure that no lawsuit was ever lost.

Murner’s critique of learned jurists must, however, be situated within contemporary patterns of scholarly criticism. It is connected with the expansion of universities and the academisation of social roles since the late fifteenth century, and it became established as a durable discursive pattern in the sixteenth century.¹³⁸

11. Away from the University with the Advent of the Reformation

With the emergence of the Reformation around 1520, a clear rupture occurred in Murner’s life trajectory. His academic teaching activity receded, giving way to a sharpened and highly public antireformational polemic. In the following years, Murner increasingly appeared as a controversial theologian.

¹³⁵ Cited in Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 37.

¹³⁶ Liebenau, *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner*, 124-126; Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 16.

¹³⁷ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 22.

¹³⁸ Resch, “Sprichwörtliche Intellektuellenschelte”.

During his stays in Strasbourg, in Lucerne - where he once again served as a lector of his order - and later again in the Upper Rhine region, the Franciscan positioned himself decisively against Martin Luther and the Reformation movement. In a series of satirical and polemical writings, he combined humanist forms of satire with sharp theological argumentation. In doing so, Murner recognised not only the importance of the vernacular, but also that of its central medium of transmission, the printing press. As with his didactic games, he likewise embraced innovation in the realm of print. In 1524, when the Strasbourg city council forbade him to print further polemical writings, he established a printing press within the Franciscan monastery in Strasbourg. This was followed by his expulsion from the city under political pressure and his flight in 1526 to Lucerne, where, as noted, he became a lector and preacher and likewise promptly set up a printing press.

In the same year, he took part in the religious disputations in Baden, which were organised as a countermeasure to the Zurich Reformation by the five Inner Swiss cantons that had remained loyal to the old faith. Murner was among the principal theological representatives of the traditional faith and attracted particular attention through his personal attacks on the reformer Ulrich Zwingli. The theses of the Baden Disputation that he directed against Zwingli further show that Murner was indeed a skilled jurist. For he grounded Zwingli's alleged dishonour not in canon law - which his opponents in any case partly rejected - but in Roman law, thereby attacking Zwingli, as he himself stated, not only in his faith, but also in his honour.¹³⁹ Murner was ultimately commissioned to print the acts of the disputation in his own printing workshop. Although accusations were raised by opposing parties that he had falsified the records, this was never proven.

12. Final Game in Lucerne: Instituta Helvetiorum figurante et memorante (1526)

The work was probably produced during Murner's time in Lucerne, after his flight from Strasbourg. The title *Helvetiorum* ("of the Swiss") in the manuscript has not yet been fully explained in the scholarship, since at this point Murner does not appear to have been planning a new juridical didactic programme. It is nevertheless likely that Murner composed the game in Lucerne. It is a juridical chessboard game that represents a further development

¹³⁹ For a detailed discussion of the theses Murner directed against Zwingli in the context of the disputation, see Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 78-94.

of his mnemotechnical teaching methods for Roman law.¹⁴⁰ In contrast to his earlier *Chartiludium institute* (1518), which was based on playing cards, Murner conceived the *Instituta Helvetiorum* as a board game. The playing board comprises 100 squares (10 × 10), which are assigned to the ninety-nine titles of Justinian's *Institutiones* as well as to the prologue. The manuscript further employs an optical structuring concept in which the core contents of the legal titles are written into squares and circles and graphically linked to one another. The aim was to make the complex juridical structures memorable for the student. Although Murner did not complete the work, the structure, together with the chessboard layout, suggests a dice game. The learner would throw the dice to determine a specific square and then have to repeat from memory the juridical content deposited there, that is, the definitions and subdivisions of the respective title.

It is certain that in Lucerne Murner founded the city's earliest printing press, located in the Franciscan monastery. It is plausible that Murner composed the *Instituta Helvetiorum* not least in order to teach as *Lesemeister* within the monastery and, more generally, to disseminate his methodological approach within the Swiss Confederation. When, during the negotiations leading to the First Peace of Kappel (1529) - which temporarily brought the open conflict between the Reformed and the Catholic cantons of the Confederation to an end - the Protestant side demanded his extradition in order to put him on trial in Basel, Murner left Lucerne. The background to this demand was his active involvement in confessional conflicts through sharp antireformational propaganda; his writings were regarded by the Reformed cantons as dangerous, inflammatory, and disruptive to peace. Murner then initially went to the court of Elector Ludwig V in Heidelberg and ultimately served as a pastoral cleric in Oberehnheim (Obernai), his birthplace, where he also died. In Lucerne, however, he remained in good remembrance. As late as 1535 he received a call to return to Lucerne as *Lesemeister* and head of a school, which he declined.¹⁴¹

13. Reception of Thomas Murner's Didactic Games

While image-based mnemonic aids such as the *ars memorativa* had been firmly established in school and learned contexts since the late Middle Ages,

¹⁴⁰ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 324; Liebenau, „Franziskaner Thomas Murner,“ 134-135. Three copies are still extant, two of them transcripts. The original version is held in the Badische Landesbibliothek: Thomas Murner, *Instituta Helvetiorum*, Cod. Karlsruhe 1184.

¹⁴¹ Rainald Fischer: „Murner, Thomas“.

didactic playing cards were met with fundamental scepticism, particularly within the university milieu. The reception of the learning games developed by Thomas Murner was not uniform, either within or outside the universities. Within academic teaching, the games were primarily perceived as didactic experiments that could complement or challenge established forms of instruction. Their use in university teaching - especially in the faculties of arts and law - met with both interest and scepticism.

On the one hand, the games offered structured, visual, and memorative approaches to complex subject matter such as logic, law, or prosody, and thus corresponded to widespread practices of the *ars memorativa*. On the other hand, they ran counter to the traditional ideal of learned instruction, which was based on oral disputation and text-bound exegesis. Contemporary reactions therefore range from pragmatic use to open rejection or mockery, which becomes particularly visible in satirical and polemical contexts. These reactions, however, often targeted Murner as a person as much as, or even more than, his play-based didactics.

Within the universities, Murner's visual play-based didactics failed to establish themselves in a lasting manner. Especially in the field of law, image-based pedagogy never truly gained a foothold.¹⁴² According to Röhl, Murner's work represents one of the few, but ultimately isolated, attempts to introduce a systematic visual pedagogy into legal scholarship. Röhl describes Murner's juridical teaching card game as a "*unicum* in the history of law" and classifies it as a special case of mnemotechnical visualisation. At the same time, he emphasises that the cards were conceived less as pictorial mnemonic aids than as stimuli for systematic repetition of the text.¹⁴³ In line with the widespread academic rejection, a near silence of student voices regarding the actual use of these games can be observed. This is likely related both to the general invisibility of informal learning practices and to the explicit criticism voiced by influential scholars who rejected play-based forms of teaching.

Apart from the recognition at the University of Kraków and Murner's own accounts, there are no known indications of a contemporary positive reception of his play-based didactic approaches within the universities. The contemporary reception, and above all the criticism by influential scholars of Murner's playful methods, has already been noted. Yet even during his lifetime, Murner's methodology did exert an impulse, as seen in Matthias

¹⁴² Röhl, "Bilder in gedruckten Rechtsbüchern," 294.

¹⁴³ Röhl, "Visuelle Rechtskommunikation," 243-245.

Ringmann's *Grammatica figurata*, which at the time nevertheless remained an isolated case.¹⁴⁴

Later reception nevertheless shows that such impulses continued to exist and that Murner's didactic games enjoyed a remarkable longevity within specialist circles, even though rejection on the part of the universities persisted. The after-effects of Murner's translations of the *Institutiones* were even more significant; these, in particular, would merit further detailed investigation.¹⁴⁵ In general, it can be stated that Murner may have exerted less influence through the specific concept of playing cards than through his broader approach of employing images in pedagogy and didactics in combination with the art of memory. In this way, he was able to generate numerous impulses that would merit closer examination in their own right. Murner thus helped prepare the ground for influential pedagogues such as Johann Amos Comenius, whose work is closely associated with the development of visualized forms of knowledge transmission grounded in mnemonic principles.¹⁴⁶

In the field of visual pedagogy, Johannes Buno is also rightly mentioned, especially with regard to the illustration of the *Institutes*. Buno did not attempt to convey legal knowledge through playing cards, but instead developed a different image-based didactic method. Johannes Buno (1617-1697), a pedagogue and theologian, worked primarily in Lüneburg as a scholar situated between school education, theology, and the Republic of Letters, and ultimately taught at the local Gymnasium.¹⁴⁷ Like Murner, Johannes Buno developed an innovative mode of didactic knowledge representation, including for texts of Roman law. His image-based teaching method systematically condensed learning content into memorable visual forms. This emblematic, memory-oriented technique was also applied by Buno to the *Institutes*: he worked with fold-out pictorial plates that visually structured legal material and made it accessible through memorative ordering.

The longevity of didactic playing cards is nevertheless striking, especially given that they were not institutionally promoted by universities. In the sixteenth century, Murner's cards had by no means fallen into oblivion. Johann Fischart, for example, explicitly mentioned Murner's *Chartiludium*

¹⁴⁴ Worstbrock, „Murner, Thomas“, Sp. 362.

¹⁴⁵ Erler, *Murner als Jurist*, 43: Murner's German translation of Justinian's *Institutiones*, which was closely linked to his card game, appeared in new editions in Frankfurt in 1536 and 1537. His work also served as the basis for Dutch translations published in 1547 (University of Leuven), 1620, and even as late as 1648 in The Hague.

¹⁴⁶ Röhl, „Bilder in gedruckten Rechtsbüchern,“ 310; Volkmann, *Ars memorativa*, 179-180.

¹⁴⁷ Röhl, „Bilder in gedruckten Rechtsbüchern,“ 298-306.

institute and its mnemonic chess game in 1575.¹⁴⁸ A more condensed reception of these games can also be observed in the first half of the seventeenth century, in some cases almost simultaneously at different locations across Europe.¹⁴⁹

Then, in 1629, there was once again a positive assessment from an academic milieu with the publication by the Parisian jurist Jean Ballesdens, who reissued Murner's logical card game and, much as Murner himself had originally done, once again emphasised its didactic value.¹⁵⁰ Ballesdens modernised the typography as well as the illustrations and was convinced that there was no better means of teaching logic to students quickly and enjoyably.¹⁵¹ The title already indicates that the work had remained in obscurity for more than a hundred years. Only a few years later, however, critical voices from academic circles re-emerged, notably in Strasbourg and Kraków.

In 1636, a magister by the name of Dauphin attempted to hold a course on logic at the University of Strasbourg based on Murner's card game.¹⁵² The Philosophical Faculty, however, firmly rejected the proposal, judging the method to be "imperfect" and arguing that no one could be made into a logician by means of such a game. In addition, Murner's religious stance was cited as an obstacle to its use at a Protestant university.

The rejection of the request in 1636 by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Strasbourg is therefore less to be read as a judgement on Thomas Murner himself than as a fundamental position statement on didactic innovation as such. By referring to the "Rattichian nature" of Wolfgang Ratke and to the methods of Johann Heinrich Glaum, which had been rejected in Giessen, the faculty placed Murner's *Chartiludium logicae* within a broader category of teaching approaches considered methodologically seductive but scientifically insubstantial.

At the core of the criticism lay an epistemological boundary. While trained logicians might be able to follow such systems, it was deemed impossible to produce logicians in the first place through games or methodological

¹⁴⁸ Pauser, *Invention*, 130-131.

¹⁴⁹ According to Delgadillo, *A World of Symbols*, p. 273, Murner is listed in the earliest editions of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of the Roman Inquisition from 1557, 1559, and 1564; however, as Liebenau (*Der Franziskaner Thomas Murner*, p. 228) notes, this inclusion was erroneous, and Murner was removed from the Index again in the eighteenth century.

¹⁵⁰ Jean Ballesdens (1595-1675), Eintrag „Ballesdens, Jean“, *Référentiel d'autorités « personnes »* (IRHT), Zugriff am 19. Dezember 2025, <https://personnes.irht.cnrs.fr/28125>.

¹⁵¹ Knod, „Ein Urteil der Philosophischen Fakultät ...“, 108.

¹⁵² Knod, „Ein Urteil der Philosophischen Fakultät ...“.

apparatuses. In this way, the Strasbourg professors defended a traditional understanding of logic as the outcome of prolonged intellectual training and at the same time rejected those playful and materialised forms of knowledge that Murner had already experimented with a century earlier.

Shortly thereafter, in 1640, the Strasbourg professor Matthias Bernegger likewise criticised Murner's cards in his *Orationes Academicae* of 1640 as largely useless, clumsy and arrogant.¹⁵³ He took particular offence at the claim that complex logic could be learned within the space of only one month. Tellingly, this criticism issued from the very university that had rejected the card game four years earlier, and from Strasbourg, Murner's home city. At the same time, this criticism also demonstrates that Murner's playful didactic approach was still known and discussed at that time. Finally, mention should be made of the negative judgement of the legal historian Stintzing in 1867, who criticised the fact that the chosen symbols often bore no tangible relation to the content of the legal material at all.¹⁵⁴

Although Murner's didactic games, like comparable game-based teaching tools by other authors, failed to establish themselves as part of official academic instruction, there is nonetheless increasing evidence that playing cards and card-based formats continued to circulate as learning aids after 1500 and were in fact used. In this respect, cautious parallels may be drawn with modern flashcards, which to this day enjoy considerable popularity, not least in the study of law.

Outside the universities, the learning games opened up different spaces of reception. The surviving copies of Murner's various learning games alone demonstrate that their contemporary reception, very likely especially among students, was by no means insignificant. A decisive role was played by the printing press, which enabled the games to be received in learned, school-based, and semi-learned milieus as visual tools of order and memory. Moreover, it may be assumed that the games always possessed a practical utility in the sense of reference works. It is further likely that Murner also employed the games in monastic educational contexts, particularly within Franciscan circles. The games were well suited to the propaedeutic training of members of religious orders who had not always undergone a full university education.

Following Murner, playing cards were indeed used as a didactic medium outside official university teaching, as various pieces of evidence as-

¹⁵³ Stoffers and Thijs, „A Question of Mentality“, 286-287.

¹⁵⁴ Sieber, *Kartenspiel*, pp. 306-307, concurs with the negative judgement of Stintzing.

sembled by Pauser demonstrate.¹⁵⁵ Especially in the seventeenth century, the method experienced a renewed vogue through its use at the French court to instruct the six-year-old, later King Louis XIV, where playing cards were employed as educational tools in the prince's upbringing. In the Holy Roman Empire, too, as Pauser has shown, didactic playing cards were at that time regarded as prestigious media within learned culture. Gaab's examples include astronomical card games and related visual instruments.

Overall, it can be concluded that Murner's learning games did not bring about a lasting didactic transformation, but they did function as a visible model of alternative forms of knowledge transmission. Their reception oscillated between innovation and provocation, thereby revealing tensions within early modern educational cultures. It is precisely in this ambivalent reception that their historical significance lies: not as a permanently institutionalised form of teaching, but as an expression of an experimental approach to knowledge, instruction, and academic practice around 1500.

14. Innovation in the Age of Reformation

In retrospect, Thomas Murner appears both as a fierce opponent of the Reformation and as a remarkable innovator in early modern knowledge transmission. This dual position makes clear that confessional opposition to the Reformation is not to be equated with didactic or medial backwardness. On the contrary, Murner's work exemplifies how innovations in teaching and the organisation of knowledge also emerged from Catholic, monastic-university contexts. His learning games should therefore be understood neither as marginal curiosities nor merely as a prelude to his later controversy theology, but as serious didactic interventions in an academic teaching culture at the threshold of the early modern period. Murner's games - card, chess, and dice variants - translate logic, prosody, and Roman law into systems of order, visualisation, and repetitive practice. Their innovation lies not in play as entertainment, but in the consistent combination of *ars memorativa* and game mechanics. Murner is the first known scholar to employ playing cards as a teaching medium for logical and juridical memory structures. The fact that these procedures elicited both admiration and ridicule, as well as suspicions of magic, points to their liminal position between academic norm and experimental practice.

¹⁵⁵ Pauser, *Invention*, 128-129.

Murner's games did not transform university teaching at large. Their historical significance lies rather in making alternatives visible: knowledge can be reorganised through changes of medium (print), language (German), and format (game). This insight had long-lasting effects. The later revival of didactic playing cards, for example in courtly instruction of the seventeenth century, marks less a direct line of transmission than the recurring attractiveness of the medium itself. Such innovations demonstrate how permeable the boundaries of learned instruction were, how new media and vernacular languages could reshape knowledge organization. For these reasons, Murner's experiments remain particularly illuminating for the educational and university history of the early modern period.

The prosopographical perspective of the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG) sharpens this assessment. Murner emerges as an exceptionally mobile boundary-crosser between monastery and university, between theology and jurisprudence, and between Latin and the vernacular. This versatility, together with his special position in the field of civil law, helps explain both the conditions under which his didactic experiments emerged and the influences that informed them.

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Rectors, nations, and student graffiti in the Universities of Bologna and Salamanca during the 16th century. Origins and influences of a common symbolic culture

Rectores, naciones y grafitis estudiantiles
en las Universidades de Bolonia y Salamanca durante
el siglo XVI. Orígenes e influencias de una cultura
simbólica común

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Abstract: In university cities such as Bologna and Salamanca, a symbolic culture linked to the student world emerged, transcending the limits of the academic realm and colonizing urban areas not directly associated

Resumen: En ciudades universitarias como Bolonia y Salamanca se generó una cultura simbólica ligada al mundo estudiantil que traspasó los límites de lo académico, colonizando áreas urbanas que no estaban directamente

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with teaching. This research focuses on some of these manifestations that overcame political borders, giving rise to exchanges and similar cultural practices in distant spaces. The starting point is a comparative framework between both universities, which shared, since the Middle Ages, a model in which students held great power and autonomy both inside and outside the *Studium*. Grouped into nations (*nationes*), they annually elected the rectors, who possessed important attributes within the university sphere. The evolution of this model is addressed in the second part, focusing on the transformations that took place at the Universities of Bologna and Salamanca during the 16th century. Particular attention will be paid to the Spanish influence of the College of San Clemente on the rectorate of the Bolognese *Studium*, participating in a student idiosyncrasy centred on the *natio* that was reflected in non-academic spaces through its own symbolism. Some of these manifestations are presented in the final part of the article: these are the acclamatory graffiti called «viva» in the Italian case, which were inscribed in public and private places to honour specific individuals as well as student nations. An analysis will be carried out based on their identification, dating, and influences with other similar symbols existing in the Salamanca area, the «vitor», seeking to establish the origin of a common practice that extended to other environments and territories.

Keywords: University, Bologna, Salamanca, 16th century, symbolic culture, student, nation, graffiti, vitor, viva.

vinculadas a la enseñanza. Esta investigación se centra en algunas de estas manifestaciones que superaron las fronteras políticas dando lugar a intercambios y prácticas culturales similares en espacios distantes. Se parte de un marco comparativo entre ambas universidades, las cuales compartieron, desde la edad Media, un modelo en el que los estudiantes ostentaron gran poder y autonomía tanto dentro como fuera del *Studium*. Agrupados en naciones, elegían anualmente a los rectores, con importantes atribuciones en el ámbito universitario. La evolución de este modelo es abordada en la segunda parte, poniendo el foco en las transformaciones que tuvieron lugar en las Universidades de Bolonia y Salamanca durante el siglo XVI. Particularmente se atenderá a la influencia hispana del Colegio de San Clemente en el rectorado del Estudio boloñés, participando de una idiosincrasia estudiantil en torno a la *natio* que se vio reflejada en espacios no académicos a través de una simbología propia. Algunas de estas manifestaciones son dadas a conocer en la última parte del artículo; son los grafitis de aclamación denominados “VIVA” en el caso italiano que se plasmaron en lugares públicos y privados para homenajear tanto a individuos concretos como a naciones de estudiantes. Se realizará un análisis a partir de su identificación, datación e influencias con otros símbolos similares existentes en el espacio salmantino, el “VITOR”, tratando de establecer el origen de una práctica común que se extendió a otros ámbitos y territorios.

Palabras clave: Universidad, Bolonia, Salamanca, siglo XVI, cultura simbólica, estudiante, nación, grafiti, vitor, viva.

1. Bologna and Salamanca: Universities of Students, Nations, and Rectors

The identification between city and university in the cases of Bologna and Salamanca is a feature that has marked their urban evolution and remains to this day. Both emerged in the medieval period, from pre-existing centres of study, in line with the urban and cultural development experienced by Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. Originally, the spaces they occupied

were poorly defined, and only with the passage of time did they consolidate in the immediate vicinity of the centres of political and economic power of their cities.

1.1. *The universitas scholarium: student prominence*

The University of Bologna, founded in 1088, is the *alma mater* of the higher education centres that subsequently emerged in Europe. The term «university» did not indicate, in its beginnings, universal studies, but rather a corporation of students, the *universitas scholarium*, which would be determinant in the evolution of the *Studium*. The Bologna model began as a guild of foreign students who possessed organizational and jurisdictional autonomy parallel to the faculty; in fact, originally, the students hired their professors. Later, at the end of the 12th century, the students formed themselves into nations – that is, groups based on geographical origin with bonds of solidarity among their members¹.

In the sphere of the Iberian Peninsula, one would have to wait until the 13th century to witness the birth of the *Studia Generalia*, among them that of Salamanca. Founded by King Alfonso IX of León in 1218, the *Studium Salamanticensis* was partially inspired by the model of the *universitas scholarium* of Bologna. Therefore, both shared the importance of the student collective in institutional evolution from their beginnings in the medieval period. However, there were also notable differences, as Salamanca originated as a royal foundation in the cathedral environment, enjoying the influence and protection of the Pope and with the figure of the *maestrescuela* (scholasticus) as the depositary of the jurisdictional function and the conferring of degrees. This allowed, among other factors, for the development of a certain balance of power between students and the faculty, an issue that has led the Salamanca case to be considered a «model of its own»².

¹ Javier García, “El modelo ‘boloñés’ de Universidad. Imagen jurídica e historiográfica”, in *Universidades clásicas de la Europa Mediterránea: Bolonia, Coimbra y Alcalá. Miscelánea Alfonso IX*, ed. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro and Juan L. Polo (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006) 19 and 21; David A. Lines, “The University and the City: Cultural Interactions”, in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Bologna*, ed. Sarah Rubin (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 439.

² José M. Monsalvo, “El Estudio y la ciudad en el período medieval”, in *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, coord. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), vol. 1, 447-448; Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, “La Universidad de Salamanca, evolución y declive de un modelo clásico”, *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 9 (1991): 9-21.

In any case, student power became omnipresent in both university cities, with the structure of nations or territorial student confraternities as a common element³. In the university model of Bologna, nations were based on territorial compatriotism, corporatism, and welfare purposes. Furthermore, they possessed a crucial role in the decision-making of the *Studium*: they participated in the governance of the university and annually elected one of their members as rector⁴. The first nations constituted in the University of Bologna for law students were the Germanic, the English, that of the Provençals, and that of the Spaniards, from the end of the 12th century, although it was not until the second half of the 13th century that a more precise definition of the legist nations appeared, grouped into the *universitas ultramontanorum* (for those from beyond the Alps) and *cismontanorum* (for students from the Italian peninsula); each with its own rector. At that time, the ultramontanes numbered thirteen: Germans, English, Normans, French, Picards, Burgundians, Poitevins, Turonenses and Cenomani, Provençals, Spaniards, Catalans, Hungarians, and Poles; and the cismontanes totalled three more: Lombards, Tuscans, and Romans. To these must be added, from the 14th century onwards, the nations of students who were not legists –the artists– with their own rector at the head of four nations: three Italian (Lombards, Tuscans, and Romans) and one foreign (*ultramontanorum*)⁵.

On the other hand, the universalist character acquired by some *Studia Generalia* through the papal concession of the *licencia ubique docendi* fostered the foundation of «national» colleges that orbited the universities⁶. These institutions, originally charitable, were constituted as spaces of confluence

³ The classic study on student nations is that of Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948). A later analysis of European nations and university colleges is that of Aleksander Gieysztor, "Management and Resources", in *A History of the University in Europe*, eds. Walter Rüegg and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 110 and 114-118.

⁴ Albano Sorbelli, "La «nazione» nelle antiche università italiana e straniera", *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'università di Bologna* 16 (1943): 92-232; Roberto Greci, "L'associazionismo degli studenti dalle origini alla fine del XIV secolo", in *Studenti e università degli studenti dal XII al XIX secolo*, ed. Gian P. Brizzi and Antonio I. Pini (Bologna: Istituto per la storia dell'Università, 1988) 13-44.

⁵ Antonio I. Pini, "Le 'naciones' studentesche nel modello universitario bolognese del medioevo", in *Studenti e dottori nelle università italiane: origini – XX secolo*, ed. Gian P. Brizzi and Andrea Romano (Bologna: Clueb, 2000) 21-29, especially 27.

⁶ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility". In *A History of the University in Europe*, eds. Walter Rüegg and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 282-284; Dámaso de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una élite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2019).

for students of the same origin, who, through a scholarship for residence at the college, came to be trained in the classrooms of Bologna. In the long run, they would end up becoming elitist centres that admitted students based on a specific provenance, usually coinciding with that of their founder. This was the case of the Royal College of San Clemente in Bologna, founded by Cardinal Gil de Albornoz in 1364 to host Spanish students⁷.

Following the Bolognese example, student nations also existed in the University of Salamanca, which congregated mainly students, but also professors, of common geographical origin. In the manner of a confraternity, they had bonds of solidarity and elements that distinguished them from other nations: meeting places, worship, registries, etc. These nations were eight in number and came mainly from the territories that were being added to the Spanish Monarchy: Campos (including Old Castile and León); Vizcaya (including the Basque Country, Navarre, and La Rioja); Galicia; Portugal; Extremadura; La Mancha (New Castile and Murcia); Andalusia; and the Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Sardinia, Sicily, and Italian territories)⁸. As occurred in the Bolognese space, the nations played an important role in the distribution of power in the *Studium*, establishing themselves as pressure groups and articulating the vote corporately in rectoral elections, in councillorships (*consiliaturas*), and, particularly for Salamanca, in the oppositions for professorial chairs⁹.

⁷ Candido Mesini, "Gli spagnoli a Bologna prima della fondazione del Collegio di Egidio di Albornoz (1364-1369), in *Studia Albornotiana, XII, El cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1972) vol. 2, 41-71. A bibliographical compilation in Baltasar Cuart, "El Colegio de San Clemente de los españoles de Bolonia en la Edad Moderna", in *Universidades clásicas de la Europa Mediterránea: Bolonia, Coimbra y Alcalá*, eds. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro and Juan L. Polo (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006), 67-92. More recently, Manuel Parada, coord., *Domus Hispanica. El Real Colegio de España y el cardenal Gil de Albornoz en la historia del arte* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2018).

⁸ Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, "La nación de Vizcaya en las Universidades de Castilla. Siglos XVI-XVIII", *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 20 (2002): 11-46; Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, "La corona de Aragón en la Universidad de Salamanca: siglos XVII y XVIII", in *Aulas y saberes. VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas* (Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 2003) vol. 2, 399-417; Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro and Juan L. Polo, "Valencianos en Salamanca", in *Historia de la Universidad de Valencia*, coord. Mariano Paset (Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 2000) vol. 2, 309-317; Ángel Marcos de Dios, "Estudiantes de Brasil en la Universidad de Salamanca durante los siglos XVI y XVII", *Revista de Historia* 105 (1976): 215-230; *Portugueses na Universidade de Salamanca (1550-1580)* (Salamanca: Luso-Española de Ediciones, 2005); Francisco J. Rubio Muñoz, "La nación de Extremadura en la Universidad de Salamanca durante su etapa clásica", *Norba: Revista de Historia* 24 (2014): 225-256.

⁹ Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, "Cátedras, grupos de presión y naciones de estudiantes en

This corporate vote was also related to the existence of the major and minor colleges, which, imitating the College of San Clemente in Bologna, had emerged since the 15th century to host students with few resources, often of the same provenance as their founder. In the Salamanca sphere, there were four major colleges (San Bartolomé, Arzobispo, Oviedo, and Cuenca) and, over time, they also became factories for bureaucrats who later monopolized important positions in the Spanish Monarchy and the Catholic Church¹⁰.

1.2. A Student Rector as Head of the Studium in Bologna and Salamanca

The functioning of the universities of Bologna and Salamanca was marked by the annual election of rectors from among the students. In the case of Bologna, this was a practice that appeared as early as the 12th century, evolving in the following century towards the aforementioned system of universities of ultramontanes and cismontanes. The importance of legal studies in Bologna meant that the rectors of these two legist universities emerged prior to other groups, such as physicians and artists. Over time, a rotation system was established to serve as rector and councillors as the nations developed within these universities. They were elected annually, and only exceptionally could they repeat a mandate. From the end of the 15th century, rectors were recognized with the title of *Magnificus* and with the privilege of bearing arms and being accompanied by four pages. They were exempt from examination and graduation fees, in addition to holding an honorary chair associated with a salary. They held civil and criminal jurisdictional

la Salamanca del siglo XVII”, in *Colegios y universidades: del antiguo régimen al liberalismo*, coord. Enrique González and Leticia Pérez (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-CESU, 2001), 107-132.

¹⁰ Dámaso de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una elite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: Dykinson-Universidad Carlos III, 2019); Dámaso de Lario, “Orígenes sociales de los colegiales mayores españoles (1590-1650)”, in *Doctores y escolares: II Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas*, eds. Pedro Ruiz and Mariano Peset (Valencia: Servei de Publicacions Universitat de Valencia, 1998), vol 1.1, 319-344; for the Salamanca major colleges, Ana Carabias, *Colegios Mayores, centros de poder: los colegios mayores de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1986); Ana Carabias, “Salamanca, “académica palanca” hacia el poder”, in *Letrados, juristas y burócratas en la España moderna*, coord. Francisco J. Aranda (Cuenca: Ediciones Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, 2005), 23-60.

functions over the scholars, in addition to establishing schedules, academic disputes, and faculty salaries¹¹.

However, the office of rector implied numerous expenses that required paying for various celebrations at their own cost, in addition to maintaining a retinue. For this reason, it became increasingly difficult to find students to accede to the rectorate, a fact that influenced the reduction, during the 16th century, to a single rector for the two legist universities (*rector utriusque universitatis*). Finally, the gradual loss of jurisdictional privileges of the students in favour of the pontifical legates contributed greatly to their disappearance, such that after 1580 no rector was elected again¹².

In the Salamanca sphere, the position of rector is cited in the 13th century in the *Partidas* of Alfonso X the Wise, although, unlike the Bolognese case, it fell upon a single student who did not have jurisdiction over the Study, which was exercised by the *maestrescuela*¹³. Power, therefore, was bi-cephalous and shared, with conflicts between both figures being frequent¹⁴. The rector was also a student, usually of noble origin, who received no salary other than certain income for presiding over acts at the university, and was obliged to reside in Salamanca. Excepting the areas of the exercise of university jurisdiction, the rector was the head of the same, with functions similar to those described in the case of Bologna: presiding over meetings and acts, study plans, assignment of lessons, in addition to others specifically in Salamanca, such as the provision of chairs, part of the economic management, and the maintenance of the library and the chapel. However, his power was

¹¹ The description of the office of rector in Carlo Malagola, *I rettori nell'antico Studio e nella moderna Università di Bologna* (Bologna: Stabilimento Tipografico Successori Monti, 1887), 4-12, where he points out that the distinctive title of *Magnificus* began in 1494.

¹² In the absence of the election of a rector, especially from 1580 onwards, the figure of the prior appears, who was to be elected by the university councillors. He was assisted by two presidents or councilors. Only in 1604 was there a new election of a rector, which fell to Spinola di Genova, being the last to hold the office before the Bolognese government assumed power for two centuries. Throughout the 16th century, the jurisdictional attributions of the rector would end up falling to the pontifical legates, assuming them under the denomination of Protectors of the *Studium*. Malagola, *I rettori...* 6-8.

¹³ Águeda Rodríguez, *El oficio de rector en la Universidad de Salamanca y en las Universidades hispanoamericanas* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1979), 37. This legal system dedicates Title XXXI of Partida II to the functioning of the *Studia*, mentioning in Law VI the position of rector and his student election.

¹⁴ The *maestrescuela* (scholasticus) also had the power to confer the degrees of licentiate and doctor or master. María P. Alonso, *Universidad y sociedad corporativa: historia del privilegio jurisdiccional del Estudio salmantino* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1997).

shared and mediated by other assembly powers, the cloisters, where students, professors, and doctors met to debate issues of all kinds¹⁵.

University regulations established the requirements to be rector: to be enrolled in the university, not to be re-elected in the following two years, not to have been born in Salamanca, and not to hold other offices such as professor, canon, or chaplain. The election of the rector, carried out annually by the rector and the cloister of councillors finishing their mandate, was a process supervised by the *maestrescuela* that concluded with a solemn ceremony attended by the entire university guild¹⁶. The acts for the new rector continued with a festive parade through the streets of Salamanca in which the students organized great celebrations that often ended in riots.

In short, the office of rector had a very established tradition in the universities of Bologna and Salamanca, something that was embodied in the regulations and that defined their attributions, rights, and obligations. Furthermore, in both universities, the students had the exclusivity to occupy this function of governing them, heading the scholars and representing the student power of the nations. Precisely rectors and nations would play a leading role in some of the changes in both *Studia* during the 16th century, as we will see below.

2. *The Arrival of Modernity: Evolution of a University Model*

At the beginning of the 16th century, the political panorama in Europe became more complex. A large part of the monarchies experienced a concentration of power in the figure of princes and kings, a trend that, in the Spanish case, was already visible at the end of the previous century, although it became more palpable as the century advanced. This strengthening of the monarchs also had its correlate in the Papal States, where the power of the Pope ended up imposing itself in some cities that had enjoyed autonomy, as was the case of Bologna, governed until the beginning of the *Cinquecento* by various factions of the aristocracy.

¹⁵ There was a cloister of consilieros, composed of students who assisted the rector in teaching matters, in addition to the cloister of deputies, for economic matters, formed by students and professors, and the full cloister, for the most important matters.

¹⁶ Rodríguez, *El oficio de rector*, 38.

2.1. University Transformations in Bologna during the Cinquecento

Historiography has traditionally pointed out that in the trajectory of the University of Bologna, a stage of expansion and internationalization is observed until the beginning of the 16th century, after which a phase of contraction and regionalization would open. Generally, Bologna's return to the Papal States in 1506 has been considered a period of progressive decline that had its correlate in the *Studium*. However, in recent decades, this idea of university decline has been nuanced by the phenomenon of *peregrinatio academica*, the examination of which has advanced to estimate the temporary presence of foreign students in academic poles like Bologna. This, added to the absence of statistical sources for the period, makes it difficult to determine the total number and provenance of the students. While it is true that, contrary to what had occurred in previous eras, students of Italian origin were the majority from that moment on, it is also true that Bologna continued to attract numerous foreign students¹⁷.

These nuances have recently been expanded, arguing more in favour of a stage of changes based on the analysis of the supposed symptoms of decline¹⁸. For example, the disappearance of the office of rector at the end of the 16th century has been linked to the contraction of the institution and student prominence, especially of foreigners. However, it was an office that implied enormous expenses that were increasingly difficult for students to assume. To this could be added the desire to confront a student power that often escaped the control of the authorities. On the other hand, the decrease in student enrolments was not a direct indicator of the decline in the quality of its studies. Bologna had to share space with other universities and centres of knowledge that emerged and grew in the Early Modern Age. Furthermore,

¹⁷ Gian Paolo Brizzi, "Per una geografia umana delle università italiane: studenti e laureati in età moderna", in *Lauree. Università e gradi accademici in Italia nel medioevo e nella prima età moderna*, eds. Anna Esposito and Umberto Longo (Bologna: Clueb, 2013) 113-142; Gian Paolo Brizzi, "La mobilità studentesca" in *Atlante delle professioni*, ed. María Malatesta (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2009) 10-17; Gian Paolo Brizzi, "Matricole ed effettivi. Aspetti della presenza studentesca a Bologna fra Cinque e Seicento", in *Studenti e università degli studenti dal XII al XIX secolo*, ed. Gian P. Brizzi and Antonio I. Pini (Bologna: Istituto per la storia dell'Università, 1988) 227-259. Currently, the ASFE project led by Gian Paolo Brizzi provides an account, through a complete academic database, of the phenomenon of *peregrinatio academica* at the University of Bologna during the Modern Age.

¹⁸ The changes indicated have been widely addressed by David A. Lines, *The dynamics of learning in early modern Italy: arts and medicine at the University of Bologna* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2023) 13-19.

the stagnation and conservative character of the curriculum did not prevent intellectual development, while Bologna's classic orientation towards legal studies was shifting towards arts and theology.

Mention should also be made of the political and religious relations with Rome, such that the theoretical centralization imposed from the capital of the Papal States would have influenced university autonomy and, with it, cultural impoverishment. The reality, however, was that of negotiation and consensus with the urban oligarchies that did not prevent the opposition of its members to quite a few measures, although the tendency, in the long run, was that of greater control by the Pope over the university. And finally, the action of the Inquisition or the attempt at control by the Jesuits influenced in a variable way the access to European knowledge despite censorship. The truth is that since 1550, successive reforms are symptomatic of a moment of changes and instability, although this context did not prevent intellectual and scientific development¹⁹.

Thus, academic dynamism and mobility in the Bolognese sphere continued to be an important characteristic in the 16th century, even after the Protestant rupture. The Reformation broke Christian unity, and with it, traditional communication and university solidarity at the European level, becoming more confessional and national²⁰. However, some institutions benefited from this change, as was the case of the College of San Clemente in Bologna. Despite the measures that, from the Spanish Monarchy, attempted to prevent student mobility in its territories to avoid the entry of Protestantism, the truth is that the 16th century coincided, paradoxically, with the moment of splendour of this institution. The legislation of Philip II, in fact, favoured the arrival of Spanish students to the University of Bologna through said college, since the pragmatic of 1559 excepted it from the prohibitions on leaving to study abroad²¹.

Consequently, throughout the 16th century, relations with the Spanish sphere continued to be fluid, with a constant presence of Spanish students

¹⁹ Lines, *The dynamics of learning*, 19.

²⁰ Rafael Gibert, "Las Universidades en tiempos de Carlos V", in *Carlos V (1550-1558)*, eds. Manuel Fernández and Antonio Gallego (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001), 479.

²¹ This exception responds to the Monarchy's need to maintain the flow of bureaucrats and loyal servants who were trained in Bologna through the college, as demonstrated by Dámaso de Lario, *Sobre los orígenes del burócrata moderno. El Colegio de San Clemente de Bolognia durante la impermeabilización habsbúrgica (1568-1659)* (Madrid: Dykinson-Universidad Carlos III, 2023), 98.

in the city seeking opportunities to achieve legal degrees²². The data confirm this: 576 Spaniards graduated in law during the 16th century at the University of Bologna, compared to 205 in the previous century and 127 in the 17th century²³. Likewise, the College of San Clemente maintained a significant number of collegians (424) between 1501 and 1600, more than double that in the 17th century (192) and with figures quite like those of the 15th century (461)²⁴.

On the other hand, the Spanish kings took an interest in controlling and protecting the College, especially after the personal visit of Emperor Charles V in 1530. Both this monarch and his successors granted various privileges to the collegians, similar to those held by universities like Salamanca, Alcalá, or Valladolid. This implied a higher level of interference and control to the detriment of the influence of the papacy. And in the same line acted the urban and pontifical authorities and some families of the Bolognese oligarchies, who showed a growing interest in benefiting the college and its members²⁵.

The presence of Spaniards in Bologna at this time was not only reflected in the student contingent, with students even coming from the New World²⁶, but also in the representativeness they had in the organs of university power. The rector of the College of San Clemente, since its foundation, had the privilege of sitting next to the rector of the University of Bologna in

²² On the general framework of relations between Salamanca and the Italian sphere, Antonio Pérez, "Salamanca y las Italías, etapas medieval y renacentista", in *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, dir. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006), vol. 3.2, 1163-1173; Dámaso de Lario, "Salamanca y las Italías, etapa Moderna", in *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, dir. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006): vol 3.2, 1175-1191.

²³ Antonio Pérez, "Españoles doctorados en Bolonia en derecho civil y/o canónico (1369-1788) in *Las Universidades hispánicas. De la Monarquía de los Austrias al centralismo liberal*, ed. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2000), vol. 1, 373-386.

²⁴ Antonio Pérez, *Proles Aegidiana*, (Bologna: Studia Albornotiana-Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1979) vol. 1, 21-22.

²⁵ Pérez, *Proles Aegidiana*, 22; Baltasar Cuart, "Colegiales y burócratas. El caso del Colegio de San Clemente de los españoles de Bolonia en la primera mitad del S. XVI", *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 1 (1983): 65-93; Dámaso de Lario, "Conflictos y reformas del Colegio de España en Bolonia durante la impermeabilización hasburguesa (1568-1659)", in *Studia Albornotiana*, ed. Evelio Verdera (Bologna: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1979), 500-503; Miguel J. López-Guadalupe, *Redes y estrategias de ascenso en la Monarquía Hispánica. La familia Malvezzi y el Colegio de España en Bolonia (siglos XV-XVI)* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2023).

²⁶ Pascual Tamburri, "La nación de las Indias en la Universidad de Bolonia (siglos XVI-XIX). Raíces medievales de la cultura hispano-americana", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie IV, Hª Moderna* 13 (2000): 339-364.

the cloister, an issue that often caused conflicts of precedence²⁷. However, the most paradigmatic fact was the frequent presence, during the 16th century, of a Spanish rector as head of the University of Bologna. Although Bolognese university regulations did not allow collegians to exercise the office of rector from the end of the 14th century, the truth is that from the 16th century onwards it became increasingly frequent for the rectoral vacancy to fall upon an *albornoziano* collegian²⁸.

Consequently, of the 100 students who occupied the position of rector between 1501 and 1580, 25 came from the college (25%). Of them, 19 were rectors of the legist universities (of a total of 60 for that period, 31%) and 5 were artists (of 39, 12.8%)²⁹. During the first fifty years of the 16th century, a total of 12 Spanish collegians held the position, while in the period 1551-1580 the concentration was greater, with 13 rectors in thirty years. From the academic year 1552-1553 until the disappearance of the office in 1580, there was always a rector of Spanish origin except in four academic years. Furthermore, there were two students who extended their mandate for more than one year, Pedro Martínez de Villaescusa (legist rector from 1509 to 1511) and Pedro Martínez de Membrilla (artist rector from 1555 to 1557), while the last rector, Lope de Barahona, assumed the rectorate of the legist and artist universities in the academic year 1579-1580. From that moment until 1604 the position was not filled, being substituted by figures such as that of the prior³⁰. Thus, the *Domus Hispanica* acquired great prominence in the academic dynamics of Bologna, consolidating a presence in the university and in the city whose visual embodiment will be addressed in the third part.

2.2. Rise and Expansion of the University of Salamanca in the 16th Century

In contrast to the trends indicated for the University of Bologna, the case of Salamanca is quite different, as historiography is unanimous in pointing

²⁷ Some of these conflicts are collected in Antonio Pérez "La precedencia del Rector del Colegio de España. Su defensa frente a la Universidad de Bolonia en 1565", in *Studia Albornoiana*, ed. Emilio Verdera (Bologna: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1979), 699-731.

²⁸ Celestino Piana, *Nuovi documenti sull'Università di Bologna e sul Collegio di Spagna* (Bologna: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1976), vol 1., 95-96; Pérez, *Proles Aegidiana*, 22; this custom was sanctioned by Pope Paul III in 1539.

²⁹ Of a total of 100 rectors (60 legists, 39 artists, and 1 of both).

³⁰ Malagola, *I rettori...* 6; Lines, *The Dynamics of Learning*, 39.

to the beginning of the Modern Age, and especially the 16th century, as the moment of greatest splendour and institutional consolidation of the Salamanca *Studium*³¹. The prominence of Salamanca and, to a lesser extent, other universities such as Valladolid or Alcalá, is better understood if one attends to the process of formation of the modern State in the Spanish sphere. At the end of the Middle Ages, the budding Spanish Monarchy began to structure itself upon a complex bureaucratic and administrative framework responsible for executing royal authority. The Catholic Monarchs initiated a process of consolidation of royal power through the incorporation into their service not only of the traditional nobility but also of a growing contingent of *letrados* (jurists), whose university training allowed them to assume key functions in political decision-making.

The universities thus became decisive spaces for the training of cadres destined to integrate the increasingly complex bureaucratic and administrative apparatus of the Crown and the Catholic Church. It is not coincidental, therefore, that as late as 1606 it was stated regarding the recognition of the University of Salamanca in all Spanish territories, that «to it alone one goes to ask for laws, advice, and rights for good living and governing, drawing from here men for the government of its Kingdoms and Monarchy»³². This centrality is understood in the context of the wide proliferation of higher education institutions in the Spanish world during the 16th century, a growth that surpassed its medieval precedents.

However, to understand this expansion, it is convenient to go back to the sociocultural context generated since the end of the Middle Ages. During this period, a progressive process of transformation in the mechanisms of social ascent developed, increasingly associated with the obtaining of intellectual merits, whose valuation intensified notably. The university *cursus honorum* came to be equated, at least in symbolic terms, with the prestige derived from military merits. In this cultural and ideological scenario, universities acquired a relevance that would end up projecting itself both on the structure of the State and on its intellectual life³³.

³¹ Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, *La Universidad de Salamanca del Medievo al Renacimiento (1218-1516/29). Aspectos históricos, poderes y saberes* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013).

³² Gil González Dávila, *Historia de las antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Imprenta de Artus Taberniel, 1606), 182-183.

³³ The celebrated controversy between letters and arms—so present as a literary trope, and expressed paradigmatically by Cervantes through the mouth of Don Quixote—constitutes a clear reflection of the ubiquity of this debate in modern culture.

Specifically, the *Studium Salmanticensis* reached its stage of greatest expansion during the reigns of Philip II (1556-1598) and Philip III (1598-1621). This rise was reflected in two main phenomena: on the one hand, the notable increase in the number of students in the last quarter of the 16th century, which situated Salamanca as the most populous university of its time in both Europe and America³⁴; and on the other, the relevance of its teachings –legal and theological, above all– which simultaneously fostered the creation of a body of bureaucrats in the service of the Crown and the Church, as well as the convergence of prominent intellectuals such as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto and the so-called School of Salamanca, and others such as Fray Luis de León or El Brocense. The Salamanca primacy was due, moreover, to its condition as *alma mater* of the Spanish university system, radiating its influence towards newly created universities in the New World such as Lima or Mexico.

The progressive affirmation of the Spanish Monarchy was accompanied by a continued process of strengthening and expansion of the university system. In this context of growing institutionalization of power and its administrative structures, the University of Salamanca stood out for the solidity and recognition of its teachings, especially legal ones, which contributed to consolidating its preeminent position in the Spanish sphere and to maintaining its academic dynamism during a good part of the Modern Age. However, the process also resulted in greater control of the university by the monarchs, who subjected the institution to their power, guaranteeing its fidelity and legitimation in exchange for privileges for its members³⁵.

Just as occurred in Bologna with respect to pontifical power, in the case of Salamanca, royal interventionism was a constant element during the 16th century³⁶. Some specialists maintain that it was the university itself that was forced to request the mediation of the Crown to put an end to frequent internal disputes, particularly between the *maestrescuela* and the rector. According to this reading, the Study would have been unable to preserve a stable order by itself and would have resorted to the king out of necessity,

³⁴ In figures, enrolled students ranged between 5,000 and 7,000 in the second half of the 16th century. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, “La Universidad de Salamanca, evolución y declive de un modelo clásico”. *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 9 (1991): 17.

³⁵ Francisco J. Rubio, “Monarquía, universidad y élites académicas: dinámicas legitimadoras en la Salamanca del Siglo de Oro (1556-1621)”, in *Universidades, Colegios, Poderes*, coord. Jorge Correa Ballester (Valencia: Servei de publicacions de la Universidad de Valencia, 2021) 187-206.

³⁶ For example, the aforementioned prohibition by Philip II on going abroad to study. Dámaso de Lario and Javier García, “La “impermeabilización ideológica” de Felipe II: cronología de una coyuntura (1558-1571)”, *Estudis: revista de historia moderna* 40 (2014): 31-70.

which did not imply the automatic acceptance of reforms, offering resistance on multiple occasions³⁷. Against this vision, another interpretation links the loss of university autonomy to the general transformation of the political structures of the monarchy during the Modern Age. What might appear from the outside as an endemic incapacity of the institution to maintain internal peace would be, rather, the manifestation of a process of reconfiguration of power in which different sectors –with opposing interests– competed to conserve or expand their spaces of influence. Thus, the passage from a corporate and horizontal university, the medieval one, towards a hierarchical institution, the modern one, was certified³⁸.

In this long struggle for authority, it is evident that the Crown ended up imposing itself, tipping the pulse for university autonomy in its favour. In sum, the centralizing processes introduced by modernity affected the universities of Bologna and Salamanca unequally, although both had in common the subjection of the guild of scholars by extra-university powers as the 16th century advanced. Nevertheless, student representativeness continued to be a trait peculiar to these cities, manifesting itself through practices that speak to us of a common identity.

3. A Common University Tradition: Student Symbolic Culture Through Graffiti

University culture shared practices and knowledge in the academic sphere, forming one of the main links between the different centres of higher education in Europe. However, this culture transcends the university walls proper to impregnate other urban spaces not only in cities that have universities but even in places without a university tradition. As we shall see, distance was no obstacle to the transfer of symbols, among other elements, as is the case of student graffiti in Bologna and Salamanca³⁹.

³⁷ María P. Alonso, “Notas sobre las relaciones de la Universidad de Salamanca con el papado y la monarquía entre 1480 y 1561”, in *Universidades, Colegios, Poderes*, coord. Jorge Correa (Valencia: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Valencia, 2021), 43-64.

³⁸ Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, “El corpus normativo, siglos XV-XVIII”. In *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, dir. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2004) vol. 2, 109-130; Francisco J. Rubio, “The University of Salamanca and the Hispanic Monarchy during the Early Modern Age: reforms, changes, and continuity” in *Globalizing the University in Early Modern Europe: Reforming Education between the 16th and 19th Centuries*, eds. Carlos F. Teixeira, Rui M. Rocha and Jose L. Barbosa (London: Routledge (forthcoming)).

³⁹ The conservation status of the graffiti identified in this article varies. In the case of Bologna, certain graphic markings have emerged during contemporary restorations and appear

3.1. The «Viva» Type Graffiti in Bologna: Identification and Dating

The student symbolic manifestations par excellence, in the case of the University of Bologna, are the *stemma* or heraldic shields present mainly in the Archiginnasio, as shown by the studies of Brizzi and Daltri⁴⁰. In them appear representatives of the various nations of students; also, the Spanish one, given, as has been seen, the presence and strong ties forged through the College of San Clemente. However, other university symbols with functions similar to the *stemmi* remain unknown, although probably, due to their configuration, they have gone unnoticed or have simply not survived to our day. These are the graffiti called «viva», which would respond to a practice born around the student celebrations of the rectorate within the Bolognese urban framework.

These manifestations can be framed within the category of exposed writings and its associated practices during the Early Modern Period⁴¹. As will be discussed further on, the Bolognese university graffiti exerted a direct influence on similar inscriptions recorded within the urban and university landscape of Salamanca. These practices were, in turn, exported to other enclaves of the Hispanic Monarchy, ultimately transcending strictly academic frameworks⁴². The origin of the cultural transfer from Bologna is

to have been consolidated in the process—a significant factor given that they are executed directly onto the brick wall surface and constitute outdoor paintings. Furthermore, their location within arcaded areas has also facilitated their preservation. Conversely, in the case of Salamanca, the conservation status of the *vítores* is generally poor, a situation exacerbated by the absence of heritage policies specifically tailored to this type of legacy, beyond the general protection that the host building may possess. At present, there is no record of active conservation plans for these inscriptions; consequently, it is hoped that this research will raise awareness regarding the value and fragility of this historical and cultural element.

⁴⁰ Gian P. Brizzi and Andrea Daltri, *Imago universitatis. Celebrazioni e autorappresentazioni di maestri e studenti nella decorazione parietale dell'Archiginnasio* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2011-2012).

⁴¹ The research of Antonio Castillo serves as a benchmark in this context of public writing, notably *Entre la pluma y la pared: una historia social de la escritura en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Akal, 2006); “Efímeros murales en la Edad Moderna: materialidad, recepción y conservación”, in *Libros y papeles de todo género y facultad: estudios sobre tipología y géneros editoriales (siglos XIV-XIX)*, coords. Manuel J. Pedraza y Sofía Martínez, (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2024), 185-210; “Comunicación escrita y espacio público en la temprana Edad Moderna hispana”, in *La corte y la sociedad cortesana en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, eds. Marcelo Luzzi, M., Iván Escamilla, I. y José A. Guillén (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2022) 361-386; “Scrittura e immagine in alcuni testi urbani effimeri nella Spagna della prima età moderna” en *Imago Librorum; mille anni di forme del libro in Europa*, ed. Edoardo Barbieri (Milán: Leo S. Olschki, 2021), 329-359.

⁴² The resignification of student graffiti and its export to other non-university cities is

grounded, *a priori*, on a chronological criterion, given that the graffiti of Bologna are the oldest surviving examples. The origin of these symbols can be remotely linked to classical antiquity, specifically to the propagandistic vestiges preserved in Pompeii and other sites. In this regard, the Renaissance revived the concept of the Roman triumph, updating it within the framework of papal and imperial courts, as evidenced by the pageantry surrounding the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530⁴³. The influx of Spaniards into the Bolognese university and the frequent cultural exchanges likely facilitated the export of these practices to other territories of the Hispanic Monarchy.

The «viva» are graphisms whose morphologies have common characteristics: two intertwined Vs (W) appear abbreviating the word «VIVA», followed by the name of the place of origin or the *natio*. Following this, the two Vs may appear again followed by the name of the person honoured. And in the case of holding an important position such as that of rector, the abbreviation of the title *Rector Magnificus* is also depicted, an important issue for its possible dating. In the case of Bologna, they appear written in the Italian language and not in Latin, which was the vehicular language of university teaching, which indicates that this type of symbol would belong to a less formal and academic register than, for example, the *stemmi*. Furthermore, they are located on elevated sections of the walls, accessible only by means of a ladder propped against the structure, and are executed with dark pigments, possibly painted in tempera over a brick or rendered substrate. Given its exposure to the elements, this technique has significantly hindered their preservation. To date, five sets of this type have been found (three referring to non-Spanish rectors) which we proceed to describe following a chronological order.

The portico of the basilica of Santa Maria dei Servi, on Strada Maggiore, 43, in Bologna, probably concentrated a large number of this type of graphism, of which barely a few remains are currently preserved (fig. 1)⁴⁴.

addressed in Francisco J. Rubio, "Ecos universitarios de devoción mariana en la periferia de la Monarquía Hispánica durante la Edad Moderna", *Cauriensia* 15 (2020): 579-618.

⁴³ Regarding the transfer hypothesis, see Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro y Ángel Weruaga, *Elogios triunfales: origen y significado de los vítores universitarios salmantinos (ss. XV-XVIII)* (Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2011), 7 y 23; Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro y Ángel Weruaga, "Glorias académicas. Los vítores clásicos de Salamanca, siglos XV-XVIII", en *De vítores y letras*, eds. Eduardo Azofra y Emiliano Gil (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2017), 22.

⁴⁴ The church dates from 1346, although numerous renovations would be carried out in successive centuries. The portico was built in 1392 by Andrea Manfredi and decorated shortly after with frescoes of a religious nature, remains of which are still preserved. Guido Zucchini,



Fig. 1. Portico of the basilica of Santa Maria dei Servi, Bologna, where some remains of student graffiti are preserved.

Photograph by the author.



Fig. 2. Graffiti of the «viva» type dedicated to a rector from Faenza. Strada Maggiore, portico of the basilica of Santa Maria dei Servi, Bologna.

Photograph by the author.

The first graffiti appears on the exterior zone of one of the external canvases of the portico. The symbols, in reddish colour on the ochre rendering, follow the indicated structure: double intertwined V (for «viva») followed by the word FAENZA, which tells us of the honouree's provenance (fig. 2). In this case, no remains of the person's name have survived, although there are some letters, R^{RE} M^{CO}, which would abbreviate RETTORE MAGNIFICO. Furthermore, above the letters, there is a heraldic symbol, a rampant lion looking to the left, alluding to the coat of arms of the city of Faenza⁴⁵.

"La chiesa e il portico di S. Maria dei Servi di Bologna", *L'Archiginnasio* 8 (1913): 6-20; Luigi Nobili, *Il convento di Santa Maria dei Servi in Bologna*, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992).

⁴⁵ Due to the technique and execution, with noticeable gaps between the strokes in the rampant lion, the hypothesis that a prefabricated stencil was used over which the pigment was applied can be considered.



Fig. 3. Unidentified graphisms. Strada Maggiore, portico of the basilica of Santa Maria dei Servi, Bologna.

Photograph
by the author.

By analogy with other symbols found, it was painted in the 16th century, throughout which only two students from Faenza became rector: Astorgius de Brusantis (rector of the legist universities in 1520-1521) and Jacobus de Bosijs (legist rector between 1527-1528)⁴⁶; therefore, the possible dating would be around said dates.

On the other hand, there are other graphisms that have not been able to be identified because a large part of the support has been lost, although the letters ARM can be seen (fig. 3).

Not far away, in Piazza Santo Stefano, stands the Palazzo Bianchini, located at number 20 of said square⁴⁷. The graffito is situated to the left of the palace's main portal, in the upper third, occupying the space between the window and the springing of the vault's corbel (fig. 4). Although the graffito remains fragmentary due to the subsequent placement of a commemorative plaque over it, both its layout and the identity of the individual honored have been successfully established. Thus, in the first line, the double V ("viva") can be partially read⁴⁸, followed by M[ODENA]. On the lower line, [VV V]IGNOLA is visible, followed by [GI]OVA^N[I] ANDREA SEGN^A. In this instance, despite the absence of the abbreviation for *Rector Magnifico*, it is known to have belonged to one of them – specifically to Ioannes Andreas de Segna, a native of Vignola (Modena), who served as rector of both legal universities during

⁴⁶ Malagola, *I rettori*, 44-45.

⁴⁷ It belonged to the Bianchini family, who maintained a significant presence in the Bolognese senate. Luigi Brevetani, *Supplemento alle Cose notabili della città di Bologna e alla Miscellanea Storico-Patria di Giuseppe Guidicini* (Bologna: Tipografia A. Garagnani, 1908), p. 53.

⁴⁸ Brackets indicate the author's own reconstruction, following the pattern of similar graffiti.



Fig. 4. Graffiti of the «viva» type dedicated to the rector Ioannes Andreas de Segna. Palazzo Bianchini, Bologna.

Photograph by the author.

the 1540-1541 academic year⁴⁹. The dating of the graffito, therefore, corresponds to that period. At Strada Maggiore, number 61, on one of the canvases of the Palazzo Zoppi⁵⁰ appears another set of student symbols. It is in the upper area to the right of the main access door. The scheme is the same: double V abbreviating “viva”, followed by the name of the honouree’s place of origin, ANVERSA (Antwerp). In the line immediately below, the word IVNIO and then the abbreviation R^E M^{CO} for RECTOR MAGNIFICO (fig. 5). In this case, the identification is clear: it is Ioannes Iunius, rector of the legist universities in the academic year 1551-1552⁵¹. Consequently, they were quite probably painted at the beginning or during his mandate.

⁴⁹ Malagola, *I rettori*, 47.

⁵⁰ The construction of this building began in 1545. The palace was linked to Melchiorre di Girolamo Zoppi, one of the founders of the Academia dei Gelati in 1588, which was headquartered in this same house. Clizia Gurreri, “Dentro l’Accademia dei Gelati. Simboli, imprese ed emblemi a Palazzo Zoppio”, in *I cantieri dell’italianistica. Ricerca, didattica e organizzazione agli inizi del XXI secolo*, Atti del XVII congresso dell’ADI – Associazione degli Italianisti (Roma Sapienza, 18-21 settembre 2013), eds. Beatrice Alfonzetti, Guido Baldassarri and Franco Tomasi (Roma: Adi editore, 2014) 1-6.

⁵¹ Malagola, *Il rettore*, 48.



Fig. 5. Graffiti of the «viva» type dedicated to the rector Ioannes Iunius. Palazzo Zoppi, Bologna.

Photograph by the author.

Continuing with the chronological order, the following sets refer to two rectors of Spanish origin. As already noted, Spaniards participated actively in Bolognese university life, occupying the position of rector on multiple occasions during the 16th century. And as expected, the *natio hispanica* left, like other members of the academy, its mark on the city through two acclamatory graffiti or «viva»⁵².

The first of these is situated on Via Santo Stefano, 43, in Bologna, on the façade of the Palazzo Vizzani⁵³. Located at the upper extreme, between two windows, and directly on the brick, in this inscription the elements described previously appear again: two intertwined Vs («viva») followed by the name of the *natio*, SPAGNA, a distinguishing feature from the other sets described where the place of origin was given. In the line immediately below, again the double V (W) followed by the individual's name, IOSEPHO, and in the following line, the surname GONZALEZ. Finally, in the line below, the abbreviation R^{OR} M^{CO}, for RECTOR MAGNÍFICO (fig. 6). Note that in this case several languages alternate: the nation in Italian, the rector's name in Hispanicized Latin, the surname and the title of rector in Spanish; this leads us to think that the material author was of Spanish origin.

⁵² We thank the team of Gian Paolo Brizzi, Andrea Daltri, Pier Paolo Zannoni, Maria Teresa Guerrini, and Illaria Maggiulli, researchers from the CISUI of the University of Bologna, for the information provided regarding the existence of the two graffiti dedicated to the Spanish rectors.

⁵³ This building was built between 1559 and 1566 by Bartolomeo Triacchini and was later owned by Cardinal Lambertini. Luigi Bortolotti, *Bologna dentro le mura. Nella storia e nell'arte*, (Bologna: La grafica emiliana, 1977) 121.



Fig. 6. Graffiti of the «viva» type dedicated to the rector Iosepho González. Palazzo Vizzani, Bologna.

Photograph
by the author.

This is José González de Flores y Velázquez, collegian of San Clemente and rector of the legit universities of Bologna in the academic year 1570-1571; the moment when the graffiti can be dated. Born in 1540, he studied Canons at the University of Salamanca, where he achieved the degree of bachelor. In 1567 he entered the Spanish college of Bologna in a prebend of Canons for which he is presented by the bishop and chapter of Ávila⁵⁴. In the Bolognese university, he was a professor of Decretals and Inforciato on the holidays of the academic year 1570-1571, while he was named rector. In 1571 he was a canonist councillor and obtained the doctorate *in utroque*. Shortly after, he would be rector of the college of San Clemente, in 1572. Af-

⁵⁴ Born in Flores de Ávila, diocese of Ávila. Son of Diego González and Catalina Velázquez, he belonged to a rural middle-class family. He held the positions of councillor (1569-1570, 1571-1572, and 1573-1574) and syndic syndicator (1569-1570) in the college. According to Pineda Hurtado de Mendoza (1624), "he published a book on varied questions, quite celebrated by the Doctors" (p. 26); he refers to *Variorum Iuris quaestionum, Bononiae*, apud Ioannem Rossium, 1571, in 4to. Biographical information in Antonio Pérez Martín, *Proles aegidiana*, II, 971-974; Dámaso de Lario. *Diccionario biográfico de colegiales mayores españoles (1560-1650)*, (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III, 2020). Available at [https://www.uc3m.es/ss/Satellite/Biblioteca/es/TextoMixta/1371237748991/Diccionario_Biografico_de_Colegiales_Mayores_Espanoles_\(1560-1650](https://www.uc3m.es/ss/Satellite/Biblioteca/es/TextoMixta/1371237748991/Diccionario_Biografico_de_Colegiales_Mayores_Espanoles_(1560-1650) [consulted on September 1, 2025].

ter leaving the college, he occupied the position of judge (*oidor*) in the Audience of Bari and Otranto, based in Trani, as well as Auditor General of the army in Naples.

The next graphism referring to a Spanish is located near the main entrance of a Palazzo on Via Galliera, 13, in Bologna⁵⁵. It is located to the right of the entrance, at the upper extreme in the space left by the start of the portico vault. The scheme is identical to the previous one: double V (W indicating «viva») followed by SPAGNA; in the next line again the double V and then ROD^{CO} DE PAZOS, abbreviating Roderico. In the third line R^{OR} M^{[C]O}, instead of RECTOR MAGNÍFICO⁵⁶ (fig. 7).

The honoured individual is Rodrigo Pazos Figueroa, collegian of San Clemente of the Spaniards of Bologna⁵⁷. He was born in Pontevedra (Galicia) in 1550, coming from a middle-class family of urban environment. Rodrigo

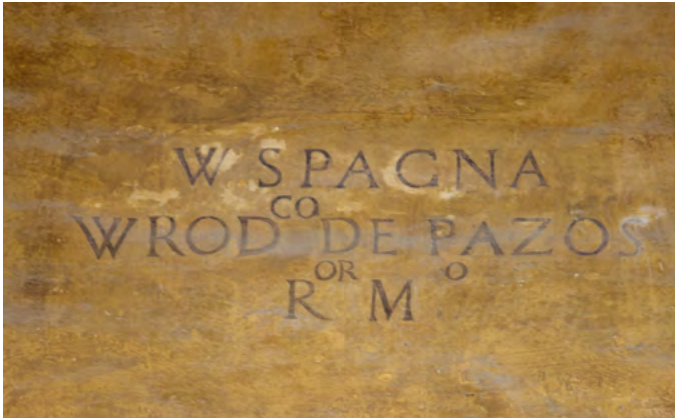


Fig. 7. Graffiti of the «viva» type dedicated to the rector Rodrigo de Pazos. Via Galliera, 13, Bologna.

Photograph by the author.

⁵⁵ Dated approximately between the 15th and 16th centuries, the building was linked to several Bolognese families such as the Cervi, Correggie, or Caccialupi. Giuseppe Giudicini, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna ossi storia cronológica de suoi stabili sacri, pubblici e privati* (Bologna: Società Tipografica Del Composito, 1869) vol. 2, 202.

⁵⁶ We understand that the superscript C of the abbreviation for *Magnífico* must have been lost in some restoration, as this graffiti follows an organization similar to [that of] Rector José González and, furthermore, there is a blank space before the superscript O.

⁵⁷ However, his uncle was Bishop Antonio Rodríguez de Pazos y Figueroa, who previously (1550) had also been a collegian of San Clemente. During his stay at the college, Rodrigo Pazos held the positions of consiliary (1572-1573 and 1573-1574), noting syndic (1574-1575 and 1576-1577), and syndic syndicator (1578-1579). Biographical information in Pérez Martín, *Proles aegidiana*, II, 996-998; de Lario. *Diccionario biográfico*. Available at [https://www.uc3m.es/ss/Satellite/Biblioteca/es/TextoMixta/1371237748991/Diccionario_Biografico_de_Colegiales_Mayores_Espanoles_\(1560-1650](https://www.uc3m.es/ss/Satellite/Biblioteca/es/TextoMixta/1371237748991/Diccionario_Biografico_de_Colegiales_Mayores_Espanoles_(1560-1650) [consulted on September 1, 2025].

Pazos entered said college in a prebend of Canons, for which he was presented by the bishop and chapter of León in 1571. He was rector of both legist universities in the academic year 1575-76, the moment when the painting of the graffiti is located, and during that same year he was a professor at the Bolognese University, specifically the lectures of Decretals and Inforciato for holidays. In 1576 he examined and obtained a doctorate *in utroque*. During his stay in Bologna, he was appointed canon of the cathedral of Tuy (1574), although he would remain in the college until 1578 to move on, two years later, to occupy the position of judge (*oidor*) in the Royal Chancery of Granada until 1591.

In sum, we see that preserved «viva» have a similar scheme in common regarding their technique, location, and referred individuals, in that all are linked to jurist rectors of the University of Bologna using their name and/or surname, in addition to the origin. In this last aspect, there are certain nuances: while in the case of Spanish rectors mention is made of the country of origin (Spagna), reinforcing the corporatism of the *natio*, in the other “viva” the city of provenance is pointed out (Faenza, Antwerp). In any case, this tradition was not exclusive to the Italian sphere, finding similar student graffiti in other university cities such as Salamanca.

3.2. Salamanca and Student Graffiti: The «Vitor»

Salamanca university environment also developed a symbolic repertoire of its own, characterized by notable formal variety. Among these manifestations stands out the well-known «vitor», an emblem configured by the superimposition of the letters that make up said word, arranged so that they conform a singular graphic unit. To this motif was frequently added an inverted crescent moon –with the points oriented downwards– an element that tradition has linked to the protection granted to the *Studium* by Pope Benedict XIII, Pedro Martínez de Luna, whose coat of arms is present in university heraldry (fig. 8)⁵⁸.

The «vitor» used to refer to an individual identified by his name and/or surnames, frequently recorded using abbreviations. These inscriptions

⁵⁸ Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, “Los vitores triunfales en el ámbito hispánico. Anotaciones para su historia”, en *Lienzos del recuerdo. Estudios en homenaje a José M^a Martínez Frías*, ed. Lucía Lahoz y Manuel Pérez Hernández (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2015), 554.



Fig. 8. Emblem of a «vitor» in the courtyard of *Escuelas Mayores* of the University of Salamanca, with the superimposition of the letters VITOR and the inverted crescent moon.

Photograph by the author.

were generally located in prominent places and were accompanied by a varied repertoire of signs: heraldic blazons, quills, palms and swords, Marian anagrams, initial letters associated with different territories, and even compositions of a satirical nature, configuring a complex visual discourse. Regarding its material execution, a detailed study on the pigments employed is not yet available; however, the most recent investigations suggest the use of red ochre (*almagre*) together with other components⁵⁹.

Multiple student graffiti are still preserved, although their affiliation is complex due to the overlapping disposition of some with others and deterioration over time. However, of all those that have been identified, there is an abundance of those that recorded the achievement of a chair by some professors, in addition to those that reflected the election of positions such as those of rector or councillor (like a vice-rector) among other acts and academic posts⁶⁰. To them are added the emblems that symbolized with letters the initials of the honouree's *natio* in a climate of celebration not exempt from

⁵⁹ José A. Saavedra, "Aclaraciones al respecto de la técnica empleada en la rotulación de los vítores salmantinos", in *De vítores y letras*, eds. Eduardo Azofra and Emiliano Gil (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2017), 26-34.

⁶⁰ Rodríguez-San Pedro y Weruaga, *Glorias académicas*, 15-21. *Vitores* also appear in honor of people who achieved a position in the civil or ecclesiastical administration, which explains the appearance of *vitores* in urban centers that do not house universities, although, as a general rule, they mention individuals who had pursued higher studies.

episodes of conflict when diverse student nations confronted each other⁶¹. Regarding the distribution of *víttores* throughout the city of Salamanca, these were depicted on buildings both academic and foreign to the Study, although they were in the university quarter, an area that also concentrated the dwellings of professors and students, as well as colleges and convents linked to the university⁶².

Establishing the chronology of these graffiti is a complex matter. The link of these graphisms with the shield of Pope Luna has led to the consideration that the first student graffiti would have emerged in Salamanca starting from the 15th century, although currently no remains of this type of emblem remain for that era⁶³. The oldest *víttores* preserved in the city of Salamanca can be dated at the earliest to the second half of the 16th century, and correspond to tributes to professors at the University. Specifically, Doctor Cristóbal de Bernal preserves this emblem on the façade of the cathedral and on that of the convent of San Esteban and was a legit professor from 1568 until 1600 when he died⁶⁴. Also Doctor Diego Alderete de Haro, who was a collegian of the Major College of Cuenca and canonist professor between 1584 and 1592, has two *víttores*: one in the *Patio de Escuelas*, near the entrance to the *Escuelas Menores* building, with the representation of emblems of his

⁶¹ Luis E. Rodríguez San Pedro, "Movilidad estudiantil y víttores de naciones en la monarquía hispánica. La Salamanca clásica, siglos XVI-XVIII", in *La movilidad estudiantil en Europa y América (siglos XIII a XXI). De la "Peregrinatio académica" al Programa Erasmus*, eds. Camilo Fernández Cortizo and Domingo L. González Lopo (Santiago: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2020), 181-183.

⁶² Francisco J. Rubio and Cristo J. de León, "Más allá de las aulas: la configuración del espacio extrauniversitario de Salamanca durante la Edad Moderna", *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna* 11, no. 43 (2022): 335-356. It is worth mentioning that in the case of the *víttores* that are still preserved, the praise to the *natio* appears symbolized with its initial, but this was not the only form. Rodríguez Martín has recently discovered how, at the time, there were *víttores* with the name of the *natio* written completely, located on the façades of the homes of the students belonging to said *natio*, for example, the case of Extremadura. Álvaro Rodríguez, "Víctor es Extremadura: una aproximación a la conflictividad estudiantil extremeña en la Universidad de Salamanca (1648-1654)", in *LII Coloquios Históricos de Extremadura* (Trujillo: AC Coloquios Históricos de Extremadura, 2024), 569-590.

⁶³ Luis E. Rodríguez San Pedro, "Víttores académicos en el mundo hispánico", in *Historia universitaria de España y América*, eds. José M. Calderón, Manuel Casado and Alejandro R. Díez (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2016), 661-674. The destruction of some buildings of Salamanca heritage may explain this fact, since, as Rodríguez-San Pedro points out, many *víttores* were concentrated on the disappeared church of San Adrián, as it was an important point in academic parades.

⁶⁴ Francisco J. Rubio, *La República de sabios. Profesores, cátedras y universidad en la Salamanca del siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2020), 254.



Fig. 9. «Vítor» in honour of Doctor Diego Alderete de Haro. Patio de Escuelas, Salamanca.

Photograph by the author.

major college flanking the anagram VITOR (fig. 9), and another on the façade of the cathedral, close to that of Doctor Bernal⁶⁵.

On the other hand, the university festivity in which a «vítor» was performed, termed as «rotular» (to label/inscribe), must have been well consolidated before the beginning of the 17th century given that the term was included by Covarrubias in his *Tesoro* (1611), defining it as «a certain manner of triumph and victory in the universities where his passionate and devoted ones carrie[d] the professor on their shoulders»⁶⁶.

However, to find this type of emblem referring to rectors one must advance to the 17th century, which bears parallels with the «viva» dedicated to the rectors of the University of Bologna. Probably *víttores* of rectors existed before that moment, but they have not been preserved either due to their location predominantly outdoors or due to the very disappearance of some buildings of Salamanca heritage. In any case, we will point out four sets that allude to this position dated in the 17th and 18th centuries⁶⁷.

⁶⁵ Rubio, *La república*, 252. Diego Alderete was the son of Lorenzo de Alderete, who was a bachelor from Salamanca and later a collegian of San Clemente in Bologna and subsequently a professor of medicine at the Salamanca *Studium*.

⁶⁶ Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez printer, 1611), fol. 475 v.

⁶⁷ Collected in Rodríguez-San Pedro and Weruaga, *Elogios triunfales*, 41, 53, 78, 81, and 85.

Firstly, a rectoral «vítor» is in the Plaza de San Isidro in Salamanca, on the side façade of the Church of the *Clerecía* del Espíritu Santo, which was part of the old Jesuit college. Among all the overlapping graphisms appears one that begins with DON P^o SARMIENTOL^{EDo}, and in the line below the emblem of VITOR (fig. 10).

The honoured individual was Pedro Sarmiento de Toledo, rector of the University of Salamanca in 1659-1660 when he was 24 years old. He studied laws and soon initiated a *cursus honorum* in important institutions of the Monarchy, such as fiscal of the Chancery of Granada, judge of the Chancery of Valladolid, among other positions, becoming a councillor of Castile and chamberlain. Although he did not hold primogeniture in his family, some family events caused the titles of Count of Gondomar, Marquis of Montalvo, and Marquis of Mancera to fall upon his person, being a Grandee of Spain in 1716, five years before his death⁶⁸.

The next graffiti is found in the cloister of the *Escuelas Mayores* building of the University of Salamanca, on the external part of the west façade facing the courtyard. Situated above the first two arches on the left side, one can read: cross; next line D. GASPAR MARQUEZ DE BRACAMONTE, followed by the emblem VITOR, and in the line below, another emblem VITOR and, then, Y MONTALVO, ending with the letter C crowned and with an anthropomorphic figure decorating the interior of said letter (fig. 11).



Fig. 10. «Vítor» dedicated to Pedro Sarmiento de Toledo, rector of the University of Salamanca. Plaza de San Isidro, Salamanca.

Photograph by the author.

⁶⁸ Santiago Martínez Hernández, "Pedro Sarmiento de Toledo", in *Diccionario biográfico electrónico de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Available at <https://historia-hispanica.rah.es/biografias/40721-pedro-sarmiento-de-toledo> [Consulted on October 5, 2025].



Fig. 11. «Vitor» dedicated to Gaspar Márquez de Bracamonte, rector of the University of Salamanca. *Escuelas Mayores, University of Salamanca.*

Photograph by the author.

It is dedicated to Gaspar José Márquez de Prado Bracamonte y Montalvo (1652-1713), who was rector of the University of Salamanca in the academic year 1670-1671, at 18 years of age. His origins in the surroundings of Salamanca (Peñaranda) identify him with the *natio* of Campos (hence the emblem of the crowned C in the form of an anthropomorphic moon). He would become Marquis of Arco, knight of Calatrava (identified with the cross of said order above the rector's name), and judge of the Chancery of Valladolid⁶⁹.

The next rectoral graffiti is found in a privileged place, the entrance of the vestibule of the *Escuelas Mayores* building, between the ribbed vault and the access arch to the cloister that housed, among others, the faculties of civil and canon law, theology, the chapel, and the library (fig. 12). In the first line appears an emblem of a crescent moon enclosing a P and an S under an episcopal galero flanked by two corbels. Next, DN ANT⁰ GRANDE DE BARR R^{OR} DESTA UNIV^D AÑO DE 1697 COLLEG; next EN EL MAI^{OR} DE S. ILDEF^{SO} R^{OR} DE LA UNIV^D DE ALCALA PREDICAD^{OR} DE; next line S MAG^D Y CALIFICADOR DE LA SUPREMA Y DE SU JUNTA; and in the last line Y ABB^D DE AMPURIAS⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ He was the son of Alonso Márquez de Prado, who had been rector of the college of San Bartolomé in the academic year 1644-1645 and professor of law at the University in 1649-1650. His mother was Juana Clara de Bracamonte y Montalvo, natural daughter of Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, who became President of the Council of Orders and of Italy and Viceroy of Naples. Javier Barrientos Grandón, "Alonso Márquez de Prado", in *Diccionario biográfico electrónico de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Available at <https://historia-hispanica.rah.es/biografias/28004-alonso-marquez-de-prado>. [Consulted on October 5, 2025].

⁷⁰ Another line ends where a P and a D appear, but it has not been possible to identify them.

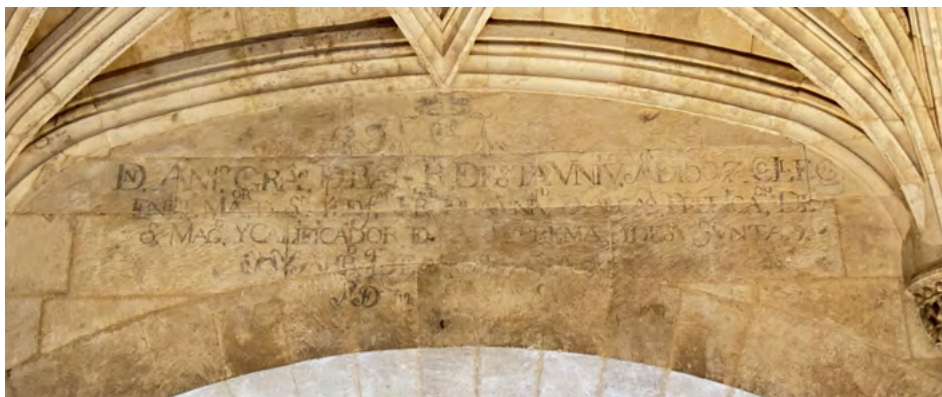


Fig. 12. «Vítor» dedicated to Antonio Grande de Barrientos, rector of the University of Salamanca. Escuelas Mayores, University of Salamanca.

Photograph by the author.

It refers to Antonio Grande de Barrientos, rector of the University in the academic year 1696-1697. He was born in Villarino de la Rivera (Salamanca), and therefore belonged to the nation of Campos; hence the representation of the *natio* with the C. This complete «vítor» honours the individual not only with his name but also with the positions he occupied in his *cursus honorum*, as a scholarship holder of the Major College of San Ildefonso, preacher at court, and qualifier of the Inquisition. In addition to Salamanca, he was also rector of the University of Alcalá in the academic year 1704-1705, and abbot of Ampurias in 1707⁷¹.

Following the chronological order, the last set referring to a rector is located in the small square of San Isidro, on the façade of the church of the *Clerecía*, formerly the Jesuit college. In the first line appears, on the far left, the anagram VITOR preceded by a quill or palm, and on the right the letters AR crowned and flanked by a quill and a sword. In the next line below DON JAZINTO; further down DE BLANCAS; in the line below RETOR DESTA UNI; and in the following line AÑO DE 1721 (fig. 13).

This set refers to Jacinto de Blancas, rector of the University of Salamanca in the academic year 1721-1722. The anagram VITOR has the particularity of being preceded by a palm, possibly in allusion to victory, in addition to other symbols that would allude to the controversy between the nobility of letters

⁷¹ [s.n.] *Breve Reseña histórica de la Universidad de Madrid*. Madrid: ESTADES Artes gráficas, 1945 <https://www.filosofia.org/aut/006/umbh1945.htm#p141>



Fig. 13. «Vítor» dedicated to Jacinto de Blancas, rector of the University of Salamanca. Plaza de San Isidro, Salamanca.

Photograph by the author.

(quill) and arms (sword); they are the ones flanking the anagram of the Aragonese *natio* (AR with crown), since he was born in Zaragoza⁷². The appearance of these symbols is relatively frequent since university students, who had ascended through studies (of law, mainly), claimed their place in society against the traditional nobility whose merits were related to a military tradition⁷³.

4. Conclusions: A Shared Symbolic Legacy

The present research has allowed for the unveiling and systematization of the existence of a symbolic culture shared between the universities of Bologna and Salamanca during the Modern Age, articulated around the visual projection of student power in the urban space. Through the comparative analysis of institutional structures and, very especially, of the preserved epigraphic vestiges –the acclamatory graffiti– it has been possible to trace a

⁷² Mention must be made of the existence of other *vítors* dedicated to consiliaries, whose function was to assist the rector and represent the different nations; hence, they follow a scheme similar to those seen for rectors, including the representation of the initials of the *natio*. Its analysis exceeds the limits of this research focused on rectoral symbols.

⁷³ Jean-Marc Pelorson, *Los letrados juristas castellanos bajo Felipe III: investigaciones sobre su puesto en la sociedad, la cultura y el Estado* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2008).

genealogy of cultural practices that transcended political and geographical borders. This study confirms that the exchange of knowledge in modern Europe was not limited to the curricular contents taught in the classrooms but also encompassed rituals, corporate identities, and forms of appropriation of public space by scholars.

The starting point for understanding these phenomena is the medieval root shared by both Studies. Both Bologna, as *alma mater*, and Salamanca, partially inspired by it, were founded on the model of the *universitas scholarium*. This system granted the student collective a determinant institutional prominence, unprecedented in other European educational models. The organizational and jurisdictional autonomy of the students, grouped in nations, constituted the backbone of academic and social life. The nations were not mere administrative divisions; they functioned as territorial confraternities that wove networks of solidarity and compatriotism, fundamental for the survival and social ascent of the displaced student. This power structure crystallized in the figure of the student rector, elected annually by his peers to govern the *Studium*. Although with notable differences –the bicephalous power shared with the *maestrescuela* in Salamanca versus the broad initial jurisdiction in Bologna– both institutions consecrated the student as the visible head of the corporation. It is precisely this position of authority that sought to legitimize and celebrate itself through public manifestations that, over time, would colonize the walls of the city.

The analysis of the 16th century has revealed divergent but complementary dynamics. While Salamanca experienced its greatest rise and institutional expansion in the service of the bureaucratic construction of the Spanish Monarchy, Bologna went through a stage of readjustment under the pontifical orbit, which recent historiography has nuanced not as absolute decadence, but as transformation. In this context, student mobility remained a vector of cultural exchange of the first order, defying even confessional borders and royal prohibitions. The Royal College of San Clemente in Bologna emerges in this research as the fundamental catalyst of influences between both cities. The exception granted by Philip II to the collegians to study abroad guaranteed a constant flow of Spanish jurists towards Italy at a time when borders were beginning to close. The Spanish nation in Bologna not only maintained its vitality but reached unprecedented heights of power: the fact that 25% of the university rectors between 1501 and 1580 came from the College of San Clemente evidences the hegemony of this group.

This phenomenon underscores the capital importance of bonds of compatriotism. The identity of the student was defined by his geographical

origin (the *natio*), and this belonging was the engine of his social and political promotion. When these Spanish students, like José González de Flores or Rodrigo de Pazos Figueroa, reached the rectoral dignity in Bologna, they not only represented themselves but exalted their community of origin («SPAGNA») in the heart of the Italian city.

However, the most novel contribution of this research lies in the identification and correlation of acclamatory graffiti. We have demonstrated that the university overflowed its architectural enclosures to «conquer» the city, converting façades of palaces, churches, and porticos into supports for a corporate memory (figs. 14 y 15). In Bologna, the «viva» type graffiti (identified by the double intertwined V) constitute the direct antecedent of this practice. Dated to the 16th century thanks to the identification of specific rectors (such as the Faentine Astorgius de Brusantis or the Spaniards already cited), these symbols share a clear morphology: acclamation, place of origin (*natio*), and name of the dignitary with the title of *Rector Magnificus*. The location of these epigraphs in places of difficult access (heights of porticos) suggests a planned and festive execution, linked to the celebrations of taking office. It is crucial to note that Spanish students in Bologna adopted and perpetuated this local custom, leaving their mark on private buildings such as the Palazzo Vizzani.

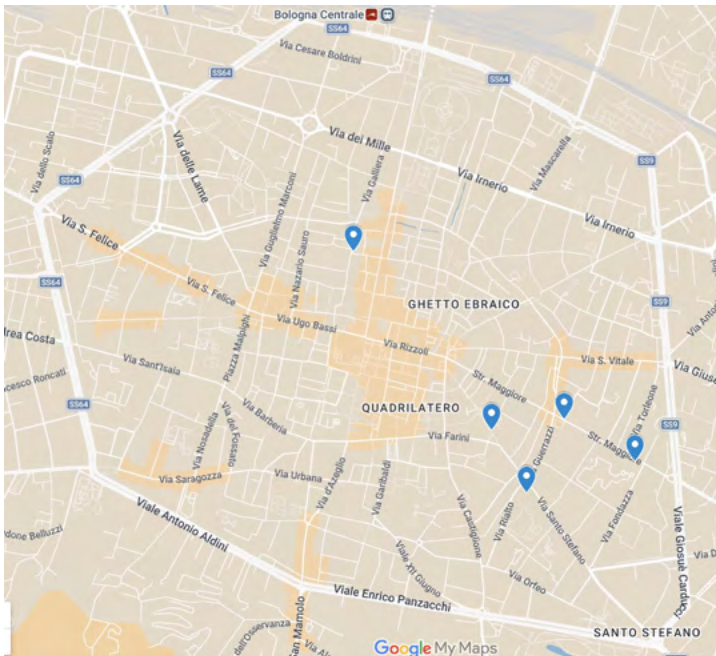


Fig. 14. Location of the graffiti in the city of Bologna.

Own elaboration.

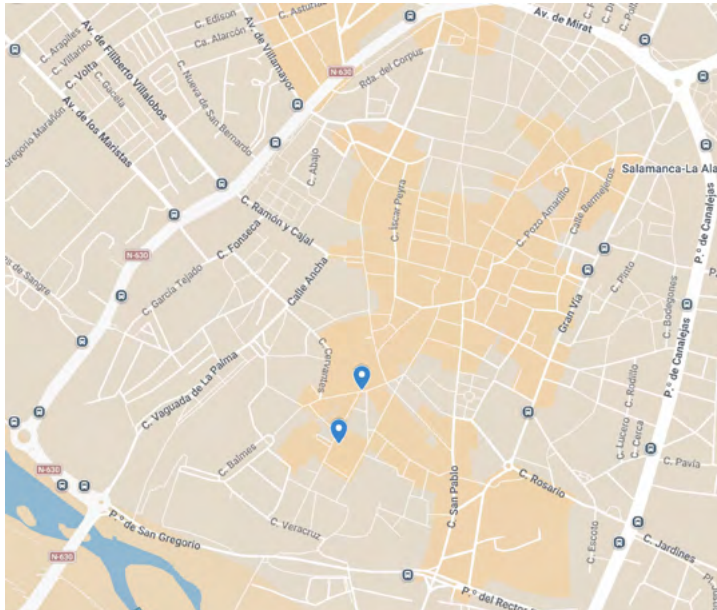


Fig. 15. Location of the graffiti in the city of Salamanca.

Own elaboration.

Shifting the gaze to Salamanca, we find the celebrated «vítor». Although its origin has traditionally been linked to Pope Luna (15th century), the preserved material evidence suggests a different chronology for rectoral «vítores». The analysed examples date from the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th. This allows establishing a relationship of diachronic influence: the practice of acclaiming the rector through mural epigraphy with reddish pigments (*almagre*), consolidated in Bologna in the 16th century, seems to have been exported and adapted in Salamanca, where it evolved graphically towards the monogram of the «vítor» but maintained the function of exalting academic triumph and the link with the *natio* (visible in the crowned initials of regions such as Campos or Aragon). Given the intense transit of collegians who trained in Salamanca, passed through Bologna (like José González), and returned to occupy positions in the Spanish administration, it is plausible that they imported the ritual of «rotular» (labelling/inscribing) on the city walls.

Thus, university graffiti reveals itself not as vandalism, but as a mechanism of political and visual communication: students marked the urban territory to make visible their jurisdiction (*fuero*), their provenance, and their success in the *cursus honorum*. With this, they exercised symbolic territorial control over the *civitas* and affirmed the hegemony of the *universitas* over

the urban environment, a key sociological feature that defines university life in the Early Modern Age.

In sum, this research opens a range of new lines of work that would allow deepening the material and anthropological dimension of modern student culture. Thus, it would be advisable to carry out comparative physicochemical studies of the pigments used in the Bolognese «viva» and the Salamanca «vítor». Confirming whether the composition of the Bolognese red bears a technical relationship to the use of *almagre* in Salamanca would provide scientific data on the technological transfer of these practices. On the other hand, the precise geolocation of preserved graffiti (and documented vanished ones) using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) would allow reconstructing the «mental map» of students and nations in the city. It would also be necessary to delve into primary sources to search for references related to the celebrations of these university triumphs. And finally, to trace the presence of these symbols in other cities of the Spanish Monarchy and the European framework to calibrate the scope of these practices in which university students used the monumental landscape as a support to inscribe their hierarchy and their rituals of success.

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University, diplomacy and urban conflict

The ambassadors of the Republic of Venice as agents in the circulation of knowledge

Los embajadores de la República de Venecia
como agentes en la circulación del conocimiento

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Abstract: The dispatches to the Senate from the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Alvise Contarini, recount in 1633 the successful diplomatic career of a Polish student from the University of Padua: Count Jerzy Ossoliński. The diplomatic apparatus of the ancient Italian Republic contributed to the development of the University of Padua in negotiating the recruitment of the best *doctores legentes* to complete the staff of the university. From this perspective, in the early decades of the Seventeenth century, the importance of the embassy in Rome becomes evident, both because of the numerous universities in the Papal States, which were then a good recruitment pool, and to initiate negotiations to ensure a state graduation procedure that took into account

Resumen: En 1633, los despachos enviados al Senado por el embajador veneciano en Roma, Alvise Contarini, relatan la exitosa carrera diplomática de un alumno polaco del *Studio* paduano: el conde Jerzy Ossoliński. El aparato diplomático de la antigua República italiana contribuyó al desarrollo del *Studio* de Padua mediante la negociación para la contratación de los mejores *doctores legentes* con el fin de completar el *rotolo* de la institución. Desde este punto de vista, en las primeras décadas del siglo XVII emerge la importancia de la embajada en Roma, tanto por la multiplicidad de centros de estudio en los Estados Pontificios –entonces una buena fuente de reclutamiento– como por el inicio de gestiones para asegurar un procedimiento de titulación

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the composite nature of the Venetian state, with a strong Greek Orthodox component. The reputation of the University of Padua was such that even foreign ambassadors in Venice recognized the importance of recruiting *doctores legentes* in diplomatic relations.

Key words: diplomacy, Venice, University, Seventeenth century.

estatal que tuviera en cuenta el carácter compuesto del Estado veneciano, con su fuerte componente griego ortodoxo. La reputación del *Studio* de Padua era tal que incluso los propios embajadores extranjeros en Venecia comprendieron la importancia del reclutamiento de los *doctores legentes* en el marco de las relaciones diplomáticas.

Palabras clave: diplomacia, Venecia, Universidad, siglo XVII.

1. *Cuius regio, eius Studio*. An examination of a diplomatic source can facilitate an understanding of the relationship between diplomacy and the history of the University in the Republic of Venice. In December 1633, the Venetian ambassador to Rome, Alvise Contarini (the future negotiator of the Peace of Westphalia), wrote to the Senate to inform them of the intention of the Polish extraordinary ambassador and the King's Grand Treasurer, Count Jerzy Ossoliński (1595-1650), to travel to Venice after his brief mission in Rome to conduct important political negotiations¹. Furthermore, there were similarities in the internal problems facing the two European powers, both of which served as bulwarks of Christendom against the Turks, and both of which were concerned about the role of the Greek Orthodox, who were viewed with disfavour by the Papacy. In the context of the election of Ladislaus IV Vasa, Poland sought papal recognition for the Greek bishops who had provided their support. Meanwhile, in 1616, Venice had obtained the approval of Pope Paul V for the granting of academic degrees by *auctoritate veneta* alone for Greek subjects within the domain of the *Stato da Mar*. This approval was met with significant criticism². The portrait painted by the Venetian diplomat was remarkable. Ossolenski was a politician of considerable acumen, held in high esteem by his king, Ladislaus IV Vasa, and possessed of

¹ Archivio di Stato, Venezia (ASV), Senato, Dispacci, Roma, b. 108, 17 december 1633, G. Benzoni, *Alvise Contarini*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 28, Roma 1983, *ad vocem*, *Venezia e la Polonia nei secoli dal XVII al XIX (Venezia, 28 maggio-2 giugno 1963)*, L. Cini (ed.), Venezia 1968, p. 365.

² ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Roma, b. 76, cc. 33-35, *dispaccio* from Roma, 15 october 1616, M. Galtarossa, *I Collegi auctoritate veneta: origine, procedure e validità*, in *Examens, grades et diplômes. La validation des compétences par les universités du xii^e siècle à nos jours*, sous la direction de T. Kouamé, B. Belhoste, B. Noguès et E. Picard, Paris, Éditiones de la Sorbonne 2023, pp. 379-390, C. Valsecchi, *Sacra collegia doctorum: i giuristi al potere o i giuristi al servizio del potere? Il caso di Padova*, "Annali di storia delle università italiane", 28 (2024), 2, pp. 200-209.

a strong determination and proficiency in multiple languages. Furthermore, the Polish ambassador made a significant impression on the Roman populace with his official entry into the capital, accompanied by an opulent entourage of approximately 300 nobles, servants and exotic animals, all attired in traditional and colourful costumes³.

Contarini's account constitutes a compelling testimony to the successful career of a former student of the Paduan Academy within the inner workings of the European diplomatic establishment. It is an established fact that, during his formative years in Padua, Jerzy Ossolinski was an attendee of the lectures delivered by the renowned philosopher Cesare Cremonini⁴. On his return from Rome in January 1633, the Polish ambassador once again stopped in the city on the Venetian mainland. Among the principal churches in Padua, he attended Mass at the Santo, most likely at the altar of Saint Stanislaus: the first Polish chapel that Mikolaj Ossolinski, councillor of the nation polona, had helped to fund in 1607. Jerzy's profound dedication to the cult of St Stanislaus was shared by his brother Krzysztof. During his passage through Padua in 1611, Krzysztof made a donation to the altar of the Polish bishop, a gesture that was all the more significant given his own history as a student at the University of Padua⁵. The official receptions organised by the Venetian rectors, on behalf of the Senate, were extraordinary, truly befitting Ossolinski's appointment as papal prince by Urban VIII in 1633. A lavish dinner was prepared in the capitano's palace, attended by the podestà and the captain. Seats were provided at the various tables set up for his large entourage, comprising some 150 servants plus 25 people of noble standing, as

³ ASV, Senato, Dispacci, *Roma*, b. 108, 26 november, 10 and 17 december 1633, G. Benzioni, *Ritrarre con la penna, ossia gli ambasciatori veneti ritrattisti*, in *Metamorfosi del ritratto*, Firenze 2002, pp. 1000-1023, S. Pifferi, *Magnificenza, sfarzo, stupore, costi e curiosità nella Roma Barocca*, in *Saggi vari*, a cura di M. Jacov *et alia*, Viterbo 2004, pp. 19-66.

⁴ H. Barycz, *Padova del Seicento nella vita intellettuale polacca*, in *Venezia e la Polonia. Nei secoli dal XVII al XIX*, L. Cini (ed.), Venezia-Roma 1968, p. 226, M. Galtarossa, *Medicina repubblicana. Scelte politiche e benessere del corpo presso lo Studio di Padova*, Roma 2011, p. 190, V. Feola, *Mobilità confessionale, costituzione e tolleranza. Lo spazio transatlantico inglese in età moderna*, Milano 2021, pp. 179-181, A. Bettoni, *Arnaud du Ferrier e l'alta magistratura gallicana*, in *Intellettuuali e uomini di corte. Padova e lo spazio europeo fra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. E. Pietrobon, Roma 2021, pp. 69-74.

⁵ ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 29, 10 and 11 january 1634, S. Mossakowski, *I "palazzi in fortezza all'italiana" nella Polonia del Seicento*, "Barocco. Storia - letteratura - arte", 1 (2005), pp. 143-144, M. Lenart, *Altare della nazione polacca (1607-1809)*, in *I polacchi presso la tomba di sant'Antonio a Padova. Memorie materiali, donazioni, testimonianze di culto (secoli XVI-XIX). La Cappella polacca al Santo (1896-2018)*, ed. G. Baldissin Molli, M. Lenart, M. Wrana, Padova 2023, pp. 237, 245.

well as Polish clergy, probably including students from the Studio del Santo, and Polish scholars from the Studio Patavino. The Republic of Venice expended a considerable sum, amounting to approximately 4,000 ducats, to provide accommodation for the large Polish delegation⁶.

During the 1630s, it is probable that this diplomatic mission served to reinforce the conviction held by the Venetian nobility that there existed students of noble birth and promising careers in Europe. For these students, it was a matter of pride and a 'reason of state' to fund a public scholarship in Padua. The purpose of this scholarship was twofold: firstly, to ensure that academic degrees continued to be awarded by the Senate, and secondly, to foster a privileged forum for the exchange of knowledge⁷. It is evident that perusing these diplomatic dispatches engenders a comprehensive understanding of the historical progression of the University of Padua. International relations represent a non-academic factor with the potential to promote student mobility. Furthermore, the Reformers of the University of Padua, who exercised provisional governance from 1516 and definitive governance from 1528, were based in Venice. In order to ensure the smooth functioning of the city's international university, the Republic's diplomatic apparatus was utilised. This apparatus was established and based in Italian and European capitals, and maintained relations with the world of the courts. The diplomatic service was instrumental in safeguarding the reputation of the University of Padua by advocating its enlightened cultural policies. These policies were able to prevail over competing models of ecclesiastical education, such as that of the Jesuits, and to underscore the significance of a medical school that promoted healthcare centres, including the Hospital of San Francesco and the Aponensi thermal baths. The Venetian ruling class possessed the capacity to draw attention to the Paduan reputation by leveraging the mechanisms of diplomacy at their disposal⁸.

⁶ ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 29, 10 and 11 January 1634, ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 30, 17 October 1634, J.-P. Labatut, *Le nobiltà europee dal XV al XVIII secolo*, Bologna 1982, p. 42, P. Del Negro, *Padova 1616: una tappa verso l'università di Stato*, in *La nascita delle università di Stato tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. P. Del Negro, Bologna 2018, pp. 15-32: 21, G. Florio, *Micropolitica della rappresentanza. Dinamiche del potere a Venezia in età moderna*, Roma 2023, pp. 157-174.

⁷ ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 7, 24 August 1610, ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 9, 8 November 1612, ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 10, 26 November 1613, M. Galtarossa, *La Nobiltà degli Studi. Padova fra diplomazia, cultura e religione*, 23, 2023, "Romanica Cracoviensia", p. 279.

⁸ G. Alonge, *Ambasciatori. Diplomazia e politica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Prefazione di S. Luzzato, Roma 2019, P. Volpini, *Segretari e ambasciatori al crocevia delle notizie. Libri*

2. *The contribution of Venetian diplomacy and the University of Padua.*

The primary inquiry to be addressed pertains to the contribution of Venetian diplomats to the dissemination of knowledge among Paduan students. During the 1760s, the Paduan scholar Giuseppe Gennari wrote that it was an 'ancient custom' of the magistracy of the Riformatori of the University of Padua to undertake the responsibility of writing to ambassadors at the courts in the event of a vacancy in the position of 'umane lettere' (humanities) chair. The purpose of this endeavour was twofold: firstly, to select the most suitable candidate available, and secondly, to avoid the hasty local appointments of questionable prestige and merit⁹. In the 1630s, a number of petitions were submitted to the Reformers by Paduan scholars seeking career advancement. Among these petitioners, some were able to cite considerable merits, including having been sought out on multiple occasions for medical treatment from foreign countries, such as Poland. In December 1634, Benedetto Selvatico (1574-1658), a professor at the University, had already treated the Roman cardinal and Bishop of Kraków, Jan Albert Waza, who was staying in the city *incognito*. This treatment took place in Padua in 1632, and it is not known whether the purpose of the visit of the Bishop was to carry out some delicate diplomatic mission or not. Unfortunately, the treatment was unsuccessful in treating the patient's smallpox¹⁰.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that ambassadors play a pivotal role in the recruitment of lecturers, as evidenced by numerous examples from modern history, despite the sporadic nature of this function. There were frequent attempts, such as that of the Burgundian physician Jean Chifflet (1550-1602), who was closely associated with the Neapolitan Gian Vincenzo Pinelli in Padua, but also successful negotiations, such as those involving the Forlì-born anatomist Giambattista Morgagni in the early 18th century. These events provide extensive documentation of the existence of this form of negotiation undertaken by Venetian ambassadors. In this sense, a diplomat's

e descrizioni del Mondo Nuovo e della Penisola Iberica (secoli XVI-XVII) "La Bibliofilia", CXXV (2023), 1, pp. 45-62.

⁹ M. Callegari, *Dal Torchio del Tipografo al Banco del Libraio. Stampatori, Editori e Librai a Padova dal XV al XVIII secolo*, Padova 2002, p. 136, D. Tongiorgi, *L'eloquenza in cattedra. La cultura letteraria nell'Università di Pavia dalle riforme teresiane alla Repubblica italiana (1796-1805)*, Bologna 1997, C. Gibin, *La geometria della natura. Chioggia e l'Europa nella vicenda intellettuale di Giuseppe Olivi naturalista del Settecento*, presentazione di P. Del Negro, Padova 1994, pp. 24-31.

¹⁰ ASV, Riformatori dello Studio, b. 168, *supplica* di Benedetto Selvatico, ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 30, 29 and 31 december 1634, P. Savoia, *Selvatico, Benedetto*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 91, Roma 2018, *ad vocem*.

contribution could be significant; for example, in 1601 the ambassador to Rome, Francesco Vendramini, reassured the Reformers of the genuine intention of the Messina-born jurist Jacopo Gallo (1544-1618) to take up the chair in Padua, despite his delay in arriving there because he was then engaged in negotiations in Rome as ambassador for the city of Messina. It was evident that Gallo had already taken measures to ensure the continuity of his academic endeavours. He had procured residential accommodations in Padua, facilitated the transcontinental shipment of his literary collections, and composed numerous epistles to various destinations. These actions were intended to instill in his students the anticipation of his imminent return to the delivery of his lectures¹¹. In essence, the papers provide a glimpse into the history of intellectuals and the opportunities –or lack thereof– for mobility as a factor in the circulation of knowledge¹².

A review of the correspondence between ambassadors and Venice during the first three decades of the 17th century reveals a rather complex situation. Venetian diplomats were able to intervene in the recruitment process in a number of ways. An ambassador might write in a dispatch to the Senate to inform them of a lecturer's availability to teach at the University of Padua. Indeed, in October 1633, Alvise Contarini wrote from Rome to recommend Pietro Paolo Bombino (1575-1648), a Calabrian and former Jesuit who had long served as a lecturer in philosophy and Sacred Scripture at the Society's Roman College, for a voluntary appointment. Notwithstanding the fact that Bombino had previously been a member of the Society of Jesus, subsequently joining the Somaschi, he was a humanist of considerable repute who was on the verge of publishing his *Breviario di cose ispaniche* in Venice¹³. Nevertheless, this communication was not given due consideration. In cer-

¹¹ ASV, Riformatori dello Studio, b. 168, 25 may 1601, R. Sabbatini, *Le identità (e i ruoli) del diplomatico. Qualche considerazione sulla più recente storiografia*, in *Diplomatici en travesti. Letteratura e politica nel 'lungo' Settecento*, ed. V. Gallo e M. Zanardo, Roma 2022, pp. 3-21.

¹² D. Solera, *Un principe per testimone. Gian Vincenzo Pinelli alle lauree padovane*, in *Conoscere il passato per progettare il futuro. Studi per l'Ottavo Centenario dell'Università di Padova*, ed. G.P. Brizzi, M. Donattini, Bologna 2022, pp. 67-69, M. Galtarossa, *Il dibattito sulle Riforme all'Università di Padova e il ruolo di Giambattista Morgagni*, "Archivio veneto", s. VI 146 (2015) pp. 76-79, C. Frova, *Circolazione di docenti nelle sedi universitarie italiane (secoli XIV-XV)*, in *Circolazione di uomini e scambi culturali tra città (secoli XII-XIV)*, *Atti del XXIII Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Pistoia, 13-16 maggio 2011)*, Roma 2013, pp. 39-54.

¹³ ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Roma, b. 108, 29 october 1633, G. Mazzucchelli, *Bombino (Pietro Paolo)*, in *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, vol. 2, Brescia, Giambattista Bossini, 1762, cc. 1511-1512, S. De Bernardin, *La politica culturale della Repubblica di Venezia e l'Università di Padova nel XVII secolo*, "Studi veneziani", 16 (1974), pp. 443-502.

tain instances, the diplomat might, alternatively, respond to a particular request from the Reformers. In August 1621, the ambassador to Rome, Marco Zeno, sought candidates for the chair in primo loco of civil law *de sero*, which had become vacant following the death of the Messina-born jurist Jacopo Gallo (1618). Drawing on the experience of the University of Pisa gained by Cardinal Pietro Valier –not coincidentally a Venetian– during his nunciature in Florence, he provided “notes on his qualities” or a “brief account of his past life” regarding Cavalier Antonio Curini da Potremoli, a lecturer in Pisa and auditor of the Rota, who was applying for the Paduan chair. The curriculum emphasises specific qualities such as “clarity and ease of speech”, “persuasiveness in the art of oratory”, “the applause and support of the students”, “the esteem shown in circles among peers”, and “the splendour with which he lives”. In actuality, in contrast to the recommendation proffered by Ambassador Marco Zeno, as conveyed through the self-presentation of the Pisan professor, the Reformers’ response to this offer was, in reality, rather tepid¹⁴.

3. *The recruitment practices of doctores legentes.* In the course of their research regarding prospective candidates for Paduan professorships, the Reformers would occasionally inquire with ambassadors as to whether the information provided, or the curriculum submitted, had been prepared by them or by other interested parties. Consequently, a rigorous critical examination was also applied to the references. Despite the absence of a codified procedure, an analysis of surviving sources –primarily the surviving brogliacci of the Reformers’ secretary– can offer insights into the recruitment practices of universities during the early decades of the seventeenth century. In the event of a potential failure to complete the registration process for the University in a timely manner, due to protracted delays in appointing replacement lecturers following the departure of existing members of staff (through death, resignation or relocation to another institution of higher education) in the period preceding the commencement of the University’s academic year, the Reformers had the option of selecting a local candidate or accelerating ongoing negotiations by requesting a representative of the lecturer to travel directly to Venice for immediate discussions¹⁵.

¹⁴ ASV, Riformatori dello Studio, b. 168, 25 august 1621, *L’Università. Otto secoli di storia*, a cura di P. Del Negro, Padova 2003, F. Ruggiero, *Giacomo Antonio Marta*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 71, Roma 2008, *ad vocem*.

¹⁵ ASV, Riformatori, b. 168, *Soggetti nominati per la prima lettura de sera*, ASV, Riformatori, b. 64, 29 january 1621, ASV, Riformatori, b. 66, 23 march 1624, *informazioni su Caimo da Roma*, ASV, Riformatori, b. 67, *Roma per anatomia con libri a stampa*.

However, it is important to note that the names proposed in the ongoing searches for vacant professorships were provided by a number of individuals, primarily diplomats (ambassadors and resident envoys, Venetians, as well as Venetian extraordinary ambassadors such as the physician Santorio Santorio). During that period, new information was also provided by ducal secretaries in Florence, foreign diplomats (English and French), scholars, and lecturers at the Studio¹⁶. In order to gain insight into the academic and cultural milieu of potential candidates, it is instructive to examine the case of the Bolognese jurist and Marinist poet Claudio Achillini. In 1622, Achillini served as a lecturer at the Studio in Ferrara, having previously studied under the philosopher Cremonini in Padua. It is probable that the two brothers from Rovigo, the poet Gasparo and the Bishop of Koper Baldassarre Bonifacio, nephews of the renowned councillor and man of letters Giovanni Bonifacio (1547-1635), were responsible for recommending his candidacy. It is apparent that the individual in question was a teacher of ‘clear renown’, and that he would shortly become a member of the Accademia della Crusca. However, it is hypothesised that his aspiration for a curial career, given his close relationship with Pope Gregory XV, was the reason for his refusal to teach in Padua¹⁷. In the event that the network of informants (comprising ducal secretaries in Florence, eminent professors at the University of Padua, “men of letters”, priors of medical colleges, scholars in the same profession, or Roman cardinals) corroborated the initial reports, further, more precise details were sought. These comprised the candidate’s willingness to relocate to teach in Padua, any family constraints, such as children, age, meaning that the candidate was neither too young nor too old, any additional income, such as serving as a rotator or a physician in convents, physical presence as a public speaker, and whether they had any published works and how highly these were regarded by the public. The correspondence would periodically request particular information, including student approval ratings and attendance figures. However, it was not subject to a rigid template¹⁸.

In this regard, the background of the Reformers’ secretary, who was responsible for drafting correspondence to ambassadors and resident representatives, was of considerable significance. He was a member of the

¹⁶ ASV, Riformatori, b. 419, 420, 421A.

¹⁷ ASV, Riformatori, b. 168, 20 august 1622, A. Asor Rosa, *Achillini, Claudio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 1, Roma 1960, *ad vocem*, G. Benzoni, *Bonifacio, Giovanni*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 12, Roma 1971, *ad vocem*, L. Rossi, *Bonifacio, Baldassarre*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 12, Roma, 1971, *ad vocem*.

¹⁸ ASV, Riformatori dello Studio, b. 419, 13 july 1624 and 24 october 1624.

Ducal Chancellery, and thus possessed a sound humanistic education, not least because the ducal notaries were appointed through open competition. A notable example of this phenomenon is Agostino Dolce, who was closely associated with the cultural milieu of the Morosini patricians and held a close friendship with Fra Paolo Sarpi, a renowned theologian and in iure consultant to the Republic. Furthermore, the ducal secretary Marc'Antonio Ottobon, who was elected whilst residing in Florence, attended ten lectures by the law professor Giacomo Antonio Marta at the University of Pisa, indicating an interest that was not merely instrumental. In 1606, Marcantonio Padavin attended the University of Salamanca to seek legal counsel for the Republic of Venice in its ongoing dispute with Pope Paul V. Furthermore, the search for the appointment of the cavallerizzo, the master of horsemanship, was entrusted to these Venetian diplomats. This search was conducted in Naples, Florence and Vienna. Indeed, the resident in Florence, Giovanni Marioni, proposed Giovanni Battista Palmieri, who was subsequently approved by the Delia Academy. It is notable that equestrian exercises were particularly appreciated by Polish and German princes, from the establishment of the Paduan military academy in 1608 and then at least until the 1630s¹⁹.

The negotiations were also influenced by the political factions within the patriciate; the dominant groups at that time were, on the one hand, the so-called 'young' faction, who favoured a stance less constrained by political and religious influences and less dominated by Spain, and who looked to the countries of Northern Europe –non-Catholic but economically vibrant– and, on the other hand, the 'old' faction, pro-curial factions, more subservient to the papacy, whose families held rich ecclesiastical benefices and pursued careers in the Curia. These political leanings were of significance to the Reformers and had the capacity to influence the final decisions on cultural policy. For instance, the appointment of the Friulian physician Pompeo Caimo from Rome to replace the pro-Sarpian physician Santorio Santorio was contingent upon the recommendation of the Venetian ambassador to Rome, Pietro Contarini, a pro-Curial figure but also a highly regarded diplomat. The actual negotiations could be undertaken by diplomats by negotiating the terms of the professor's *condotta*, in constant contact with Venice, that is, by seeking to reduce the reader's financial demands, assuring him of career progression

¹⁹ ASV, Senato, Rettori, *Padova e padovano*, b. 29, 18 april 1633, G. Scarabello, *Dolce, Agostino*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 40, Roma, 1991, *ad vocem*, V. Mandelli, *Padavino, Marcantonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 80, Roma, 2014, *ad vocem*.

in the second *condotta*, known as the *di rispetto*, perhaps with the help of an intermediary, or assuring him of assistance in obtaining the necessary authorisation from the Prince of the University where he served. This was the most delicate stage, as demonstrated by the case of the Turin jurist Belloni. Having concluded a private contract of service for Padua with the ambassador in Turin, Belloni was unable to realise his plans, as the prevailing academic protectionism in the ancient Italian states meant that the Duke of Savoy opposed Belloni's departure from Turin for Padua²⁰.

During the first three decades of the 17th century, the Venetian embassy in Rome assumed a pivotal role in the cultural policy decisions of the Reformers of the Studio. A request for information regarding the 'qualities and conditions' of the law professor Carbonchio dei Carbonchi from the Papal University of Perugia was sent to Rome; he subsequently arrived in Padua in 1623 and, following a period in Messina, returned to the city in 1638, receiving a high salary from the city council. Indeed, the case demonstrates the protracted and intricate nature of the negotiations, which were conducted concurrently for multiple teaching posts. Nevertheless, these were not arbitrary choices. In the case of this particular candidate, for instance, a broad consensus of positive information had emerged from several informants, coordinated by the Friulian jurist and Padua lecturer Marc'Antonio Ottelio²¹. The *Studia Generalia* of the Papal States, most notably "La Sapienza di Roma", have the potential to serve as a valuable source of prospective recruits for Padua. For instance, the humanities chair was awarded to the former Jesuit and Greek scholar Paolo Beni (1600), while the theoretical medicine chair was attributed to the strict Friulian physician Pompeo Caimo (1624). Furthermore, the mathematician Giovanni Argoli (1632) arrived, and it is notable that he was employed as a librarian to Cardinal Lelio Biscia, who had been hired as an alternative to some "pupil of Galileo"²². Notwithstanding the religious tolerance that prevailed at the University of Padua, it was from the heart of Christendom that negotiations regarding new lecturers intensi-

²⁰ ASV, Riformatori, b. 66, 3 may 1625, G. Benzoni, *Contarini, Piero*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 28, Roma 1983, *ad vocem*, G. Ongaro, *La controversia tra Pompeo Caimo e Cesare Cremonini sul calore innato*, in *Cesare Cremonini aspretti del pensiero e scritti*, Atti del Convegno di Studio (Padova, 26-27 febbraio 1999), 1, *Il pensiero*, a cura di E. Riondato e A. Poppi, Padova 2000, p. 87.

²¹ ASV, Riformatori, b. 168, 24 may 1622 and 10 september 1622, E.M. Spolverini, *Ottelio, Marcantonio*, in *Dizionario biografico dei friulani*, Udine 2016, *ad vocem*, ASV, Senato, Rettori, Padova e Padovano, b. 29 18 april 1633.

²² ASV, Riformatori, b. 168, 24 may 1622, *Per la lettura del Marta*, 10 settembre 1622 "amantissimo da moltitudine de' scolari", 24 may 1622, ASV, Riformatori, b. 66, 2 november 1623.

fied in the early 17th century. As reiterated in a directive of 1637 sent to the Venetian ambassador in The Hague, the university sought candidates who were Catholic²³.

4. *The oath of the doctores legentes and the diplomacy of the Republic.* During the first three decades of the 17th century, the embassy in Rome negotiate the appointment as professors at Padua of figures who were not all of the utmost importance on the international scene: Paolo Beni, a former Jesuit from Gubbio, was appointed in place of the renowned Belgian humanist Giusto Lipsio; the Friulian physician Pompeo Caimo was called to Padua rather than Werner Rolfink, a student at the Studio who later became an anatomist at the University of Jena; and the mathematician Giovanni Argoli was selected instead of a student of Galileo Galilei – it is unclear whether this was Benedetto Castelli, who was a Venetian subject. Nevertheless, during the course of its negotiations with the court in Rome, the embassy played a pivotal role in ensuring that the freedom of the Studio's professors was not compromised by new political oaths that would have restricted their autonomy. Consequently, this ensured the unimpeded transmission of culture²⁴.

Furthermore, the pivotal function of the University of Padua was formally acknowledged by the international diplomatic community. Foreign diplomats frequently intervened with the Reformers regarding the appointment or career advancement of lecturers from Padua. In 1611, the papal nuncio Berlinghiero Cessi initially supported the candidacy of the Roman Giacomo Antonio Marta for the principal chair of canon law. Marta had upheld the Pope's authority and offered assurances regarding jurisdictional matters between Venice and Rome. Meanwhile, the English ambassador to Venice, Dudley Charlenton, having stated that he had "always maintained good conversation and correspondence with certain professors of science in Padua", recommended the Swiss physician Jean Prévost to the Reformers of the University once more for promotion within the hierarchy of lectureships. In 1621, the King of England's ambassador, together with the nation of English students, propo-

²³ ASV, Riformatori, b. 67, 28 april 1637, M. Gliozzi, *Andrea, Argoli*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 4, Roma, 1962, *ad vocem*, G. Mazzacurati, *Beni, Paolo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 8, Roma, 1966, *ad vocem*.

²⁴ L. Rossetti, *Werner Rolfink e lo Studio di Padova. Nuovi documenti inediti*, "Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova", 9-10 (1976-1977), pp. 231-233, P. Prodi, *Il sacramento del potere. Il giuramento politico nella storia costituzionale dell'Occidente*, Bologna 2017, M. Valente, D. Solera, *La Patavina libertas nell'età della Controriforma*, in *Libertas. Tra religione, politica e saperi*, ed. A. Caracausi, P. Molino, D. Solera, Roma 2022, pp. 167-184: 169.

sed the Paduan physician of English origin, Tommaso Turnis –a Catholic of irreproachable character– to replace Giovan Pietro Pellegrino. In 1622, the French ambassador recommended Antonio Maria Narducci, a scholar of civil law who also had an interest in poetry, to the Reformers. Narducci had been teaching at the universities of Macerata and Perugia²⁵.

It is therefore notable that the papal nuncio at the University of Padua also made recommendations for lecturers, in addition to overseeing doctrinal orthodoxy at the institution. Following the abolition of the Palatine counts in Padua in 1612, the nuncio in Venice informed Rome that the Republic intended to award degrees in the Sacred College without requiring the profession of the Tridentine faith. Negotiations were undertaken to ensure that the disparity in the awarding of degrees to students from different nations did not hinder the development of the University of Padua. These negotiations involved the Venetian ambassador in Rome during that period. The ambassador assured the Pope that the preservation of the University of Padua was a matter of “reason of state”. Until 1612, the Palatine counts conferred doctorates on students in a private yet rigorous manner and were not obliged to require the profession of the Tridentine faith. However, for the Republic of Venice, which had replaced this procedure with a new College in 1616, it was absolutely essential to ensure that the *dottores legenti* ‘foreigners’ –who would form the backbone of the Venetian College of Arts– were themselves obliged to take an oath of Catholic faith. This was, in essence, the crux of the negotiations with Rome in 1616, which resulted in the establishment of the Venetian College of Arts, as evidenced by a private letter by the *in iure* consultant Servilio Treo. The discourse surrounding the necessity of conferring doctoral degrees upon students from the East, specifically the Greeks, can be traced back to a specific demand expressed by the subjects of the *Stato da Mar*, who were regarded as schismatics by Rome. This demand, in essence, represented a pragmatic realism that was driven by political considerations. The city’s diplomatic network could not guarantee that the teaching staff would be the best available on the market; however, it could ensure that they were the most loyal to the Republic. In addition, it could guarantee that they upheld the very modern idea that academic degrees should be conferred by a teaching body selected primarily by the State.

²⁵ ASV, Collegio, *Esposizioni Principi*, reg. 23, 28 november 1614, ASV, Collegio, *Esposizioni Principi*, reg. 27, c. 62v. 15 october 1615, ASV, Riformatori dello Studio, b. 168, G. Cozzi, *Venezia barocca. Conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano*, Venezia 1995, pp. 106-108.

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The Scolari. Counterpoints of university life Brawls, books, and *libertas*: the volatile tapestry of student life in early modern padua

Los Scolari. contrapuntos de la vida universitaria
Peleas, libros y libertad: el volátil tapiz de la vida estudiantil
en la Padua de principios de la Edad Moderna

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Resumen: This panel delves into the multifaceted and often volatile existence of the Paduan scholars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period where the pursuit of high culture frequently collided with the rowdy reality of the city's streets. Through a close reading of contemporary chronicles and university acts, the narrative reconstructs the delicate equilibrium between the cherished ideal of patavina *libertas* and the explosive "town and gown" tensions that repeatedly tested civic order. Beyond the anecdotes of revelry and violence, this analysis underscores the profound economic and political synergy between the Studium and the Republic of Venice. Ultimately, it reveals the student body not merely as a transient

Abstract: Este panel profundiza en la existencia polifacética y a menudo volátil de los scholares paduanos durante los siglos XVI y XVII, un periodo en el que la búsqueda de la alta cultura chocaba frecuentemente con la realidad estrepitosa de las calles de la ciudad. A través de una lectura detallada de crónicas contemporáneas y actas universitarias, la narrativa reconstruye el delicado equilibrio entre el apreciado ideal de la patavina *libertas* y las explosivas tensiones entre la ciudad y la universidad (town and gown) que pusieron a prueba repetidamente el orden cívico. Más allá de las anécdotas de juerga y violencia, este análisis subraya la profunda sinergia económica y política entre el Studium y la República de Venecia. En última instancia,

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population, but as a dynamic, disruptive, and indispensable force that shaped the social and cultural identity of early modern Padua.

Palabras clave: Early Modern university history. Academic privileges. Town and gown relations. Urban conflict and social identity.

revela al cuerpo estudiantil no simplemente como una población transitoria, sino como una fuerza dinámica, disruptiva e indispensable que moldeó la identidad social y cultural de la Padua de la Edad Moderna temprana

Key words: Historia de la universidad en la Edad Moderna. Privilegios académicos. Relaciones entre la ciudad y la universidad. Conflicto urbano e identidad social.

1. The “Shipwreck” on Dry Land: A Chronicle of Student Revelry

To address the daily life of scholars in Padua between the 16th and 17th centuries, one must look beyond the solemnity of the lecture halls. A humorous event described by a contemporary Paduan chronicler, Nicola Rossi, offers a perfect entry point. When we consider the routines of young university students –alongside crowded lectures, overflowing libraries, and elite cultural circles– we must also recall the rowdy songs sung by groups of students returning home after an evening of drinking. Rossi’s chronicle shows us how certain habits have remained remarkably unchanged over the centuries..

On an unspecified night in 1572, approximately fifteen students gathered in the house of a fellow reveller and consumed a significant quantity of alcohol. As a result, in Rossi’s words, they “si ubbriarono di sì fatta maniera, che cominciarono credere d’esser sopra una Galera agitata stranamente dall’onde del mare”¹ (they became so intoxicated that they perceived

¹ This narrative, by Nicolò Rossi, extracted from ms. Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 147 pp. 43-44 (hereafter Rossi, *Cronica*) held at the Biblioteca Civica in Padua, is reproduced here in its entirety to elucidate its nature as a verisimilar account. Likely emergent from oral tradition, the episode functions as an aetiological device intended to substantiate a toponym that was well-established at the time of the chronicle’s compilation.

Alcuni Scolari, radunatisi una sera insieme ad un convitto in una cavanella, [in] contrà di Ruina, si ubbriarono di sì fatta maniera che cominciarono credere d’esser sopra una Galera agitata stranamente dall’onde del Mare. Et essi, temendo che la Galera s’affondasse, gettarno fuori delle finestre letti, tavole, casse, scanni, careghe et ogni sorte di massaritie che erano in casa, parendo loro che li nocchieri comandassero [ciò] per alleggerire la nave. Li Barigelli della Giustizia, passando per di là, non sapendo il caso, entrarono in casa e li trovarono tutti chi qua e chi là per terra al n. di 15 che niente sentivano, ma tanto li scossero che si destarono un poco, e li domandarono quello che volevano fare. Risposero che il travaglio del Mare gli haveva sì fortemente stancati che non [ne] potevano più, et anco per la fatica fatta in scaricar la Galera. Li Offitiali accertisi del fatto, e non potendo fargli ravvedere della loro folia, li dissero che si guardassero per l’avvenire dal troppo bere. I Giovani non conoscendoli li ringraziarono promettendoli che se uscivano di tanta fortuna di mare, et che arrivassero

themselves to be aboard a galley violently tossed by the sea). In this altered state, fearing the vessel would sink, they proceeded to jettison “cargo” out of the windows, throwing beds, boards, chests, benches, and baskets into the street. The noise quickly drew the attention of the *Barigelli della Giustizia* –the city’s provosts of justice– who intervened to restore order. Upon realizing the nature of the “shipwreck,” the officers issued a stern warning to moderate their drinking and left the young men –who had since fallen into a deep sleep– to sober up. This account serves the chronicler to explain why the site became known as the *Casa della Galera*, but it also provides a vivid testimony that bridges the gap between the 16th-century student and the modern undergraduate, opening a window into the complex relationship between scholars, public power, and the citizenry.

2. Rites of Passage and the Friction of Factions

To understand what it meant to be a scholar, we must recall their arrival in Padua. After matriculating into a *natio*², students were required not only

a buon porto salvi, riconosceriano la salute loro da quelli, e d'indi in poi fin hoggidì si addimanda la Casa dalla Galera.

A group of scholars, having gathered one evening for a banquet in a *cavanella* [a small tavern] in the district of Ruina, became so profoundly intoxicated that they began to believe themselves aboard a Galley, violently tossed by the waves of the sea. Fearing that the Galley might founder, they cast out of the windows beds, tables, chests, benches, chairs, and every manner of household goods within the house, under the impression that the mariners had commanded such actions to lighten the vessel. The *Barigelli della Giustizia*, passing by and unaware of the circumstances, entered the house and found some fifteen of them scattered across the floor, insensible to all. They shook them until they stirred slightly and asked what they intended to do. They replied that the travail of the sea had so utterly exhausted them they could endure no more, spent as they were from the labor of unloading the Galley. The officials, realizing the nature of the event and unable to disabuse them of their folly, merely warned them to guard against excessive drinking in the future. The youths, not recognizing them, offered their thanks, promising that should they escape such a tempest and reach a safe harbor, they would owe their salvation to them. From that day to this, the place is called the House of the Galley.

² The University of Padua functioned as a self-governing corporation of scholars drawn from across the European continent. This autonomous body was administered by a *Sindico* and operated under the jurisdiction of the Rector—both of whom were students, typically elected for a single academic year, though their mandates were occasionally extended. The Rector, supported by a freely appointed Vicar, presided over a dual institutional framework: the ultramontani (those hailing from beyond the Alps) and the citramontani (Italians from the peninsula’s various states). These two branches were further articulated into ethnic-linguistic

to engage in subjects such as law, philosophy, medicine, and theology but also to participate in the political life of the *Studium*. This involved electing representatives and participating in community life, from religious services to the funerals of fellow students. However, there were also constant opportunities for celebration, which often targeted younger pupils. In Padua, the traditional ceremony of passing from “novice” to “scholar” was called the *spupilo*; this involved a monetary payment by new students. During the 16th and 17th centuries, this goliardic practice became increasingly onerous and frequently resulted in violent disputes.

Seeking to illuminate the internal friction defining university life, we find compelling evidence within the records of the German students, where events concurrent with the farcical ‘galley’ affair offer a more sobering glimpse into the era’s institutional volatility. The election of Rectors, councillors, or professors represented the primary point of debate among scholars, often leading to deep-seated tensions. For instance, in 1573, a rift emerged between the German and Polish factions following a disputed election at the University of Artists. The Germans expressed discontent over the “usurpation” of the title *Consiliarius Bohemicus*, which the Polish faction had renamed *Polonicus Consiliarius*. While the *Podestà* managed to resolve this, ultimately restoring the original designation to the German faction, the situation reached a boiling point in October with the election of the General Beadle, described as “admodum turbulenta.”³ The *universitas* was convened for the occasion, split

nationes, the fundamental units of student identity. Each nation elected a consiliarius who, as part of the *banca* (the rectorial council), provided counsel and administrative support to the Rector—a role that, until the mid-fourteenth century, was notably shared by a pair of Rectors to ensure balanced representation for both the ultramontani and citramontani (See A. BENEDESI - F. BENUCCI, *Araldica studentesca a Padova. Cicli, memorie e monumenti del Bo*, Cleup, Padova 2025, p. 8; for a detailed account, see D. GALLO, *L'età medioevale*, in P. DEL NEGRO (ed.), *L'Università di Padova. Otto secoli di storia*, Signum, Padova 2002, pp. 15-33)

³ See A. FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, I, Emiliana, Venezia 1911, p. 91; the records of the *Natio Germanica* report the episode in these terms:

Verum ad propositum ut revertamur, consumtis prioribus apud Dominum Praefectum comitis in recuperando nostrum Bohemicum, qui mutato nomine prius Polonicus dicebatur, Consiliarium, paucis diebus post idibus scilicet Octobris apud eundem Praefectum denuo Universitas fuit convocata de electione pedelli generalis quae fuit admodum turbulenta. Cum enim hac de caussa Brixienis animi invicem partim distracti essent, partim aliqui eorum Veronensibus sese coniunxissent unius supra citati hominis astutia, unaque pars priorem potius Universitatis ministrum confirmandum quam alium eligendum statuisset, altera autem Veronensibus iuncta et nobiscum confoederata eundem, quem ante biennium proposuerat, eligendum potius decrevisset, multis hinc inde motis atque allatis, tandem eo res devenit ut, Clarissimo Capitaneo sic volente et iubente, Innocentius nomine

into its two customary factions: the *Bresciani* and the *Vicentini* – represented, in this specific instance, by the *Veronesi*⁴. In a deliberate attempt to mitigate the mounting friction between these groups, Andrea Talento was ultimately elected with the mediation of the Paduan *Capitano del Popolo*. However, the defeated candidate, Innocenzo Bibliopola, orchestrated a brutal reprisal; on a Carnival night, supported by a contingent of scholars, he stabbed Talento to death. The legal resolution of the tragedy was delayed until the following March, when primary sources⁵ confirm that the perpetrator –widely presumed to be Bibliopola himself– was sentenced to perpetual banishment, while the victim’s eldest son was appointed to the position of General Beadle.

The year’s unrest, however, did not conclude with this judgment. In the wake of the Easter holidays, a fresh conflict erupted between the German and French nations, leading to the wounding of a German student and an ensuing armed “manhunt” through the streets of Padua that eventually drew in the local citizenry⁶. While this specific crisis was de-escalated without fur-

dictus cui nostri faverunt ante biennium sit reiectus, Andreas autem Talentus ut qui eruditione et multarum rerum usu praeditus esset confirmatus, quam tamen confirmationem male ipsi cecisisse, ex sequentibus palam erit. Nam ab eodem Innocentio Bibliopola vel per alium, quem substituerat in Bachanaliis, secunda hora noctis pugione fuit interfectus, quo negocia (ut vocant) practicarum magis fuere aucta, nos autem pluribus quam antehac non sine metu et periculo obruti molestiis.

⁴ It was a well-known custom for the student body to express itself through conflicts between factions, traditionally referred to by the cited terms ‘Bresciani’ and ‘Vicentini’, particularly during the elections for the office of Rector and for the lecturers of certain extraordinary chairs, who were often students nearing the end of their studies. Such factions were groupings of *nationes* which shifted as student ‘alliances’ changed (see. F. PIOVAN, *Trasgressione e violenza a Padova tra XVI e XVII secolo*, in M.C. LA ROCCA - G. ZORNETTA (eds.), *Stranieri. Itinerari di vita studentesca tra XIII e XVIII secolo*, Donzelli, Roma 2022, pp. 141-152: 144-46). The issue arising from the factionalism among students during the election of rectors also emerges clearly from another authoritative source: the report by Andrea Barbarigo, Captain of Padua in 1577: “*Un altro gran disturbo danno alli Rettori et alla città le pratiche di scholar, intervenendo le elettion delli rettori loro [...] onde che ne nascono rixe, adunation di arme, question tra loro scolari*” Another great disturbance is caused to the Rectors and the city by the activities of the students, occurring during the elections of their rectors [...] from which arise brawls, the gathering of arms, and disputes among the students themselves (*Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, vol. IV, *Podesteria e Capitaniato di Padova*, A. TAGLIAFERRI (ed.), Giuffrè, Milano 1975, p. 53).

⁵ See FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica*, p. 93.

⁶ Even in the account of this episode, the records provide interesting details for understanding the dynamics of such events:

Post ferias Paschales corpus Nationis nostrae Germanicae multis modis fuit a Gallis laesum, sic ut eosdem diu erga nos invidia et odio clandestino flagrasse facile colligere potuerimus: primo enim studiosum iurisprudentiae germanum prope suas aedes ves-

ther grave consequences, save for a minor nocturnal skirmish, the authorities remained vigilant. Upon learning of the incident, the *Capitano*⁷ formally barred the French scholars from entering the city walls while armed, compelling them to pursue a diplomatic reconciliation with their German counterparts. This history highlights that the challenge of coexistence extended beyond the Studium to encompass the entire city.

The influx of young adults, often from aristocratic backgrounds, was perceived by citizens as a source of instability. While Paduans were not immune to disorder, the threat to the “honor” of young girls and the constant “hunger for money” among foreign students were seen as significant problems. Chronicles document numerous “pavano hunts” – episodes where students injured or killed citizens for trivial reasons. A tragic example occurred in 1603, when Francesco Cisotto, a scholar from Vicenza, was killed by a Paduan painter of German origin in the Contrada del Pozzo Dipinto (not far from the university seat). The painter had caught Cisotto in bed with his wife and, realizing the gravity of killing a student, immediately reported the

peri stantem, ac nihil quicquam talia suspicantem, eorum sex adorti sunt graviterque vulneraverunt ita ut et de vita eius dubitaretur. Res haec omnibus ut nova et inopinata, sic et iniqua videbatur. Et saepius hac re diligenter deliberata tandem conclusum fuit ut quisque nostrum, quantum fieri posset, sese muniret armis aliisque ad haec necessariis. Et ut aliqua ex parte hoc manifestaretur, se fere nostrorum ad aedem Divi Antonii sese colligerunt ac obambulando plateas Gallis conspiciendos sese tradiderunt. At nullus Gallorum ea die est visus et latitantes domi, qua via alia sinistre denuo nos adirentur deliberarunt. Nam paucis diebus plurimi inter nobiliores Germanos, ex convivio alterius nobilis hinc discedentis, domum se conferentes, hora secunda noctis (in quorum numero et Consiliarius legistarum Germanus fuit, simul ad convivium accersitus) fuere laesi sic tamen ut nostri, subito hac audita concursatione non obscura et contentione ad vicinos delata, victoriam obtinuerint, omnibus Gallis, qui huic factioni intererant in unam domum compulsis. Quod sequenti die cum Clarissimus Capitaneus rescivit, hinc inde nostris eiusmodi iniuriam a Gallis illatam perpendens, vehementer fuit commotus sic ut Gallis arma saepius interdixit, neque perturbatores communitatis studiorum essent, serio iniunxerit; nostros autem obnixè rogaverit ut tranquillitati studentes denuo cum iis reconciliari concederent, quod tandem multis Gallorum precibus a nostris fuit impetratum, confoederatione generali facta in aedibus Domini Obitii nobilissimi patricii Patavini. Cum Vicentinis autem, qui prioris factionis dicebantur authores, ut similiter in gratiam rediremus adhuc saepius a nostris est efflagitatum et tandem iis promissum sequentibus conditionibus, a ipsis primo propositis, a nobis autem emendatis, tandemque a Clarissimo Praetore confirmatis.

(FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica*, p. 94)

⁷ The *Capitano* was one of the two main Venetian governors of a subject city. While the Podestà handled civil administration and justice, the *Capitano* was primarily responsible for military matters and public order.

adultery and the murder to the authorities. By producing an arquebus he claimed Cisotto had used to defend himself, he negotiated a plea bargain of exile instead of death⁸.

The common thread in these tragedies was the problematic issue of weapons. The right of students to walk the city armed had been debated since 1331⁹, when the statutes allowed weapons only if one's life was in danger, a concession easily abused. Consequently, a series of *ad hoc* measures was ratified to regulate this practice. From 1531 onwards¹⁰, the authorities intensified efforts to enforce the prohibition on carrying weapons without a formal permit. The intervention of the Venetian state –most notably through the Council of Ten and the Paduan Rectors– became increasingly pervasive, impacting an ever-growing student population.

Although initiatives to address the issue continued throughout the 17th century, even a cursory examination of the historical records reveals the limited effectiveness of these measures.

- On 2 January 1577, a group of students interrupted an anatomy lesson to protest the ban on carrying weapons imposed by the *Podestà*.¹¹
- On Good Friday 1583, during the procession of the Crucifix, students engaged in a violent clash, drawing swords and assaulting bystanders who were attempting to flee¹².

⁸ [...] *Un altro caso miserabile successe che Francesco Cizoto scolaro Vicentino e gratioso figliuolo su ammazzato da un pittore tedesco, mentre che egli lo ritrovò in casa sua con la moglie giovine bellissima nella Contrà del Pozzo dipinto, il quale fatto il delitto si appresentò alla Giustizia nelle prigioni con una Pistola che egli levò dalle mani del morto, la quale era stata dal Cizoto scaricata verso lui [...] la moglie, il marito e il fratello della donna furono tutti banditi.*

Another wretched case occurred when Francesco Cizoto, a Vicentine scholar and a charming young man, was killed by a German painter who found him in his house with his beautiful young wife in the Contrà del Pozzo Dipinto. Having committed the deed, the painter surrendered to the authorities at the prison, carrying a pistol he had seized from the dead man's hands, which Cizoto had discharged toward him [...] the wife, the husband, and the woman's brother were all banished

ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 219

⁹ The earliest extant statutes of the University of Jurists include a section concerning *qualiter scolares possint deferre arma* (see. *Statuta Universitatis scholarium iuristarum studii generalis Paduani ab anno 1331 ad annum 1404 (Codex Bibliothecae Cathedralis Gnesnensis 180)*, T. BABNIS (ed.), Universitet Opolski, Opole 2020, p. 194).

¹⁰ P. DEL NEGRO, *L'Età Moderna*, in IDEM, *L'Università di Padova*, pp. 41 et sqq.

¹¹ See n. 7; for the account ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 86.

¹² See IDEM, *Cronica*, pp. 111-112; and R. SOFFIATO, *Giovini di genio discolo e seditioso. Criminalità e scolari dello Studio patavino nei secoli XVI e XVII*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2021, p. 61.

- In 1585, the *Podestà* Andrea Bernardo reported several armed confrontations that had to be promptly suppressed¹³.
- In mid-November 1589, a dispute arose between German and Polish students. Initially a disagreement over matters of precedence in the streets, the conflict quickly escalated into open combat. The German faction took up arms –so much so that the records speak of a metamorphosis of “studious men into soldiers” (*homines scilicet studiosos in milites conversos*¹⁴)– leading to a shoot-out and a fortnight of reprisals across the city. The *Podestà* eventually mediated a peaceful resolution, and on 9 December, the peace pledges were read aloud in the *Palazzo Pretorio*.

However, on 5 January 1590, two Germans and two Poles met near the Basilica of St. Anthony. Violating the peace treaty, they resumed their armed confrontation, nearly resulting in the death of the Pole Andreas Zavitsch.

Meanwhile, a conflict also erupted between Milanese and Bergamasque students. According to the chronicler Nicola Rossi, as many as 506 arquebus shots were fired; remarkably, despite the intensity of the fight, no casualties were reported. Consequently, the Milanese were banished, while the Bergamasques were imprisoned¹⁵.

- On 29 June 1590, solemn vespers at the Basilica of St. Anthony were disrupted by a brawl involving students brandishing swords¹⁶.
- On 13 March 1593, Pietro Alzano, the Rector of the Jurists, was murdered by masked assassins in the *Contrada* of San Bernardino, at the crossroads with the *Beccherie* (butchers). The perpetrator was likely Alessandro d’Este, who had taken offense at being denied precedence. D’Este successfully evaded justice¹⁷.

This list could be extended considerably, yet these examples sufficiently demonstrate how frequently weapons were used in grave incidents over a relatively short period. These clashes were not limited to student feuds, altercations with residents, or aristocratic disputes; they also inclu-

¹³ See TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, pp. 77-79.

¹⁴ FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista*, p. 281; full account *ivi*, pp. 280-284, and in ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 152.

¹⁵ ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 155.

¹⁶ *Ivi*, p. 161.

¹⁷ *Ivi*, p. 167, and SOFFIATO, *Giovini di genio discolo*, pp. 69-70.

ded episodes of serious confrontation between the university community and the Paduan authorities.

3. *The 1580 Insurrection: Narrative Construction, Armed Resistance, and the Ritual of Retribution*

The analytical core of this report necessitates a rigorous examination of a seminal crisis that threatened the very structural continuity of the Paduan Studium: the violent insurrection of January 1580.

This pivotal event is not merely a footnote in local history but a multi-layered narrative reconstructed through the convergence of diverse primary sources, including the chronicles of Paduan citizens Nicola Rossi and Fabrizio Abriano¹⁸, the official Acts of the *Natio Germanica Artistarum*, the judicial records of the Criminal Court¹⁹, and the seventeenth-century historiography of Giacomo Filippo Tomasini in his *Gymnasium Patavinum*²⁰.

The ignition point of this turmoil occurred on January 2, 1580²¹, when two Milanese scholars, Giovanni Tommaso Crivello and Marc' Antonio Visconti²², were intercepted by civic patrols near the city's medieval bastions. They ventured into the public sphere without authorization, their sides girded with swords, and thus wandering, [they made their way to] the "Campana" inn²³, representing a defiant transgression of the prevailing statutes prohibiting the carrying of arms within the city walls.

Given the routine presence of police contingents in such sensitive locations, the students' behavior suggests a performative provocation: a deliberate challenge to the Podestà's authority. As the German records elucidate,

¹⁸ F. ABRIANI, *Annali di Padova*, ms. Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 149.

¹⁹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI PADOVA, *Foro giudiziario criminale*, b. 1, f. 1, cc. 88v-90r, ed in SOFFIATO, *Giovini di genio discolo*, pp. 119-120.

²⁰ G.F. TOMASINI, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, tipographia N. Schiratti, Udine 1654, pp. 421-422.

²¹ This account is further substantiated by SOFFIATO, *Giovini di genio discolo*, pp. 55-65, whose analysis is bolstered by meticulous and punctual references to the primary sources; a reference to the matter can also be found in A. CITTADELLA, *Descrittione di Padoa e suo territorio con l'inventario Ecclesiastico brevemente fatta l'anno salutare MDCV. Et in nove trattati compartita. Con tavola copiosa*, 1606 [ms. Padova, Biblioteca Civica, BP 324], p. 75.

²² See ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 97.

²³ The occurrence is exhaustively documented within the archival records of the *Natio Germanica* "Secundo Ianuarii die quidam Mediolanenses nobilissimi sine licentia, gladiis accinctis, in publicum prodeunt sicque deambulantes diversorium Campanae" (FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista*, pp. 165-166).

the transition from a customary interrogation to a lethal escalation was instantaneous²⁴; a verbal altercation dissolved into a physical struggle where prohibited blades were used to inflict mortal wounds upon Constable Sebastiano Giantino, head of the Capitano del Popolo's guard, and the knight Sigismondo Speronello. The resulting chaos was not confined to a singular gate but multiplied across the urban landscape, as other students joined the Milanese in a generalized riot.

The subsequent historiographical discrepancy is telling: while Rossi emphasizes the "seditious" brutality of the scholars –alleging they gouged out the eyes of officers²⁵–, the account by Einrich Megabach the editor of the German records for this year, portrays the students as a besieged minority, forced to seek sanctuary within the Basilica of St. Anthony. The Podestà mandated the overnight detention of the two Milanese students, along with several accomplices, pending the determination of a suitable punitive measure. This decree provoked fierce resistance from the broader Milanese student body who, failing to find a diplomatic resolution, mobilized the entire student community to join an armed insurrection on the morning of 3rd January. The rallying point was the *Collegium Furlanorum* (familarly known as the *Collegio Pratense*), situated adjacent to the Basilica of St. Anthony. Upon receiving intelligence of the impending uprising, the Podestà took immediate strategic action, ordering the closure of all city gates and the fortification of access points to neighbouring territories. This decisive manoeuvre was designed to abruptly suppress the student-led revolt and forestall the escape of its primary instigators.

The escalation reached its zenith when 300 to 400 scholars seized control of Porta Santa Croce²⁶, south entrance to the city, securing an escape

²⁴ Ivi, p. 165.

²⁵ "[...] *oltre che molte volte erano stati di giorno fuggati et assaltati li sbirri dalli scolari e accompagnati con l'armi nude fino su le scale del Palazzo, e fra le altre fughe che diedero li scolari alli sbirri fu che li tagiorno tutto il naso ad esso Contestabile, et a due altri suoi seguaci tagiato il viso, at ad uno altro cavato un occhio nella contrada vicina al Sole dove si fece un gran menar di mani.*"

[...] furthermore, on numerous occasions during the day, the police officers had been assaulted and routed by the scholars, who pursued them with unsheathed weapons to the very steps of the Palace; among the various retreats forced upon the officers by the students, one resulted in the Constable's nose being entirely severed, while two of his followers suffered facial mutilations, and another had an eye gouged out in the district near the *Sole*, where a violent fray ensued.

ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 97

²⁶ See ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 98, and FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista*, p. 166 (Tertio itaque Ianuarii die convocati, armata manu Mediolanenses committamur, quorum pars Ferrariam usque profecta, pars autem domum statim a porta Crucis reversa est [...]).

route toward Ferrara. For an interval of four hours, the gate remained unsecured, permitting the Milanese contingent and their associates to depart the city without impediment. However, the students' hold over the bastion was eventually relinquished following the forceful intervention of Captain Moretto Calabrese and his company. Dislodged from their position, the fugitives retreated toward the town of Monselice, situated to the south of Padua. The scholars were relentlessly pursued by a disparate force of cavalry, constables, and opportunistic bounty hunters – individuals of ill repute lured by the promise of financial reward. To evade capture, the students sought sanctuary within the rugged terrain of the Euganean Hills, dispersing across the countryside or even plunging into the frigid, subterranean-temperature waters of the Battaglia river, which traverses the plains from Padua to Monselice (a harrowing feat, considering the depths of the January frost).

Upon reaching Monselice, according to Abriani's testimony²⁷, a contingent of students attempted to negotiate with the local Podestà. Yet, any hope for a diplomatic resolution was shattered by a fresh surge of violence, ignited when a volatile officer discharged his weapon, wounding a scholar and inciting a panicked flight among the survivors. In a notable display of grassroots defiance, a significant number of local peasants – disregarding official prohibitions – offered the students sustenance and clandestine refuge. Abriani's account further elucidates the mounting frustration of the Paduan police; unable to locate the scattered fugitives in the hills, they eventually intercepted a vessel transporting a sizeable group of students attempting a clandestine return to the city. Seizing this opportunity, the authorities apprehended the scholars, promptly escorting them to the state prisons of Padua.

This cycle of violence was ultimately punctuated by a somber ritual of state power: the public execution of a Mantuan scholar – variously identified as Giulio Andreasi or Pietro Raimondi²⁸ – on January 9, 1580, a death inten-

²⁷ ABRIANI, *Annali di Padova*, p. 18.

²⁸ Regarding the identity of the uprising's principal instigator, a significant historiographical discrepancy emerges among the contemporary sources. In a marginal gloss to his chronicle, Nicola Rossi identifies the protagonist as the Mantuan Giulio Andreasi (ROSSI, *Cronica*, p. 98: *Giulio Andriasio Scolaro Mantovano decapitato*). Conversely, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini disputes this attribution, asserting that the individual was in fact Pietro Raimondi, a native of San Martino dell'Argine—a locale situated in the Mantuan frontier (TOMASINI, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. 422: *Petrus Raimundus ex oppido S. Martini agri Mantuani*). This latter version finds indirect corroboration in the account of Fabrizio Abriani, who alludes to a 'generic priest from Cremona'; it is noteworthy that San Martino dell'Argine fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Diocese of Cremona, thereby lending further evidentiary weight to Tomasini's identification (ABRIANI, *Annali di Padova*, p. 20).

ded to serve as a collective atonement, where one man's blood *pro omnibus reliquis persolvit*²⁹. Giacomo Tomasini concludes his account with a thought-provoking observation: '*Sic maxima scholarium libertas repressa fuit*' ("Thus, the greatest freedom of the scholars was suppressed")³⁰.

4. *The Architecture of Libertas: Economic Sovereignty and the Paradox of Student Privilege*

The concept of *libertas* in the closure of Giacomo Filippo Tomasini carries a weight distinct from its modern interpretation. In the sixteenth century, the "*Patavina libertas*" was primarily understood as the safeguarding of ancient privileges granted to the student body. However, as the seventeenth century approached, the term evolved, increasingly reflecting Venice's pragmatic religious tolerance amidst the escalating conflict between Catholic and Reformed Europe. These privileges were the lifeblood of the Studium of Padua, ensuring its enduring appeal across the continent. Consequently, any attempt by civil authorities to infringe upon student autonomy was met with fierce resistance³¹, often involving threats to move the entire student body to Ferrara or Bologna –such as in 1560, when the Venetian Republic revoked the students' long-standing right to elect professors to the minor (extraordinary) chairs³²– a move that would have deprived Padua of immense prestige and wealth.

This brings us back to 1580, the year in which Nicola Rossi captures the pervasive anxiety felt by the Paduan citizenry, in late January, after the terrible rebellion. Following a brutal crackdown that resulted in the death

²⁹ FAVARO, *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista*, p. 166.

³⁰ TOMASINI, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. 422.

³¹ For additional complaints by the Venetian governors of Padua, see TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, pp. 81-82; 91-92.

³² DEL NEGRO, *L'Età Moderna*, p. 44. The mid-sixteenth century was characterized by a rigorous season of statutory revisions (see *Ivi*, pp. 41-48), calculated to dismantle entrenched medieval prerogatives and recalibrate the institutional equilibrium between student *nationes*. These maneuvers –often as shrewd in their execution as they were contentious in their impact– fundamentally reshaped the university's internal landscape. A definitive case study in the factionalism that plagued student ranks during this era is the meteoric rise and decline of Jan Zamoyski. A Polish nobleman and Rector of the Jurists, Zamoyski was the primary architect of these statutory reforms. His complex historical trajectory is the focal point of F. BENUCCI, *Il lato oscuro di Jan Zamoyski*, *Rettore dei Giuristi 1563-64*, «Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum – The Ignatianum Philosophical Yearbook» XXXI/2 (2025), pp. 67-89 a seminal work that masterfully synthesizes historiographical precision with an evocative and detailed narrative.

of a student, the city was paralyzed by fear: “Questo fatto dava tanto da ragionare al popolo che per le case et sulle pubbliche piazza non si ragionava d’altro, essendo fama universal che il Studio di Padova non dovesse esser per ritornar così in breve nel pristino suo stato”³³. The Paduans lived in constant dread that the students, terrified by the repression, would abandon the city forever, taking with them the very identity of Padua itself.

This existential dread was cyclical, as Rossi’s own chronicle vividly illustrates. He records a significant exodus of students to Parma around 1600, following the celebrated Professor Sforza degli Oddi during the re-foundation of the Farnese Studium³⁴. In response, authorities scrambled to issue proclamations reminding Venetian subjects of their legal obligation to study only in Padua. Those in defiance were ordered to return within a month under threat of property confiscation. Yet, as often happened, these warnings fell on deaf ears. Rossi seized this moment to underscore the vital importance of the student body, noting that their presence brought: “universal utile alle arti, et a tutta la città per la venditione delle robbe, e datii per accrescimento et utile del Principe”³⁵.

The reports of the *Podestà* of Padua frequently corroborate this sentiment. Particularly illuminating is the testimony of Bernardo Navagero (Podestà from 1546-1548). Writing to the Venetian Senate, he argued that Padua’s true strength lay not in its physical defenses, but in its intellectual capital: “voglio che la vostra Serenità sappi che Padua non per la fortezza che è rara, né per la comodità di vivere che è assai conveniente, né per la navigation de’ fiumi, né per la bellezza di edifici, né per la salubrità dell’aere è tanto famosa, quanto è per il Studio”³⁶.

Navagero’s report provides a fascinating glimpse into the economic impact of the student population. At the time, an average student spent between 80 and 100 ducats a year on rent, food, and clothing, while wealthier individuals could spend upwards of 500 or even 1,000 ducats. With approximately 1,000 students enrolled, the annual influx of capital was stagge-

³³ This event gave the people such cause for reflection that nothing else was discussed in homes or public squares; it was universally feared that the Studio di Padova would not be able to recover its former standing in so short a time (Rossi, *Cronica*, p. 99).

³⁴ Rossi, *Cronica*, pp. 206-208.

³⁵ Universal profit to the arts, and to the whole city through the sale of goods and the payment of duties, fostering both the growth of the city and the profit of the Prince (Rossi, *Cronica*, p. 208).

³⁶ I wish to inform Your Serenity that Padua is renowned less for its fortifications –rare as they are– its navigable rivers, its architectural splendor, or its healthy air, than it is for its Studium (TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, p. 24).

ring – roughly 100,000 ducats. To put this in perspective, Navagero, who had served as ambassador to the Emperor, emphasized that the university's reputation was a form of 'soft power': "li prometto sopra la mia fede, che nella Fiandra, nella Germania, e in quella parte di Franza ove io sono stato ha tanto credito questo studio di Padua, che molti con la sola riputatione [...] sono ammessi ad honori, et maneggi di molta importanza"³⁷.

Despite the light shed on the significance of the *Studium* and its flourishing presence within the city, student clashes were not absent even during Navagero's term as Podestà³⁸. Decades of recurring compromises, risks, and amnesties did not end the tension; by the early seventeenth century, the clash between students and civic authorities remained as intense as ever: the year 1618 saw a resurgence of unrest, mirroring the 1580 crisis. A violent clash between police and students led by Francesco Sala –resulting in the death of Aquilante Tessaro– nearly forced a mass exodus to Ferrara. Although Podestà Nani eventually secured the *Studium's* survival by facilitating the students' return³⁹, the peace remained fragile: just a month later, another armed conflict erupted over a minor personal dispute⁴⁰.

5. Coexistence and Compromise: The Paduan Model

At this point, one might ask whether peaceful coexistence in Padua was truly an insurmountable challenge. In his report, Podestà Andrea Bernardo suggests that the only viable solution lay in achieving a delicate balance between conflicting parties. When recounting the riots that occurred during his tenure, he emphasizes the effective synergy between Paduan and Venetian authorities⁴¹. This unified response was fundamental, as it allowed the go-

³⁷ I can assure you that in Flanders, Germany, and France, this university is held in such high regard that many are granted honors and prestigious military commands based solely on the prestige of having studied here (TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, p. 24).

³⁸ See *Atti della nazione germanica dei legisti nello Studio di Padova*, B. BRUGI (ed.), Dep. veneta di storia patria, Venezia 1912, pp. 17-18.

³⁹ SOFFIATO, *Giovini di genio discolo e seditioso*, pp. 84-87.

⁴⁰ *Acta Nationis Germanicae Artistarum (1616-1636)*, L. ROSSETTI (ed.), Antenore Ed., Padova 1968, pp. 44-46.

⁴¹ [Li Scolari] mi diedero qualche pensiero, tuttavia rimediai prestamente con mandar fuori della Città li capi con brevissimo termine di hore [...] et feci metter giù le arme a essi scolari, benchè alcuni giorni doppo asentissi con dignità della giustizia che le potessero portare, et mi contentai anco che parte di essi capi alcune settimane doppo ritornassero in Padova

vernment to implement a policy of prudent moderation and judicial leniency in its disciplinary actions against the student body.

Soffiato's aforementioned study follows a similar line of inquiry, focusing on the rulings of the Venetian courts. He observes that over a span of one hundred and twenty years, extending to the end of the seventeenth century, sentences imposed on students for certain crimes were consistently less severe than those handed down to local citizens for similar offenses. This disparity reveals the political mechanism that allowed Padua to maintain its international appeal for so long: the enduring vitality of the *patavina libertas* was not merely a product of formal privileges, but of a constant, pragmatic practice of compromise with the students.

The University of Padua, therefore, serves as a distinctive vantage point for observing the intersection of diverse cultures, social roles, and interests. The relationship between the city and the was dynamic and symbiotic; though occasionally turbulent, it was ultimately productive. The 'good fortune' of the university did not stem solely from Venice's ability to recruit eminent professors, but rather from its sophisticated management of a vibrant and complex student body that was deeply embedded in the city's social and political fabric.

The intricate and often paradoxical relationship between student defiance and institutional control is perhaps most vividly captured by an episode from July 1621. During a summer night, the renowned bronze statue of Gattamelata by Donatello was covered with a "vile and filthy shroud".

This gesture of mockery and ignominy was not rooted in a clear political cause but appeared to be an act of goliardic entertainment. Nevertheless, the Venetian government's reaction was immediate and draconian: a decree was issued imposing capital punishment on the perpetrators and offering a substantial 500-ducat reward for information leading to their capture.

The resulting manhunt, which gripped the city for days, eventually revealed that the culprits were indeed scholars. The resolution of the case, as recorded by the chronicler Nicola Rossi, underscores the complex social hierarchies that governed Paduan life: one young student was arrested, but his release was secured through the intervention of an influential uncle.

[The students] gave me some trouble; nevertheless, I promptly provided a remedy by ordering the leaders out of the city within a very few hours [...] and I made the students lay down their arms, though a few days hence I granted, without compromising the dignity of justice, that they might carry them; I also saw fit that part of those leaders return to Padua a few weeks later.

TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, p. 78

In a striking display of pragmatism and betrayal, the uncle denounced his nephew's accomplices to the authorities, successfully obtaining the boy's acquittal while pocketing the reward money himself⁴². While the fate of the other accomplices remains obscure, the episode serves as a definitive case study of the Paduan model of coexistence. It illustrates the extreme volatility of a student body that viewed the city's monuments and public spaces as stages for disruption. More importantly, it reveals the persistent tension between the state's need to perform "severe justice" and the reality of a social system where privilege, family influence, and student status often provided a way to escape the full weight of the law. Ultimately, the *Gattamelata* incident confirms that the "Patavina libertas" was not merely a legal abstraction, but a lived, contested, and deeply unpredictable reality.

⁴² *Nel principio del mese di luglio [...] fu posta una tenda brutta e lorda attorno al cavallo et alla statua di bronzo di Gattamelata al Santo per vilipendio et ignominia di essa statua, perciò li illustrissimi Rettori mandarono fuori un bando con pena capitale che chi accusava li rei guadagnava 500 ducati [...] finalmente furono trovati esser stati Scolari, et un zio di quelli che fu stimato il principale, per ottener la liberatione del medesimo accusò li complici del delitto, et ottenne non solo la liberatione del nepote, ma anco il benefitio delli 500 ducati.*

In the commencement of the month of July [...] there was placed a vile and filthy shroud about the horse and the bronze statue of Gattamelata at the Santo, in scorn and ignominy of the said image; wherefore the most illustrious Rectors issued an edict under pain of death, declaring that whosoever should denounce the culprits should gain five hundred ducats [...] at length they were discovered to be Scholars, and an uncle of him who was deemed the principal, that he might secure the release of the same, did denounce the accomplices to the crime, attaining thereby not only the acquittal of his nephew, but likewise the bounty of the five hundred ducats.

Rossi, *Cronica*, p. 309

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A Jacques Le Goff le debemos una de las mejores reflexiones sobre ese uso historiográfico, instalado y extendido ampliamente, consistente en periodizar el pasado. En *¿Realmente es necesario cortar la historia en rebanadas?* (FCE, 2016), el gran medievalista señala que se trata de una manifestación del afán general del hombre por controlar el tiempo, algo que si bien no cabe proyectar hacia el futuro, ya que éste no puede preverse con exactitud, es cosa que se ha intentado y se intenta decididamente con el pasado. Para designar u organizar de algún modo esa acción sobre el pasado, que como es obvio constituye el campo de actuación propio de la historia, se ha recurrido a diversos términos, hablándose de edades, épocas, ciclos y, en particular, de periodos, o ya en el siglo XX de periodización. En opinión de Le Goff, si bien este modo de proceder ofrece sin duda una ayuda para el control del tiempo, o más bien para su empleo, en ocasiones hace surgir problemas de apreciación del pasado; y es que, concluir, periodizar la historia es un acto complejo, cargado de subjetividad, que busca producir un resultado aceptable para una gran mayoría. En

cualquier caso, es evidente, y esto lo añadimos nosotros, que esta práctica no garantiza por sí sola que el resultado, digamos historiográfico, esté garantizado. El libro objeto de esta reseña se centra precisamente en una fecha y en la fase histórica que la misma inaugura. El producto resultante es bastante notable.

En efecto, 1956 marca el inicio de un periodo en la historia del régimen franquista. Es una fecha clave (parteaguas, por decirlo al modo clásico). Como es conocido, es el año de los sucesos estudiantiles de febrero en la Universidad de Madrid, un episodio que fue cobrando con el tiempo una entidad cada vez mayor, hasta alcanzar el estatuto de hecho fundacional (de un periodo de la dictadura). Aquel episodio se considera un punto de inflexión en el devenir de un régimen que iba dejando atrás sus momentos más duros, pero sin despojarse en ningún instante de constituir lo que siempre y hasta el final fue: una dictadura. Esta conformación de 1956 como fecha clave desde un punto de vista histórico ha conllevado necesariamente, también desde esa perspectiva, fijarse en lo que sucedió antes, o sea, considerarlo como el precipitado de un clima, de un ambiente, en definitiva, como el resultado de un proceso que venía gestándose desde atrás. Éste sería justamente el planteamiento que adopta Luis Fernández Cifuentes, situándose de forma específica en el año inmediatamente anterior

con su 1955. *Inventario y examen de disidencias*.

Efectivamente, lo que acaece en febrero de 1956 no es fruto de una casualidad, ni algo que suceda por generación espontánea, ni por supuesto un suceso aislado (con independencia de su originalidad y su carácter primigenio). Su importancia como punto de arranque de uno de los principales focos de resistencia al franquismo, la que se desarrolló en la universidad, es evidente. Es innegable que supone la puesta en marcha o el comienzo de la disidencia de los jóvenes universitarios, como señala el autor, una disconformidad heterogénea y plural (incluso pluralista), algo que entrañará a la postre y sin retorno –y cita a uno de nuestros máximos especialistas en la cuestión, Carrillo-Linares– la pérdida irreversible de la universidad para Franco. Como síntesis perfecta de la trascendencia casi inmediata de los sucesos de 1956 en el contexto del franquismo, acierta al recoger literalmente un fragmento de las memorias de Gabriel Elorriaga, uno de aquellos jóvenes “jaraneros y alborotadores”, exponente del sector más moderado entre estos: “Cuando nosotros fuimos detenidos, España parecía dividida por fronteras brumosas entre inmovilistas y aperturistas. Después de febrero de 1956, el inmovilismo se había reducido y quedado fuera del programa hasta en las esferas oficiales. Se había marginado y *bunkerizado*. La nueva divi-

sión sería entre reforma y ruptura. Con diversos matices, éste sería, en adelante, el nuevo campo de juego”. En este nuevo campo de juego, en sus distintas manifestaciones, los jóvenes universitarios actuarán, como los califica el autor, como auténticos “agentes de la transformación” política que se ansiaba y se buscaba. Y serán además reflejo de una disidencia más general, la que se da en el *mundo de la cultura* (por utilizar una expresión hoy tan al uso).

El empeño de Fernández Cifuentes, por tanto, no es otro que contar los antecedentes inmediatos (1955 y un poco más atrás) de esta fecha inaugural de un periodo del régimen franquista, coincidente con el fin de la larga posguerra. Todo ello, con un protagonista colectivo identificado y delineado: la juventud universitaria, representante de una nueva generación, que no vivió activa y directamente, por razones de edad, el drama de la Guerra Civil. Con este planteamiento, en última instancia, lo que consigue ofrecer es un retrato de la España de la época desde el punto vista cultural. Se trata, es evidente, de un periodo muy transitado por los historiadores –alguno acaso utilizaría el vulgarismo “trillado”–. Quizá aquí lo novedoso sea la perspectiva que se adopta –a veces un tanto forzada, todo hay que decirlo–, a saber, la presentación unitaria y coherente de la envoltura intelectual y cultural de los universitarios españoles en 1955, vista como precedente o raíz,

como preparatoria de lo que sucederá al inicio del año siguiente, en febrero de 1956. Aunque a veces la mirada se amplía a unos años antes, al final de la década anterior y primeros de los cincuenta, el protagonismo está centrado en aquellos jóvenes “destemplados”, como los llama, que se encontraban en ese momento en la universidad. Y explica muy bien, como ya hemos destacado, que aquellos sucesos no fueron un fenómeno aislado y espontáneo sino la culminación de algo que venía de atrás.

A priori, cabría pensar que con este planteamiento el autor pudiera limitarse a realizar una suerte de crónica de 1955. El resultado final va desde luego mucho más allá. Es un libro de historia cultural del franquismo y no una mera crónica, esto es, una relación de hechos más o menos ordenada en torno a una fecha. Es cierto que la prosa del autor resulta estilísticamente caudalosa, en un libro que se muestra, por la nutrida información que contiene, igualmente caudaloso. En algunos momentos, hay que señalarlo, el texto puede llegar a ser prolijo (por detallista) y en cierto modo hasta desbordante. Hay pasajes en los que se puede tener la sensación de que el libro se desboca y como decimos se desborda. Sirva de muestra, en este sentido, en el capítulo VI, el dedicado al cine, el análisis detallado de las críticas repartidas en las publicaciones especializadas (algunas de difusión muy minoritaria) de *Muerte de un ciclista*

o de *Marcelino Pan y Vino*, un examen exhaustivo pero también extenuante y abrumador (algo que a lo largo del texto, nos tememos, sucede en varias ocasiones con otros tantos temas).

El volumen, dividido en siete capítulos, tiene una estructura bastante lógica e inobjetable. En cierto modo, puede decirse que los tres primeros se conjuntan bajo el propósito principal de mostrar al protagonista colectivo del relato, la juventud universitaria española, los “jóvenes destemplados”, en el primero de ellos, y las principales influencias o corrientes filosóficas a las que podían estar expuestos en los dos siguientes. El primero de los capítulos, hay que subrayarlo, es el de mayor contenido llámese histórico-universitario, abordando un recorrido con diversas referencias (con la exhaustividad ya apuntada que caracteriza al libro en su conjunto), centrado en la conformación de los jóvenes disidentes en la universidad. El capítulo II se ocupa principalmente de un pasaje muy conocido como fue la adopción fallida de Ortega y Gasset como referente intelectual de esta generación de estudiantes, es decir, como impulsor sin proponérselo de la disidencia. Muestra redes o conexiones intelectuales, muchas de ellas bastante conocidas –por ejemplo, la del propio Ortega con José Antonio Primo de Rivera– pero sobre todo presenta a quienes se postularon (o más bien fueron postulados) como modelos o referencias intelectuales:

Eugenio D'Ors y Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, además de los mencionados Ortega y José Antonio. Este capítulo se complementa muy bien con el siguiente en el que presenta la influencia francesa, si bien, en nuestra opinión, es algo que resulta un tanto postizo y hasta un punto exagerado, dejando la sensación de que el autor quiere "colocarla" a toda costa, por encima de su importancia verdadera. Con todo, parece muy interesante como se fija, como un elemento definitorio y constitutivo de esta juventud disidente, en el llamado "sentimiento existencialista" de la vida y en concreto en la "angustia", un concepto clave de la época, algo que se proyecta en las prácticas culturales de estos jóvenes, a las que dedica sucesivamente el resto de capítulos.

Como se ha señalado, centrándose en el año 1955, en los capítulos IV a VII brinda un panorama bastante completo de la cultura española bajo el franquismo en aquel momento. Utiliza una división temática ortodoxa a partir de las distintas artes o disciplinas. Así, el primero de estos capítulos se focaliza en la pintura, situando en ese momento temporal algunas de las controversias estéticas (con connotaciones políticas la mayoría) que se dan en el periodo. El siguiente, el V, está dedicado a la arquitectura, constituyendo un auténtico ensayo sobre ésta en el primer franquismo, en los primeros quince años de éste. Por esta razón, en este capítulo en particular, como

ya se ha apuntado, se acusa el principal defecto tal vez del trabajo: una dispersión, siempre ordenada pero que, en nuestra opinión, lo lastra en ocasiones en demasía y sobre todo lo despega del que debe ser su objeto fundamental. Ello explicaría que de forma puntual el relato resulte un poco artificioso y forzado, como si el autor quisiera a toda costa recuperar el hilo. De este modo, en el penúltimo capítulo, el VI, dedicado al cine, puede llegar a tenerse la sensación de que todo se precipitaba inevitablemente a los sucesos de 1956, a que algo concreto de manera irremisible debía pasar entonces. Así, en 1955, el hecho preparatorio por antonomasia (en el sentido apuntado), en el caso del cine, serían las Primeras Conversaciones Cinematográficas Nacionales, conocidas como las "Conversaciones de Salamanca", celebradas entre el 14 y el 19 de mayo, en un ámbito y en un ambiente muy universitarios. En ellas, a lo largo de todo ese año y en este campo, consigue mostrarse el malestar existente en la cultura del cine que no es sino una manifestación específica de una desazón más general, que repercute necesariamente en la adopción de un posicionamiento político.

Este mismo propósito, el de hacer patente el malestar existente en el origen de la disidencia política de los jóvenes universitarios, es el que preside el capítulo VII dedicado a las "literaturas", como lo titula justamente (ya que se ocupa de diversos géneros

y manifestaciones). Dicha actitud, puesta de manifiesto en la opción de esta juventud por unas determinadas tendencias literarias, explica que fuese precisamente este ámbito, el literario, uno de los elegidos para canalizar o encarnar la rebeldía que explota en febrero de 1956. Así, y lo explica muy bien el autor, en 1954 y 1955, Enrique Múgica, el líder de los jóvenes más politizados, manipulando en gran medida esas inquietudes literarias, impulsa los “Encuentros entre la Poesía y la Universidad” y un “Congreso Universitario de Escritores Jóvenes”, iniciativas pensadas como plataformas para el proselitismo y la concienciación ideológica al servicio del Partido Comunista, inocentemente amparadas por el Rector Laín Entralgo. De nuevo, Fernández Cifuentes vuelve a apabullarnos con un año, 1955, ya de por sí brillantemente nutrido desde el punto de vista literario, por el que desfilan o comparecen Delibes, Cela, Aldecoa, Matute, Goytisolo, Valente, Celaya o Blas de Otero, entre otros, y que había comenzado, ya en enero, con el Premio Nadal obtenido por *El Jarama* de Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio. Más allá de todo esto, como decimos, el autor vuelve a apabullarnos en un campo en el que se mueve con una soltura y solvencia más que contrastadas en su larga carrera de historiador de la literatura entregando un capítulo pleno de erudición.

Y así, si se nos permite la expresión, como de pronto, concluye el

volumen. Este final, en cierto modo tajante y abrupto, quizá no convenga del todo. Tal vez puede pensarse, por acostumbrado, que se hubiera merecido una suerte de recapitulación conclusiva (que en cierto modo, todo hay que decirlo, se hace en la introducción con la que se principia el libro). Es cierto que se trata de algo habitual y echarlo en falta cabe que sea un mero acto reflejo. De alguna manera es como si el autor llegase agotado y sin fuerzas para acometer unas meras conclusiones –y desde luego hay motivos para pensarlo, por el esfuerzo realizado, patente en cada una de las páginas del libro (son más de quinientas) y en el despliegue de fuentes de distinto tipo que ha manejado–. Su propósito, el de presentar a la juventud universitaria que protagoniza y enmarca los sucesos de febrero de 1956 (y otros similares que le seguirán pronto), situarla en el año inmediatamente anterior a través del estado de la cultura española y explicar así el origen de su actitud disidente, es algo que logra con creces y con brillantez. Ello a pesar de que, en algún momento, cuando se dispersa o se pierde, tiene que recordarnos (a sus lectores), y resulta, como hemos señalado, un tanto artificioso y forzado, que ese y no otro es su punto de referencia y su propósito: “la generación de estudiantes –citamos– que no había conocido la guerra civil ni participaba del espíritu de los vencedores”, o sea, una juventud universitaria dispuesta a encabezar, veinte

años después del inicio de la Guerra Civil, la resistencia al franquismo.

Finalmente, y nos gustaría dejar constancia de ello, el libro reseñado nos parece encomiable por el tono y la actitud historiográfica con que se desenvuelve el autor. El tema y el periodo abordados se prestaban, sin duda, a esa historia partidista y moralizante (en el peor sentido) a la que estamos tan acostumbrados. Isaiah Berlin nos enseña, en *History is an alibi* –acaba de publicarse en la editorial Página Indómita, con el título de *La inevitabilidad de la historia*, una nueva traducción de esta

conferencia pronunciada en 1953–, que el deber del historiador ha de ser únicamente describir y explicar, no emitir veredictos. El historiador, insiste, no es un juez sino más bien un detective que proporciona las pruebas para que el lector llegue a las conclusiones que desee. En el caso de Fernández Cifuentes, nos parece que este modelo, historiográficamente hablando tan deseable, se cumple a la perfección.

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YOLANDA BLASCO GIL (coord.). *Más allá de Europa. Universidades y trayectorias académicas*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2025, 444 pp.

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El volumen *Más allá de Europa. Universidades y trayectorias académicas* es una obra colectiva editada bajo la coordinación de la profesora Yolanda Blasco Gil, de la Universidad de Valencia. El libro recoge un conjunto de estudios dedicados a documentar y analizar la expansión del modelo universitario más allá del continente europeo, con especial atención a América, aunque sin excluir referencias al impacto global de ese fenómeno, como tendremos ocasión de indicar.

La obra está dedicada a la memoria del Lic. Mariano Mercado Estrada, que trabajó en el Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, y que dejó un grato recuerdo en los coautores. Aunque la coordinadora principal es Yolanda Blasco, el libro reúne contribuciones de un grupo plural de investigadores y especialistas, mayoritariamente mexicanos. Entre los nombres que figuran como coautores están algunos destacados historiadores de las universidades: Armando Pavón Romero, Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez López, Eva Elizabeth Martínez Chávez, Claudia Silvia Llanos Delgado, Magdalena Urueta López, M^a Angélica Ríos Becerril, Elías Mercado Estrada, Ignacio E. Blasco Blasco, Clara Inés Ramírez,

Miriam Tejero López, Carlos Pavón Romero, Alejandra Olguín González, Luis Enrique Aragón Mijangos, Merylin Das, Hari Nair, Eva María Jurado Cepas, y Virginia Ávila García.

Al ser un libro colectivo, no podremos dar cuenta de cada uno de los capítulos, sino que nos referiremos a los temas más destacados, pues hay una diversidad de perspectivas: historia del derecho, historia colonial, historia de la educación, sociología de la cultura, estudios de migración, género, exilio, que enriquecen el alcance del libro. El subtítulo “Universidades y trayectorias académicas” señala ese doble enfoque: no solo se trata de elaborar una historia institucional –la fundación, evolución, estructura, influencia de las universidades–, sino también la historia de quienes las integraron, a saber, profesores, estudiantes, exiliados, migrantes intelectuales...

El libro aborda varios ejes temáticos que se entrecruzan, entre los que destacan una revisión historiográfica, para descentrar la historia de las universidades de Europa, el papel de la universidad colonial como espacio de poder, control social, legitimación cultural y también mestizaje simbólico, el análisis de las migraciones intelectuales, que influyeron en la configuración de universidades del Nuevo Mundo, en su cultura intelectual, en la transferencia de conocimientos y en la conformación de redes transatlánticas. Por último, el libro incluye también las tendencias,

tan en boga en nuestros días, de la perspectiva de género y la diversificación social.

En los primeros capítulos se exploran los orígenes coloniales de las primeras universidades más allá del continente europeo, impulsadas por la Corona española. Ciudades del Nuevo Mundo se convirtieron en pujantes sedes universitarias, que desempeñaron un papel central en la formación de élites locales y en la difusión de conocimientos. Desde las primeras universidades en América (Santo Domingo, Lima y México), estas instituciones constituyeron una réplica adaptada del modelo europeo, aunque también se transformaron y evolucionaron conforme a las realidades locales. Hay algunos capítulos que ofrecen una disección de materiales muy interesantes, como, por ejemplo, las provisiones de cátedras de la Facultad de Cánones de la Universidad de México, desde 1700 a 1752, obra de Carlos Pavón Romero.

Uno de los aspectos más originales del volumen es la atención a trayectorias humanas: académicos desplazados, exiliados –por ejemplo, académicos republicanos españoles– que hallaron acogida en universidades americanas; migraciones intelectuales; redes transatlánticas de enseñanza e investigación; y especialmente la integración de estos flujos en la vida universitaria de destino.

Aunque América es el centro principal del análisis, el libro da fe de que ese modelo se expandió a otras re-

giones. Especialmente destacada es la incursión en África, con dos capítulos dedicados a la Universidad Lovanium de Congo, aunque también el capítulo dedicado al examen del control virreinal de la autonomía universitaria en India. Ello permite reflexionar sobre la globalización temprana del saber, los conflictos entre tradición y modernidad, entre sistema europeo e identidades locales, y las transformaciones culturales que resultaron de ese encuentro.

Puede decirse que, gracias a esta estructura plural, la obra aporta tanto una visión macro –sobre la universidad en la época moderna y contemporánea, en su dimensión histórica e institucional– como micro –a través de biografías, trayectorias, experiencias individuales, redes migratorias y conexiones de conocimiento–.

Gracias a la variedad de autores y disciplinas implicadas, el libro ofrece una lectura multidimensional: mezcla historia institucional con biografías, derecho con sociología, historia cultural con estudios de migración, lo que enriquece el análisis y evita reduccionismos. Este enfoque interdisciplinar resulta muy útil para quienes buscan una comprensión global de la universidad como institución histórica, cultural y social. Por el carácter plural del volumen, resulta imposible cubrir todas las dimensiones (económicas, políticas, culturales, sociales) con igual profundidad: algunas realidades quedan esbozadas más que analizadas en profundidad. El libro

es, en ese sentido, un punto de partida más que un tratado definitivo.

Aunque no logra dar cuenta de todas las geografías o de todas las dimensiones históricas posibles –lo que sería imposible en un solo volumen–, su mérito radica en abrir sendas. Es una invitación a repensar, a investigar, a cuestionar prejuicios, a reconstruir memorias. Como tal, me parece una contribución de interés para historiadores, sociólogos, estudiosos de la educación, investigadores de migración intelectual, así como para quienes, en general, buscan comprender la universidad como fenómeno histórico-global. Los coautores, en su diversidad, aportan riqueza analítica, pluralidad de temas y multiplicidad metodológica. El resultado es un mosaico comple-

jo, pero significativamente coherente, que expande el horizonte habitual de los estudios universitarios.

En suma, este libro constituye una base académica sólida para conocer ciertos avatares de la historia universitaria en el Atlántico y el Pacífico, y repensar la universidad global: su origen, su devenir, sus formas de expansión, sus contradicciones, sus riesgos y sus posibilidades. Recorrer sus páginas es entender que la universidad no es únicamente un proyecto europeo exportado, sino una institución que ha circulado, mutado, resistido y renacido más allá de Europa, formando parte de procesos culturales e históricos globales.

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ARMANDO PAVÓN Y YOLANDA BLASCO GIL (Coord.), *Los costes de la libertad intelectual en universidades de México y España*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2024, 675 pp.

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Integran el libro *Los costes de la libertad intelectual en universidades de México y España* 19 capítulos y un epílogo titulado: “Diálogo con Mariano Peset sobre historia del derecho”. El Prólogo lo escriben los dos coordinadores del volumen y en él se explica tanto la aportación del mismo a los estudios de historia de las universidades como la formación de un amplio grupo de investigadores especializados en el tema, en España y México, que se han dedicado a organizar congresos, publicar libros y consolidar una comunidad académica con afinidades compartidas entre varias universidades, principalmente la de Valencia y la UNAM. El Prólogo destaca el impulso dado al tema desde 1987 por Mariano Peset, con trabajos pioneros y a partir de la organización de las primeras reuniones y congresos en ambos países. Menciona también la creación más reciente, en 2014, gracias a la iniciativa de Yolanda Blasco Gil (UV) y de Armando Pavón (IISUE, UNAM), del seminario internacional “Universidad, cultura y poderes públicos. Siglos XVI al XX”.

Cierra el libro una excelente entrevista de Yolanda Blasco y Fernanda Peset a don Mariano Peset, padre

de Fernanda, sobre la que volveré más adelante.

El libro confirma que para que surjan temáticas con un sentido más amplio e incluyente, como es aquí la de la libertad de las ideas en el medio académico, se requiere por un lado de una clara visión articuladora y por otro de un trabajo de coordinación de los diferentes intereses individuales con el fin de que se establezca un intercambio entre investigadores y entre todos se refuerce dicha visión articuladora.

Los costes de la libertad intelectual en universidades de México y España va más allá del interés centrado en el estudio histórico de la(s) universidad(es) pues concibe a éstas como espacios que teóricamente salvaguardan la libertad de pensamiento y de expresión. Un suceso de la historia contemporánea, como el de la libertad de cátedra duramente reprimida durante la dictadura franquista, suscita la pregunta de cómo han sido las relaciones entre el poder del Estado (y la Iglesia) y los centros de enseñanza universitaria en otros tiempos, y ello posibilita la visualización de episodios y sucesos que tal vez no habían sido analizados desde dicha óptica. El tema se convierte así en un tema de “larga duración” como se explica en el estudio introductorio, y adquiere una dimensión dentro de una temporalidad mayor que incluye trabajos de especialización y los vincula con otro proceso más propio de la historia de

las ideas y político-social. El libro no sólo expone una visión lineal y acumulativa sino consciente y comprometida con el asunto de la libertad de expresión y el poder del Estado a través del tiempo. Ambos procesos se integran en una perspectiva histórica que reviste interés hoy día en que el papel de las universidades en el mundo globalizado, la inteligencia artificial y la especialización académica –además de afectar los contenidos– invitan a preguntarnos por su lugar y función en el pasado.

Los capítulos del presente volumen tratan sobre el papel que han tenido las universidades y determinados funcionarios, profesores, autoridades, etcétera, vinculados a ellas en las épocas colonial, moderna y contemporánea. Los primeros 7 capítulos tratan distintos aspectos de las universidades de España, Perú y Nueva España en la época “colonial” (siglos XVI y XVII). Si bien la época virreinal cuenta con gran cantidad de especialistas en distintas áreas en México y España, los aquí incluidos se centran en la historia de las ideas en los ámbitos universitarios, y en sus protagonistas, lo cual aporta otros ángulos al estudio de aquellos siglos.

La mayoría de los trabajos tratan temas debidamente acotados y el índice sigue un orden cronológico que en conjunto consiguen dar una visión de “larga duración” (como mencioné antes), y dentro de ésta, estudiar los procesos y cambios significativos que han ocurrido en la vida de las

universidades, profundizar en ellos y dimensionarlos; procesos y cambios como el de la inclusión de las mujeres, la autonomía académica, así como los tiempos de crisis con la universidad cerrada como ocurrió en México en el siglo XIX, por ejemplo (tema que estudia Ambrosio Velasco), o los universitarios perseguidos por la Inquisición y el control ejercido por los “visitadores” de las universidades en el mundo hispánico desde el siglo XVI hasta las dictaduras como ocurrió en el franquismo.

Dos capítulos de especialistas en el tema, ambos de la UNAM, tratan acerca de las universidades alemanas, la de Berlín, fundada a principios del siglo XIX y lo que ocurre con los profesores de filología clásica durante el ascenso del fascismo y el Tercer Reich. De Renate Marsiske, “Libertad académica y libertad de comportamiento para los estudiantes: la propuesta de Friedrich Schleiermacher para la nueva universidad de Berlín (1808)” y de Gonzalo Martínez Licea “El tercer Reich y la antigüedad: la libertad académica frente al Estado” (caps. 9 y 10). Este último estudia entre otros a Werner Jaeger y el vínculo que establece entre la *paideia* griega y el Estado alemán.

El libro presenta casos concretos y aportaciones como las anteriores, útiles ejemplos de la historia comparada que no se cultiva tanto como debería.

Las metodologías y enfoques son diversos y sugerentes. Los estudios

sobre México se centran en su universidad, excepto dos capítulos que estudian la universidad de Michoacán y la de Sinaloa en la época contemporánea:

El capítulo 15: “La integración de las mujeres al proyecto universitario en Michoacán: la primera experiencia coeducativa, 1920-1922” de Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez López de la Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, y el capítulo 16: “De la gestación del proyecto de la universidad democrática, crítica y popular en la universidad del siglo XXI en Sinaloa”, de Dina Beltrán López, de la Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa.

A partir de la lectura de los capítulos del libro que puede hacerse no necesariamente de corrido, destacan los aspectos centrales como la libertad de pensamiento y los mecanismos de coerción de los poderes públicos –Iglesia y Estado– a lo largo del tiempo, pero también dentro de la misma Academia, que finalmente es una institución organizada jerárquicamente, no exenta de controles, vigilancia y burocracia. El castigo, nos muestran estos estudios, no sólo viene de una autoridad externa sino que se practica mediante sutiles (y a veces no tanto) mecanismos al interior mismo de las universidades.

Una observación que se hace en el Prólogo me pareció interesante pues identifica como problema de fondo la pérdida de la libertad (en este caso académica) y se enfoca no en cómo esto afecta de manera diferente a

personas e instituciones sino en las respuestas y alternativas que surgen ante una situación de naturaleza represiva. La frase es aparentemente simple pero entraña una gama de posibilidades al afirmar que: “la forma en que reaccionan las instituciones y los individuos (ante la censura y la expulsión) no es la misma.” (p. 15)

Es interesante saber cómo fue que a partir del estudio de la historia del Derecho en España, y el estudio de los concursos de catedráticos en la universidad novohispana confluyeron hace algunos años las carreras de dos colegas de la universidad de Valencia y de la UNAM, Yolanda Blasco y Armando Pavón, coordinadores del presente volumen. El tema de las oposiciones, los exámenes, la libertad de pensamiento y de cátedra en las universidades de España y México es resultado de muchos años de trabajo en archivos de historia virreinal y moderna y los ha llevado a invitar e incluir a investigadores con intereses afines los cuales se resignifican al formar parte de un tema de más amplio espectro que no tenía tanta visibilidad como ahora.

En *Los costes de la libertad* hay tres trabajos con distintos enfoques sobre el exilio español: el de Eva Elizabeth Martínez sobre Luis Recaséns Sichés, catedrático de filosofía del Derecho en la UV que fue depurado y llegó exiliado a México; el de Claudia Llanos sobre la edición del libro *El mundo de la mujer*, traducido y publicado en 1969 por la editorial

Joaquín Mortiz (editorial fundada por un republicano exiliado, Joaquín Díez-Canedo); y uno más de Yolanda Blasco Gil, Armando Pavón e Ignaci E. Blasco Blasco sobre los profesores españoles exiliados de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM. Creo que efectivamente, como se apunta en el Prólogo, el tema del exilio español adquiere otra dimensión al quedar incluido en el de las universidades y la libertad intelectual.

Los *costes de la libertad* está dedicado a la memoria de Bartolomé Clavero (1947-2022). Una lectura desde México invita a conocer la obra y trayectoria de profesores como él, personas que desarrollaron un fuerte pensamiento crítico al haber vivido durante el franquismo. Muy comprometido con sus ideas, Clavero se especializó en la historia del Derecho y en los derechos de los pueblos indígenas.

El libro cierra con broche de oro y una gran lección como es la entrevista que realizan Yolanda Blasco y Fernanda Peset a Mariano Peset. Tuve la suerte de conocer a Mariano Peset en un viaje a Valencia en 2016 y tengo de él un recuerdo inolvidable. Fui con Yolanda a saludarlo y nos recibió en su casa; después, él vino a casa de Yolanda pues yo había tenido una caída y estuve unos días inmovilizada; una tarde, con Yolanda me mandó un gran robellón, un hongo delicioso que nos alcanzó para una cena casera.

Mariano Peset es catedrático de Historia del Derecho en la Univer-

sidad de Valencia. Cuenta con gran cantidad de publicaciones sobre la historia del Derecho y la historia de las Universidades. Cabe recordar que en 2001 la UNAM le dio el doctorado *honoris causa*. Ahora está jubilado pero hizo muchos viajes a México y tiene muy buenos recuerdos y muchos amigos en nuestro país. Al igual que Clavero, es muy crítico de la historia de España.

Ya Yolanda lo había entrevistado y el texto (“De Alemania a México. Una conversación con Mariano Peset”) está publicado en la revista Pasajes: revista de *Pensamiento Contemporáneo* (2020, núm. 61) de la UV, en acceso abierto.

En la entrevista más reciente, realizada por Yolanda en colaboración con Fernanda Peset, investigadora también con una interesante y destacada formación, Mariano Peset habla de la historia del Derecho en España, de quienes fueron sus maestros y de otras figuras y protagonistas en la Academia, de la depuración de los catedráticos durante el franquismo, de creación de instituciones como el CSIC y del ascenso de figuras como Alfonso García Gallo. Reconoce y lamenta el atraso que esta disciplina sufrió a causa de la dictadura.

Creo que el estudio del compás de espera que la dictadura significó para las universidades españolas, visto por los propios profesores que se vieron afectados, especialmente en el área del Derecho, es notable. En México ha predominado la visión

del exilio español como una aportación al país y a la UNAM, sin demasiada preocupación por lo que había detrás, sin tener mucho en cuenta cuál era la otra cara de la moneda. La experiencia de don Mariano Peset es un ejemplo a seguir de recuperación –informativa, anecdótica y crítica a la vez– de una memoria colectiva que sólo alguien como él y quizás hasta hoy puede contarse.

Bien conducido por las entrevistadoras, don Mariano entra en detalles acerca de las escuelas de Derecho tanto dentro como fuera de España (Alemania, Italia, Inglaterra, Estados Unidos), las visiones generales y los estudios monográficos, el trabajo de archivo; la valía de determinados textos y la poca trascendencia de otros, como algunos manuales de historia del Derecho, las distintas aportaciones de nombres que a veces parecerían no interesar a alguien fuera de la especialidad pero lo que cuenta atañe, entre otros países, a México, pues trata de autores cuyos libros forman parte de los programas de nuestras carreras y de las aportaciones de profesores exiliados como José María Ots Capdequí y Mariano Ruiz Funes.

La entrevista atrapa y fluye; cuenta una historia que no se esconde ni tiene por qué hacerlo a estas alturas. Entre otras cosas, reflexiona sobre la naturaleza de la investigación académica y el trabajo en colaboración. Mariano valora los trabajos realizados con su hermano José Luis, historiador de la medicina –acotan las

entrevistadoras–, y los de su esposa Fernanda Mancebo. Tanto él como sus discípulos defienden el trabajo en equipo.

Colaboré con Juan Gutiérrez sobre universidades medievales y en el estudio preliminar de su edición del *Fuero de Úbeda*. La historia debe hacerse en forma colectiva, con equipos o grupos de investigadores de distinta formación y conocimientos. No se trata de dirigir o coordinar sino de reunirse, debatir para mejorar y completar la investigación. (p. 669).

Su visión es crítica, escéptica y algo desencantada pero honesta y propositiva, resultado de tantos conocimientos y experiencias acumuladas. Contiene además, una autocrítica aleccionadora que todos debemos leer y genera una gran empatía:

Los profesores somos vanidosos y conflictivos, queremos afirmarnos en nuestro trabajo y persona. Sabemos nuestras limitaciones, algunos buscan superar frustraciones a través del estudio, de jóvenes con cierto orgullo de la obra futura, y de viejos con la que realizaron, sea mejor o peor. El novelista sudafricano Coetzee –en su autobiografía, *Youth*– se pregunta si la vida intelectual tiene recompensa [...] Aumenta la soledad o es la vida intelectual su propia recompensa... Otros lo quieren todo, investigar y saber, tener buenas relaciones sociales e intelectuales, ganar dinero, participar en la política y en la sociedad... Investigar, ejercer, brillar... Todo no es posible, produce pobres resultados y mala conciencia: hay que decidir qué es prioritario o preferires, y –si puedes– optar por

una dirección y renunciar a otras...
(p. 646-647).

El libro nos lleva a reflexionar sobre la libertad de pensamiento en el mundo hispánico, mediante el estudio de episodios y sucesos similares, complementarios y contrastados. El contraste más marcado pertenece a la historia reciente de España, o de España y México, si bien México no ha sufrido una afrenta como la que sufrieron los académicos y las universidades con la dictadura franquista.

Enmarcado por dos profesores y hombres de gran valía, Bartolomé Clavero y Mariano Peset, a quienes rinde un muy merecido homenaje, *Los costes de la libertad intelectual en las universidades de México y España* arropa y prestigia a los investigadores del momento presente que reúne este libro.

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