

# CIAN

## REVISTA DE HISTORIA DE LAS UNIVERSIDADES

ISSN: 1139-6628 / EISSN: 1988-8503

[www.uc3m.es/cian](http://www.uc3m.es/cian)

24

Nº 1

2021

*Dossier*

MODELS OF FUNDING, STATE INSTITUTIONS  
AND ECONOMIC TRENDS IN UNIVERSITIES  
(14<sup>TH</sup>-16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)



Universidad Carlos III de Madrid  
Editorial Dykinson

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UNIVERSIDAD CARLOS III DE MADRID  
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Suscripciones y venta: Editorial Dykinson - Meléndez Valdés 61 - 28015 Madrid  
Tel. 915 44 28 46 - e-mail: [info@dykinson.com](mailto:info@dykinson.com)

Maquetación: Juan Carlos López / Versión electrónica: Biblioteca UC3M

Depósito legal: M. 46.047- 1998  
ISSN: 1139-6628 / EISSN: 1988-8503

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DOSSIER

# PRESENTACIÓN

## Models of Funding, State Institutions and Economic Trends in Universities (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

Modelos de financiación, instituciones estatales y tendencias económicas en las universidades (siglos XIV - XVI)

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6155>

This thematic issue of CIAN aims to throw new light into one of the most neglected areas in the History of the Universities field, by addressing the general topic of funding in late medieval and early modern Europe in a comparative approach. This will be done through a set of case studies designed to be comprehensive and representative of different models of state building (Iberian kingdoms, France and Papal State) which translate into different ways by which universities connect to polities.

The scope was initially even broader as the huge and loosely connected territory of the Empire should have been represented in this special issue, and will be in a volume that is already being prepared. Unfortunately the pandemic conditions reflected negatively in the preparation resulting in a somewhat shorter version of what had been planned. All the responsibility for that falls necessarily on the organizer and not on the authors or the edi-

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\*Some of the research reflected in this paper has been conducted as a part of an FCT funded project ECONOMIA STUDIUM. Funding, management and resources of the Portuguese University: A comparative analysis (13<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), PTDC/EPH-HIS/3154/2014.

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tors of CIAN who all did their best to surpass the inconveniences caused by the pandemic environment.

In this framework two main questions were put to test. Firstly, how contrasting origins reflect on patterns of economic behaviours: does a university controlled by the pope operate in a dissimilar fashion from one that is managed by a monarchy? How do universities operate in a much less centralized political atmosphere like that of the Iberian societies, particularly in the case of the Aragon's crown? Secondly, we tried to assess how and to what extent the funding of universities was impacted by conjuncture. Are there different regional patterns in Europe in this period? Observation will be here framed by the general economic growth in Europe from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards after a secular deep economic recession and by the opportunities given by the age of discoveries and by markets operating at a global level. The Spanish and Italian cases will be, regarding this issue, a good point of observation. The case of Lisbon/Coimbra, e.g. the Portuguese medieval university to 1537, which has been recently already approached in a previous paper published in this journal as well as in other places, was the starting point for this approach, as the reformation of the *Studium* in the time of D. Manuel is deemed to be directly connected to the economic expansion during the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup>.

This special issue has therefore a pre-history that should be acknowledged here. Firstly, considering the larger picture, a lot to the stimulating intellectual research environment derived from the Atelier Heloise and in particular the 8th edition, on the topic "Universities Funding and Management" held in Lisbon the 22, 23 and 24 of October 2018. Discussions concerning the topic continued in following editions held in Leipzig (2019) and Bologna (2021) all of them allowing comparative work that is in the root of this special issue. That approach was particularly important to change the perspective through which the History of the Universities was dealt with, anchoring institutional and cultural History on data basis and prosopographical analysis. In the Portuguese case, particularly, the History of the Universities had been cultivated since the 18th century but with a clear focus on the Portuguese case and little connection to a larger frame. The Atelier Héloïse, but also a by the national agency, FCT, is to blame for the necessary opening. This is in fact the second acknowledgement that should be made here: some of what is being accomplished around the topic of the economy of the university is due to the project *ÆCONOMIA STUDII. Funding, management and resources of the Portuguese university: a comparative analysis (13th-16th centuries)*, with a team of researchers operating at both national and inter-

national level (Hermenegildo Fernandes, PI, Armando Norte, co-PI, and also Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar and André Oliveira Leitão in the core team, as well as, for instance, Rainer Schwinges as consultant, and Susana Guijarro from the Spanish side). To all of them and to the other researchers in the project this special issue is indebted.

The observation starts with three cases among the main universities in the Papal States, Rome, Perugia and Bologna, arranged here according to a chronological sequence of observation, not of foundation dates.

Carla Frova authors a paper on the financing of the University of Rome, focused on the late Middle Ages, from the foundation bull of Boniface VIII (1303) until 1514 (pontificate of Leo X) in which she discusses a key issue, transversal to some of the cases studies approached here, the relation between the *Studium Curie* and the *Studium Urbis* or, to put it more precisely, between an urban and a state model, in this case pontifical, of management and funding. As the chosen chronology clearly states the emphasis is on the later. Frova opposes a XIVth century without a pope in the city, with the management of the university controlled by urban magistrates, and a largely seigneurial model of financing, based on the revenues of a castle, a city, and taxes on the commerce circulating in the Tiber, to the rebirth of the *Studium* after the return of the popes, with an increasing control by the papal bureaucracy while retaining a certain role to the city's magistrates. A renewal supported by the *gabella*, the tax on the commerce of wine, a third of which is dedicated to fund the university. Investment in buildings to house the university is connected to this source of revenues although a constant fluctuation due to different papal policies will be in order. The huge investment during the papacy of Leo X, although revealing an abundance of resources previously unequalled not be followed by similar policies in the years to come.

Stefania Zucchini through the case of the Perugia *Studium* also tests the dichotomy between different sources of power, urban or papal, chronologically divided roughly between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which first municipal and then seigneurial powers are in control, and the period from 1424 onwards when the city becomes part of the papal state that to exert a certain indirect control on the university. One cannot be but stricken with the coincidence of the Roma and Perugia cases at least as far as the government system is concerned and the chronology of change, a fact due to the evolution of general political conjuncture and the building of a papal state with its own bureaucracy. However in the model of funding some differences can be registered: the Perugia *Studium* retains for foreign students the ancient Bolognese *collecta* system, which allows for a total independence of the



masters from the commune, but in fact is largely based in wages pay through an annual revenue fixed by local authorities. Thus it is possible to observe the level of variation throughout the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One of the main conclusions deals with conjuncture issues: in spite of the important economic fluctuations, the recession of the 14<sup>th</sup> century doesn't seem to affect profoundly the university revenues, as the successive powers chose to secure a stable income to allow for payment of wages, mainly. That same stability shows in the amount of these wages, placed between those of the notaries and lower magistrates and the extremely high revenues of the major city's officials like the podestá. All these factors may explain why a career in the university seems to appeal the old oligarchy whose centrality centrally would be stolen by absorption within the papal state.

The oldest university in and outside Italy, Bologna, observed by Maria Teresa Guerrini for the early modern period, may be considered to enrich the register, particularly since in her paper the cases of Roma and Perugia are always in the background. Although Bologna comes into papal control only in the beginning of the 16th century, privileges assigned to the *Alma Mater Studiorum* almost a century earlier, by Eugenio IV, dealing simultaneously with Roma and Perugia, restructure financially the university assigning the *Gabella Grossa* tax incomes to fund it. In this sense, and in spite of considerable differences, which allow the University of Bologna a substantial autonomy, if compared with the other case studies, an autonomy completely in line with its tradition and prestige, the papal authority and from the 16th century onwards the papal administration, seems to have managed to create a common ground of management and, mainly, funding, who allowed the universities in the centre and northern Italy to manage through different papal policies and economic crisis. This seems particularly noticeable during the great financial and economic crisis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A comparison with the 14<sup>th</sup> crisis should constitute an important line of future research, particularly bearing in mind what has been said about the resilience of Roma and Perugia during the long 14<sup>th</sup> century. Conversely, the signs of crisis in Bologna in the 14<sup>th</sup> show quite the opposite. Another key issue, directly connected to the economic and social role of the university, relates to the ability to promote social mobility, not necessarily created by the wages, but by both the complementary revenues and symbolic power also related to the access to the rank of nobility and/or closeness to papal administration and provincial court society.

The paper by Jean-Philippe Genet, Thierry Kouamé and Stéphane Lamassé offers an altogether different approach to the *Studium Pariensis*, one of the few, with Bologna ad Oxford who can trace it's origins before 1200.

This, together with the impressive size and institutional complexity, the capacity to attract students from all western *Cristianitas*, and the connection to the making of the Parisian capitivity and contribution to the French kingdom bureaucracy, allows to perceive the Parisian case study as an eventual role model for the evolution of the medieval universities, Bologna being the other. A comprehensive survey of the *Studium Parisiensis* data basis, developed by the same team, the paper is centred on the colleges as basis for funding and managing academic life, from a social point of view but progressively, as the Middle Ages fades out, as the focal point of teaching activities, until, by the 16th century, all the schools within the University disappear to give way to the Colleges as sole institutional frame. Exploring the database allows firstly getting a firm grasp on the impact of economic and political conjuncture on academic life and funding, almost all the college foundations pre-dating the great crisis of the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. Clear evidence of the great crisis derived from English occupation, during the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is also available in the sources even if we have trouble to identify the stagnation of the number of *bursae*, a key form of funding the studies of scholars, from 1400 onwards, as a sign of this crisis. Perhaps by this time they had reached an unsurpassable optimum. However, the figures remain impressive and were possible only due to the size of Paris and the ability to recruit all over France and beyond. The limits of this analysis relate to the variable reliability of the sources available: in fact no correlation can be established between the number of *bursae* and the scholars attested in the *Studium* belonging to each college (a deviation probably affected by the preservation of the sources, e.g. by a principle of uncertainty). Important variables are the role of convents and religious houses as a decisive part of the University as well as the role of authorship, measured in each of the colleges to cement the symbolic status of the academic community, attracting students and opening careers in royal bureaucracy.

Finally, we must consider the Iberian case study (or case studies). The approach is here conducted by Susana Guijarro by surveying both Castilian and Aragonese universities which offer a great diversity of solutions when dealing with the relation between monarchies and state building processes on one hand (in which I would include episcopate), and urban powers on the other. This tension has a direct result on different models of control and financing that tend to transform medieval Iberia in a laboratory to observe how the universities interact with kings and municipalities in a space strongly influenced by the environment of a frontier society. In the crown of Castile the material basis is guaranteed by the thirds of tithes and there-

fore constitutes a direct inheritance of the allocation of the income of the dioceses to the war in the frontier with Islam, and can be mobilized in the direction of university foundations when it decreases in intensity. However, urban oligarchies have always had a determining role, as can be seen in the case of Salamanca, in which the Conservatives of the Study are councillors. Thus and without prejudice to the determining role of the central power also in Castile, which incidentally will not be alien to the chronological primacy of the respective Crown, over that of Portugal and Aragon with regard to university foundations, the solution found, which involves the integration of the urban powers in the management of *Studia*, and the participation of episcopal revenues in their financing, seems to allow to solve some of the blockages that for instance (I will add from my point of view) in Portugal paralyzed the development of the Study, at least in the first two centuries of its existence. In the case of Aragon the function of the urban powers in the foundations and government brings the examples of the crown of Aragon (Lérida, Huesca) closer to the foundations of central and northern Italy. The leading role of cities is in line with everything that is known about the weight of urban oligarchies in that crown, a fact that will always limit the robustness of central power, at least compared to other case studies in Iberia (like the Portuguese case). Two points also, seem to be very specific of the Aragonese case: the evocation of the geographical centrality of Lérida as a reason for choosing the seat of the Catalan study; the difficulty of assuming the political multipolarity of the Crown from the university's point of view, which causes most of the foundations to become frustrated or to materialize in the modern period, even in the most important cities, such as Barcelona.

Some of these issues were elsewhere<sup>1</sup> put in comparison with the Portuguese case. A princely foundation (D. Dinis, 1288-1290), this one offers, at least from the point of view of the relationship with urban powers and financing, a contrast with the Castilian and Aragonese cases that could not be clearer. In fact, if from the institutional point of view the *Portuguese Studium* was always under more or less direct patronage from the crown, all the main decisions being made by the king (which includes during the 14<sup>th</sup> century an successive set of displacements between Lisboa and Coimbra), no specific

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<sup>1</sup> A state of the art on the portuguese universiy in CRUZ-COELHO M, FERNANDES H, VILAR H. (2018), "O Studium medieval português: singularidades de um caso periférico". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* [Internet]. 31 Dic 2018 [citado 3 Mar 2019]; 36(2): 83-115 and also in FERNANDES, Hermenegildo; NORTE, Armando; LEITÃO, André de Oliveira. (2016), "Portuguese Studium and Portuguese Scholars in the Middle Ages: Some Remarks on a Research Strand and its Databases", *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 19/1 (2016), 27-56.

funding from royal or local taxes was ever implemented. Instead, revenues from a progressively narrowed list of churches seem to be the main source of funding during the early period, a system that proved to be inefficient by the beginning of the 15th century, mainly because the economic crisis and the harsh devaluation marking the monetary system by that period placed a threat to the survival of this very peripheral *Studium*. Solutions came through a not entirely successful attempt to connect the funding to ecclesiastical benefices, but mainly through the appointment of a Protector, Infant Henry the Navigator, with huge financial resources at hand, mainly derived from an immense patrimony and from a fair slice in the profits of expansion and commerce in the Atlantic. The pursue of this policy by D. Manuel allowed for an unprecedented growth of the *Studium* in the beginning of the 16th century. The crown, and not urban elites, who always had a difficult relation with the scholars, saved Portuguese university from the late medieval crisis.

From all these different case studies, in Italy, France and Iberia, one could draw some joint preliminary remarks.

Firstly, the impact of the should be observed from the point of view of the diversity of situations in accessing information but also as a showcase to observe different institutional funding traditions. Thus the processes of building the Archive are not only determined by historical accidents, like the sack of Rome in 1527, but also by different degrees of institutionalization that imply considerable variations in the documents produced within the government of the universities and also among the preservation choices (the example here could be the great differences concerning matriculation registers or expenditure rolls). Connection to the urban government secures production and preservation of registers, like in the case of Perugia, but even in the bigger universities like Paris, the diversity of situations among colleges determines an uncertainty that compromises a precise reconstruction of the academic community. This is even truer in the medieval Iberian universities and particularly in the case of Lisboa/Coimbra, lacking completely for that period matriculation records or accounts.

A second key issue, allowing direct comparison, concerns the sources of income, that is to say, the core model/models of funding. It seems that from these case studies, three different models, not always in complete opposition, may be deduced. The first one uses allocation of commercial and or urban taxes to the funding of the schools that in the case of the papal universities comes to replace by the early 15th century seigneurial revenues (in Roma, for instance, revenues of a *civitas* and a *castrum* and the tax on tiberine fluvial commerce). The other one uses ecclesiastical benefices to

fund the universities. That had been attempted before the 15th century but it is with Martin V that it becomes a more widespread practice. That is the case of Bologna but also of the Portuguese university that had been using it, with variable rates of success since the late 13th century. Finally, one cannot minimize the role of the city funding, relevant in the case of Perugia or of the Aragonese universities, a model that must be explained by strong autonomous urban traditions, which powers operating at a larger level, like the kingdoms or the papacy, must accommodate when, throughout the 15th and early 16th century, taking a solid grasp at urban level.

The centrality of the *Bursa* system, directly connected both to colleges, convents and religious houses, deals with students revenues and support systems, but must not be separated, that is obvious, from the issue of universities' funding. The case study of the *Studium Parisiense* makes completely intelligible how *bursae* become a central part of the funding procedures, allowing paying for the master's wages, as colleges progressively become the heart of the academic system.

A third issue, here briefly addressed, derives from the previously stated and concerns a comparative ground of analysis to assert an economic basis for the Homo Academicus social status. A set of data comes from the rich Italian sources. Even if much of the prestige derived from attending or teaching at the university is of symbolic nature and is based both on charisma and social networking, as Pierre Bourdieu has demonstrated through the case study of the French 19th and 20th century Hautes Écoles, the material issues cannot be eluded. As demonstrated in some of the papers professor's wages are not negligible putting some of them between the higher and the lower magistrates in the cities. But the range is very wide and the model of remuneration complex: incomes in Bologna, for instance, include beside the salaries other sources of revenues (private lessons and being part of examination committees). Nevertheless the salaries of professors would form the bulk of the structure of expenditure, like in Roma or Perugia.

The fourth issue is perhaps the key one: conjuncture, or how universities, as long standing institutions survived and dealt with economic cycles, particularly the recession of the lower Middle Ages. Oddly enough one can argue that the degree of exposure seems to be lower than expected. That seems to be the case of Perugia but also of Paris, which manages to stabilize a trend of growth at a high level, stagnation and accommodation replacing in this case recession (relative stagnation in the number of new colleges in Paris reflect closely a conjuncture of crisis after 1360 and also in the first half of the 15th century due to the Hundred Years War). However, an overall movement

of institutional reform results from the crisis, which accounts for a different behaviour in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Relevant results will imply a broader sample and a more precise analysis of several variables: the complex income system of both universities and academic corpora, the evolution in the size of academic staff, the cost of living in each period and city, bearing in mind important regional variations (like Braudel and Spooner demonstrated for the early modern period, the prices of some essential goods like wheat being several times higher in southern Europe than in, for instance, Poland).

A final remark concerns capitivity and state building. As above stated many of the examples mirror the relation between urban community and *Universitas*. Some others are directly connected to royal decree and are closely linked to central control this being the case of most Iberian universities, particularly in Castile but also in Portugal. Overall participation in the processes of state building through an intertwining with royal or papal bureaucracy can be acknowledged in most if not all of case studies. Nevertheless this observation doesn't imply participation in the creation of capitalities. To put it bluntly: most of the cities here documented with universities will not accommodate enough centrality variables to become capitals, political and intellectual protagonism not always matching. Besides the obvious case of Roma, which I think should be put aside, the exception is the case of Paris. As demonstrated in the Paris team paper, the Studium will have a non negligible impact on the consolidation of that capitivity. The other case, of course, would be the Portuguese *Studium* and the role of Lisboa until 1537.

# The Financing of the University of Rome (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

## La financiación de la Universidad de Roma (siglos XIV-XV)

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Recibido: 19/04/2021  
Aceptado: 25/04/2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6160>

*Abstract:* In recent years there is a growing interest in historiography by the universities that developed in territories of the Roman Church at the end of the Middle Ages. Although we can affirm that universities that develop in this area during the modern age are “Pope’s universities”, this was not the case in the Middle Ages. The works on the University of Perugia, also on the University of Rome, reveal the dualism between city and curia, between academic work and papal tutelage, between municipal management, city life and the presence of the Church. And if we focus on the financing of the University of Rome, questions also arise related to the role of municipal governments in determining the financial policies of the university. This article

*Resumen:* Se aprecia en los últimos años un interés creciente en la historiografía por las universidades que se desarrollaron en territorios de la Iglesia Romana a finales de la Edad Media. Si bien podemos afirmar que existieron universidades papales en la edad moderna no fue así en la Edad Media. Los trabajos sobre la universidad de Perugia, también sobre la universidad de Roma, dejan ver el dualismo entre ciudad y curia, entre el trabajo académico y la tutela papal, entre la gestión municipal, la vida de la ciudad y la presencia de la iglesia. Y, si nos centramos en la financiación de la Universidad de Roma, también surgen cuestiones relacionadas con el papel de los gobiernos municipales en la determinación de las políticas financieras de

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will address the financing of the Studium Urbis by public authorities to observe its management capacity in the specific and spatial coordinates of the University of Rome.

*Keywords:* pope's universities; University of Rome; funding; *Studium Urbis*.

la universidad. Este artículo abordará la financiación del Studium Urbis por parte de las autoridades públicas para observar la capacidad de gestión de la misma en las coordenadas específicas y espaciales de la Universidad de Roma.

Palabras clave: universidad papal; Universidad de Roma; financiación; *Studium Urbis*.

In recent years, among historians who deal with Italian universities in the late Middle Ages, interest has increased in those universities that developed in territories under the dominion of the Roman Church. Can we therefore define them anyway as “universities of the Pope”? Certainly yes in the modern age<sup>1</sup>. For the Middle Ages it is not really like that. In the works dealing with the university of Perugia, from the classical book of Giuseppe Ermini to the most recent research, the Perugia Study appears first and foremost as a “city university”, and this remains to some extent true even when, in the 15th. century, the management of universities, like all aspects of public administration, is strongly referred to the center of the State<sup>2</sup>. In the case of Rome, the dualism between the city and the Curia, one of the great themes of the city's history, leaves room for opposing interpretations. Also with regard to the university, the debate is always open. In the monumental work of Brigide Schwarz (2013) the city plays almost no role in the history of the university

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express here warm thanks to Professor Hermenegildo Fernandes and to his colleagues and collaborators in Lisbon. A first oral version of this paper was presented at the VIII Héloïse workshop that they organized precisely in Lisbon on 22-23 October 2018. It was thanks to this initiative that we had the opportunity to debate an issue, the funding of universities, which Portuguese scholars have had the merit to put on the agenda of the research in history of universities. In fact, for some time now their works has been providing us with important documentary data and valuable methodical suggestions on this topic.

Regina Lupi, *Gli Studia del papa. Nuova cultura e tentativi di Riforma tra Sei e Settecento* (Firenze, Centro editoriale toscano, 2005); Maria Teresa Guerrini, “Conflitti corporativi fra dottori bolognesi, ferraresi e romani intorno a titoli accademici e professioni (1626-1795)”, in *Un monopolio imperfetto. Titoli di studio, professioni, università (secc. XIV-XXI)* (Bologna, Clueb, 2016), 59-80.

<sup>2</sup> Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia* (Firenze, Olschki, 1971<sup>2</sup>); Stefania Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell'economia del comune di Perugia. I registri dei Conservatori della moneta* (Perugia, Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 2008); Carla Frova, *Scritti sullo Studium Perusinum* (Perugia, Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 2012); *Per la storia dell'Università di Perugia*, ed. Ferdinando Treggiari (Bologna, Clueb, 2015) (estratto da *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 18 (2014)).



founded in 1303 by Boniface VIII: the *Studium Urbis* appears to be almost as a filiation of the *Studium Curie*, the university of the papal court founded in 1245 by Innocent IV<sup>3</sup>. On the contrary, in the recent work by Dario Internullo on the cultural life in Rome in the fourteenth century, the *Studium Urbis*, clearly distinct from the *Studium Curiae*, is presented in all respects as a city university, or rather as the university of the *Commune Romanum* (we can say that such a municipal government was present in Rome from the end of the 12th century until at least 1378)<sup>4</sup>. In dealing with the financing of the University of Rome we will also find ourselves faced with the question: which is the role municipal governments played in determining the financial policies for the university?

I will only speak here of the funding and management of the *Studium Urbis* by public authorities, even if the theme that our Portuguese colleagues launched under the title *Oeconomia Studii* is much larger, as they themselves have shown during our workshops and by various papers.

### *Something about the sources*

Which documents can we refer to for a research on the financing of *Studium Urbis*? The panorama of the sources, too, has the Curia and the city as the two poles of reference:

1. In the papal archives we will have to interrogate both the tradition of the chancellery (which mainly provides us with normative documents) and that of the Apostolic Chamber (which preserves financial documents)<sup>5</sup>.
2. The archives of the Roman commune have undergone remarkable losses, starting from the sack of the city in 1527: we have no archi-

<sup>3</sup> Brigide Schwarz, *Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471* (Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Dario Internullo, *Ai margini dei giganti. La vita intellettuale a Roma nel Trecento (1305-1367)* (Roma, Viella, 2016). For the Quattrocento: *Studieren in Rom der Renaissance*, eds. Michael Matheus and Rainer Christoph Schwinges (vdf, Zurich, 2020); Michael Matheus, *Roma docta. Northern Europeans and Academic Life in the Renaissance* (Regensburg, Schnell – Steiner, 2021).

<sup>5</sup> Brigide Schwarz, "Produkte der päpstlichen Kanzlei als Quellen der Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung: das Beispiel Rom", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 126 (2018), 1-33; Maria Grazia Pastura Ruggiero, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica e i suoi archivi (secoli XV-XVIII)* (Roma, Archivio di Stato, 1984, updated repr. 1987).

val series such as *Consilia* or *Reformantiae*, so useful for reconstructing the history of municipal Studies in other cities, given that they document day by day the activity of municipal governing bodies<sup>6</sup>. An important normative document survives, the municipal statutes of 1363 (reformed by Paul II in 1469)<sup>7</sup>; and, for accounting aspects, few registers reporting payments of professors in the second half of the fifteenth century, which were kept in the *Camera Urbis*, the office that was responsible for managing municipal finances<sup>8</sup>.

3. The archives of the doctoral colleges do not contain, for the period that I will discuss, any material useful for our research. The archive of the college of *Advocati Consistoriales* (consistorial lawyers)<sup>9</sup>, the corporative body which has always played an important role in the direction and administration of the Studio, especially starting from Sixtus IV, retains the roles of the professors, but the first one that has survived as an original is dated 1539<sup>10</sup>. Thanks to a late eighteenth-century edition we can fortunately read in copy the roll of 1514<sup>11</sup>. My analysis stops on this date, that is at the pontificate of Leo X.

<sup>6</sup> Lorenzo Tanzini, "Delibere e verbali. Per una storia documentaria dei consigli nell'Italia comunale", *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 14/1 (2013), 43-79.

<sup>7</sup> *Statuti della città di Roma*, ed. Camillo Re (Roma, Tipografia della Pace, 1880) for the statutes of the fourteenth century; *Statuta urbis Romae* [Rome, Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), about 1471] (istc is00722300) for the statutes of Paul II; cfr. Paola Pavan, "Il comune romano e lo Studium Urbis tra XV e XVI secolo", in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento*. Atti del Convegno Roma 7-10 giugno 1989, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992), 88-100; Andreas Rehberg, "Innocenzo VI, lo status popularis e gli statuti di Roma", *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, 110 (2008), 237-278.

<sup>8</sup> David S. Chambers, *Studium Urbis and gabella studii. The University of Rome in the fifteenth century*, in *Cultural aspects in Italian Renaissance. Essays in honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester-New York, Manchester University Press - A.F. Zambelli, 1976), 68-110, repr. in Chambers, *Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1998); Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978); Maria Cristina Dorati da Empoli, "I lettori dello Studio e i maestri di grammatica a Roma da Sisto IV ad Alessandro VI", *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 40 (1980), 98-147.

<sup>9</sup> Giuliana Adorni, "L'Archivio dell'Università di Roma", in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis*, 388-430; Giuliana Adorni, "Statuti del Collegio degli Avvocati concistoriali e statuti dello Studio romano", *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune*, 6 (1995), 293-355.

<sup>10</sup> *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e altre fonti*, ed. Emanuele Conte (Roma, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> Gaetano Marini, *Lettera al chiarissimo Monsignor Giuseppe Muti Papazzurri già Casali nella quale s'illustra il ruolo de' professori dell'Archiginnasio romano per l'anno MDXIV* (Roma, Michele Puccinelli, 1797).

### *Studium Urbis and Commune*

The period from the foundation to the 30s of the fifteenth century can only be reconstructed in the main lines<sup>12</sup>. About 15 years after the bulls of the popes (Boniface VIII and John XXII) which gave the Studio its original form, we have documentary evidence that the task of choosing professors and setting their salaries was entrusted to the *Romana Fraternitas*<sup>13</sup>, an organism that associated the local clergy of the city<sup>14</sup>. In addition to the *syndici* and *rectores* of this brotherhood, the budget of the Studio was administered, during the fourteenth century, by the *Conservatores Camerae Urbis*, which were, with the Senator, the highest elected officials in the municipality of Rome<sup>15</sup>, the *Camera Urbis* being, as we have said, the city's financial department. The university management was therefore entrusted to two bodies that represent very well the municipal identity of Rome, from both an ecclesiastical and a secular point of view. And these are the authorities we see engaged in the government of the *Studium Urbis* for almost the entire fourteenth century, during the long absence of the popes from Rome.

The city university is financed with the money paid by the city of Tivoli and the castle of Rispanpani: a *civitas* and a *castrum* that were subjected to Rome during the expansion of the city in the countryside and so obliged to pay an annual tribute to the *Urbis* Chamber. In addition, from the very beginning, we find mentioned the income deriving from the duty imposed on goods that entered Rome through the Tiber river, a fiscal income which,

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<sup>12</sup> Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Roma detta comunemente la Sapienza* (Roma, Pagliarini, 1803-1806, repr. Bologna, Forni, 1971). In addition to the work of Renazzi, for a recent overall illustration of this period see Lidia Capo, "I primi due secoli dello *Studium Urbis*", in *Storia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia de "La Sapienza"*, eds. Lidia Capo and Maria Rosa Di Simone (Roma, Viella, 2000), 3-34.

<sup>13</sup> On October 15, 1319, at the request of a group of students (all mentioned by name) the *rectores* and *syndici* of the *Fraternitas* elect Matteo canon of S. Crisogono to read the Decretals in the academic year 1319-1320. The salary, of one hundred florins, will be provided «tam a Tyburtinis, quam etiam a tenentibus arcem Respanpani, et etiam a Ripariis»: Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 261-263: 262, doc. xxv.

<sup>14</sup> Giovanni Ferri, "La *Romana Fraternitas*", *Archivio della Regia Società romana di storia patria*, 26 (1903), 431-466; A. Ilari, "La *Romana Fraternitas*", *Bollettino del clero romano*, 40 (1959), 259-265; Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, "Romana Ecclesia e Clerus Urbis. Considerazioni sul clero urbano nei secoli centrali del medioevo", *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 122 (1999), 85-104: 102.

<sup>15</sup> Michele Franceschini, "I Conservatori della *Camera Urbis*. Storia di un'istituzione", in *Il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo in Campidoglio*, ed. Maria Elisa TITTONI (Pisa, Pacini, 1997), 19-27.

more precisely regulated, will later be fundamental for the financing of the university<sup>16</sup>.

The budget was spent almost exclusively on the salaries of the professors, since the *Studium* had at the time no buildings to be maintained, and a very little non-teaching staff to be paid (perhaps only a *bedellus*). But for the first half of the fourteenth century, and beyond, documents give us only fragmentary information. On the contrary, the profile of the *Studium Urbis* appears well defined in the Statutes of 1363, which fix the number of lectures in each discipline and the maximum amount of professors' fees. In book III, chapter 87(86) of this document, the staff of professors lecturing during each academic year is described as follows. Two professors are required in the disciplinary area of civil and canon law; they must necessarily have a doctoral degree and each of them will receive up to 200 gold florins per year as a salary. 150 florins are the maximum salary for the professor of medicine, and 40 for the teacher of grammar and logic: these two do not have to be doctors, but they must prove to be experts and capable in their respective disciplines<sup>17</sup>. Five teaching posts, for a maximum total budget of 750 florins: it is certainly not the project of a large university – and then, to what extent has it actually been applied? The statute of 1363 expresses in any case the interest of the municipal government in providing Rome with an institution of higher education. With regards to management, in these statutes the *Romana fraternitas* no longer appears, while the *Conservatores* are now flanked

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<sup>16</sup> See above, n. 13. The term *riparii*, which occurs in the document, indicates the custom officers, and derives from *ripae*, the moorings for boats located along the Tiber river where the tax collection was carried out. Cfr. Maria Luisa Lombardo, *La dogana di Ripa e Ripetta nel sistema dell'ordinamento tributario a Roma dal medioevo al sec. XV* (Roma, Centro di ricerca, 1978).

<sup>17</sup> This description of the teaching staff is based on the text of the statutes published by Camillo Re (see above, n. 7). In reality, the tradition of the text of the statutes, of which four manuscripts survived, leaves some problems open. In particular it is possible that there was only one professor of canon law, and two of civil law; some manuscripts add a *lectura of Digestum vetus*, but do not mention that of the *Codex*; it is also surprising that there is no teaching of the *Decretum Gratiani*. In this regard see some observations in Schwarz, *Kurienuniversität*, where however the importance of the city statutes for the history of the *Studium Urbis* is underestimated. Cfr. Andreas Rehberg, and Anna Modigliani, *Cola di Rienzo e il comune di Roma*, II. Anna Modigliani, *L'eredità di Cola di Rienzo. Gli statuti del Comune di popolo e la riforma di Paolo II* (Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004); Paola Pavan, "Intorno agli Statuti di Roma del 1363", *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 112 (2015), 367-388; Sandro Notari, "Statuti di Roma tra governo repubblicano e signoria pontificia", in *Roma 1347-1527. Linee di un'evoluzione*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Roma 13-15 novembre 2017, eds. Massimo Miglio, and Isa Lori Sanfilippo (Roma, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2020), 157-176.

by another city magistrature, the *Executores iustitiae*, by four councilors, by thirteen worthy men chosen to represent the districts of the city and by four students of law<sup>18</sup>. As for the money with which the wages must be paid (in two installments), it comes from the tribute of the city of Tivoli and from the income of the customs levy of *Ripa Romea*, on the Tiber river; nothing more is said of the tribute of the *Castrum Rispanpani*<sup>19</sup>.

The fourteenth-century statutes are the clearest evidence of the Roman municipality's desire to place the *Studium* under its own authority: in this sense they reveal numerous similarities with the statutes of other Italian cities that hosted a municipal *Studium*, for example Bologna (where however the statutes deal with the *materia Studii* much more widely), or Perugia<sup>20</sup>. But, in Rome, the project that inspired the fourteenth-century statutes did not last long. The return of the popes from Avignon would soon radically change the balance of power within the city.

### *The Popes and the management of the Studium Urbis in the fifteenth century*

During the period of the Schism, we have no evidence of significant innovations in the management of the *Studium Urbis*. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Innocent VII promoted a reform that focused on cultural aspects, opening the university to the humanistic revolution; but he did not deal, as far as we know, with economic matters<sup>21</sup>. Martin V was very active in university politics on a European scale: specifically on economic issues he intervened to allocate to the universities shares of income from ecclesiastical properties (e.g., in Italy, for Turin, Siena, Florence); as regards the granting of

<sup>18</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 104.

<sup>19</sup> «[...] quod salarium debeat eis solvi de pecunia quae per Tyburtinos solvetur in principio mensis novembris et de pecunia redditus et proventus Ripe Romee, videlicet medietas in principio mensis novembris et alia medietas in festo Resurrexionis Domini»: *Statuti della città di Roma*, 245.

<sup>20</sup> In the Bolognese statutes of 1288, book VIII is entirely dedicated to the *Studium*: *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, eds. Gina Fasoli and Pietro Sella (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937-1939); for this topic in the later statutes: Giovanna Morelli, "De Studio scholarium civitatis Bononie manutenedo. Gli statuti inediti del Comune (1335-1454) per la tutela dello Studio e delle Università degli scolari", *L'Archiginnasio*, 76 (1981), 79-163. For Perugia: Erika Bellini, *L'università a Perugia negli Statuti cittadini (secoli XIII-XVI)* (Perugia, Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Gordon Griffiths, "Leonardo Bruni and the Restoration of the University of Rome (1406)", *Renaissance Quarterly* 26 (1973), 1-10.

benefits, its bull of June 7, 1419, which extended the possibility of enjoying the benefits to clerics who studied all the disciplines, was perceived as an important turning point, particularly in Bologna; but no such measures are known for the university of Rome<sup>22</sup>. Certainly, however, the reform of the offices of the Curia, which this pope carried out decisively, laid the foundations for a centralization of the administrative offices that also interested the university<sup>23</sup>. By the early 1430s, the cardinal chamberlain (*Camerarius*), head of the Apostolic Chamber in the papacy's financial administration, gained the control of the city as a whole, while the *Camera Urbis* was in practice closely supervised by papal authority<sup>24</sup>.

A radical revolution in the financing of the university took place with Eugene IV (1431-1447), whom university tradition considers the re-founder of the *Studium Urbis*<sup>25</sup>. On 10 October 1431, within a few months of his accession, the Venetian Pope addressed to some high members of the Roman clergy and to the municipal authorities a letter, which in the first part reissued the foundation bull of Boniface VIII, but in the second contained a provision entirely new<sup>26</sup>. To finance the *Studium*, instead of the tribute paid by the Tiburtini (evidently an unreliable resource, given the recurrent rebellions of this city), a new tax was imposed, or rather a surcharge on the tax paid on imported wine, the *gabella vini forensis*. The tax rate was set at 20 percent, while the previous was 3.7 percent. The money collected is intended to provide the *Studium* with a budget which in the documented years is estimated at around 2,000 florins per year. We have to consider that the *gabella* on the imported

<sup>22</sup> Carla Frova, "Martino V e l'Università", in *Alle origini della nuova Roma. Martino V (1417-1431)*. Atti del Convegno Roma 2-5 marzo 1992, eds. Myriam Chiabò et al. (Roma, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo – Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento, 1992), 187-203.

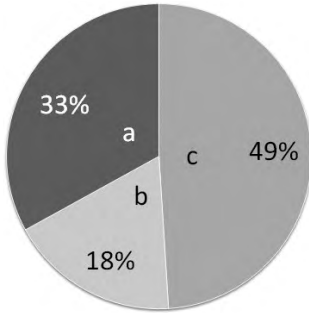
<sup>23</sup> Brigide Schwarz, "L'organizzazione curiale di Martino V ed i problemi derivanti dallo Scisma", in *Alle origini della nuova Roma*, 327-345.

<sup>24</sup> Maria Luisa Lombardo, *La Camera Urbis. Premesse per uno studio sulla organizzazione amministrativa della città di Roma durante il pontificato di Martino V* (Roma, Il centro di ricerca, 1970). From a general point of view, the marginalization of the *Camera Urbis* in the fifteenth century is underlined by the stimulating paper of Luciano Palermo, *Un conflitto mancato: l'emarginazione della Camera Urbis nel XV secolo*, in *Congiure e conflitti. L'affermazione della signoria pontificia su Roma nel Rinascimento: politica, economia e cultura*. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma 3-5 dicembre 2013, eds. Myriam Chiabò, Maurizio Gargano, Anna Modigliani and Patricia Osmond (Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2014), 39-54.

<sup>25</sup> Alfonsus Ciaconius, *Vitae et gesta summorum Pontificum [...] necnon S.R.E Cardinalium* (Romae, apud Stephanum Paulinum, 1601), 906.

<sup>26</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 117-118 and 274-276 (edition); Schwarz, "Produkte der päpstlichen Kanzlei...", 1-33 describes the complicated *iter* of the document in the papal chancellery and underlines the importance of this analysis in interpreting it correctly.

wine or *gabella Studii* constituted a relevant quota (around a third) of the indirect taxes collected in Rome<sup>27</sup>. To give an example, let's see how much the funding of the *Studium Urbis* weighed on this tax income in 1479.



*Revenues of indirect taxes collected by the Camera Urbis in 1479*

- a) *gabella vini forensis* or *gabella Studii* (tax on imported wine, to be used for the financing of the *Studium*);
- b) *gabella vini* (tax on wine produced within the territory of Rome);
- c) Other *gabellae*.

ASR, *Camera Urbis*, regg. 99, 116; see Lombardi, *Dalla dogana* cit. (n. 17), p. 135.

In a financing system that has acquired a certain stability – apparently for the first time –, it was possible to foresee the eventuality that a residual asset would occur at the annual closing of the budget. In a second bull of February 7, 1432 the pope disposes as follows:<sup>28</sup> after having paid the salaries of the professors and all other expenses that were needed for the functioning of the *Studium*, the *Reformatores* must use the residuals for the purpose of building and operating a college for poor students<sup>29</sup>. The bull stresses that the consent of the city authorities – *Conservatores* and three of the *Capitaregionum*<sup>30</sup> – is always required in all decisions relating, such as this, to the allocation of the university funds. Even in a phase of advanced centralization of papal power, it is important that the legal formalities to be observed and the language of the chancellery continue to present the *Studium Urbis* as an institution strongly linked to the municipal authorities. As for the forecast of a budget surplus, this too is probably a propaganda motive: in fact we have no

<sup>27</sup> Daniele Lombardi, *Dalla dogana alla taverna. Il vino a Roma alla fine del medioevo* (Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2018). Cfr. Ivana Ait, “Il finanziamento dello *Studium Urbis* nel XV secolo: iniziative pontificie e interventi dell'élite municipale”, in *Storia della Facoltà*, 35-54.

<sup>28</sup> The bull is edited in Giuseppe Maria Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano et eius professoribus* (Romae, typis Antonii Fulgonii apus S. Eustachium, 1751, repr. Bologna, Forni, 1971): II, 576-579.

<sup>29</sup> «[...] domum seu habitationem aut collegium pro pauperibus inibi collocandis scholaribus construi, aedificari, possessionesque et domos vel alia immobilia bona ad ipsius domus seu collegii opus emere». Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano*, II, 578-579.

<sup>30</sup> The *capitaregionum* headed the 13 administrative districts into which the city was divided; for the *conservatores* see above, n. 15.

proof that a university college ever worked in those years. It is true, however, that at this point, disposing the allocation of university funds, the pope no longer thinks only of the salaries of the professors. Reissuing 37 years later the bull of 1432, Paul II will remember that during the pontificate of Eugene IV buildings to be used as schools were bought near the church of S. Eustachio «at the expense of the aforementioned *Studium*»<sup>31</sup>. The idea that the city university should have a permanent home is thus connected with its regular funding; at the same time those buildings must be the visible sign, in the city space, of the importance of this institution. An institution to which, from several points of view, Eugene IV's project aims to ensure in the first place stability.

In fact, however, discontinuity will long remain one of the characteristics of the *Studium Urbis* - as indeed many other aspects of the life of a city whose government depends on the alternation of pontificates. We do not know whether Eugene IV's successor, Nicholas V, further increased the university's funding, as he claims he did in a document dated July 15, 1447<sup>32</sup>. This statement is actually intended to justify his decision to relieve the canons of St. Peter from the obligation to finance the studies abroad of young Romans, but it is not supported by documentary evidence<sup>33</sup>.

The history of the Roman university under successive popes shows that Eugene IV's reforms had not definitively resolved the problem of funding. At the time of Pius II, the Capitoline Chamber, burdened with many expenses, was unable to ensure an adequate salary for professors, who consequently neglected or abandoned teaching. The *Conservatores* address a petition to the pope, who finds no other solution than to reduce the number of chairs<sup>34</sup>. Sixtus IV is consigned to the history of the University of Rome as the pope who systematically stole resources from the *Studium* to finance wars and above all the grandiose building sites destined to profoundly transform the face of the city. According to the chronicler Stefano Infessura - who gives voice to a widespread sentiment in the *milieu* of municipal Rome - this pope

<sup>31</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 126.

<sup>32</sup> *Collectionis bullarum, brevium, aliorumque diplomatum Sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae* tomus II. *Ab Urbano V ad Paulum III* (Romae, Jo. Maria Salvioni, 1750), 114-115; cfr. Dominicus Georgius, *Vita Nicolai V pont. max.* (Romae, ex Typographia Palearinorum, 1742); Alexis Gauvain, *Il Capitolo di San Pietro in Vaticano dalle origini al XX secolo*, II. *Il patrimonio*, (Città del Vaticano, ECV - Edizioni Capitolo Vaticano, 2011), 613.

<sup>33</sup> The only other document of Nicholas V dealing with the *Studium Urbis* is a confirmation of the Bonifacius VIII's foundation bull. Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 277-278.

<sup>34</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 192; the *breve* of 1458 is edited at p. 280 doc. ix. Paul II, publishing in 1469 a new edition of the statutes of Rome (see above, at n. 7), confirms all the provisions of Eugene IV concerning the Studio, explicitly mentioning those relating to financing.



showed great greed and utter lack of speech in financial matters. The most mistreated were the university professors, who were repeatedly denied the salary promised to them by the pope together with the *Camerarius* and the *Reformatores*. In reality, the source itself suggests that the pope was rather reproached for not remedying the chronic insufficiency of ordinary funding for the *Studio* with extraordinary donations<sup>35</sup>. On the other hand, it is precisely during the pontificate of Sixtus IV that we have some of the rare extant evidences of how the financing of the *Studium* actually worked in order to ensure the payment of professors. Among the registers of the *Camera Urbis*, a series of accounting records kept in the State Archives of Rome, only five, in the fifteenth century, account for the payments of professors from the *gabella Studii*<sup>36</sup>: three of them concern the years 1473-1474 and 1481-1484<sup>37</sup>. In these years the funding ranged from 2.000 to 3.000 florins. Little is known about the economic situation of the *Studium* under the successor of Sixtus IV; however, we know that at least on one occasion Innocent VIII did what his predecessor had refused to do: draw on the funds of the Apostolic Chamber to remedy the difficulties of the *Camera Urbis*<sup>38</sup>. An important change in the spending strategies of the university funds occurred with Alexander VI. As we have seen, Eugene IV had already thought of allocating some resources to the construction of buildings for university schools. Now the Borgia pope spends a huge amount of money on the project of a new grandiose building. Between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the new century, work started on what, completed and modified over the centuries, we still know today as the "Palazzo della Sapienza". The financial aspects of the enterprise are documented by two *motuproprio* of the pope; these documents prove that the money (one thousand ducats in 1497 and another thousand the year after) came from the university's usual financing system, i.e. from the tax levied on the proceeds from the sale of the imported

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<sup>35</sup> In Infessura's opinion, the pope's behavior was particularly unfair towards the professors «quibus per eum una cum camerario et reformatore salaria statuta sunt. Ipse promisit se velle omnino solvere, et postquam ab eis servitium recepit, in fine anni non puduit eos decipere et insolutos dimittere, et pecunias debitas ad illud exercitium ac per eum sepissime promissas illis denegare et in alios usus convertere»: Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, ed. Oreste Tommasini (Roma, Forzani e C. 1890), 158. It should be noted that Infessura taught civil law for a long time in the *Studium Urbis* under Sixtus IV: Dorati da Empoli, "I lettori...", 117.

<sup>36</sup> Bibliography above, n. 8.

<sup>37</sup> Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Camera Urbis*, regg. 118, 123, 124. The other two registers (125 and 126) concern the pontificate of Alexander VI (years 1495 and 1496): Dorati da Empoli, "I lettori..."

<sup>38</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 196.

wine in Roman taverns<sup>39</sup>. We have no documentary evidence of a piece of information that is provided by a literary source: the money to finance the Sapienza building came also - it is said - from a tax imposed on the Jews<sup>40</sup>. Julius II showed some interest in the *Studium Urbis* only towards the end of the pontificate, and always dealing with financial matters. In a brief dated March 28, 1512, he confirmed the provisions of Eugene IV, canceling however the disposition relating to the financing of a student college; in a second one, on April 27 of the same year, he intervened to increase the budget of the Studio, dictating rules for its administration by the municipal officials and allocating the surpluses to the restoration of the walls and to other public works<sup>41</sup>.

Before concluding, let me just briefly mention the financial aspects of the reform of the university of Rome promoted by Leo X<sup>42</sup>. Shortly after the coronation, the Medici pope presents himself as the re-founder of the University of Rome in a bull of November, 5, 1513, in which financial problems are carefully considered<sup>43</sup>. In this subject, he reconfirms all the provisions of Eugene IV: the same will happen shortly afterwards for Bologna (bull of December, 10)<sup>44</sup>. In both cases the bull clearly expresses the idea that the success of a *Studium* depends primarily on the financial commitment with which it is supported. Less than a year later Leo X reconfirms the same con-

<sup>39</sup> «de pecuniis vini ad minutum dicti Studii»: both documents are edited by Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 281, docs. XI and XII; cfr. 197-199.

<sup>40</sup> Paulus Cortesius, *De cardinalatu*, ([Senis], Symeon Nicolai Nardi, 1510), 104r. Does Cortesi, who writes shortly after the events, under Julius II, refer to the tax charged to the Roman Jews, which financed the city's Carnival celebrations, or to the *vigesima* imposed on Jews residing in the papal states? No tax imposed on the Jews by Alexander VI results in the volume of Kenneth R. Stow, *Community and State. The Jews and the Fiscal Foundations of Early Modern Papal State* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1982). On the contrary Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1564-1521* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990), 1455-1460 points out some documents with which Alexander VI requires the *vigesima* to the Jews of the Papal State, but among the purposes of the levy there is no funding of the university. here are no references to Cortesi's information in Anna Bedon, *Il palazzo della Sapienza di Roma* ((Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2016).

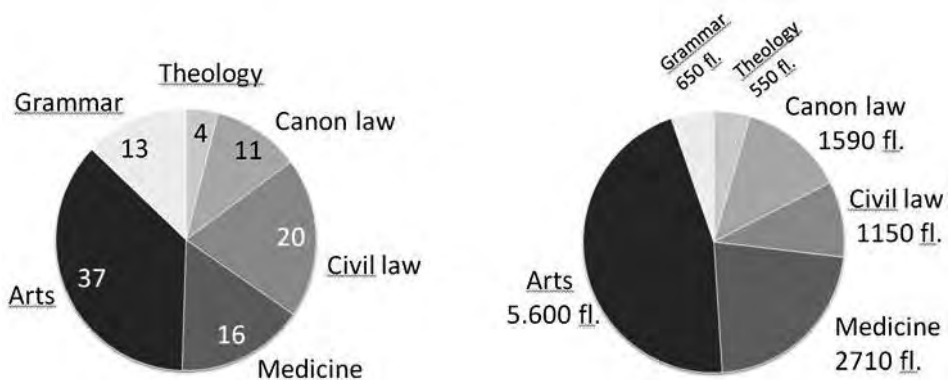
<sup>41</sup> Renazzi, *Storia*, I, 199-201.

<sup>42</sup> For more details, I would like to refer to Carla Frova, "Leone X e l'Università di Roma", in *Leone X. Finanza, mecenatismo, cultura*. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma 2-4 novembre 2016, eds. Flavia Cantatore et al. (Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2016), 3-20.

<sup>43</sup> The bull is edited in Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano*, II, 582-589; cfr. I, 198-200; Renazzi, *Storia*, II, 30-31. In the opinion of Brigide Schwarz, «eine grundlegende Konstitution zur Stadtuniversität, als die sie immer angesehen wird, ist dies nicht»: Schwarz, *Kuriuniversität*, 387.

<sup>44</sup> Serafino Mazzetti, *Memorie storiche sopra l'Università e l'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, tipi di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1840), 24. Also in this case Leo X refers to a document of Eugene IV.

viction in a bull of September 20, 1514. Rejoicing at the sudden and extraordinary flowering of the *Studium* that took place following the provisions of 1513, the pope attributes it to the fact that it was richly funded, and that precise rules for the administration of the budget have been established<sup>45</sup>. With a similar commitment, he now intends to restart work on the Palazzo della Sapienza: most of this second bull is dedicated to this topic. But the most representative monument of Leo X's university policy is the *rotulus professorum* for the year 1514. The role is the result and the implementation tool of a grandiose project of restoration of the *Studium Urbis*<sup>46</sup>. We can not dwell on this document here: a first impression can be obtained if one compares the funding of the professorships in 1514 and in the years of Sixtus IV: the number of teachers is almost the same (101 in 1514 and, e.g., 107 in 1473-1474); but while with Sixtus IV, as far as we know, the budget never exceeded 3,000 florins, in 1514 it amounts to 12,250 florins. As regards the role of Leo X, the graphs below allow to evaluate the criteria by which salaries were established in the various disciplinary areas:



*Number of teachers in the different disciplinary areas in the rotulus of 1514.*

*Funding of the different disciplinary areas in the rotulus of 1514.*

According to Paolo Giovio, a Leo's biographer, the enormous financial effort that the pope decided to face enabled the *Studium Urbis* to compete

<sup>45</sup> Success depends primarily on the fact that «vectigal Gymnasii Romani, multis antea annis ad alios usus distractum, eisdem [i.e. to Roman citizens] restituissimus». The bull of 1514 is edited in Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano*, II, 589-594; cfr. Renazzi, *Storia*, II, pp. 28-30.

<sup>46</sup> Gaetano Marini, *Lettera*.

with the most famous Italian universities of the time, Bologna and Padua<sup>47</sup>. Giovio is a man of letters who works within the papal court, and his judgment on the state of the Roman university is obviously not entirely reliable. More importantly, the happy moment the *Studium* experienced under Leo X was in any case an ephemeral episode. In reality, the pope did not succeed (and perhaps did not even intend to) endow the *Studium* with financial stability. Its measures appear rather as acts of a demanding undertaking of cultural patronage, which, despite declaring themselves motivated by concern for the *utilitas orbis christiani* and the *profectus incolarum Urbis et circumpositae regionis*, have as very evident objectives both the promotion of cultural interests which Giovanni de Medici has cultivated since childhood and which he shares with a refined court, and the magnification of the person of the pope, of his family and of his pontificate.

### *Research perspectives*

I conclude with a brief reference to the commitments that await us for the future.

The research, in my opinion, must continue in two directions:

1. The registers of the *gabelle*. First of all, it is necessary to prepare a complete and reliable edition of those parts of the registers concerning the payments of the doctors. And then to exploit them more in depth as documents for the *Studium's* economic and social history. They were studied in the past century, in the pioneering works of David Chambers, Egmont Lee, Cristina Dorati da Empoli, especially with the aim of enriching the knowledge of the intellectual *milieux* of Rome during the second half of the fifteenth century<sup>48</sup>. More recently they have provided material for the study of some very interesting aspects of the economic life of Rome: the activity of the merchants who contracted the collection of the *gabella*, which were in

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<sup>47</sup> «Accitis undique gravissimarum artium professoribus [Leo] gymnasium ita instauravit ut neque Bononiensi neque Patavino, vel doctorum prestantia, vel auditorum concursu cedere videretur»: Paulus Iovius, *De vita Leonis decimi pont. max. libri quatuor*, his ordine temporum accesserunt *Hadriani Sexti Pont. Max. et Pompeii Columnae Cardinalis vitae* (Florentiae, ex officina Laurentii Torrentini, 1549), 67.

<sup>48</sup> Dorati da Empoli, "I lettori...".

- many cases great financial entrepreneurs<sup>49</sup>; and recently the wine trade<sup>50</sup>. It is now necessary to continue working on the prosopography that the registers allow us to build (as we have seen numbers, for a small university, are quite high), with two aims: to better place the problem of funding the university in the context of the city's economy, and to analyze, for each of the doctors that will be possible to identify, what importance the teaching profession had in determining its economic profile and its social location.
2. Second resource to be valued: the *Diversa Cameralia* of the Vatican Archives. The work of Cristina Mantegna, who edited a small number of documents from this series, has opened a road that remains still largely to be covered<sup>51</sup>. Among the documents of the *Diversa Cameralia*, many are payment orders, with which the *Camerarius* of the Apostolic Chamber instructs the officers of the *gabella Studii* to pay the salary to a single doctor. These allow us to enrich the prosopography of the teaching staff (unfortunately multiple mandates, concerning not one but more doctors, have not yet been so far found for Rome). We can also see the same *Camerarius* or minor officers responding to petitions sent by individual professors, by municipal authorities, by the *Reformatores* of the *Studium*. From this kind of sources the many financial problems that afflict the *Studium* and its members emerge clearly, perhaps a bit magnified: poorly paid teachers (typically the grammarians) can barely survive: those who are paid irregularly complain, and threaten to suspend teaching; a lucky teacher obtains an *ad personam* payment from the pope; or again: the contractors of the *gabelle* commit irregularities or even thefts in the money management; or the pope assigns the resources of the university for other use, provoking the grievances of the academic authorities.

A final remark. As these sources testify, economic issues have great importance in the dialectic between the Curia and the city which we have said of at the beginning. This situation, *mutatis mutandis*, can be found in many Italian states of the late Middle Ages, where the *signore* or prince is often faced with municipal claims that make a banner of the defense of the local universi-

<sup>49</sup> Ait, "Il finanziamento...", 35-54.

<sup>50</sup> Lombardi, *Dalla dogana alla taverna*.

<sup>51</sup> Cristina Mantegna, *Lo Studium Urbis e i Diversa Cameralia dell'Archivio Vaticano. Nuove edizioni di documenti universitari romani* (Roma, Viella, 2000).

ty and its “municipal” tradition. This gives rise to conflicts that require repeated mediations. In Roma those mediations were certainly very difficult for the city component of the university. Because the tradition of the city university was not so strong: the municipal phase of the history of the *Studium* (the fourteenth century, the century of a city “without a pope”) had not been, *somme toute*, very brilliant. And also for an institutional particularity: in Rome, that, we must admit it, is not really a city like any other, happens what can not happen in any other university: the chancellor of the Studio is here, from the origins, the *Camerarius* (or the *Viccamerarius*), that is the highest authority of the Apostolic Chamber and summit of the whole papal administration<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> On the functions of the *Camerarius* towards the University see Renazzi, *Storia* I: 121-123.

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# The Financing of Perugia University (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

## La financiación de la Universidad de Perugia (siglos XIV-XV)

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Recibido: 03/03/2021  
Aceptado: 23/04/2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6157>

*Abstract:* This paper aims to illustrate the funding mechanisms of Perugia University in the Middle Ages, and how they have influenced the origins and the functioning of the institution itself. Perugia University was founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the local government, which in the second half of the thirteenth century had already established public Lectures of Physics and Law at the expense of the municipality. Starting from a general insight about the relationship between the city government and the local University, the present essay will analyse two different aspects of the University's funding: 1) the relationship between the city's economic and political situation and the

*Resumen:* Este artículo tiene como objetivo ilustrar los mecanismos de financiación de la Universidad de Perugia en la Edad Media y cómo han influido en los orígenes y el funcionamiento de la institución. La Universidad de Perugia fue fundada a principios del siglo XIV por el gobierno local, que en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII ya había establecido Conferencias de Física y Derecho a cargo de la ciudad. Partiendo de una visión general sobre la relación entre el gobierno de la ciudad y la Universidad local, el presente trabajo analizará dos aspectos diferentes de la financiación de la Universidad: 1) la relación entre la situación económica y política de la ciudad y la financiación de la Universidad; 2) las cuestiones más técnicas,

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University's funding; 2) the more technical questions, such as the records this funding study is based upon.

*Keywords:* social and economic history; universities & colleges; Europe history.

como los registros en los que se basa este estudio de financiación.

*Palabras clave:* historia económica y social; universidades y colegios; historia de Europa.

This paper aims to illustrate the funding mechanisms of Perugia University in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and how they have influenced the origins and the functioning of the institution itself. The analysis consists of two parts: the first deals with general questions concerning the University's role within the city's institutions, which has been reconstructed on the basis of the funds given by the city government to certain academic sectors, subject matters, and university professors. The second part deals with more technical questions such as the records this funding study is based upon.

Until the first half of the twentieth century, historians that studied the beginnings of Italian and European universities focused their interests on the most important "cosmopolitan" teachers and on the most ancient institutional documents about universities<sup>1</sup>. Instead, from the late seventies of the last century, historians' attention has shifted towards the relationship between universities and local societies: the university model has been therefore interpreted as an important stage in the late Middle Ages cultural renewal, and as a socially relevant phenomenon. With this new approach, historians have studied the institutional and socio-economic contexts that have conditioned the origin and evolution of the individual universities. On the other hand, historical investigations have also concerned the university role in social transformations<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As an example, cf. Mauro Sarti and Mauro Fattorini, *De claris Archigymnasii bononiensis professoribus a saeculo XI usque ad saeculum XIV* (Bologna: Ex officina regia fratrum Merlani, 1888-1896); Carlo Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei collegi dello Studio bolognese* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1888); Heinrich Denifle, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* (Parisii: Ex Typis fratrum Delalain, 1889-1897).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Manlio Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università nell'età del diritto comune* (Catania: Ed. Giannotta, 1979; Roma: Il Cigno GG Edizioni, 1992<sup>2</sup>); *Università e società nei secoli XII-XVI. Nono Convegno Internazionale del Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte (Pistoia, 20/25 settembre 1979)* (Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte-Viella, 1982); *Cultura universitaria e pubblici poteri a Bologna dal XII al XV secolo, Atti del II Convegno (Bologna, 20-21 maggio 1988)*, ed. Ovidio Capitani (Bologna: Comune di Bologna, Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1990); *Sapere e/è potere. Discipline, Dispute e Professioni nell'Università Medievale e Moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto, Atti del IV Convegno (Bologna, 13-15 aprile 1989)*: I. *Forme e oggetti della disputa delle arti*, ed. Luisa Avelini; II. *Verso un nuovo sistema del sapere*, ed. Andrea Cristiani; III. *Dalle discipline ai ruoli sociali*, ed. Angela De Benedectis (Bologna: Comune di Bologna, Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1991);

Specifically, in the last fifty years the interactions between universities and political power have been studied with particular attention to the moments when a certain institutional structure has stabilised or, conversely, weakened, evolving into a new system of power.

At least for the Middle Ages, few in-depth studies on the financial aspects have been done<sup>3</sup>. In Perugia, a large record of registers containing payments to university professors made this type of analysis possible for the late Middle Ages and early modern times<sup>4</sup>. This work is based on the information contained in these registers, supplemented with information from other sources.

### *Payment methods used in Italian universities between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries*

The different remuneration systems used in the first Italian universities will be briefly outlined, before dealing more specifically with the Perugia case.

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Andrea Romano and Jacques Verger, *I poteri politici e il mondo universitario (XIII-XX secolo)*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale (Madrid, 28-30 agosto 1990)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> The financial aspects of the universities of Florence, Siena, Rome and Turin have been studied, limitedly to some disciplinary sectors or very short chronological periods; studies of a general nature are still lacking. Cf. Gene Brucker, "Florence and its University, 1348-1434", in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: essay in memory of E. H. Harbison*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969): 220-236; William M. Bowsky, *Le finanze del Comune di Siena, 1287-1355* (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1976; orig. ed. *The Finance of the Commune of Siena*, Oxford: Clarendon press, 1970); Katharine Park, "The readers at the florentine Studio according to comunal fiscal records (1357-1380, 1413-1446)", *Rinascimento* II, 20 (1980): 249-310; Maria Cristina Dorati da Empoli, "I lettori dello Studio e i maestri di grammatica a Roma da Sisto IV ad Alessandro VI", *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 40 (1980): 98-145; Paolo Rosso, "Forme di reclutamento del corpo docente. I "rotuli" dei professori e dei salari", in *Alma felix Universitas Studii Taurinensis. Lo Studio generale dalle origini al primo Cinquecento*, ed. Irma Naso (Torino: Alma universitas Taurinensis, 2004): 235-268; Peter Denley, *Commune and Studio in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena* (Bologna: Clueb, 2006), 88, 91, 93.

<sup>4</sup> For a systematic analysis of the *Conservatori della Moneta* registers and of the *Camera Apostolica* registers, cf. Stefania Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell'economia del comune di Perugia* (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 2008); Daniele Sini and Stefania Zucchini, "Il finanziamento pubblico dello Studio perugino nella documentazione della Camera apostolica (secoli XV-XVI)", *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 18 (2014): 126-137; Stefania Zucchini, "«aliquibus virtutibus and eruditionibus ornati»: *Studium* e cultura umanistica nella Perugia di Maturanzio. Con un'appendice documentaria sugli insegnanti del settore "umanistico" nel Quattrocento", *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Umbria CXVI* (2019): 51-89 (68-89).

To frame the matter correctly, it is necessary to start from the corporative component of medieval universities. In fact, students and teachers' *universitates*<sup>5</sup> of late Middle Ages had a corporative dimension, which was perhaps the main element of novelty and originality of universities, compared to the monastic and episcopal schools of early Middle Ages and to those developed in other cultural settings, such as the Islamic universities.

Students and teachers' *universitates* were part of a productive society, organised in a corporative way: see, for instance, the *Artes* of central-northern Italy and the guilds of the German world. Teachers and students' inclusion in this general context is very significant, as it means that teaching was considered a real profession: the idea that teaching could be one's main income had begun to occur with the city schools of the twelfth century and was fully developed in the universities<sup>6</sup>. Among these city schools, the Bolognese law schools attracted large numbers of students, who directly paid their professors with the *collecta* system<sup>7</sup>. In the cities where spontaneous initiatives evolved into universities, the *collecta* system continued to be used. The same happened in the universities originated from student migrations. Later, when the political institutions took over the management of the *Studium*, the *salarium* began to be regularly used.

The cases of the first two Italian universities are representative: in Bologna, the student *universitates* continued to be protagonists in the life of the *Studium*, while, at least initially, the municipality played a completely marginal role. Consequently, the *collecta* system lasted for a long time in Bologna, where doctors defended the *collectae*, because they ensured economic independence from the *commune civitatis*<sup>8</sup>. Instead, in Padua a 'mixed' system was established, in which the *salarium* soon joined the *collecta*, which however remained the most widespread method of payment<sup>9</sup>.

In the cities where the *Studia* were founded by political power, such as Perugia, Florence and Siena, but also Naples, or Rome, since the beginning the main form of remuneration, although not the only one, was that of

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<sup>5</sup> On the distinction between *schola*, *universitas* and *studium*, cf. Manlio Bellomo, "Scuole giuridiche e università studentesche in Italia", in *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento nell'Italia medioevale (secoli XII-XIV)*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Lecce-Otranto, 6-8 ottobre 1986)*, ed. Luciano Gargan and Oronzo Limone (Galatina [LC], Congedo, 1989): 121-140.

<sup>6</sup> These were the medieval intellectuals who used to teach for a living, like Abelardo, mentioned by Le Goff. Cf. Jacques Le Goff, *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Age* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università*, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università*, 150.

<sup>9</sup> Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università*, 141, 148-153.

wages<sup>10</sup>. The direct financing of the *Studium* represented an expensive but certainly successful strategy: on the one hand it guaranteed the control of the teaching staff, which no longer had autonomy from political power, on the other it represented an incentive for students, who could attend a course of study at reduced economic costs. Many “minor” centres, such as Modena, Vicenza and Vercelli, used the salary method since the thirteenth century, however not systematically, because in some cases the public authorities were unable to guarantee a constant functioning of the university institution; in others the city was used to pay only the most famous readers<sup>11</sup>.

When the Perugia city government began to work to set up medical and law courses, it immediately understood that it was necessary to make investments to secure renowned teachers and the enrolment of foreign students.

*The ‘Populus in Government’: the foundation of Perugia University and the structuring of university courses*

Perugia University was founded by the local government at the beginning of the fourteenth century, although the municipality had already planned to create a local University in the second half of the thirteenth century<sup>12</sup>. At

<sup>10</sup> For the history of the *Studium Urbis* and *Studium Curiae* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, cf. Carla Frova, “L’Università di Roma in età medievale e umanistica con una nota sulle vicende istituzionali in età moderna”, in *L’archivio di Stato di Roma*, ed. Lucio Lume (Firenze: Nardini, 1992): 245-265; Carla Frova and Massimo Miglio, “«Studium Urbis» e «Studium Curiae» nel Trecento e nel Quattrocento”, in *Roma e lo “Studium Urbis”: spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento, Atti del Convegno (Roma, 7/10 giugno 1989)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992): 26-39 (35); Rino Avesani, “Appunti per la storia dello «Studium Urbis» nel Quattrocento”, in *Roma e lo “Studium Urbis”: 69-87 (69-70)*; Brigitte Schwarz, *Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013); for the cultural life of Rome in the fourteenth century cf. Dario Internullo, *Ai margini dei giganti. La vita intellettuale dei romani nel Trecento* (Roma: Viella, 2016); for the foundation of the Naples *Studium* cf. Girolamo Arnaldi, “Fondazione e rifondazioni dello Studio di Napoli in età sveva”, in *Il pragmatismo degli intellettuali. Origini e primi sviluppi dell’istituzione universitaria*, ed. Roberto Greci (Torino: Paravia/Scriptorium, 1996): 105-123.

<sup>11</sup> For thirteenth-century “minor” universities, cf. Carla Frova, “Città e «Studium» a Vercelli (secoli XII e XIII)”, in *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento*: 85-99; Carla Frova, “Crisi e rifondazioni nella storia delle piccole università italiane durante il medioevo”, in *Le università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX), Convegno internazionale di studi (Alghero, 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996)*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Jacques Verger (Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1998): 29-47; Bellomo, *Saggio sull’Università*, 144-145.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Attilio Bartoli Langeli, “All’origine dello Studio: politica e cultura della città”, *Annali di storia delle Università italiane* 18 (2014): 13-24.

that exact time, in fact, Perugia became internationally relevant for the papal *curia's* stays. The mobility of the papal *curia* in the thirteenth century is well known and much studied: Orvieto and Perugia were two of the popes' favourite destinations of the thirteenth century. They resided in these cities for more than fifteen years (almost eight years in Orvieto and seven and a half years in Perugia)<sup>13</sup>. Hundreds of people arrived in the city together with the pope.

Like any current international event, papal stays involved many burdens (providing housing, arranging urban decor, and, in some cases, even constructing new buildings), but they also provided undoubted advantages, both from an economic point of view and in terms of image: any provincial centre could acquire an international resonance.

In 1265, the conclave in which Pope Clement IV was elected was held in Perugia. The new pope spent the first months of his pontificate in the Umbrian city (from 11th September 1265 to 19th April 1266)<sup>14</sup>.

In 1266, when the pope left the city, the municipal principal magistrate, the *podestà*, *Albertinus de Buschettis*<sup>15</sup>, proposed to the members of the major council the creation of a *Studium, expensis communis*<sup>16</sup>. In the second half of thirteenth century, public Lectures of Law, Arts and Medicine were instituted and, finally, in 1308, Clemente V granted the title of *Studium generale*<sup>17</sup> to the institution. From that moment on, the municipality tried to increase and improve the *Studium* in order to bring Perugia closer to the most famous cultural centres.

In Perugia, as in the other Italian universities, the two main disciplinary areas were Law and Arts & Medicine. The theological teachings, in which the University of Paris excelled, in Italy were generally given in mendi-

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Francesco Frascarelli, "La Curia papale a Perugia nel Duecento", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Università degli Studi di Perugia*. 2, *Studi storico-antropologici XV*, n.s. I (1977/1978): 154-213; Stefania Zucchini, "Sedi della curia pontificia, 1198-1304", in *Arnolfo di Cambio, una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, eda. Vittoria Garibaldi and Bruno Toscano (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2005): 39-51.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Zucchini, "Sedi della curia pontificia", 48.

<sup>15</sup> About *Albertinus de Buschettis*, cf. Vittorio Giorgetti, *Podestà, capitani del popolo e loro ufficiali a Perugia (1195-1500)* (Spoleto, CISAM, 1993), 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> «In reformatione consilii, facto partito per potestatem [...] Item concordavit consilium quod litere mittantur pro facto Studii expensis communis undique per civitates et loca convenientia». Sonia Merli and Andrea Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare». L'università di Perugia nei Consigli e riformanze del Comune, 1: *1266-1389* (Perugia: Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Umbria, 2010), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 4-14; Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, *Due papi e un imperatore per lo Studio di Perugia* (Perugia: Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Umbria, 2009), 51-55.



cant convents. Law was typically divided into *ius canonicum* and *ius civile*: for each there was a very specific canon of texts, which we find almost identical in all the universities of the time, including that of Perugia.

The situation of the Arts & Medicine sector was more complex, as the Arts sector varied greatly in the fields of study from place to place<sup>18</sup>. For example, in the thirteenth century, in Padua, Bologna and Oxford, the *quadripartitum* was widely studied. In Bologna, Cicero's rhetorical works were also added to it. In Paris, students continued to learn grammar on the ancient works of Donato and Prisciano, and on more recent texts; the main discipline, however, was dialectics<sup>19</sup>.

In the Perugia statute of 1366, which also contained the *Ordinamenta Studii*, the following teachers were included: three professors of civil law, three of canon law, seven of medicine, one of *ars notaria* and «quinque qui legant et doceant gramaticam videlicet unus pro qualibet porta»<sup>20</sup>. The reference to the didactic action (*docere*) and to the *portae* (which indicate the territorial divisions of the city) allows us to understand that these teachings were intended for citizens and not for foreigners. It is very likely that grammar courses represented an intermediate level between basic and higher education, and, indeed, there was no specific degree in grammar. The same went for the *abacus*, provided by the city statutes starting from 1389 and attested with continuity throughout the fifteenth century, when famous *abacisti* came to Perugia from the Tuscan area<sup>21</sup>.

In the *Ordinamenta Studii*, there was no reference to the Arts: philosophy and logic were included among the courses provided for the medical *curriculum*, while in other universities they were part of the artistic syllabus<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> For the teaching of the Arts in the Middle Ages, cf. *L'enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts (Paris et Oxford, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. *Actes du colloque international (Paris, 18-20/5/1995)*, ed. Olga Weijers and Luis Holtz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997); John M. Fletcher, "Le Facoltà d'Arti", in *Le Università dell'Europa. Le scuole e i maestri. Il Medioevo*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Jacques Verger (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1994): 103-138; Jacques Verger, "Remarques sur l'enseignement des arts dans les Universités du Midi à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Annales du Midi. Revue de la France Méridionale* XCI (1979): 355-381.

<sup>19</sup> Jacques Verger, *Le Università del medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982; orig. ed. *Les universités au Moyen Âge*, Vendome: Imprimerie des Universitaires de France, 1973), 96-98. The quote is taken from page 97.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Erika Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia negli Statuti cittadini (secoli XIII-XVI)* (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 2007), 15 e 49. The quote is taken from page 49.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 103-105.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia*, 49.

In the mid-fourteenth century, the medical *curriculum* of Perugia *Studium* was very rich: the previously mentioned courses of logic and philosophy were joined by *medicina teorica*, *medicina pratica* and surgery. The main division was between *medicina teorica* and *medicina pratica*: this division probably originated in Bologna in the sixties of the thirteenth century. Tiziana Pesenti wrote about it: «Tutti i testi afferiscono alla teorica, la pratica si basa solo sul terzo libro del *Canone*, che costituisce un vasto trattato di patologia generale secondo lo schema “de capite ad calcem”, e su altre sezioni dell’opera. [...] La conoscenza teorica è dunque preliminare e formativa alla pratica e la specificità della pratica sta nel suo carattere di scienza diretta all’*opus*, in grado, ossia, di guidare la prassi»<sup>23</sup>.

Medicine was accompanied by surgery, which in Italy probably formed a subject of study already in the first medical schools<sup>24</sup>. It is only from the end of the fourteenth century that physics became part of the medical syllabus<sup>25</sup>.

*Budget, professors and salaries in the second half of the fourteenth century: the universities shaped by the cities*

Since the very beginning, the city government used to pay a salary to all the teachers of the *Studium*<sup>26</sup> and to the students’ *rector*, who was considered to be at the service of the municipality and had the task of «inquirere contra omnes et singulos doctores salariatos a dicto communi non servantes statute ipsorum et pacta inita cum dicto communi»<sup>27</sup>. This strong link between the University and the city resulted in the marginalisation of the student body. As already pointed out, in the first Universities, like Paris and Bologna, in

<sup>23</sup> Tiziana Pesenti put forward the hypothesis that this subdivision was made by Taddeo Alderotti, active in Bologna since 1264. Cf. Tiziana Pesenti, “Arti e Medicina: la formazione del curriculum medico”, in *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento: 153-177* (173).

<sup>24</sup> Pesenti, “Arti e Medicina”, 174-175.

<sup>25</sup> Pesenti, “Arti e Medicina”, 158-160. In Florence, physics has been among the teaching disciplines since 1357. Cf. Park, “The readers at the florentine Studio”, 253.

<sup>26</sup> For example, in the city council of 21<sup>st</sup> July 1309 «Prefati domini potestas et capitaneus et priores Artium [...] consuetuerunt et ordinaverunt prout [...] Iohannellum Vaglentis nuntium dictorum priorum [...] ad rapresentandum et exhibendum reverendis viris doctoribus electis per commune Perusii [...] ad legendum in civitate Perusii in iure canonico et Decretum [...] et ad promictendum eidem salarium de quo fuerit in concordia cum eo secundum formam litterarum communis Perusii eidem trasmissam». Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 26.

<sup>27</sup> Bellini, *L’Università a Perugia negli Statuti cittadini*, 52. Regarding the *rector* of the students see also Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 61-64.

the thirteenth century, students would pay their lessons directly to their teachers using *collectae*, and, because of that, they could choose their own teachers<sup>28</sup>. In Perugia, as well as in other municipal realities, students would not pay, or they paid very little, for university lessons.

In 1319, the city government established that no teacher that was salaried by the municipality could request any form of contribution from local students, in consideration of the huge expenses incurred by Perugia for its own *Studium*<sup>29</sup>. This provision was reaffirmed in the city statutes of 1366 (I, 276)<sup>30</sup>, without any specification concerning foreign students, who probably had to pay a fee to the readers if requested. The amount of this fee was specified in the city's statutes of 1400 (I, 216): at the beginning of the course, each foreign student had to pay the teacher a gold florin *pro collecta, sicut ab antiquo consuetum est fieri*<sup>31</sup>. Therefore, whilst Perugia students could attend the university for free, foreigners had to pay a fee for each course, the amount of which, however, was not particularly high. As a term of comparison, bear in mind that to stay in the student house of *Domus Sapientie* a student had to pay 40 or 50 florins for a three-year period (*pro medio tempore*) and double for the six canonical years<sup>32</sup>.

As a result of the Perugia University funding system, teachers could not be chosen by the students<sup>33</sup>. They used to be called by the municipal office *Savi dello Studio*<sup>34</sup>, and they used to be paid, initially, by the *Ufficiali*

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<sup>28</sup> Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università*, 141-143; Verger, *Le università del medioevo*, 61; Pierre Riché and Jacques Verger, *Nani sulle spalle di giganti. Maestri e allievi nel medioevo* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2011), 128.

<sup>29</sup> Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 122-123.

<sup>30</sup> Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia negli Statuti cittadini*, 43.

<sup>31</sup> Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia negli Statuti cittadini*, 125.

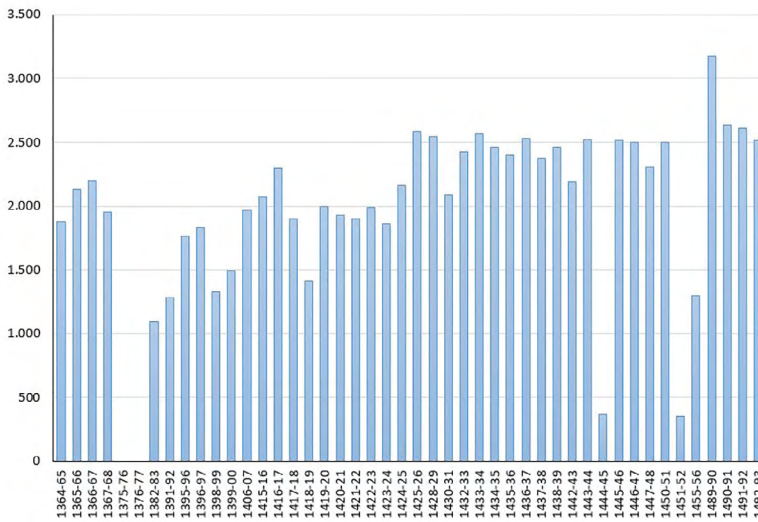
<sup>32</sup> Stefania Zucchini, «Studenti, copisti, cuochi, panettieri. I tedeschi nel collegio studentesco della *Domus Sapientiae* di Perugia (sec. XV)», *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 99 (2019): 150-200 (166-167).

<sup>33</sup> By the end of the 12th century, in cities like Modena some teachers were paid by the municipality. Bellomo, *Saggio sull'Università*, 143-145; on Perugia cf. Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia*, 43, and Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 7-13.

<sup>34</sup> On the *Savi dello Studio* office, cf. Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia*, 47-55, 78-80, 117-118; Adamo Rossi, "Documenti per la storia dell'Università di Perugia. Albo dei professori del secondo e terzo quarto del sec. XIV", *Giornale di erudizione artistica pubblicato a cura della R. commissione conservatrice di Belle Arti nella provincia dell'Umbria* 6 (1877): 165-166, 314; Danilo Segoloni, "Osservazioni sugli statuti del 1400 dei Conservatori della Moneta del Comune di Perugia", *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* 45 (1948): 155-178 (156, 158); Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 11-12.

*dell'Abbondanza* and, later, from 1364, by *Conservatori della Moneta*<sup>35</sup>. The economic and educational aspects were intrinsically linked. Consequently, *Savi dello Studio* would appoint the teaching staff on a year-by-year basis, negotiating with the individual *doctores* and *magistri* the engagement terms, including the amount of salary.

From the second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the annual budget of the institution was approximately 2,000 gold florins and was set by the city council, more specifically by a restricted council chaired by the *podestà*.



Tab. 1. Perugia University budget (1364-1511)

Data in the graph are taken from Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 27 (nt 83), 112, and Sini and Zucchini, "Il finanziamento pubblico dello Studio", 126-137. For the following academic years, we have only partial data: 1444-1445, 1451-1452, 1455-1456, 1506-1507.

With this funding system, the University of Perugia was able to compete with the nearby Universities of Florence and Siena. During the fourteenth century, Florence invested between 1,500 and 2,000 florins a year in the *Studium*, spending up to 3,000 florins in 1385; the Siena municipality, on the

<sup>35</sup> On the *Ufficiali dell'Abbondanza* office, cf. Giovanni Cecchini, "Pagamenti effettuati dalla Camera degli Ufficiali dell'Abbondanza a lettori e al personale dello Studio", *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* 58 (1961): 129-138; on the *Conservatori della Moneta* office, cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 175-183.

other hand, set increasingly lower budgets: 3,000 florins in the a.y. 1360-61, 2,500 in the a.y. 1386-87, and 600 in 1398<sup>36</sup>.

The investment analysis shows that Law was the major supported discipline, followed by Arts and Medicine, with Grammar and Maths also in the picture. More specifically, it shows that in almost all academic years taken into account by this study common and canonical Law received more than 50% of the funds allocated to the University and almost always at least half of professorships. In the last ten years of the fourteenth century, the city government ended up investing in Law disciplines 70% of the University's budget (1398-1399), with an average of 67.2% in the five years attested by the sources<sup>37</sup>. In this regard, however, it must be noted that these years were very difficult for the city, with the budget often suffering drastic cuts, which mainly affected non-legal subjects, less related to the city than Law was.

More generally, if among jurists there were not significant wage differences (often due to career progression), in the medical field some theoretical physicians had very high salaries compared to other less celebrated ones and to practical physicians and surgeons, who were appointed to practice in the city as well as reading at the University and who often had rather modest salaries. For example, in 1365-1366 *Iohannes magistri Nicolai de S. Suffia* from Padua<sup>38</sup>, called to the *Lecturae ordinariae* of Medicine, had a salary of 250 florins, while *Durantolus* of master Johan, reader of Surgery, had 10 florins (Fig. 2).

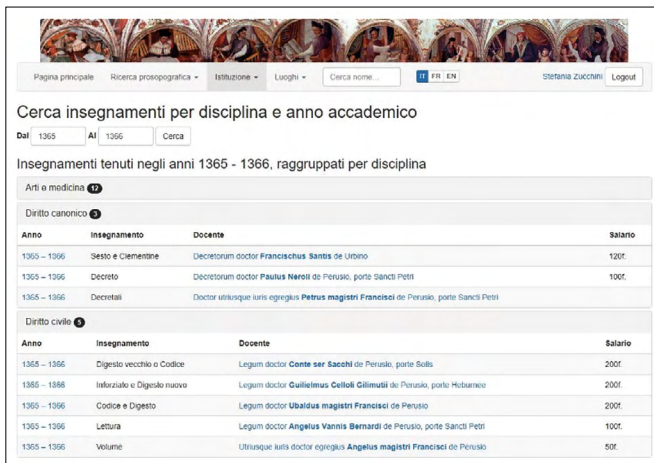
If the University professors' salaries were to be compared to the municipal officers' salaries, it would emerge that the academic career was less remunerative than high-level public offices. In 1365, which was chosen as a sample year, the *capitano del popolo*, the *podestà* and the *maggior sindaco* received for themselves and their *familia* respectively 1,500, 1,450 and 700 florins for six months of work: therefore, the wages of the most important city public offices were much higher than the salaries established for the professors. The wages of lower rank officers were more similar to those of the teachers: for example, in 1365 the city chancellor received 100 florins per semester. Finally, most of the University's teachers had a salary higher than the one given to the notaries, who received between 12 and 18 florins per semester<sup>39</sup>. For example, in 1365-1366, three of the five Civil Law *doc-*

<sup>36</sup> Brucker, "Florence and its University", 222-225; Denley, *Commune and Studio*, 88, 91, 93; Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 23.

<sup>37</sup> Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 66, 113.

<sup>38</sup> On *Iohannes magistri Nicolai de S. Sufia* cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, ad indicem.

<sup>39</sup> For the *capitano del popolo* cf. Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Conservatori della moneta*, 13, cc. 6v, 13rv; 14, cc. 4v, 9r, 11v. For the *podestà* cf. Pe-



Cerca insegnamenti per disciplina e anno accademico

Dal 1365 Al 1366 Cerca

Insegnamenti tenuti negli anni 1365 - 1366, raggruppati per disciplina

Arti e medicina 17

Diritto canonico 5

Anno	Insegnamento	Docente	Salario
1365 - 1366	Sesso e Clementine	Decretorum doctor <b>Franciscus Sanctis</b> de Urbino	120f.
1365 - 1366	Decreto	Decretorum doctor <b>Paulus Neroli</b> de Perugia, porte Sancti Petri	100f.
1365 - 1366	Decretali	Doctor utriusque iuris egregius <b>Petrus magistri Francisci</b> de Perugia, porte Sancti Petri	

Diritto civile 5

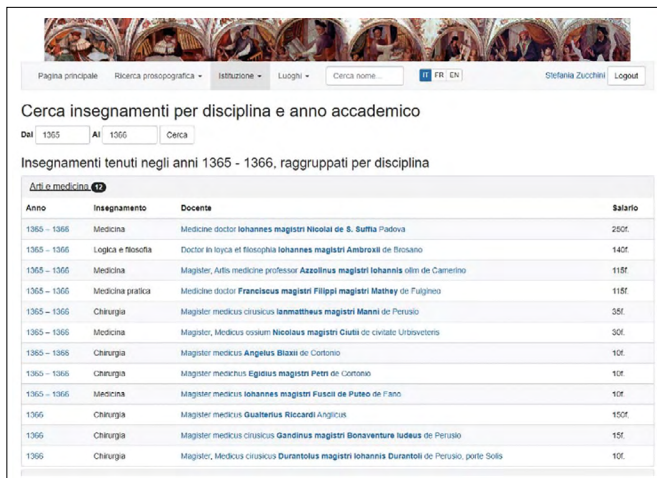
Anno	Insegnamento	Docente	Salario
1365 - 1366	Digesto vecchio o Codice	Legum doctor <b>Cente ser Sacchi</b> de Perugia, porte Solis	200f.
1365 - 1366	Inforziato e Digesto nuovo	Legum doctor <b>Gualterius Ceiloli Gilimuti</b> de Perugia, porte Hiberniae	200f.
1365 - 1366	Codice e Digesto	Legum doctor <b>Ubaldis magistri Francisci</b> de Perugia	200f.
1365 - 1366	Lettura	Legum doctor <b>Angelus Vannis Bernardi</b> de Perugia, porte Sancti Petri	100f.
1365 - 1366	Volume	Utriusque iuris doctor egregius <b>Angelus magistri Francisci</b> de Perugia	50f.

Fig. 1. Salaries of Law doctors in the academic year 1365-1366

Onomasticon (unipg.it) > Institution > Insegnamento per anno accademico (accessed on 2nd March 2021).

Fig. 2. Salaries of Arts and Medicine professors in the academic year 1365-1366

Onomasticon (unipg.it) > Institution > Insegnamento per anno accademico (accessed on 2nd March 2021).



Cerca insegnamenti per disciplina e anno accademico

Dal 1365 Al 1366 Cerca

Insegnamenti tenuti negli anni 1365 - 1366, raggruppati per disciplina

Arti e medicina 17

Anno	Insegnamento	Docente	Salario
1365 - 1366	Medicina	Medicine doctor <b>Iohannes magistri Nicolai de S. Sufra</b> Padova	250f.
1365 - 1366	Logica e filosofia	Doctor in logica et philosophia <b>Iohannes magistri Ambraxii</b> de Bressano	140f.
1365 - 1366	Medicina	Magister, Artis medicine professor <b>Azzolinus magistri Iohannis olim de Camerino</b>	115f.
1365 - 1366	Medicina pratica	Medicine doctor <b>Franciscus magistri Filippi magistri Mathey</b> de Fulgineo	115f.
1365 - 1366	Chirurgia	Magister medicus circusius <b>Iannattheus magistri Manni</b> de Perugia	35f.
1365 - 1366	Medicina	Magister, Medicus costum <b>Nicolaus magistri Ciuili</b> de civitate Uniovetoris	30f.
1365 - 1366	Chirurgia	Magister medicus <b>Angelus Biazzi</b> de Cortona	10f.
1365 - 1366	Chirurgia	Magister medicus <b>Egrius magistri Petri</b> de Cortona	10f.
1365 - 1366	Medicina	Magister medicus <b>Iohannes magistri Fusci</b> de Puteo de Fano	10f.
1365	Chirurgia	Magister medicus <b>Gualtherus Riccardi</b> Angicus	150f.
1366	Chirurgia	Magister medicus circusius <b>Gandinus magistri Bonaventura Iudeus</b> de Perugia	15f.
1366	Chirurgia	Magister, Medicus circusius <b>Durantolus magistri Iohannis Durantoli</b> de Perugia, porte Solis	10f.

tores earned 200 florins a year, while the salaries of the three professors of Canon Law ranged between 100 and 120 florins (see Fig. 1).

Perugia maintained such a relatively high budget in spite of an unfavourable political and economic situation that lasted for all the second half of the fourteenth century.

Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Conservatori della moneta*, 13, cc. 7v, 8v, 13r; 14, cc. 5r, 13r. For the *maggiore sindaco*, cf. Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Conservatori della moneta*, 13, cc. 10v, 11r, 16v; 14, cc. 6r, 7r, 13v. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 24-25.

Between 1360 and 1370, the city continued to invest in the institution, despite repeatedly resorting to very expensive mercenary armies to fight against the troops at the service of the Church<sup>40</sup>.

Ten years later, with an even worse economic situation following the insurgency of Perugia against the Pope, during which, after a few years, the institution had ceased to receive funding<sup>41</sup>, the investments for the University fell to 1500 florins<sup>42</sup>. This cost represented only 1.5% of total expenditure, but it still was a considerable economic effort<sup>43</sup>.

Starting from 1378, Perugia, which had a popular government, experienced a relatively quiet period, and the University slowly returned to function, albeit with great difficulty. A year later, *Savi dello Studio*, who had been trying to reform the University, complained to the major council of the continuing lack of funds, in the absence of which the University – according to the *Savi* – could not function or be renewed, as teachers would refuse to teach without wages. The *Savi* argued that the blocking of academic activities produced enormous economic damage to the municipality<sup>44</sup>.

In 1389, the municipal statutes decided that the budget for the University would rise again to 2,000 florins<sup>45</sup>, and this amount remained stable in all subsequent statutes, up until 1400<sup>46</sup>. However, in all the years provided by the sources, that sum was never really reached. For example, in 1391-

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<sup>40</sup> At the beginning of the fourteenth century, in Perugia military costs were about a third of the municipal expenditure; in the middle of the century, they were 67%. In 1365 (this year is taken as a survey sample) the municipality spent about 30,000 florins for war operations (62,7% of budget) and 2,616 florins for the University (5,6%). Cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 24.

<sup>41</sup> In 1376 the city council approved the proposal of the merchant consul «quod dicti officiales eligendi super Studio non possit conducere aliquem qui fuisset officialis Ecclesie in civitate ista quocumque modo, nec concedere alicui aliquod salarium expensis communis Perusii, nec intelligatur habere vigorem electionis vel conductionis fiende per eos, sed absque aliquot salario legere teneantur et pro conductis habeantur et aliter non». Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 239-241 (the quote is taken from page 239). In fact, in the year 1376, the registers of *Conservatori della moneta* did not attest any payments for the *Studium* teachers (Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 27, nt 83).

<sup>42</sup> Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 251.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 26-27.

<sup>44</sup> Merli and Maiarelli, «Super Studio ordinare», 250.

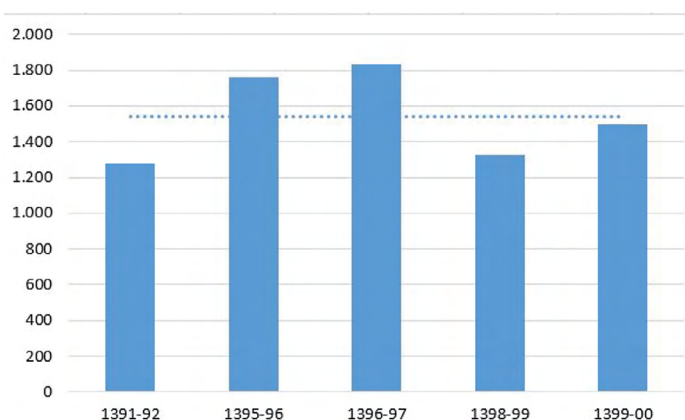
<sup>45</sup> «(...) duximus statuendum quod Conservatores monete possint, teneantur et debeant [expendere] (...) omnibus et singulis doctoribus, tam in iure canonico quam civili, et etiam doctoribus et magistris tam in medicinalibus quam in artibus et in theoreticis et gramathica et etiam docendi arismetricam vel abbacum legetibus in Studio Perusino (...) pro anno quolibet pro omnibus in totum usque in quantitatem duorum milium florenorum de auro». Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia*, 69-70.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 29.

1392 only 1,280 florins were granted to the University<sup>47</sup>. There was, therefore, a certain discrepancy between the statutory and council rules and the practice, presumably determined by the pressing economic difficulties from which the municipality could not free itself.

Between 1393 and 1398 the city was ruled by a popular government headed by the *condottiero* Biordo Michelotti. During these years, university professors proved willing to give their contribution to save the municipality from financial distress: in 1396 the readers agreed to receive their salary from the *gabelle's* contract, which had not yet been subcontracted, instead of from that of wine, as established in their contract<sup>48</sup>.

On 10<sup>th</sup> March 1398 Biordo Michelotti was killed in a conspiracy<sup>49</sup>; the economic and political situation worsened rapidly. The critical conditions led the municipality to reduce university expenses again, cutting the funds allocated to the various disciplines, and in particular to the medical ones. In 1399 three professors of law, Pietro Baldeschi, Onofrio Bartolini and Matteo Feliciani, on behalf of the whole faculty, went so far as to renounce their



Tab. 2 Perugia University budget (1391-1399)

Data in the graph are taken from Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 112.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 320.

<sup>48</sup> Oscar Scalvanti, "Notizie e documenti sulla vita di Baldo, Angelo e Piero degli Ubaldi", in *L'opera di Baldo. Per cura dell'Università di Perugia nel V centenario della morte del grande giureconsulto* (Perugia: Tip. della Unione cooperativa, 1901): 181-359 (353-357); Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 30; Thomas Woelki, "Pietro di Francesco degli", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 97 (2020): UBALDI, Pietro di Francesco degli in "Dizionario Biografico" (treccani.it)

<sup>49</sup> Pompeo Pellini, *Dell'Historia di Perugia* (Venetia: appresso Gio. Giacomo Hertz, 1664; rist. anast. Sala Bolognese: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1968), 95-96.



salaries for the current year so that that money could be used for the most urgent expenses, but the situation got too bad, and the city surrendered to the Duke of Milan<sup>50</sup>.

*The fifteenth century: the university as a means of exercising power*

Between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, Perugia institutional framework was transformed: the city changed hands from the municipal government, which was increasingly weaker and more unstable, to an aristocratic government.

Despite this institutional change, however, the city was unable to maintain the leading position in the political balance of central Italy – balance it had achieved in the second half of the thirteenth century but had struggled to maintain during the following century.

During the fifteenth century, the city lost its political autonomy under the rule of many *signori*, until its final submission to the Pope (1424). Despite changes to the governance, upon request of the Perugia elite, the University continued to be financed by budgets that shifted between 1.500 and 3.200 florins.

In January 1400, *Perugini* entered into negotiations with Giangaleazzo Visconti on various issues, including the University. In the submission pacts a clause was inserted, which established the allocation of 2.000 florins per year in favour of the University<sup>51</sup>.

The same request was made to Bonifacio IX in 1403, when, after Giangaleazzo Visconti's death, Perugia returned under papal control. The pope let the city continue to have its own University with the usual salaries and expenses, as established in the city statute<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Gino Franceschini, "La dedizione di Perugia a Giangaleazzo Visconti Duca di Milano", *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 90 (1963): 287-305.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia della Università di Perugia* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1971), I, 192 and nt. 1; Hermann Goldbrunner, "I rapporti tra Perugia e Milano alla fine del Trecento", in *Storia e arte in Umbria nell'età comunale, Atti del VI Convegno di studi umbri (Gubbio, 26-30 maggio 1968)* (Perugia: Centro di Studi Umbri, 1971), II: 641-694 (670-671, 692); Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 32.

<sup>52</sup> Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Consigli e riformanze*, 48 (a. 1400), cc. 172r-176v (c. 173v). Cf. Erika Bellini, *Comune e Studio a Perugia nel Quattrocento*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 2007), 180; Ermini, *Storia della Università*, I, 192.

In 1405, the same concession was reaffirmed by his successor, Innocent VII<sup>53</sup>, who was a pope particularly attentive to the cultural sphere, as proved by the fact that he advocated the re-foundation of the *Studium Urbis*, which took place in 1406<sup>54</sup>.

When in June 1408 Ladislao di Angiò Durazzo became Lord of Perugia, he received the usual requests from the local elite on behalf of the University. The same happened eight years later, when Braccio Fortebracci *manu militari* took over the city<sup>55</sup>.

As soon as he came to power, Braccio showed interest in the institution by increasing the appropriations, which then tumbled again in the years he was at war with the pope<sup>56</sup>.

On 5th June, 1424 Braccio died in battle, in L'Aquila: on 18th July 1424, just over a month after his death, Perugia surrendered to Martin V<sup>57</sup>. As usual, the local elite asked the new lord to keep the University within the budget that had been allocated by the city statutes<sup>58</sup>. Martin V agreed to keep the city statutes, the *Ordinamenta* of the students' *universitas* and the college

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<sup>53</sup> Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Consigli e riformanze*, 50 (a. 1405), c. 10v. Cf. Erika Bellini, *Comune e Studio*, 181; Ermini, *Storia della Università*, I, 192.

<sup>54</sup> On Innocenzo VII see Amedeo De Vincentiis, "Innocenzo VII, papa", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 62 (2004): INNOCENZO VII, papa in "Dizionario Biografico" (treccani.it); for the *Studium* reformation by Innocent VII, cf. Gordon Griffiths, "Leonardo Bruni and the Restoration of the University of Rome (1406)", *Renaissance Quarterly* XXVI (1973): 1-10; Frova and Miglio, "«Studium Urbis» e «Studium Curiae»", 35; Avesani, "Appunti per la storia dello «Studium Urbis»", 69-70.

<sup>55</sup> For the submission pacts to Ladislao DiAngiò Durazzo, cf. Claudio Regni, "L'amministrazione politico-finanziaria del Comune di Perugia nei suoi rapporti con la Camera Apostolica", in *Ricerche su Perugia tra Due e Quattrocento* (Perugia, Università degli Studi, 1981): 161-188 (169-170); on the Braccio Fortebracci Signoria, see Claudio Regni, "Il conte di Montone a Perugia: una signoria annunciata", in *Braccio da Montone e i Fortebracci, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Montone, 23-25 marzo 1990)* (Narni: Centro studi storici, 1993): 129-146; Claudio Regni, "Da Braccio da Montone ai Baglioni", *Storia illustrata delle città dell'Umbria. Perugia*, ed. Raffaele Rossi (Milano: E. Sellino, 1993), II: 273-288; regarding the University, cf. Ermini, *Storia della Università*, I, 192-193; Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 34.

<sup>56</sup> Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 327-337.

<sup>57</sup> On Braccio Fortebracci's death, cf. Pier Luigi Falaschi, "Fortebracci, Andrea", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 49 (1997): FORTEBRACCI, Andrea in "Dizionario Biografico" (treccani.it); for the submission pacts to Martin V, cf. Luigi Fumi, "Inventario e spoglio dei registri della Tesoreria Apostolica di Perugia e Umbria dal R. Archivio di Stato in Roma", *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* VII (1901): XXX-XLIX.

<sup>58</sup> Fumi, "Inventario e spoglio", XL; Ermini, *Storia della Università*, I, 193.

of jurists' statutes. All of them, however, were subject to the approval of the papal legate<sup>59</sup>. A new era had begun for the Perugia *Studium*.

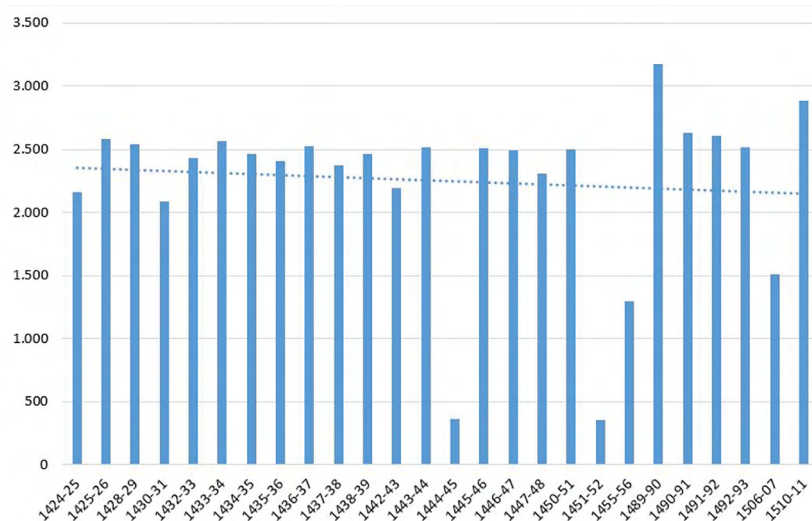
Martin V, like his predecessors, did not suppress the local magistracies, but subjugated them to papal officials who were given veto powers. The traditional governing bodies, therefore, formally continued to exist, but they were, in practice, strongly subordinated to the representatives of the central power: the legate, the governor, and the treasurer<sup>60</sup>. Thus, a diarchic regime was established, in which the areas of local intervention were much reduced compared to the past, but not completely eliminated<sup>61</sup>. In fact, «assunto il do-

<sup>59</sup> Regni, "L'amministrazione politico-finanziaria", 173; for Martino V's University policy, cf. Carla Frova, "Martino V e l'Università", in *Alle origini della nuova Roma. Martino V (1417-1431). Atti del Convegno Roma, 2-5 marzo 1992*, ed. Maria Chiabò, Giusi D'Alessandro, Paola Piacentini, Concetta Ranieri (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992): 187-203 (190-197); Carla Frova, "Documenti pontifici per l'Università: da Benedetto XIII a Felice V", in *Alma felix Universitas Studii Taurinensis*: 41-74 (52-60).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Regni, "L'amministrazione politico-finanziaria", 173.

<sup>61</sup> For the relationship between central power and peripheral power in the Papal State, cf. Peter D. Partner, "Comuni e vicariati nello Stato pontificio al tempo di Martino V", in *La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello stato del Rinascimento*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1979; orig. ed. *The Papal State under Martin V. The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century*, London: British School at Rome, 1958): 227-261; Sandro Carocci, "Governo papale e città nello Stato della Chiesa. Ricerche sul Quattrocento", in *Principi e città alla fine del Medioevo. Atti del Convegno di Studio del Centro di studi sulla civiltà del tardo Medioevo, San Miniato 20-23 ottobre 1994*, a cura di Sergio Gensini (Pisa: Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali. Ufficio centrale per i Beni archivistici, 1996): 151-224; Mario Caravale, "Le istituzioni temporali della Chiesa agli albori dell'età moderna", in *Alessandro VI e lo Stato della Chiesa (Atti del convegno, Perugia, 13-15 marzo 2000)*, ed. Carla Frova and Maria Grazia Nico Ottaviani (Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali. Direzione generale per gli Archivi, 2003): 11-26; Sandro Carocci, *Vassalli del papa: potere pontificio, aristocrazie e città nello Stato della Chiesa, XII-XV sec.* (Roma: Viella, 2010); Sandro Carocci, "Lo Stato Pontificio", in *Lo Stato del Rinascimento in Italia: 1350-1520*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Isabella Lazzarini (Roma: Viella, 2014): 69-86. For the relationship between the pope and Perugia, cf. Christopher Black, "Commune and the Papacy in the Government of Perugia, 1488-1540", *Annali della Fondazione Italiana per la Storia Amministrativa* IV (1967), 163-191; Christopher Black, "The Baglioni as Tyrants of Perugia, 1488-1540", *The English Historical Review* LXXXV (1970): 245-281; Christopher Black, "Politica e amministrazione a Perugia tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento", in *Storia e cultura in Umbria nell'Età moderna. Atti del VII Convegno di Studi umbri, Gubbio 18-22 maggio 1969* (Perugia: Centro di Studi Umbri presso la casa di S. Ubaldo in Gubbio e palazzo della sapienza in Perugia, 1972): 101-116; Rita Chiacchella and Maria Grazia Nico Ottaviani, "Perugia tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: un difficile equilibrio", in *Una santa, una città. Atti del Convegno storico nel V centenario della venuta a Perugia di Colomba da Rieti, Perugia 10-12 novembre 1989*, ed. Giovanna Casagrande and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto, CISAM, 1991): 13-33; Regni, *L'amministrazione politico-finanziaria*; Claudio Regni, "Le istituzioni comunali a Perugia al tempo di Alessandro VI", in *Alessandro VI e lo Stato della Chiesa*: 229-254.

minio di Perugia, Martino V si rendeva subito conto di non poter governare senza l'appoggio dei nobili che detenevano tutte le leve del comando; cercava perciò di legare a sé gli interessi della classe nobiliare elargendo ad una ristretta oligarchia una serie di favori e di privilegi che ben presto rendevano alcune famiglie veri e propri arbitri della vita cittadina»<sup>62</sup>.



Tab. 3. Perugia University budget (1424-1511).

Data in the graph are taken from Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 112.

The difficult political balance that ensued marked the history of Perugia until the city fiscal revolt in 1540, followed by the war with Pope Paul III<sup>63</sup>. The defeat of Perugia and the subsequent tightening of papal control over the city led to new dynamics in the political-institutional management of Perugia.

On the financial level, since 1424 papal control over the city was very tight: this supervision was not implemented by supplanting the traditional financial bodies, but by incorporating them into a wider and more articulated structure. Papal authorities – as Mario Caravale wrote – acted «con estremo

<sup>62</sup> Regni, "Da Braccio da Montone ai Baglioni", 278.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Rita Chiacchella, "Per una reinterpretazione della "guerra del sale" e della costruzione della Rocca Paolina in Perugia", *Archivio storico italiano* CXLV/1 (1987): 3-60; Rita Chiacchella, "Perugia nello Stato pontificio", in *Storia illustrata*: 369-384.

realismo, esercitando le competenze comprese nella superiore giurisdizione unitaria della Chiesa nei modi in cui tale esercizio era di fatto reso possibile dagli ordinamenti particolari affermatasi nelle varie regioni»<sup>64</sup>.

In the transitional phase from municipal governments to lordly regimes, two extreme and opposite situations had the chance to occur relatively to the relationships between universities, politics and society. They can be summarised as follows: in some contexts, university careers represented a first step towards more important political careers, or a form of appreciation for services performed at court (these were, for example, both the cases of Rome and Turin)<sup>65</sup>; in other contexts, universities ended up being controlled by the families of the municipal oligarchy, who considered the prestige linked to the academic world a sort of “compensation” for the loss of a real clout in the management of public affairs.

When this aspiration was met by the firm determination of the dominant power to oust the old ruling class from the university management and make the local university its own university – this was the case of Padua subjugated to Venice –, the two conflicting interests gave rise to a series of clashes for the control of the institution, which reflected the general climate of latent political conflict<sup>66</sup>.

In Perugia, the university management was part of the relationship between the centre and the periphery which led to a general growth in funding and a parallel increase in the number of courses.

Schematically, it can be argued that papal interventions were of two types: some popes, such as Martin V, Eugene IV and Niccolò V, allowed the local oligarchy to manage the university with ample autonomy; others, like Paul II, operated energetically to directly control the institution. In the papal age, therefore, opposite interventions occurred: on the one hand, pontifical provisions were issued to make *Savi dello Studio* operate with the traditional prerogatives; on the other, legates and governors intervened to directly regulate the management of the institution. However, no resolution was defi-

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<sup>64</sup> Mario Caravale, “Le entrate pontificie”, in *Roma capitale (1447-1527). Atti del IV Convegno di studio del Centro di studi sulla civiltà del tardo Medioevo (San Miniato 27-31 ottobre 1992)*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa: Pacini editore, 1996): 73-106 (87).

<sup>65</sup> For the Rome and Turin universities cf. the above-mentioned Frova and Miglio, “«Studium Urbis» e «Studium Curiae»”; Rosso, “Forme di reclutamento”.

<sup>66</sup> On the contrasts between Venice and Padua for the management of the *Studium*, cf. Giuseppina De Sandre, “Dottori, Università, Comune a Padova nel Quattrocento”, *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 1 (1968): 15-47; Donato Gallo, *Università e Signoria a Padova dal XIV secolo al XV secolo* (Trieste: Lint Editoriale, 1998).

nitive, and it often met firm resistance from the local aristocracy: this subtle game of parts conditioned the life of the *Studium* for a long time<sup>67</sup>.

The grammar sector offers a very eloquent example of the negative results produced by overlapping powers and decision-making plurality moved by different interests (including the governors and legates' personal ones, which did not always coincide with the position of the pontiff). During the fifteenth century, the new humanistic disciplines were established in many Italian centres. In Perugia, too, both the governors and the local oligarchy showed an interest in humanist intellectuals. When an attempt was made to introduce humanistic disciplines, such as Greek and rhetoric, into the grammatical sector, humanists proposed by *Savi dello Studio* were not accepted by the pope or by the pontifical governor and, vice versa, those proposed by the governor or by the pontiff were rejected by the *Savi*. The reciprocal vetoes, together with the traditional consideration of grammar as a basic discipline, prevented the development of the humanities sector at the University of Perugia<sup>68</sup>.

With regard to Law and Medicine, which continued to represent the leading sectors of the University, a gradual local opposition unfolded, which led to the complete monopolisation of all teaching positions by the exponents of the most important Perugia families.

### *The Conservatori della Moneta registers*

This short essay on Perugia University's funding in the Middle Ages will be concluded with a brief reference to the sources. The procedures of the professors' remuneration used to be regulated for the first time in the city statutes of 1366: chapters 279 and 313 stipulated that *Conservatori della Moneta* would pay the salaries to the University professors in two six-monthly instalments, half at Christmas and half at Easter, with the revenue from the sale of wheat<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Zucchini, *Università e dottori*, 40-41.

<sup>68</sup> Zucchini, "«aliquibus virtutibus et eruditionibus ornati»", 51-67.

<sup>69</sup> *Statuto del comune e del popolo del 1366*, Lib. I, chapter 279, *De salario doctorum, medicorum et magistrorum solvendo*: «Item [Conservatores monete et averis communis Perusii] dent et solvant et solvere teneantur et debeant sine alia apodixa vel mandato rectori et omnibus et singulis doctoribus, medicis et magistris in quacumque scientia et facultate seu ad quacumque practicam electis, conductis et conducendis ad salarium et provisionem communis Perusii omnes et singulas quantitates florenorum et pecunie eisdem et cuilibet eorum debite et debende (...); *Statuto del comune e del popolo del 1366*, chapter 313, *De officio officialium super blado campionis*: «Item quod dicti officiales bladi (...) debeant annuatim ante festum Domini et Pascatis resurrectionis vendere tantum de blado predicto quod possint dare et solvere officialibus debentibus solvere

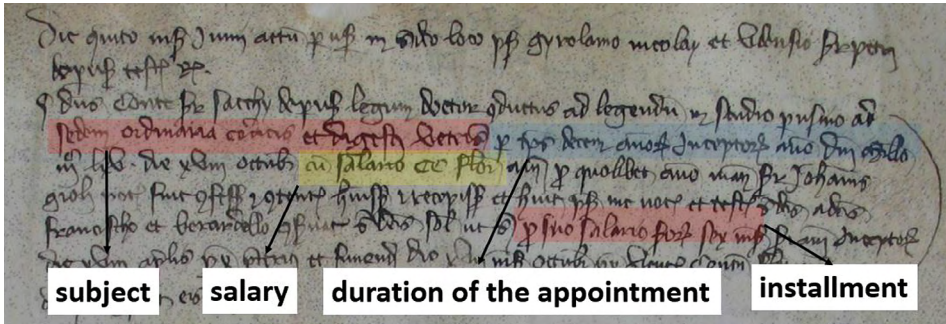


Fig. 3 Payment of the jurist Conte Saccucci (a.y. 1365-1366).

Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Conservatori della Moneta*, 20, c. 24r: «Die quinto mensis Iunii actum Perusii in supradicto loco presentibus Gyrolamo Nicolay et Vidensio ser Petri de Perusio testibus rogatibus. Dominus Conte ser Sacchy de Perusio legum doctor conductus ad legendum in Studio Perusino ad sedem ordinariam Codicis et Digesti veteris per tempus decem annorum inceptorum anno Domini MCCCCLXV die XVIII octubris cum salario CC florenorum auri pro quolibet anno manu ser Iohannis Gioli notarii fuit confessus et contentus habuisse et recepisse et habuit presente me notario et testibus suprascriptis a dictis Francischo et Berardello conservatoribus supradictis solventibus ut supra pro suo salario secundorum sex mensium secundi anni inceptorum die XVIII aprilis proximi preteriti et finiendi dei XVIII mensis octubris proximi venturi centum florenos auri de quibus fecit eis refutationem».

In the period between 1365 and 1424, all the payments made by the *Comune* to the University professors were registered in the expenditure records of *Conservatori della Moneta*: there are more than 700 payments<sup>70</sup>.

In 1424 Perugia surrendered to Pope Martin V. From that year on, *Conservatori della Moneta* office became part of the *Camera apostolica perugina*, and a copy of the registers was sent to Rome. The study of all the sources from Perugia and part of those from Rome led to the identification of another 850 payments<sup>71</sup>.

In the payments of the second half of the fourteenth century there was considerable information regarding the duration of the appointment, the subject taught, the total salary and any taxes imposed.

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salaria predicta dictis doctoribus ad minus quindecim diebus ante dicta festa nativitatis et resurrectionis quantum ipsius valor ascendit ad quantitatem quam dicti doctores et rector recipere tenebuntur in festivitibus supradictis». Bellini, *L'Università a Perugia*, 45-46, 59.

<sup>70</sup> Zucchini, *Università e dottori, Appendice A. Pagamenti ai lettori*, 195-272.

<sup>71</sup> On the *Camera Apostolica*, cf. Peter D. Partner, "La Camera apostolica come organo centrale delle finanze pontificie", in *Alessandro VI e lo Stato della Chiesa (Atti del convegno, Perugia, 13-15 marzo 2000)*, ed. Carla Frova and Maria Grazia Nico Ottaviani (Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali. Direzione generale per gli Archivi, 2003): 27-36; Zucchini, *Università e dottori, Appendice A. Pagamenti ai lettori*, 273-311; Sini and Zucchini, "Il finanziamento pubblico", 125-137.

The fifteenth-century payments, on the other hand, contain less information.

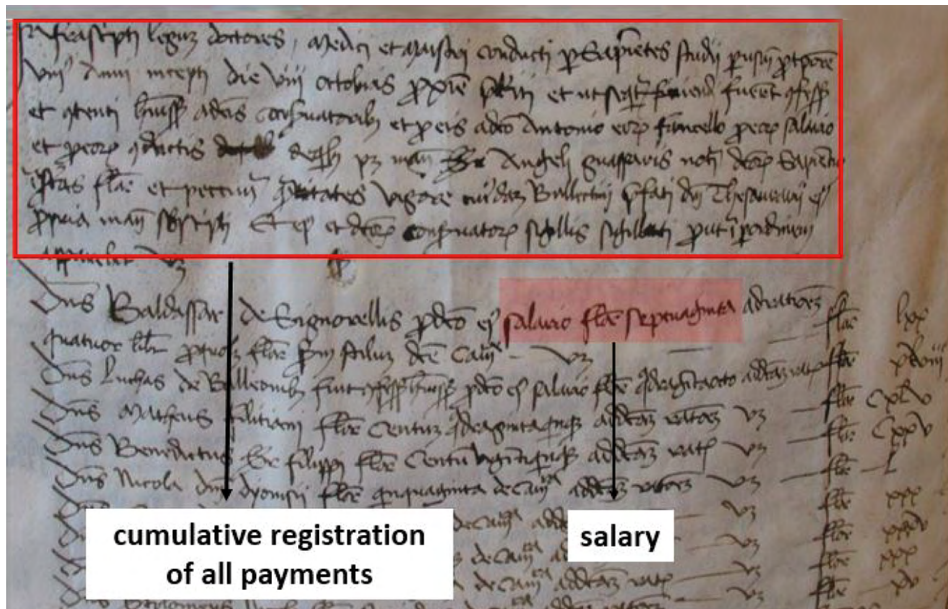


Fig. 4. Cumulative registration of all payments to professors of the University (a.y. 1443-1444). Perugia, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Conservatori della Moneta*, 75, c. 5v: «Infrascripti legum doctores, medici et magistri conducti per Sapientes Studii Perusini pro tempore unius anni incepti die VIII octubris proxime preteriti et ut sequitur finendi fuerunt confessi et contenti habuisse a dictis conservatoribus et pro eis a dicto Antonio eorum fancello pro eorum salario et pro eorum conductis de quibus patet manu ser Angeli Guasparesii notarii dictorum infrascriptas florenorum et pecuniarum quantitates vigore cuiusdam bullectini prefati domini thessaurarii [...] Dominus Baldassar de Signorellis predicto eius salario florenos septuaginta ad rationem quatuor librarum pro quolibet floreno secundum stilum dicte camere; Dominus Luchas de Ballionibus fuit confessus habuisse predicto eius salario florenos quadraginta octo ad dictam rationem; Dominus Marchus Filitiani florenos centum quadraginta quinque ad dictam rationem; Dominus Benedictus ser Filippi florenos centum viginti quinque ad dictam rationem [...]».

In conclusion, the Middle Ages financial sources allowed, firstly, to reconstruct the whole University teaching staff of many academic years, and subsequently to examine, not only the individual teachers' biographies and their academic careers, but also the history and characteristics of the entire University and its relationship with the political institutions.

Concerning the University of Perugia, the study of the various local sources, especially the financial ones, have an important role: it allows us



to sustain that the birth of Perugia University, promoted by political power, took place in a period of particular splendour for the city. Interest in the institution was maintained, however, even in the difficult years in which the city was forced to face epidemics, wars and an unprecedented financial crisis.

In the fifteenth century, the papal domination, which had been feared by Perugia citizens and had been averted for a long time, further enhanced the University, as the local aristocracy, deprived of effective power at political level, reversed its ambitions on it.

The sources relating to the fourteenth century show that all the Lords to whom Perugia submitted confirmed the previous university statutes and funding. During the papal age, the budget and number of disciplines even increased. The pope used the University, along with the old municipal magistracies, which were never suppressed, as a relief valve for the local ruling class which did not accept the loss of political autonomy. The local elite, on its part, projected its interests and energies on the ancient city magistracies, devoid of political significance, and on the University which had reached its maxima glory at the time of the mourned municipal freedom and, for that very reason, was a matter of municipal pride. Furthermore, for the exponents of the local nobility, starting a university career in Perugia could facilitate a future career progression to the *curia* in Rome.

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# The Pope's Universities: Sources and Research Perspectives on Finances and Funding in the Early Modern Period in Bologna

Las universidades papales: fuentes y perspectivas de investigación sobre finanzas y financiación en Bolonia en la temprana Edad Moderna

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Recibido: 03/03/2021  
Aceptado: 23/04/2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6158>

*Abstract:* The contribution aims to propose a first overview on the founding universities subject in the Papal State during the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although there were nine universities in the Church State in this period, the research is going to focus on the most relevant and ancient of them: Bologna, Perugia and Rome. The history of these three *Studia* is well known, but the specific topic concerning finances and founding has not been broadly analysed. In particular, regarding this topic, the focus will be on the feature that distinguish the situation in the University of Bologna, during the early modern period, when the tradition of political autonomy of the town

*Resumen:* El presente artículo tiene como objetivo proponer una primera panorámica sobre el tema de la financiación de las Universidades en el Estado Pontificio durante los siglos XVI-XVIII. Aunque hubo nueve universidades en el Estado de la Iglesia en este período, la investigación se centrará en las más relevantes y antiguas: Bolonia, Perugia y Roma. La historia de estos tres *Studia* es bien conocida, pero el tema específico de las finanzas no ha sido ampliamente analizado. En particular, en relación con esta cuestión, se analizará la situación en la Universidad de Bolonia, durante el período moderno, donde la tradición política autonómica de la ciudad condicionó en

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conditioned the development of the University. The condition of the sources will be a focal point in the essay. These three cases could therefore offer the opportunity to compare different situations and to verify the action of the State towards an increasing uniformity.

*Keywords:* Bologna; Rome; Perugia; management; funding.

gran medida el desarrollo de la Universidad. En particular, se prestará especial atención al estado de las fuentes. Por tanto, estos tres casos podrían ofrecer la oportunidad de comparar diferentes situaciones y verificar la acción del Estado hacia una uniformidad cada vez mayor.

*Palabras clave:* Bolonia; Roma; Perugia; gestión; financiación.

### *The financial situation of the three main Universities in the Papal State*

Since the Middle Ages University corporations had their own budget. Generally, University funding came from both internal and external sources: internal sources were matriculation and graduation fees, graces, dispensations, *collectae*. External sources were ecclesiastical benefices. Salaries, gifts, legacies, grants and endowments were often paid by political authorities (kings, dukes or towns) for the permanent support of the University<sup>1</sup>. So different universities had varied experiences in relation to the geo-political context<sup>2</sup>.

As regards the Bologna situation, during the early modern age, this town was direct conducted under the political Pontifical control since 1506, but many privileges were recognized by popes to the Senate (composed by aristocratic people), to guarantee a local ally<sup>3</sup>. We are therefore in the presence of a particular political situation that also had significant consequences on the University administration and finances until the French revolution. One of these new privileges assigned by popes to the Senate, at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was in fact the right to appoint University professors

<sup>1</sup> An overview of the situation in the Middle Ages is in Aleksander Gierysztor, "Management and resources", *A history of the University in Europe. Volume I. Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 108-143 and for the Early Modern Europe see Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Management and resources", *A history of the University in Europe. Volume II. Universities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 155-209.

<sup>2</sup> For the Italian universities situation see Andrea Romano, "Dall'Università degli Studenti all'Università degli Studi. Modelli di finanziamento delle Università italiane fra medioevo ed età moderna", *Finanzierung von Universität und Wissenschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Basel : Schwabe Verlag, 2005), 33-56.

<sup>3</sup> Andrea Gardi, "Lineamenti della storia politica di Bologna: da Giulio II a Innocenzo X", *Storia di Bologna. Bologna nell'età moderna. I. Istituzioni, forme del potere, economia e società*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Bologna : Bononia University Press, 2008), 3-59. On this topic see also Id., *Lo Stato in provincia. L'amministrazione della Legazione di Bologna durante il regno di Sisto V (1585-1590)* (Bologna : Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1994); Angela De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto, Bologna: una città europea nello Stato della Chiesa* (Bologna : il Mulino, 1995).

(privilege previously recognized to the Riformatori dello Studio, a municipal institution)<sup>4</sup>: a local political authority was invested of a cultural power.

Alfeo Giacomelli started studying the unique characteristics of the political situation in the early modern period in the University of Bologna since 1432, when Eugenio IV stated that the salaries of the professors should be paid with the incomes of the Gabella Grossa (a tax on goods entering in Bologna)<sup>5</sup>. This happened in the other main Pope's Universities, at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (like Rome and Perugia)<sup>6</sup>, when the popes wanted to regularize the chaotic financial situations. First, in Perugia Martino V centralized all the finances, previously managed by the local Conservatori della moneta, on behalf of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica in Rome<sup>7</sup>. Second, Bologna and Rome followed closely, with the Eugenio IV decisions that rationalized the organization of these two universities: the *Alma Mater Studiorum* was financed with the Gabella Grossa incomes, in parallel the Sapienza of Rome was held with the new Gabella dello Studio founded on taxes on foreign wines<sup>8</sup>.

The three Pope's universities had different characteristics: in both Perugia and Rome, during the early modern period, the Camera Urbis (based in the Roman Curia) managed the incomes for the direction of the two *Studia*. In Bologna, however, there was greater autonomy and the administration of the local University was free from any Pontifical interference.

<sup>4</sup> About the Riformatori dello Studio see *L'archivio dei Riformatori dello Studio. Inventario*, ed. Claudia Salterini (Bologna : Istituto per la storia dell'Università, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Alfeo Giacomelli, "L'età moderna (dal XVI al XVIII secolo)", *L'Università a Bologna. Maestri, studenti e luoghi dal XVI al XX secolo* (Bologna : Cassa di Risparmio, 1988), 13. In case that the amount of money was insufficient, the expenses for the Studio were paid with the *Dazio del Sale* and, as a last resort, with all the duties of the city.

<sup>6</sup> See the papers analysed in the 8<sup>th</sup> Heloise Atelier, *Universities funding and management* (Lisbon, 22-24 October 2018) by Carla Frova (*The financing of the University of Rome, 14th-15th Centuries*), by Stefania Zucchini (*The financing of the University of Perugia, 14th-15th Centuries*) and by Regina Lupi (*Funding and financing the University of Perugia in the early modern age*). About the early modern period see also Regina Lupi, *Gli studia del papa. Nuova cultura e tentativi di riforma tra Sei e Settecento* (Firenze : Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Stefania Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell'economia del comune di Perugia* (Perugia : deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 2008), 39-53 and more in general in chapter 2. About this topic see also Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia*, t. 1 (Bologna : Zanichelli, 1947), 262, 269-272.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the situation in Rome see Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli studi di Roma. Detta comunemente la Sapienza che contiene anche un saggio storico della letteratura romana, dal principio del secolo XIII sino al declinare del secolo XVIII* (Roma : stamperia Pagliarini, 1806) and Maria Rosa Di Simone, *La Sapienza romana nel Settecento. Organizzazione, università e insegnamento del diritto* (Roma : Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1980), 43-44.

### *The situation at the University of Bologna*

Coming back to the Bologna situation, the next pope, Niccolò V, in 1450-51 set the number of teachings (46 reserved to local professors and 4 booked for foreigners) and also fixed the maximum salary for any professor (400/500 *lire di bolognini* per year)<sup>9</sup>.

Until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the administration of the Gabella in Bologna was under the control of a local Treasurer. With Giulio II, in 1509, this control passed under a close commission composed by six doctors (two for any doctoral College)<sup>10</sup>: in this way the University economic power switched to the doctoral class. Clemente VII, in 1523, finally fixed the salaries at 26.000 *lire di bolognini* and increased the Gabella's duties by 8.000 *lire di bolognini*<sup>11</sup>.

For the whole early modern period the professor salaries in Bologna was therefore paid with the Gabella Grossa incomes and the members of doctoral Colleges deprived the ancient institution of the Riformatori dello Studio of their economic power<sup>12</sup>. Several local professors were paid with the incomes from the Gabella Grossa, while the few foreign teachers (*doctores forenses eminentis scientiae*) were paid by the Depositeria, a local political office. The *eminenti* were professors who had a great reputation and an incredible knowledge. Since the Middle Ages in Bologna there were four chairs for *eminenti* professors: Civil and Canon Law lectures were scheduled in the afternoon and two other *eminenti* professors gave Medicine, Philosophy and Humanities lectures<sup>13</sup>. Mariano Sozzini, the Younger, was in Bologna

<sup>9</sup> Giacomelli, *L'età moderna*, 14.

<sup>10</sup> In the Bologna *Studium* there were three doctoral Colleges: the College of Canon Law, the College of Civil Law and a College of Medicine and Philosophy. See Gian Paolo Brizzi, "Lo Studio di Bologna fra orbis academicus e mondo cittadino", *Storia di Bologna. Bologna nell'età moderna. II. Cultura, istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008) 5-113, in particular 40-42.

<sup>11</sup> Anton Felice Marsili, *Memorie per riparare i pregiudizi dell'Università dello Studio di Bologna, e ridurlo ad una facile e perfetta riforma* (Bologna : s.l., 1689) in Ettore Bortolotti, "La fondazione dell'Istituto e la Riforma dello Studio di Bologna", *Memorie intorno a Luigi Ferdinando Marsili pubblicate nel secondo centenario della morte per cura del Comitato Marsiliano* (Bologna : Zanichelli, 1930) 3.

<sup>12</sup> See note 4.

<sup>13</sup> Anuschka De Coster, "Foreign and Citizen Teachers at Bologna University in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Statutes, Statistics and Student Teachers", *Annali di Storia delle Università italiane* 12 (2008): 329-356; Ead., "L'immagine dei docenti forestieri negli statuti universitari e cittadini di Bologna e Padova (secoli XV-XVI)", *Gli Statuti universitari. Tradizione dei testi e valenze politiche, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Messina-Milazzo, 13-18 aprile 2004*,

the main *eminente* lecturer but Carlo Ruini, Andrea Alciato and Angelo Spanocchi were appointed foreign lecturers too. Among others, Romolo Amaseo and Carlo Sigonio gave humanities teachings. Usually in Bologna citizen lecturers were appointed the professorship and four chairs were assigned to non-resident, to build a reputation of the *Studium*. The same thing didn't happen in Perugia where all the teachers were local. In Dallari's list of professors in Bologna, in early modern period, foreign professors were about 40% of the teachers<sup>14</sup>. The number of foreign professors increased because of the high number of *lecturae universitatis* assigned to young foreign students to help them with graduation expenses (the salary for these lectures was 100 *lire*). At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were about 90 active teachers at the University of Bologna: about 40 chairs were appointed to citizens and the rest were appointed to foreigners (a smaller number of chairs for *eminenti* and many *lecturae universitatis* for students)<sup>15</sup>.

In Bologna there was a salary hierarchy, which is confirmed by the *lecturae universitatis*. In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the salary of a young teacher generally was 200 *lire* of *bolognini* and the salary of an ordinary professor could reach 2.000 *lire* of *bolognini*. The four *doctores forenses eminentis scientiae* were well paid: in 1530 Carlo Ruini received 4.330 *lire* for Civil Law lecture; Giovanni Angelo Papio, in 1581 received a salary of 4.250 *lire*<sup>16</sup>. The characteristic of the salary at the University of Bologna was that Bolognese lecturers earned a modest income, while the four *eminenti* had a well-paid salary. The limited number of *eminenti* allowed the University to save money, which they used to increase the number of local professors.

The situation described for Bologna changed significantly at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Clemente VIII introduced into the Congregazione della Gabella Grossa seven senators, connected to the Assunti di Stu-

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ed. Andrea Romano (Bologna : CLUEB, 2007), 813-824; Ead. "La mobilità dei docenti: Comune e Collegi dottorali di fronte al problema dei lettori non cittadini nello Studio bolognese", *Studenti e dottori nelle università italiane (origini-XX secolo)*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi – Andrea Romano (Bologna : CLUEB, 2000) 227-241.

<sup>14</sup> Umberto Dallari, *I Rotuli dei lettori, legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese* (Bologna : F.lli Merlani, 1888-1924).

<sup>15</sup> See my paper for the 10<sup>th</sup> Atelier Heloise, held on 29-30 March 2021 for a detailed description of foreign teachers in Bologna: *Professors in motion. The mobility of Bolognese teachers in early modern period* (in print).

<sup>16</sup> Andrea Zannini, "I Maestri: carriere, metodi didattici, posizione sociale, rapporti con le professioni", *Storia delle Università in Italia*, t. II, eds. Gian Paolo Brizzi, Piero Del Negro, Andrea Romano (Messina : Sicania, 2007), 37-63.

dio, to balance the doctoral power: this decision caused a lot of problems<sup>17</sup>. The Assunteria di Studio was founded at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to examine special issues<sup>18</sup>. It was an extraordinary commission, composed by three senators, that became ordinary and permanent a few years later<sup>19</sup>. The Assunti di Studio examined, on behalf of the Senate, the procedures related to teaching and the contents of the lessons. Every deal they have dealt with is also represented in the documentation of the Senate. As time passed the Assunti gained more autonomous to the point that the Bolognese ambassador in Rome wrote directly to them and received a reply from them.

The structural economic crisis during this century also exasperated the conflicts between doctors and senators (also through the Assunti di Studio); between the doctoral Colleges; between the archdeacon (in Bologna chancellor of the University instead of the bishop)<sup>20</sup> and the doctoral Colleges<sup>21</sup>. The archdeacon Anton Felice Marsili was the center of these conflicts. He was the brother of the well-known general Luigi Ferdinando, who contributed to the funding of the Istituto delle Scienze in Bologna<sup>22</sup>. The archdeacon Marsili held the doctors of the Colleges accountable for the decline

<sup>17</sup> Giacomelli, *L'età moderna*, 14.

<sup>18</sup> In order to be able to meticulously control all areas of public life in Bologna, from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Senate decided to found different commissions, and each of them was designated for a specific subject. The Assunti were selected by drawing lot among the senators and elected by the Senate. Their term of office was one year. There were permanent commissions too. Among those the commission of Magistrates represented the most important, as it had the task of ensuring that the activity of the legates did not affect the rights granted to the city; other *assunterie* were extraordinary, *ad hoc* commissions, that were established at the time when a specific need arose. About this topic see Angela De Benedictis, *Patrizi e comunità. Il governo del contado bolognese nel Settecento* (Bologna : il Mulino, 1984).

<sup>19</sup> Giorgio Cencetti, *Lo Studio di Bologna. Aspetti momenti e problemi (1935-1970)*, eds. Roberto Ferrara, Gianfranco Orlandelli, Augusto Vasina (Bologna : CLUEB, 1989), 336-339.

<sup>20</sup> Riccardo Parmeggiani, "L'arcidiacono bolognese tra Chiesa, città e Studium", *L'Università in tempo di crisi. Revisioni e novità dei saperi e delle istituzioni nel Trecento, da Bologna all'Europa*, eds. Berardo Pio – Riccardo Parmeggiani (Bologna : CLUEB, 2016), 95-111.

<sup>21</sup> An analysis in Maria Teresa Guerrini, *Collegi dottorali in conflitto. I togati bolognesi e la Costituzione di Benedetto XIV (1744)* (Bologna : CLUEB, 2012); Ead., "Conflitti corporativi fra dottori bolognesi, ferraresi e romani intorno a titoli accademici e professioni (1626-1795)", *Un monopolio imperfetto. Titoli di studio, professioni, università (secc. XIV-XXI)*, eds. Maria Teresa Guerrini, Regina Lupi, Maria Malatesta (Bologna : il Mulino, 2016), 59-80.

<sup>22</sup> Marta Cavazza, "Riforma dell'Università e nuove accademie nella politica culturale dell'Arcidiacono Marsili", *Università, Accademie e Società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, eds. Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Bologna : il Mulino, 1981) 245-282; Ead., *Settecento inquieto. Alle origini dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna : il Mulino, 1990).

of the studies in Bologna<sup>23</sup> and for the decline of the responsibilities of the Chancellor of the *Studium*<sup>24</sup>.

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the archdeacon Marsili directed his invective at the Colleges of doctors, the economic crisis hit Bologna and also the Gabella incomes fell (from 65.000 *lire di bolognini* to 53.000) and the outputs grew as a result of a thoughtless progressive increase of the number of professors (according to wrong equivalence: many professors = grater fame)<sup>25</sup>. In 1677 there were 122 teachers registered in the *Rotuli*, although they had been set at 46<sup>26</sup>. The solutions adopted was a snap block of teachings (that passed to 70) and a reform of lectures in 1713 that rationalized the whole system<sup>27</sup>. But benefits didn't last over time: from the annual restored amount of 28.000 *lire di bolognini* the expenses for salaries quickly grew up over 44.000 *lire di bolognini*<sup>28</sup>.

This critical financial situation was destined to stay until the French revolution when the University of Bologna passed completely under the control of the State and here we are a synthetic overview on the main documents, kept in Bologna archives, about this subject.

### *The financial sources*

Many magistrates were mobilized to support the complex organization of the University in Bologna<sup>29</sup>. Each of the offices had its own archive, and today all their documents are mainly kept at the local State Archive. We can find documents from the doctoral Colleges (civil and canon law, medicine and philosophy) and from the Universities of students (*universitates scholarium*)

<sup>23</sup> Anton Felice Marsili, *Memorie per riparare i pregiudizi dell'Università dello Studio di Bologna, e ridurlo ad una facile e perfetta riforma*.

<sup>24</sup> Anton Felice Marsili, *Delle prerogative del Cancellierato Maggiore dello Studio generale di Bologna carico depositato nell'Arcidiacono della Metropolitana di essa Città raccolte da monsignore Antonio Felice Marsili moderno Arcidiacono, e Maggior Cancelliere* (Bologna : s.l., 1692). See Lupi, *Gli studia del papa*, 62-66.

<sup>25</sup> Giacomelli, *L'età moderna*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> Franca Baldelli, "Tentativi di regolamentazione e riforme dello Studio bolognese nel Settecento", *Il Carrobbio* 10 (1984): 10-26.

<sup>28</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Assunteria di Studio, *Diversorum*, b. 93: the exact annual amount was 44060.14.11 (in a local monetary system based on *lire bolognine*, soldi, denari).

<sup>29</sup> A detailed description of the magistrates involved in the local *Studium* can be found in Cencetti, *Lo Studio di Bologna. Aspetti momenti e problemi (1935-1970)*, 313-344.

that are kept in the *Studio* collection. Other documents are stored in the collections of the *Riformatori dello Studio*, *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa* and *Assunteria di Studio*. Finally there are numerous documentary traces in the archives of the *Comune*, in particular in the archive that belonged to the Senate. In order to study finances of the University it is necessary to make cross references between all these documents.

In the late medieval period the office of the *Riformatori dello Studio* had a great authority managing the University. In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century students started having less autonomy after the *Comune* (the Municipality) had gained more responsibilities in *Studio*. A sign of this change came with the creation of the judiciary of the *Riformatori dello Studio*, which originate from the municipal office of the Elders (the *Anziani*)<sup>30</sup>. From then on, the students could not choose professors. They were elected by the Reformes who were responsible for drawing up the *Rotuli* (the annual lists of teachers with the timetable of courses, one for lawyers and another for artists) that were published and hung in various places in town. This judiciary also had the task of monitoring the work of professors, penalizing those who were frequently absent and those who did not have enough students. The report, called *punctatio*, established a fine that was the exact amount of a day's salary imposed by the *punctator*. This collection of documents is therefore important because they provide information with a focus on the teaching activities in the University, the lists of professors, the penalties imposed on them that had repercussions on their wages, which were paid every three months, four time a year, and for this reason were called *quartironi*. These documents stated, next to the name of each professor, their annual salary and the total amount of the *punctationes*. The authorization to the depositary of the *Gabella Grossa* to issue the payment is in a footnote at the bottom of the document. This collection is very important for the studies on the University of Bologna because we can compare wages, read the complete list of professors and understanding the changes that occurred throughout a year for each course (fines, reserved seats, a record of retired and deceased professors). For this reason we often find inconsistencies between the *Rotuli* and the *Quartironi*: it would be useful to cross reference between these two series of documents, that are kept in the *Riformatori dello Studio* collection<sup>31</sup>, in order to have a better understanding of reality.

<sup>30</sup> *L'Archivio dei Riformatori dello Studio. Inventario*.

<sup>31</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Riformatori dello Studio, Rotuli dei lettori (1438-1800)*, b. 2-13; *Quartironi degli stipendi (1461-1796)*, b. 38-55; *Punctationi dei lettori (1465-1513, 1702-1795)*, b. 15-22.

Many other sources, about the economic life of Bologna University, are kept in these three documentary collections: *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa*, *Studio* and *Assunteria di Studio*.

The State Archive of Bologna keeps the documents about the expenses of the *Studio* that consists in the statements of incomes and expenses for the period 1600-1797 (*Libri giornale* and *Libri mastri* with the detail of each item held in the *Fondo* of the *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa*)<sup>32</sup>, the lists of rates (*Tariffari* kept in the *Fondo Studio*), the lists of paid persons (*Salariati* conserved in the *Fondo Assunteria di Studio* that show how many University people were paid with the money taken from the Gabella: the teachers but also the writer and the printer of the *Rotuli*, the writer of calendars, the writer of the *quartironi*, the anatomist and the anatomy ceremony, the *lecture universitatis* held by good students, the guardian of the Schools, the guardian of the Botanic Garden – il *Giardino de' Semplici*)<sup>33</sup>.

In particular a group of sheets could be interesting because they speak about the Archiginnasio building costs. Before the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa* paid the rent of houses destined to host the University lessons. In 1561 the vicelegato Pier Donato Cesi<sup>34</sup> decided to build a new seat for Schools near the church of San Petronio, to better control the students. The Pope didn't pay anything for this project. The whole costs in fact were leaning against the *Gabella Grossa*. The Archiginnasio was opened in 1563 and the *Gabella* spent 63.502 *lire di bolognini* (corresponding to approximately 14.000 Roman *scudi*) on the building process<sup>35</sup>. In addition, each month the *Gabella* *sindaci* should pay 146 *lire di bolognini* to the San Petronio church for the rent of the domain and for the Archiginnasio facilities maintenance and 10 *lire di bolognini* to the *bidello* (beadle) of the Schools<sup>36</sup>. The building continued to be property of Gabella Grossa who forbade the Senate to place an epigraph in the memory of the founding.

<sup>32</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa, Spese di Studio*, b. 55.

<sup>33</sup> *Ivi*, *Studio*, b. 204, 231, 231bis, *Tariffe, statuti e capitoli di Gabella (1580-1678)* and *Assunteria di Studio, Salariati*, b. 5, 7, 92 (1400-1748, 1790-1797).

<sup>34</sup> Cesi was the bishop of Narni and in Bologna he replaced the legato Carlo Borromeo involved in ecclesiastical affairs, on behalf of the Pope, in both Milan and Rome.

<sup>35</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Congregazione di Gabella Grossa, Diversorum*, b. 96. The first beadle was Gherardo da Panico (on the *bidello* rule see Antonio Ivan Pini, "Per una storia sociale dell'Università: i bidelli bolognesi nel XIII secolo", *Studio, università e città nel medioevo bolognese* (Bologna : CLUEB, 2005), 288-323.

<sup>36</sup> *Ivi*, *Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum*, b. 96, 5.



The expenses for wall decorations, with students' coat of arms, instead were paid with the *Collecta Nivis* (a tax paid by the city authorities to student representatives specifically for the first winter snowfall)<sup>37</sup>.

Another chapter in this overview on the economy of the Pope's Universities, with a *focus* on Bologna, could be opened speaking about the expenses for the doctorate. In Bologna there were a lot of opportunities. The *licentia*, lower than a doctoral degree, was almost completely rejected in the early modern period. On the contrary the Bolognese title became a requirement for local students. It had high costs, about 50 roman *scudi*, which corresponded to 225 *lire bolognese*, for the private and the public exam (a requirement from the doctors from Bologna in order to teach at the *Alma Mater Studiorum*)<sup>38</sup>. About 1/3 less was required from foreign students in order to get the degree<sup>39</sup>: the reason for the lower fee was that the *forensium* doctorate were excluded from the opportunity to teach in the Bolognese *Studium*. Some institutions could propose students to gain a doctorate free of charge and other students could ask for handouts<sup>40</sup>. The costs of the doctorate also refer to the division of money earned by the doctorate exclusively among the members of the exam commissions: the doctoral Colleges consisting of 16 doctors for the civil law, 12 for the canon law and 12 for medicine and philosophy<sup>41</sup>. About this subject we have the registers of distributions of money, for the years 1560-1800, for each doctoral College<sup>42</sup>. These numbers show how high were the earnings of those

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<sup>37</sup> Andrea Daltri, "Memorie e consigliature nella decorazione parietale dell'Archiginnasio", *Imago Universitatis. Celebrazioni e autorappresentazioni di maestri e studenti nella decorazione parietale dell'Archiginnasio*, t. I, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi (Bologna : Bononia University Press, 2011), 31-50.

<sup>38</sup> Maria Teresa Guerrini, "Norma e prassi nell'esame di laurea in diritto a Bologna (1450-1800)", *Storicamente* 3 (2007): [http://www.storicamente.org/01\\_fonti/guerrini.html](http://www.storicamente.org/01_fonti/guerrini.html); Piero Del Negro, "Le università italiane nella prima età moderna", *Storia delle Università in Italia*, t. I, eds. Gian Paolo Brizzi, Piero Del Negro, Andrea Romano (Messina : Sicania, 2007), 95-136. Some tables, containing the expenses for the degree Bologna, are in Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Lauree. Depositi e spese per i dottorati*, b. 262.

<sup>39</sup> Guerrini, "Norma e prassi nell'esame di laurea".

<sup>40</sup> On poor student see Sante Bortolami, "Gli studenti delle università italiane: numero, mobilità, distribuzione, vita studentesca dalle origini al XV secolo", *Storia delle Università in Italia*, t. II, eds. by Gian Paolo Brizzi – Piero Del Negro – Andrea Romano (Messina : Sicania, 2007), 65-115.

<sup>41</sup> Maria Teresa Guerrini, "Una corporazione per il potere: i collegi dei dottori di diritto bolognesi d'età moderna tra conservazione, autonomia e tutela", *Examens, grades et diplômes. La validation des compétences par les universités du XIIIe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Thierry Kouamé (Paris : Editions de la Sorbonne, in print).

<sup>42</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, Collegi Legali, *Comparti e distribuzioni di somme ai dottori collegiati (1560-1713, 1792-1800)*, b. 178-180; Collegi di Medicina e d'Arti, *Libri delle distribuzioni (1666-1739)*, b. 308.

who occupied the position of doctor of College who could be asked to offer also legal consultations (the *consilia sapientis*)<sup>43</sup>, administrate the Gabella Grossa, manage the money destined for poor young women who could not afford a dowry, by Luigi Ratta at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and some privileges on the appointment of the Avvocato dei Poveri for criminal trials in the city<sup>44</sup>.

### *The wealth of doctors*

One graduate could therefore be, at the same time, teacher, member of doctoral College, private or public lawyer/doctor. In Bologna a professor could also give private lessons in the times established by the law<sup>45</sup>. The gains earned by doctors, in some cases, could therefore be considerable. To demonstrate the economic power of graduates, I would like to mention Gregorio Vernizzi as example of a doctor in law who lived in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He came from a non-noble family: his great-grandfather, Ugo, and his grandfather Egidio were the beadles at the Schools. The Vernizzi family had recently been admitted to the city patriciate and the doctorate was probably useful for social growth<sup>46</sup>. Gregorio was a man of humble origins, only the son of Vincenzo Maria, a simple tribune of the plebs (legacy of the glorious municipality of Bologna)<sup>47</sup> and *stendardiere*, but his cousin, Giuseppe Maria

<sup>43</sup> Giovanna Morelli, "*Ne tacenda loquatur et dicenda conticeat*. I consilia dei collegi legali bolognesi del XVI-XVIII secolo", *Honos alit artes. Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri. La formazione del diritto comune. Giuristi e diritti in Europa (secoli XII-XVIII)*, eds. Paola Maffei, Gian Maria Varanini (Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2014), 109-118.

<sup>44</sup> Cesarina Casanova, "Gli avvocati dei poveri", *Atlante delle professioni*, ed. Maria Malatesta (Bologna : Bononia University Press, 2009), 121-123; Marco Cavina, "I luoghi della giustizia", *Storia di Bologna. Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)*. I. Istituzioni, forme del potere, economia e società, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Bologna : Bononia University Press, 2008), 367-399. In general, for all rights see Giovanna Morelli, "I Collegi di diritto nello Studio di Bologna tra XIV e XVII secolo", *Il Carrobbio* 8 (1982): 250-258.

<sup>45</sup> Maria Teresa Guerrini, "Tra docenza pubblica e insegnamento privato: i lettori dello Studio di Bologna in epoca moderna", *Dalla lectura all'e-learning*, ed. Andrea Romano (Bologna : CLUEB, 2015), 183-193.

<sup>46</sup> Alfeo Giacomelli, "Famiglie nobiliari e potere nella Bologna settecentesca", *I «giacobini» nelle legazioni. Gli anni napoleonici a Bologna e Ravenna. Atti dei convegni di studi svoltisi a Bologna il 13-14-15 novembre 1996, a Ravenna il 21-22 novembre 1996*, t. I, ed. Angelo Varni (S.l. : Costa, s.d.), 150. See also Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Ambasciata bolognese a Roma, *Registrum*, b. 137, 226 (1747), *Aggregazione all'ordine nobile della famiglia Vernizzi [...] la quale per lungo corso di anni si è sempre resa distinta per ragguardevoli e virtuosi soggetti*.

<sup>47</sup> Angela De Benedictis, *Diritti in memoria, carità di patria. Tribuni della plebe e governo popolare a Bologna (XIV-XVIII secolo)* (Bologna : CLUEB, 1999).

(son of Ottavio, the professor), was appointed count by the Duke of Modena as appreciation for his service. His brother was Filippo Vernizzi, a famous clergyman<sup>48</sup> that left him all his wealth. He had two uncles (Girolamo Maria and Giovanni Battista) who were appointed on the local Canon Chapters of San Petronio and of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Gregorio was born in Bologna in 1706<sup>49</sup>. He came from a new noble family, therefore his godparents were of the highest ranks of society: the princes of Piombino Gregorio and Ippolita Ludovisi Boncompagni, his wife, agreed to become Gregorio's godparents perhaps for the high position his uncle Girolamo Maria had in the hierarchy of the royal court in Poland<sup>50</sup>. Gregorio's brother Filippo had a noble godfather too, the prince Antonio Boncompagni Ludovisi, brother of Gregorio Boncompagni<sup>51</sup>. Gregorio Vernizzi took his *iuris utriusque* degree in 1728<sup>52</sup>, he was doctor of Colleges<sup>53</sup>, lawyer<sup>54</sup>, professor in the public University for 40 years<sup>55</sup> and in his private home<sup>56</sup>: during his career he accumulated many capitals. In the *Studium* he taught minor lectures, especially civil law lectures. After the discussion of the public *conclusio-*

<sup>48</sup> Guerrini, *Collegi dottorali in conflitto. I togati bolognesi e la Costituzione di Benedetto XIV (1744)*. Filippo played an important role in the long debate against the Pope defending the rights of the doctors in Bologna.

<sup>49</sup> The right date of birth was the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1706, he was baptized two days later (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Registro delle aggregazioni al Collegio civile*, b. 123, 37).

<sup>50</sup> Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B. 698, Baldassarre Antonio Maria Carrati, *Alberi genealogici delle famiglie di Bologna*, 119.

<sup>51</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Registro delle aggregazioni al Collegio civile*, b. 123, 21, 1695.

<sup>52</sup> Maria Teresa Guerrini, *Qui voluerit in iure promoveri ... I dottori in diritto nello Studio di Bologna (1501-1796)* (Bologna : CLUEB, 2005), n. 8686, 26 June 1728.

<sup>53</sup> He was admitted in the Civil Law College the 25 February 1734 (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Costituzioni del Collegio civile*, 1591, b. 16; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Gozzadini 413, *Aggiunta al libro de dottori bolognesi di legge civile e canonica laureati in Bologna dopo li 6 agosto del 1623, pubblicati dall'Alidosi condotta fino al 1811*, 82) and the Canon Law College welcomed him the 7 May 1744 (*ivi*, Studio, *Costituzioni del Collegio canonico*, 1591, b. 6; Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Registro dei processi di aggregazione al Collegio canonico*, b. 113, 33).

<sup>54</sup> His *cursus honorum* is described in Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Registro delle aggregazioni al Collegio civile*, b. 123, 37.

<sup>55</sup> Dallari, *I Rotuli dei lettori, legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese*, t. III/I and II, 353, 4-198.

<sup>56</sup> For the private lessons see Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Assunteria di Studio, *Requisiti dei lettori*, b. 58, f. 5 (1744), the document informs that Gregorio lectured at home to prepare young students to the final exam. In another document (*ivi*, Studio, *Registro dei processi di aggregazione al Collegio canonico*, b. 113, 33) it is explained that in the morning he taught at home canonical Institutions and in the afternoon he taught at the public *Studium*. In his home he housed students too.

nes<sup>57</sup>, he started in 1736 with civil *Institutiones* and in 1739 he then taught the *Ripetizioni di Bartolo* until 1745, when he started teaching *Malefici* (in the years 1748-1749 he obtained a reserved seat). In 1749 he accepted the *lectura* of the *Regole del diritto* that he held until the 1751 with a reserved seat for teaching. From 1751 to 1753 he taught canon law with the *Libro sesto e clementine* (with a reserved seat for the years 1751 and 1752). During the academic year 1753-54 he returned to teaching *Malefici* and ended his teaching career, until 1776, with the *Ripetizioni di Bartolo*. His absence from the workplace, with the reserved seat, were probably due to his positions abroad (he was master ceremonies of the compatriot Pompeo Aldrovandi, archbishop of Montefiascone until 1752). During his teaching career he earned a salary of 200 *lire bolognine* per year, which increased to 300 *lire* at the end of his career<sup>58</sup>: not a high salary compared to the income of an ordinary professor of civil law who could earn at least 1.000/1.200 *lire* per year<sup>59</sup>.

Gregorio belonged to the lower noble side of the family because the comital title was passed bequeathed from the descendants of his cousin Giuseppe Maria. Despite this, when Gregorio died childless (in 1776) he had two servants (a man and a woman), a porter and a charioteer. He left a long testament (more than 170 pages) to administrate his legacy<sup>60</sup>: his house was in Bologna under the parish of San Giorgio in Poggiale. He also had four other houses *intra moenia*<sup>61</sup> and three hunting lodges: one in Olmetola (near Bologna) and two in San Lazzaro. In the will he mentions goods, paintings, jewels, money, credits, for an amount of 20.500 *lire di bolognini*<sup>62</sup>. He could claim 5019.35 *lire* and he had a debt of 3253.16.11 *lire*. However, in his will, there is a noticeable absence of books. We don't know why because he was a lawyer and he had a very big school in his home<sup>63</sup>, but in his will we did

<sup>57</sup> The *conclusiones*, a kind of thesis to be discussed after the graduation, were a requirement in order to have a chair in the public *Studium*. The *conclusiones* discussed by Gregorio Vernizzi in the Archiginnaio building, the 12<sup>th</sup> April 1731, are preserved in the State Archive of Bologna, *Registro degli atti dell'Università degli scolari leggisti*, b. 363, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Riformatori dello Studio, *Quartironi degli stipendi*, b. 53-54.

<sup>59</sup> Zannini, *I Maestri: carriere, metodi didattici, posizione sociale, rapporti con le professioni*.

<sup>60</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Giovanni Battista Guarmani, 4 August 1776.

<sup>61</sup> One house (with four apartments) was in the Pratello quarter, another house was under the parish of Mascarella, one was in Santo Stefano and another under the parish of San Tomaso del Mercato (*ibidem*).

<sup>62</sup> 11108.15.6 *lire* of *bolognini* of goods, 1329 *lire* of clothes, 1060 *lire* in jewels, 761 *lire* of tables tools and money for 6352.3.0 *lire* (*ibidem*).

<sup>63</sup> See note 56.

not find a list of books<sup>64</sup>, but there is a list of documents from his archive. Gregorio had accumulated a great amount of wealth thanks to his brother Filippo (professor of Criminal Practice at the University of Bologna for 49 years)<sup>65</sup> but, especially thanks to his knowledge: as teacher in the public University he had a modest salary, but he had great privileges in the Colleges of doctors<sup>66</sup> and good reputation as a private teacher. Among the people who benefitted from his inheritance there were his brother Girolamo Maria (retired *servita* general), his second cousin Ugo (son of the count Giuseppe Maria), his servants (Ludovico Pondrelli and Anna Diolaiti, the porter Gasparo Ugolini and Antonio Mantovani the charioteer), the parish priest of San Giorgio in Poggiale (Francesco Patrizio Cristofori) who received two legates, the Chapter and the Rectory of San Petronio where his brother Filippo and his cousin Gioacchino were involved and Elena Mingozzi, widow of his tenant Negri<sup>67</sup>. Gregorio's family grew in social hierarchy thanks to his doctoral and professorial title<sup>68</sup>, starting from his cousin Giuseppe Maria and his brother Filippo; the inheritance was claimed by his second cousin Ugo, son of the count Giuseppe Maria.

### Conclusions

During the early modern age we found different financial situations into the three Pope's Universities examined. Perugia heavily depended on Rome in the administration of the finances of its University, and it was the first University restored at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Martino V pope.

<sup>64</sup> Except those books inherited from his brother Filippo, who then he sells (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Giovanni Battista Guarmani, 4 August 1776).

<sup>65</sup> Dallari, *I Rotuli dei lettori, legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese*, cit., t. III/I, 299-354, t. III/II, s. 4 - 182.

<sup>66</sup> He was the Head of the Colleges of doctors many times. Head of the Civil Law College in 1738 (second bimester); 1740 (third bimester); 1743 (fifth bimester); 1749 (first and fourth bimester); 1753 (fourth bimester); 1757 (second bimester); 1759 (first bimester); 1764 (second bimester); 1767 (fourth bimester): Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Libri segreti del Collegio civile*, b. 148-149. Head of the Canon Law College in 1740 (second semester); 1747 (second semester); 1753 (first semester); 1760 (second semester); 1766 (first semester); 1767 (first semester): Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio, *Libri segreti del Collegio canonico*, b. 136.

<sup>67</sup> Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Giovanni Battista Guarmani, 4 August 1776.

<sup>68</sup> In addition to Gregorio and Filippo, their uncle Ottavio lectured in the *Studium* of Bologna too (Dallari, *I Rotuli dei lettori, legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese*, cit., t. III/I, 49-183), his cousin Vincenzo Maria for 22 years (*ivi*, t. III/I, 321-353, t. III/II, 4-69), and his second cousin Ugo will teach there for 38 years (*ivi*, t. III/II, 129-324).

The Sapienza of Rome depended by the Camera Urbis (the municipal administration irredeemably influenced, for its proximity, by the papacy). The Popes instead left to Bologna greater autonomy in the University administration of finances (run especially by doctors that became a power corporation without the medieval moral stature). This freedom however produced instability in the University of Bologna, political conflicts with disastrous consequences. Maybe this was not the right solution for Bologna and one of the advantages of this situation was an increase in the number of students in Rome<sup>69</sup>.

Nevertheless lawyers and doctors who graduated at the University of Bologna still had a very good reputation locally and great economic power, as the example of Gregorio Vernizzi shows, despite the competition from the graduates from Rome who aimed for a career in the most important offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, of the Papal State. In contrast to repeating the same contents lecture after lecture. The topics would be in fact renewed only after the new wave of the French Revolution in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>.

The case study of Gregorio Vernizzi shows how much the testamentary document can be useful to reconstruct the economic condition of university professors in early modern period. Documents demonstrate how the income of a teacher included not only his salary, but also the proceeds from private lessons and the income from taking part to the exam commissions (the Colleges of doctors), which increased their earnings. The extremely valuable yet unexplored documentation kept in the archives in Bologna have the potential to open new perspectives on the financial administration of the University of Bologna during the early modern age. A research analyzing these features would contribute to demonstrate that the University of Bologna attempted, in the early modern period, to protect its independence claiming

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<sup>69</sup> An example of this shift of preference (from Bologna to Rome) is studied for Sardinian students. See Maria Teresa Guerrini, "Un Regno senza Università: nuovi dati sulla presenza di studenti sardi nella Sapienza romana", *Le origini dello Studio generale sassarese nel mondo universitario europeo dell'età moderna*, eds. Gian Paolo Brizzi - Antonello Mattone (Bologna: CLUEB, 2013), 33-46

<sup>70</sup> About the renewal of the *curricula* and the teaching methods see *Le università napoleoniche. Uno spartiacque nella storia italiana ed europea dell'istruzione superiore. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Padova-Bologna, 13-15 settembre 2006*, eds. Piero Del Negro and Luigi Pepe (Bologna : CLUEB, 2008); *Dalla pecia all'e-book. Libri per l'Università: stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008*, eds. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Gioia Tavoni (Bologna : CLUEB, 2009); *Dalla lectura all'e-learning*, ed. Andrea Romano (Bologna : CLUEB, 2015).

the town autonomy in the Late Middle Ages<sup>71</sup>, when the pope was Niccolò V. Thus the research would help redefining not only the economic background, but also enriching the local political framework by including the city of Bologna and its *Studium* in a wider and new Italian and European context that goes beyond the traditional reputation of the *Alma Mater Studiorum*.

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<sup>71</sup> On the topic of the negotiated freedom (the Bolognese *libertas*) see Tommaso Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno a Bologna nel Quattrocento (1392-1466). Fonti per la storia delle istituzioni* (Bologna : CLUEB, 2009).

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# The Socio-economic Role of Medieval Parisian Colleges Through the 'Studium Parisiense' Database

El papel socioeconómico de las universidades parisinas medievales a través de la base de datos Studium Parisiense

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Recibido: 27/03/2021  
Aceptado: 23/04/2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6159>

*Abstract:* *Studium Parisiense* is a database which intends to identify all the students and masters of Paris university. With nearly 20000 files, it may be half-way. We have tested this results in exploring the impact of the college system in medieval Paris. A chronological trend appears: the development of the college system in the 14th century is a more efficient solution to accommodate the growing academic population than the creation of the Augustinian canons houses (12th century), and of the mendicant convents (13th century). On the other hand, both in terms of international recruitment and of literary outputs, Paris colleges were inferior institutions, with the exception of the Sorbonne. However,

*Resumen:* *Studium Parisiense* es una base de datos cuyo objetivo es el de identificar a todos los estudiantes y maestros de la Universidad de París. Aún por concluir, cuenta hoy con 20000 fichas. En base a estos datos, se ha intentado medir el impacto del sistema de colegios mayores en el París medieval. El resultado logrado apunta a una tendencia cronológica: el desarrollo del sistema de colegios mayores en el siglo XIV resulta ser una solución más eficaz para acoger a la creciente población académica que la creación de casas de canónigos agustinos (siglo XII) y la de conventos mendicantes (siglo XIII). Por otro lado, tanto en términos de reclutamiento internacional como de producción literaria, salvo la

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it helped to provide better conditions of study and to discipline the student's population on the left banks of the Seine, and by the end of the fifteenth century, Paris colleges had increased their reputation and attracted again European students.

*Keywords:* college; university; Paris; mendicant convents; students.

excepción de la Sorbona, los colegios mayores parisinos no dejaban de ser instituciones de segundo nivel. Sin embargo, estas instituciones, situadas en la ribera izquierda del Sena, proporcionaron mejores condiciones de estudio a la población estudiantil y ayudaron a disciplinarla. A finales del siglo XV, los colegios mayores parisinos lograron mejorar su reputación y atraer de nuevo estudiantes europeos.

*Palabras clave:* colegio; universidad; París; conventos mendicantes; estudiantes.

The aim of the *Studium Parisiense* project is to create for Paris schools and university a bio-bibliographical repertory on the model of Alfred B. Emden's dictionaries for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge<sup>1</sup> while benefitting of the technical advantages of computerisation in terms of data homogenisation, information retrieval, indexation and statistical approach<sup>2</sup>. It is essential to keep in mind the fundamental fact that it is a work in progress: we have so far realised 19 268 individual files for a period starting with the cathedral school and extending to 1500<sup>3</sup>, but we may expect that the final number of files will be well beyond 40 000. This raises immediately a doubt about our use of statistics: since we are dealing with grossly incomplete data, which value is to be attributed to our results which are obviously provisional? There are two answers to this. The first one is that it will never be possible to consider our population as complete. As Oxford and Cambridge, Paris has not the unified system of matriculation we find in some Italian and in all German universities: matriculations are made at the level of nations (Arts), Faculties (Theology, Canon Law and Medicine) and colleges, but very little of

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Brotherton Emden. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-1959), 3 vol.; Id., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1974) ; Id., *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> *Studium Parisiense* is a research program of the Laboratoire de Médiévisique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP). It is funded by Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, the CNRS, the LABEX Hastec and has benefitted from an ERC Advanced Program, SAS: see Jean-Philippe Genet, Hicham Idabal, Thierry Kouamé, Stéphane Lamassé, Claire Priol et Anne Tournieroux, "General introduction to the Studium project", *Medieval Prosopography*, 31 (2016), 155-170; Id., "L'université et les écoles parisiennes au Moyen Âge: un dictionnaire numérique". *Mémoires de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 68 (2017), 331-354 ; Jean-Philippe Genet, "Studium Parisiense, un répertoire informatisé des écoles et de l'université de Paris". *Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane*, 21 (2017), 25-74.

<sup>3</sup> The program will be later extended to the sixteenth century.

the archives kept by these institutions has come down to us. The sources are extremely patchy (10 years for the largest nation, the *Natio Gallica*): there is no reason why the results for 19 268 would differ from results for 40 000 or more, especially if our strategy of exploration is coherent. On this second point, our answer has to be more detailed.

Generally speaking, we have followed an alphabetical strategy. We have created records for all individuals whose Christian name begins by letters A to F (standardised classical Latin form, e.g. “Aegidius” for “Egidius”, “Gilles”, “Gillot” etc.) in our core sources, the so-called *Chartularium* and *Auctarium Universitatis Parisiensis*<sup>4</sup>. We are now working on letter G. The *Chartularium*, t. 1 et 2, and the *Auctarium*, t. 5 have already been entirely dealt with and we are in the middle of *Chartularium*, III. Besides, we have followed the same strategy with a group of publications which are indispensable complements to the core group: repertory of authors for the Faculties of arts<sup>5</sup>, records of the Faculties of medicine<sup>6</sup> and of canon law<sup>7</sup>, editions of the Parisian *rotuli*<sup>8</sup>, the repertories of Palémon Glorieux<sup>9</sup> and Thomas Sullivan<sup>10</sup>, and the volumes of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*<sup>11</sup>, to mention but the most important. The alpha-

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Denifle; Émile Châtelain. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Delalain, 1889-1897), 4 vol. ; Heinrich Denifle; Émile Châtelain et alii. *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Delalain and H. Didier, 1894-1964), 6 vol.

<sup>5</sup> Olga Weijers. *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca.1200-1500)* (Turnhout : Brepols, 1994-2012) 9 vol.

<sup>6</sup> Ernest Wickersheimer, *Commentaires de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Paris (1395-1516)* (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1915) ; Id., *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* (Genève: Droz, 1979 [1915]), 2 vol. ; Danielle Jacquart, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge. Supplément* (Genève : Droz, 1979).

<sup>7</sup> Marcel Fournier, Léon Dorez, Émile-Aurèle Van Moé, *La Faculté de décret de l'Université de Paris au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895-1942) 4 vol. : analysis to letter J only.

<sup>8</sup> William J. Courtenay, *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, I, 1316-1349* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2002); William J. Courtenay and Eric D. Goddard, *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, II, 1352-1378* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004) ; Id., *Rotuli Parisienses: supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, III, 1378-1394* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013) 2 vol. : analysis to letter G only.

<sup>9</sup> Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris : Vrin, 1933), 2 vol. ; Id., *La Faculté des Arts et ses Maîtres au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris : Vrin, 1971).

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register. Vol. I, The Religious Orders* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004); Id., *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register. Vol. II, The Secular Clergy* (Leiden-Boston : Brill, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae, Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500* (Turnhout : Brepols, 1996-2021), 22 volumes published so far.

betical strategy is not exempt of bias, since Christian names have strong regional ties: most Adam are from Picardy, Roger and Richard from Normandy, Hervé and Yves from Brittany. To correct this, we have made a complete (i.e. from A to Z) analysis of some sources containing lists of masters and students which, though seldom complete, provide us with great numbers of names: records of collective payment of taxes for various reasons in 1313<sup>12</sup>, 1329-1330<sup>13</sup> and 1464<sup>14</sup>, and the collection of *rotuli* sent in 1403<sup>15</sup> to pope Benoît XIII when French universities returned to the Avignon papacy's obedience.

### *Secular colleges*

However, given the theme chosen for the HELOISE meeting at Lisbon, we have collected specific data about the Paris colleges (both secular and religious). The details of these specific sources is given in each individual bibliography, and it is impossible to list them here in full. But special mention must be made of the new college studies derived from thesis initiated by Jacques Verger: they provide as complete as possible surveys of the scholars of the colleges of Navarre<sup>16</sup>, Dormans-Beauvais<sup>17</sup>, Laon<sup>18</sup> and of a group of

<sup>12</sup> William J. Courtenay, "Foreign Scholars at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century: the Crisis of 1313", *History of Universities*, 15 (1997-1999) : 47-74.

<sup>13</sup> William J. Courtenay, *Parisians Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) for the 1329-1330' *computus*.

<sup>14</sup> Max Ludwig Spingatis, "Personalverzeichnis der Pariser Universität von 1464 und die darin aufgeführten Handschriften-und Pergamenthändler", *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1888): 1-52 (<http://www.archive.org/>); see Jean-Philippe Genet, "Les membres de l'université de Paris et la collecte de 1464 : quelques remarques", in Pierre Bau-  
duin, Pierre et al., éd., *Sur les pas de Lanfranc, du Bec à Caen. Recueil d'études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau* (Caen : Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 2018), 279-289.

<sup>15</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 4, n° 1786 à 1799. See Jacques Verger, "Le recrutement géographique des universités françaises au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les suppliques de 1403", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 82 (1970), 855-902, reprinted in Id., *Les universités françaises au Moyen Âge* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995), 122-173.

<sup>16</sup> Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1418) : histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997); Jean de Launoy, *Joannis Launoi Constantiensis, Parisiensis theologi, Regii Navarrae gymnasii Parisiensis historia* (Paris: apud viduam Edmundi Martini, 1677) has not been used systematically.

<sup>17</sup> Thierry Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais à la fin du Moyen Âge. Stratégies politiques et parcours individuels à l'Université de Paris* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> Cécile Fabris, *Étudier et vivre à Paris au Moyen Âge : le collège de Laon aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: École des Chartes 2005). For material reasons, this thesis has not been fully

Norman colleges (Harcourt, Maître-Gervais, Justice, Trésorier)<sup>19</sup>. All other mentions of college membership come from the *Chartularium* and the *Auctarium*, supplemented by a thesis on the “small” colleges’ libraries<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately, *procuratores* and *receptores*’s registers, our main sources for the names of students and masters in *Chartularium* and *Auctarium*, make few references to colleges: an exceptional case is that of the procurator of the Nation of Picardy, Cornelius Adriani de Goes, who mentions the college affiliation of twelve of the 35 bachelors for 1480<sup>21</sup>. The *Chartularium* contains only some 50 colleges’ documents after 1286<sup>22</sup>.

As a matter of fact, the first college created in Paris, the ‘College des Dix-Huit’, founded by the merchant Jossius of London in 1180 at his return from Jerusalem, was structured on the hospital model to house poor students, and this is also true of the colleges created by some Paris chapters (Saint Thomas and Saint Nicolas du Louvre, Saint Honoré ...) until the middle of the thirteenth century. The college conceived as a specific educational institution appeared more than half a century later with the Sorbonne (see Table 1<sup>23</sup>), with students forming a community sharing the same religious and moral values<sup>24</sup>. By the end of the fourteenth century, these colleges organized lectures, opened as those of the mendicant convents to an external public, and they

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analyzed: at the moment, there are only 191 files of Laon scholars in *Studium Parisiense*, while Cécile Fabris has identified 368 scholars, roughly half the theoretical number which she has deduced from the statutes.

<sup>19</sup> Marion Bernard-Schweitzer, *Les collèges normands à Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge. Histoire institutionnelle et étude prosopographique de leur recrutement* (Paris-Sorbonne, doctoral diss. 2018).

<sup>20</sup> Karine Klein-Rebmeister, *Les livres des étudiants et des petits collèges à Paris aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, doctoral diss., 2005).

<sup>21</sup> *AUP*, II, col. 236-239.

<sup>22</sup> Thierry Kouamé, “L’édition des sources médiévales des collèges parisiens. Bilan et perspectives”, in Andréas Sohn et Jacques Verger, ed., *Die universitären Kollegien im Europa des Mittelalters und der Renaissance/Les collèges universitaires en Europe au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance (Univ. Paris 4/Univ. Paris 13), Décembre 2008* (Bochum: D. Winkler, 2011), 39-56 <hal-00786535>.

<sup>23</sup> The table is based upon Marie-Madeleine Compère, *Les collèges français 16e-18e siècle*, 3, special issue of *Publications de l’Institut national de recherche pédagogique*, 10, no. 3 (2002), and Thierry Kouamé, “Rex fundator. Les interventions royales dans les collèges universitaires de Paris, Oxford, Cambridge (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, in Corinne Péneau, dir., *Itinéraires du savoir de l’Italie à la Scandinavie (X<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), 231-254.

<sup>24</sup> Thierry Kouamé, “La Sorbonne médiévale dans l’univers des collèges parisiens”, in Claire Angotti, Gilbert Fournier, Donatella Nebbiai, dir., *Les livres des maîtres de Sorbonne. Histoire et rayonnement du collège et de ses bibliothèques du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2017) 33-59.

received paying external younger students, such as the so-called “martinets” of the Dormans-Beauvais College<sup>25</sup> raising new funds by this system. They added to the scholars holding *bursae* a teaching staff, recruiting masters of arts as regent masters. These appointments were first temporary, but they soon became permanent: in the sixteenth century, the Faculty suppressed its own schools, and the teaching duties were entirely left to the colleges<sup>26</sup>. This was a very important step in the birth of the modern college system, but it has an important consequence for us: scholars became more and more frequently attached to several colleges, getting *bursae* colleges according to their needs (an artist *bursa* in one college and later a theology *bursa* in another) while serving as regent-masters in other colleges. A good example is Johannes Lantman<sup>27</sup>, a doctor in theology (1496) who came from Basel – where he had got his B.A. – who resided and taught in the Collège de Bourgogne when he was elected rector by the Faculty of Art in 1489: he also became a *socius* of the Collège de Navarre in 1491 and of the Sorbonne in 1493, and he was also a regent-magister at the *Domus puerum Alemannorum*. It is not surprising that in the fifteenth century, newly elected rectors had to specify publicly to which of the several colleges they had some link with they wanted to be “attached”.

The creation of many new colleges in the fourteenth century led to a rapid increase in the number of *bursae* offered to students, as detailed in the foundation statutes. Later on, many new *bursae* were added to the primitive numbers, generally by rich masters and/or ecclesiastics in their wills. Graph 1 shows this quick rise from 1240 to 1360, followed in the fifteenth century by a certain stability<sup>28</sup>: less new creations, balanced by the economic depression caused by the consequences of the Hundred Year Wars and the political crisis which led to the creation of potential rivals, Poitiers (1431), Caen (1432), and Bourges (1463). This gives a number of some 750 available *bursae* until the end of the fifteenth century: but all students did not belong to colleges, and a majority was always hiring lodgings from Parisian houses’ owners which makes it impossible to deduce the number of students in Paris

<sup>25</sup> Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 146, note 915: “chascun enfant forain, appelé martinet, qui vient a l’escole oudit college, doit chascun an III s.p.”.

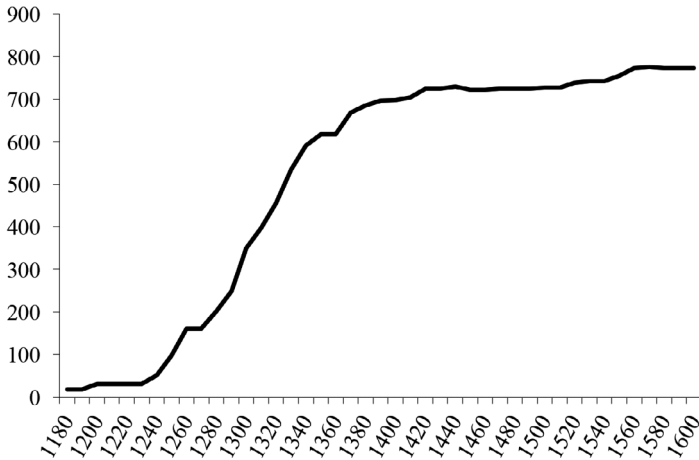
<sup>26</sup> Thierry Kouamé, “Les collèges de l’université de Paris : de la charité privée à l’enseignement public (XII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, in Antonio Savini, dir., *Collegiate Learning in the Middle Ages and beyond. 2<sup>nd</sup> Coimbra Group Birthday Seminar* (Milano: Cisalpino, 2012), 25-34.

<sup>27</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/7095-johanneslantman>; see Sullivan, *Parisian Licenciates ... The Secular Clergy*, 315-316.

<sup>28</sup> For the making-up of this graph, see Thierry Kouamé, “Les collèges de l’université de Paris”, 30-31.



from the number of *bursae*, though a tendency to reside in hostels or “pédagogies<sup>29</sup>” grouping students under the aegis of a master rather than in individual lodgings (a solution which was finally forbidden by University statutes) is perceptible: this is for instance the origin of the Collège Sainte-Barbe, a boarding hostel for students which Geoffroy Lenormand, previously master of the students of the Collège de Navarre transformed into a full college<sup>30</sup>.



Graph 1. The number of bursae according to the Paris colleges' statutes (1180-1600).

The number of *bursae* gives a clear indication on the respective sizes of the colleges. But there is no correlation between the theoretical number of *bursae* in a given college and the number of masters and students who is known to us. There may be some discrepancies between the number of *bursae* and the real number of students, especially in time of crisis, for instance after the Black Death or during the occupation of Paris by the English. But the differences are best explained by the amount of sources left by each college<sup>31</sup>. With Table 1 we may compare the number of bursae (B) with the members of the secular colleges present in *Studium Parisiense* (S).

<sup>29</sup> See Simone Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers (XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Christian, 1992), 19-21.

<sup>30</sup> Compère, *Les collèges français*, 339.

<sup>31</sup> The LAMOP and the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne (BIS) have initiated since 2020 a new project, ORESM, which is developed by Lucie Veillon (BIS) and Stéphane Lamassé (LAMOP) to prepare the digitization of the archives of Paris University in the Archives Nationales, shelfmarks M, S and H<sup>3</sup>, and in the Sorbonne Library.

Table 1. The secular colleges.

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
Allemands	Bef. 1348				7
Arras	1332	Saint-Vaast Abbey, Arras			4
Autun	1341	Cardinal Pierre Bertrand		15	9
Ave Maria Hubant	1336/1339	Jean de Hubant <sup>1</sup> , president of the chamber of inquiries of the Parliament of Paris, canon of Rouen		6	1
Bayeux	1309	Guillaume Bonnet (Bouvet), bishop of Bayeux		12	6
Boissy	1359	Godefroy of Boissy, clerk of King John		12	2
Boncourt	1357	Pierre Bécoud, knight		8	21
Bons Enfants d'Arras	Bef. 1250	?	1430		
Bons Enfants St.Honoré	1209	Chapter of St. Honoré, Paris		13	18?
Bons Enfants St.Victor	Bef. 1248	?		9	1?
Bourgogne	1332	Queen Joan of Burgundy		20	15
Calvy	Bef. 1271	[controlled by the Sorbonne]			6
Cambrai	1348	Hugues de Pomare, bishop of Langres; Hugues d'Arcy, bishop of Laon then archbishop of Reims; Guillaume d'Auxonne, bishop of Cambrai then Autun		19 (7)	5
Cardinal Lemoine	1302	Cardinal Jean Lemoine		20	15
Cholets	1295	Cardinal Jean Cholet		36	49
Constantinople	1204/1289	?	1362		1
Coquerel	Bef. 1463	Nicolas Coqueret <sup>2</sup> , canon of Amiens			7
Cornouaille	1321/1379	Nicolas Galeran, clerk; Jean de Guistry, royal physician			22
Dacie	1284	Petrus Arnfast, canon of Roskilde <sup>3</sup>	1429		11
Dainville	1380	Jean de Dainville, steward of the Household		12	1
Dix-Huit	1180	Josse de Londres, merchant returning from Jerusalem		18	19
Donjon	Bef.1412	Bertrand Donyou, Master-Regent of the Faculty of Canon Law			
Dormans	1370	Jean de Dormans <sup>4</sup> , chancellor of France		24	642
Écossais	1326/1333	David de Moravia, bishop of Moray		4	

<sup>1</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/8055-johannesdehubanto>

<sup>2</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/indaividus/18439-nicolauscoquerel>

<sup>3</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/24248-petrusarnfast> (Elisabeth Mornet).

<sup>4</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50252-johannesdedormans>

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
Fortet	1391	Pierre Fortet, canon of Paris (College placed under the patronage of Notre-Dame)		8	5
Harcourt	1280/1311	Raoul and Robert d'Harcourt, royal councillors		40	93
Justice	1353	Jean de Justice, canon of Paris		12	111
Karembert	Bef. 1421	Éonet de Kérembert			1
La Marche	1362	Jean and Guillaume de La Marche/Beuve de Winville		12	15
Laon	1314/1324	Guy de Laon, Treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle (royal palace's chapel) and Raoul de Presles, Lord of Lizy, royal legist		16	161 (368)
Linköping	1317	Chapter of Linköping	1449?		8
Lisieux	1336	Guy of Harcourt, bishop of Lisieux		24	12
Lombards	1334	Andrea Ghini, Master of Requests of the Household, François de l'Hôpital, clerk of the Royal Crossbowmen, Renier Jean, apothecary of Queen Joan of Burgundy		11	15
Lyon	?	?			1
Maclou	Bef. 1323	?	1371?		
Maître Clément	1349	Robert Clément, master	1371		
Maître Gervais	1371	Gervais Chrétien <sup>5</sup> , royal physician		24	114
Mignon	1343/1353	Jean Mignon, master clerk of the Chamber of Accounts	1584	12	2
Montaigu	1314	Gilles Aycelin de Montaigu <sup>6</sup> , Keeper of the Seal		12	20
Narbonne	1317	Bernard de Farges <sup>7</sup> , archbishop of Narbonne		9	11
Navarre	1305	Queen Joan of Navarra		70	817
Plessis	1323	Geoffrey du Plessis, councilor of King Philip IV, also founder of the College of Marmoutier		40 (25)	8
Presles	1314/1324	Guy de Laon <sup>8</sup> , Treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle (royal palace's chapel) and Raoul de Presles, Lord of Lizy, royal legist		13	8
Reims	1409	Guy de Roye <sup>9</sup> , archbishop of Reims	1444		
Reims and Rethel	1444	King Charles VII			7
Rethel	Bef. 1444	?	1444		

<sup>5</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2994-gervasiuschristiani>

<sup>6</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50823-aegidiusaycelindemontaigt1>

<sup>7</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/17272-bernardusdefargis>

<sup>8</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3405-guidodelauduno>

<sup>9</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50068-guidoderoya>

College	Founded	Founders	Suppressed	Bursae	Studium
St. Barbe	1460	Geoffroy Lenormand <sup>10</sup> , regent-master of the College of Navarre			17
St. Michel (Chenac)	1338/1348	Guillaume de Chanac <sup>11</sup> , bishop of Paris and Patriarch of Alexandria		12	1
St. Nicolas du L. St. Thomas du L.	1186/1187	Robert I, Count of Dreux, brother of King Louis VII			4
		Robert I, Count of Dreux			19
Sées	1404/1428	Grégoire Langlois, Master of Requests of the Household		6	1
Skara	1292	Magister Hemphastus, canon of Växjö and Skara <sup>12</sup>			12
Sorbonne	Ca. 1257	Robert de Sorbon <sup>13</sup> , royal chaplain		19	456
Tonnerre	Bef. 1406	Abbot Richard de Tonnerre and convent of St. Jean en Vallée		2	
Tou (Thou)	Bef. 1393	?			1
Tournai	1295	?			4
Tours	1334	Étienne de Bourgueil, archbishop of Tours		6	3
Tréguier	1325	Guillaume de Coatmohan <sup>14</sup> , cantor of Tréguier, canon of Paris	8		6
Trésorier	1268	Guillaume de Saane <sup>15</sup> , Treasurer of Rouen		24	56
Uppsala	1280	Andreas And, provost of Uppsala <sup>16</sup>	1354	12	6

<sup>10</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2578-galfredusnormani>

<sup>11</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4197-guillelmusdechanaco1>

<sup>12</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/15779-hemphastus> (Elisabeth Mornet).

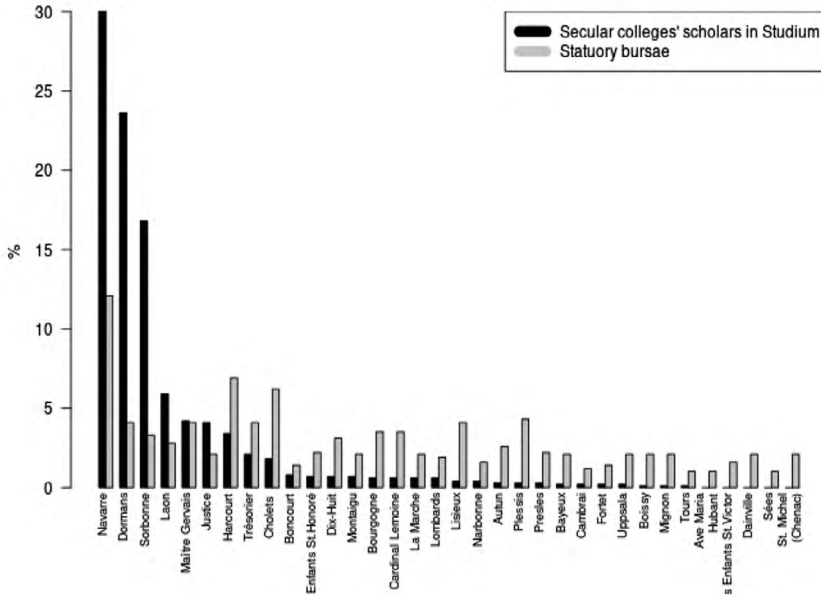
<sup>13</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/11020-robotusdesorbona>.

<sup>14</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/23221-guillelmusdecoetmohan>.

<sup>15</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3653-guillelmusdesaana>.

<sup>16</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/611-andreasand> (Elisabeth Mornet).

We have included among the colleges members both *socii* and *hospites*, and even in some cases people who were regularly procurators or auditors of the accounts. Even with such a wide definition, the contrast between the colleges who have the best archival sources (and consequently have been best studied) and those which have left fewer records is striking. True, Navarre has 70 *bursae* and we know the name of 817 scholars (a ratio of 11.7) while we know 647 scholars for Dormans-Beauvais for only 24 *bursae* (a ratio of nearly 27): but the database contains only 93 scholars from Harcourt (40 *bursae*, ratio 2,3), 49 from Cholets (36 *bursae*: ratio 1,4), or 8 from Plessis (40 *bursae*: ratio 0,2) and only one for Dainville and Saint-Michel (12 *bursae* each: ratio 0,08). This gives a good, though alarming, measure of our



Graph 2. statutory bursae and scholars in Studium parisiense.

sources deficiencies. Graph 2 charts these differences. However, the graph presents the data for two religious colleges because they exceptionally had *bursae*, and we must now turn to the religious establishments which operated within the University of Paris or on its fringes.

### *Convents, religious colleges and communities*

The real “invention” of the college as an educational institution has to be credited to the mendicant orders, who were introduced in Paris in 1216-1217 establishing small houses which were converted in due time in vast convents (the “Cordeliers” for the Franciscans, the “Jacobins” for the Dominicans). They attracted many scholars – those having graduated before becoming friars have not been taken into account<sup>32</sup>. They were later joined by the Carmelites (ca. 1259: they built later their great convent on the Place Mau-

<sup>32</sup> On the word ‘college’, and the similarities and differences between Mendicant convents and secular colleges, see Olga Weijers, “Collège, une institution avant la lettre”, *Vivarium*, 21 (1983), 73-82.

bert) and the Austin Friars, also present in Paris since 1259, for whom Giles of Rome<sup>33</sup> got from Philip the Fair buildings and lands to erect the Grands-Augustins in 1293-1295. We have therefore included these four Paris convents, each of which was considered as the *studium generale* of its order, in our survey: nonetheless, it must be kept in mind that many friars are not University scholars. In most convents, there are two courses of study, one for the academic grades, and another one to prepare friars to become lectors (in arts, *naturalia*, or theology) in their order's convents. All these are students, but only the first ones are properly speaking members of the University. The same is true of the many preachers who resided there. But the information at our disposal does not allow a clear distinction between these different groups: all friars have therefore been included in the following tables as students, if they had not graduated. To prepare the present paper, as in the case of the colleges, we have followed the alphabetical strategy, but with the addition of some bibliographical items<sup>34</sup> and databases<sup>35</sup>.

The traditional orders followed the Mendicants' lead, and have been dealt with in a similar fashion, the usual A-F letters, supplemented by the full analysis of an additional bibliography, especially for the Cistercians<sup>36</sup> (Saint-Bernard College, or Bernardines College) and for the Benedictines of the Cluny congregation<sup>37</sup> (Cluny College). A special mention must be made of a small order which made education one of its chief commitments, the Augustinian canons of the Val des Écoliers, which created a college in Paris, Sainte-Catherine, initially for the order's "écoliers", but managed to hold a chair in the Faculty of Theology for a long time<sup>38</sup>. Other orders had colleges such as the canons of Prémontré, and several important abbeys had also small colle-

<sup>33</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50875-aegidiusromanus> : the first convent, in Montmartre, was transferred to Saint-Victor Street in 1288-1289, until Giles, using the money brought by the sale of the suppressed convent of the Brothers of the Sack was able to acquire the site of the Grands-Augustins.

<sup>34</sup> For a general approach, William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King. The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303", *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 577-605.

<sup>35</sup> For instance the invaluable database *Franciscan authors 13th-18th centuries: a catalogue in progress*, a co-production of Maarten Van der Heijden and Bert Roest, now at the Radboud University Nijmegen, see: <https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscanauthors/>.

<sup>36</sup> Caroline Obert-Piketty, *Les maîtres et étudiants du Collège Saint-Bernard à Paris de 1224 à 1494*, diss. École des chartes, Paris, 1985; "Les lectures et œuvres des pensionnaires du Collège Saint-Bernard", *Cîteaux* (1989), 245-291.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris A.D. 1229-1500. A Biographical Register* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995).

<sup>38</sup> Catherine Guyon, *Les écoliers du Christ. L'ordre canonial du Val des Écoliers, 1201-1539* (Saint-Étienne : Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1998).

ges for lodging their novices while they were students in Paris. However, we have observed in compiling the biographies of *Studium Parisiense* that some religious communities had among their members so many scholars that they were *de facto* colleges: this is obviously the case of the two great abbeys of Augustinian canons, Saint Victor<sup>39</sup> (which had its own school) and Sainte-Geneviève and of the convent of the Trinitarians (called Mathurins in Paris) which was the place where the Faculty of Arts elected the Rector of the University and where the University's congregation frequently met. The small house of the Antonines (Hospitalers of Saint Antoine) has also been included, but we might as well consider the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and the Cluniac priory of Saint-Martin des Champs<sup>40</sup>. Besides, the monks of the order of Grandmont, who were transferred in the Collège Mignon (afterward Collège de Granmont) in 1584, probably resided in the Priory of the Bonshommes of Vincennes: several of them graduated as bachelors of theology in the fifteenth century. Table 2 gives an idea of the spectrum of religious houses associated in one way or another with the University.

There is very little overlap between table 1 and table 2. Donatus de Puteo de Mediolano was an Italian Franciscan who became successively bachelor, "licencié" and doctor in theology from 1432 to 1436, presumably residing in the Cordeliers' convent: he was also from 1447 onwards the principal ("provisor") of the Collège des Lombards in which he founded a chapel with the agreement of pope Nicholas V<sup>41</sup>; he is an exception to the rule. There were also some transfers from one order to another. But the case of Gerardus Martelli shows that things might be less clear-cut: this master of arts was a *socius* of the Sorbonne, probably because he was a student even a bachelor in theology, but at some stage he became a canon of Saint-Victor<sup>42</sup>. It is perhaps even more difficult than in the case of the secular colleges to estimate the proportion of those religious members of the university who remain hidden to us. Generally speaking, it seems obvious that the presence of the university led religious houses to increase their size to accommodate novices of

<sup>39</sup> Cédric Giraud, "L'école de Saint-Victor dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, entre école monastique et école cathédrale", in *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris : influence et rayonnement du moyen âge à l'époque moderne, colloque international CNRS 2008* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): 101-119.

<sup>40</sup> The chapter of Cluny wanted that the Priory receives Parisian novices who had too few *bursae* at their disposal: Simone Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 31.

<sup>41</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2018-donatusdeputodemediolano>.

<sup>42</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21541-gerardusmartelli>. See Jeanne Viellard and Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, *Le registre de prêt de la bibliothèque du Collège de Sorbonne* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2000), 595.

Table 2. Convents, religious colleges and communities.

<b>Mendicant convents</b>				
<b>Institution</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Designation and founder</b>	<b>Bursae</b>	<b>Studium</b>
Dominicans	1218	Couvent des Jacobins, or Couvent Saint-Jacques		424
Franciscans	1325	Couvent des Cordeliers, or Grand Couvent		330
Carmelites	Ca. 1259	Couvent of Maubert place		267
Augustinians	1293	Grands Augustins		165
				1186
<b>Religious colleges</b>				
Canons of the Val des Écoliers	1228	Sainte Catherine		34
O.S.B. Saint-Denis	1229	Collège de Saint-Denis		8
Cistercians	1246	Collège du Chardonneret, later des Bernardins, founded by Stephen of Lexington <sup>1</sup> , abbot of Clairvaux	20	215
Canons of Prémontré	1252	Collège de Prémontré		6
O.S.B. Cluny	1258-1259	Collège de Cluny, founded by Yves de Vergy, abbot of Cluny	40	72
O. Servorum Beatae Virginis Mariae <sup>2</sup>	1258/1277	Collège des Servites: convent (Blancs-Manteaux) gift of St. Louis		10
O.S.B. Marmoutier Abbey (Tours)	1329	Collège de Marmoutier, Geoffrey du Plessis, councilor of King Philip IV, also founder of the College du Plessis		17
O.S.A. Saint-Jean des Vignes (Soissons)	Ca. 1335	Collège Saint-Jean des Vignes		
O.S.B., Trinité de Vendôme	Before 1367	Collège de Vendôme (suppressed 1441)		
O.S.B. Cluny	?	Collège de Vézelay		
				362
<b>Religious communities</b>				
Canons O.S.A.	502/1108	Sainte-Geneviève		48
Canons O.S.A.	1108	Saint-Victor, founded by the magister Guillaume de Champeaux <sup>3</sup>		52
Trinitarian Brothers	1209	Couvent des Mathurins		11
Hospitalers of St. Anthony (Antonines)	1361-1371	Petit Saint-Antoine, founded by Charles V		4
				115

<sup>1</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/15292-stephanusdelexington>.

<sup>2</sup> The order was officially approved by the papacy in 1249, but suppressed in 1274, to be restored in 1277.

<sup>3</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50929-guillelmusdecampellis>.

their order from all over the Christian world who flocked to Paris to study. The mendicant convents offer a good example, especially because most of the letters of adhesion required by the king of France in 1303 to support his appeal to the council against pope Boniface VIII have been preserved: from



these letters, William Courtenay<sup>43</sup> has reckoned that there were at least 173 Franciscans at the Cordeliers<sup>44</sup>, about the same number of Dominicans<sup>45</sup> at the Jacobins, while the Austin Friars were around 50 or 60<sup>46</sup>, the Carmelite being still few at that stage (apparently their adhesion was not even required). In any case, the master and students of the convents on the one hand, the religious colleges and the houses of the religious communities on the other, are two groups whose weight may be compared with the population of the secular colleges.

### *Colleges and religious establishments: a chronology*

It is possible to extract chronological information from *Studium Parisiense*. The chief difficulty is that we know very little about the lives of most students and masters: very often one or two dates, for instance when they get a grade or appear on one of the *rotuli* sent to the pope, or when they take part in a money collection. The date of death scarcely appears, and dates of birth are extremely rare. We have therefore taken the decision to attribute a single date to each scholar, the mean date of activity, that is the mean between the first date of appearance in a university context and the last one, eventually his date of death when known. Let us take the case of Giles of Rome, born ca. 1245, died in 1316: the mean between 1265 (1245 + 20) and 1316 (his death) is  $51/2 = 26$  (25½ being rounded up to 26), which gives a mean date of  $1265 + 26 = 1291$ . This mean date is automatically produced, and enables us to group the scholars in demographical cohorts. In table 3, the cohorts have been defined on a 25 years basis. The numbers for the three last periods are of decreasing value, since because of the present terminal date for inclusion in the database (1500), we have not yet been able to make a systematic use of the essential works of James K. Farge<sup>47</sup>. The global column

<sup>43</sup> William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King".

<sup>44</sup> There were 68 adherents, and 87 nonadherents. The lists are printed and commented upon in William J. Courtenay, "The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303", *Franciscan Studies*, 53 (1993): 155-173 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41975172>). Very few of them are already present in the *Studium Parisiense* database.

<sup>45</sup> The list is edited by Antoine Dondaine, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province de France : l'appel au concile (1303)", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22 (1952), 381-439.

<sup>46</sup> See William J. Courtenay, "The Augustinian Community at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century", *Analecta Augustiniana*, 51 (2001), 219-229 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44992715>).

<sup>47</sup> James K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris doctors of theology, 1500-1536* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Subsidia Mediaevalia 10) 1980, and *Students and*

concerns all the people included in the database: among the 19 268 files are 1464 “external” files of people who are mentioned in our core sources (for instance princes, sorcerers or cardinals in *Chartularium* or *Auctarium*, or masters of foreign university who have never set a foot in Paris but are included in Glorieux’s repertory of masters of arts) without being members of the University, and 950 files for “uncertain” people who might have been members but for whom we have no decisive proofs of attendance at Paris. The real number of university members is 16854. Of these, roughly 16% are secular colleges alumni<sup>48</sup>, 7% mendicant friars, and a little less than 3% belong to Parisian religious colleges or establishments.

To analyze the evolution of the university’s population, we shall concentrate upon the column “Members”. Globally, it reveals an increase in the number of university members, but this increase is not a regular one. We have first a century of exponential increase from 1125 to 1225, which stops abruptly with the century quarter 1225-1250. The reasons of this sudden stagnation are easy to discover: it is most probably a result of the great crisis of 1229-1231 which is analyzed with great precision by Nathalie Gorochov<sup>49</sup>. Following the murder of students (one chronicler speaks of 320 clerks) by the Queen-Regent Blanche of Castile’s soldiers on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1229 to repress disorders caused by drunk students the preceding day, the masters decided to stop teaching and most masters and students left the town. Thanks to the intervention of Pope Gregory IX, peace came back but only in 1231 (13<sup>th</sup> of April), with the fulmination of the famous papal bull *Parrens Scientiarum*. In the mean times, masters and students had migrated to others places in France: Angers and Orléans which later became universities in their own right, Toulouse, where a university had been created this same year 1229 by count Raymond VII to fight heresy in the South, or even Reims, Amiens or Beauvais. They also migrated outside France, in Spain (Palencia, Léon), in Italy (Vercelli, Bologna) but the most important transfer was to Oxford, essentially because many masters and students were English and

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*teachers at the University of Paris: the generation of 1500: a critical edition of Bibliothèque de l’Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Archives, Registres 89 and 90* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 25) 2006.

<sup>48</sup> In a synthesis of Jacques Verger and Jean Favier’s estimates, Simone Roux supposes that roughly 25% of the students had bursae in the Paris colleges: this points to the fact that the number of colleges’ students in *Studium Parisiense* is probably underestimated: Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 32.

<sup>49</sup> Nathalie Gorochov, *Naissance de l’université. Les écoles de Paris d’Innocent III à Thomas d’Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012) 397-459.

Table 3a. The chronological evolution.

Period	Secular Colleges	Convents	Religious communities	Members	Global
Before 1100					1
1101-1125				6	11
1126-1150			4	16	25
1151-1175			9	33	58
1176-1200	15		6	50	92
1201-1225			7	115	172
1226-1250	1	24	12	110	247
1251-1275	13	77	11	241	453
1276-1300	60	100	20	413	784
1301-1325	129	148	17	817	1172
1326-1350	265	137	33	1793	2146
1351-1375	290	78	32	1145	1339
1376-1400	667	180	59	2189	2374
1401-1425	432	77	43	2820	2975
1426-1450	248	142	69	1655	1796
1451-1475	294	84	106	3682	3767
1476-1500	211	120	34	1541	1618
1501-1525	62	19	15	221	230
1526-1550	2			7	7
Total	2696	1186	477	16854	19268

went back home<sup>50</sup>: some came back to Paris, but most of them remained in Oxford, the development of which really starts in 1229.

The exponential increase starts again in the next quarter century, and it lasts until the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when the quarter century 1351-1375 shows a sharp decrease, by at least one third: this is certainly a consequence of the Black Death. The exponential increase starts again in 1376-1400, but it slows down quickly and there is a new sharp decrease in 1426-1450: it is obviously a consequence of the English occupation, but it is also probably a result of the fading international prestige of Paris after the departure of many masters and students leaving for urbanist countries, combined with the takeoff of the German universities which had begun with the Great Schism and with the creation of rivals in the traditional zones of Paris students' recruitment, mainly Caen (1432) and Louvain (1425). The recovery is obvious from 1451 onwards, but the peak in 1451-1475 must be dealt with cautiously: it is largely due to an exceptional document<sup>51</sup>, the

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 418-423.

<sup>51</sup> See note 14 above.

list drawn up for the collection of a tax in 1464: it gives the name and title (*Magister, Frater, Dominus ...*) of those who gave their contribution to the sums needed to fund an embassy to King Louis XI to gain his support against pope Pius II who, following the revocation of the "Pragmatique Sanction", intended to retain the ecclesiastics' goods at their death and to deprive them of the right to make wills. Unfortunately, the document is incomplete, some names seem to appear twice, and the status in relation to the university of some people appears dubious, while graduates and students whose presence is attested in Paris are not mentioned. For reasons indicated earlier, the interpretation is impossible for the two last periods.

The table enables us to interpret the respective weights of the secular colleges, the mendicant convents, and the religious establishments in the evolution of the number of Parisian scholar. For this, we must turn to percentages (table 3B). We can discern three different stages. During the twelfth century the global increase of the scholars was partially due to two religious communities, essentially the canons of Saint-Victor (15 for the period 1126-1200) and those of Sainte-Geneviève (4). These two communities have a complicated story in relation with the schools of Paris which may have had some consequences on their ambiguous integration in the University's structure. Once it had become a house of regular canons (with canons drawn from Saint-Victor in 1146-1147), Sainte-Geneviève played a crucial part in the schools' development, since its chancellor was responsible for the schools of the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève and his chancellor's capacity to confer the *licencia docendi* and to organize examinations was an important element in the scholars' struggle against the other chancellor, that of Notre-Dame de Paris. It may have had a school, but though it kept its central role in the running of the examinations of the Faculty of Arts, its chapter had relatively few graduates: they had sometimes to hire external chancellors, since they had no masters of arts among them, this grade being a requisite to hold this office. Saint-Victor derived from the hermitage founded by Guillaume de Champeaux when he left his official teaching position: in a way, it always remained close to the University, but neither in or out. However, the canons had a school and were authorized by the pope to have a master of theology: the pope justified this privilege by the penitential role of the canons in the university<sup>52</sup>. It also had one of the largest libraries in Paris. But if the importance of the regular canons is obvious in the twelfth century, it slows down quickly, despite the foundation of a new house of regular canons, that of Sainte-Catherine du Val-des-Écoliers, and of the col-

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<sup>52</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 1, 159 (n° 111).

Table 3b. The chronological evolution: percentages.

Period	Colleges	Convents-	Religious communities
1101-1125			16,6
1126-1150			25
1151-1175			27,3
1176-1200	32		12
1201-1225			6,1
1226-1250	0,9	21,8	10,9
1251-1275	5	32	4,5
1276-1300	14,5	24	4,8
1301-1325	15,8	18	2
1326-1350	14,8	7,6	1,8
1351-1375	25,3	6,8	2,8
1376-1400	30,5	8,2	2,7
1401-1425	15,3	2,7	1,5
1426-1450	15	8,6	4,2
1451-1475	8	2,3	2,9
1476-1500	13,7	7,8	2,2

leges of the Cistercians, the Cluniac and the canons of Prémontré: from 1251 onwards, their part in the university population remains always inferior to that of the members of secular colleges and to those of the mendicant orders<sup>53</sup>.

The mendicants came early in Paris, but they were apparently few: their number swelled rapidly since many *magistri* and students decided to enter the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These have not been counted as Franciscans or Dominicans, since it is difficult to know with certainty which role they played after their conversion, since many of them left Paris to work in the orders' convents. But the rapid development of the convents of both orders meant that from 1230 onwards Franciscan and Dominican masters and teachers were present in increasing numbers, while the 1229-1231 crisis gave them the opportunity to get two chairs in the Faculty of Theology. Their prominence was such that in the fifties secular masters launched a violent campaign to put an end to what they saw as an unfair competition: but this was to no avail and the papacy finally arbitrated in favour of the friars. Their convents continued to grow, they gained new chairs and attracted more and more students, reinforced by the Augustinian Friars and

<sup>53</sup> Except in 1451-1475: it is because in the 1464 collection, all members of the regular orders are described as '*Fratres*', while the Cistercians of the 'Collège des Bernardins' are identified, though not by their own name, but by their monastery's name.

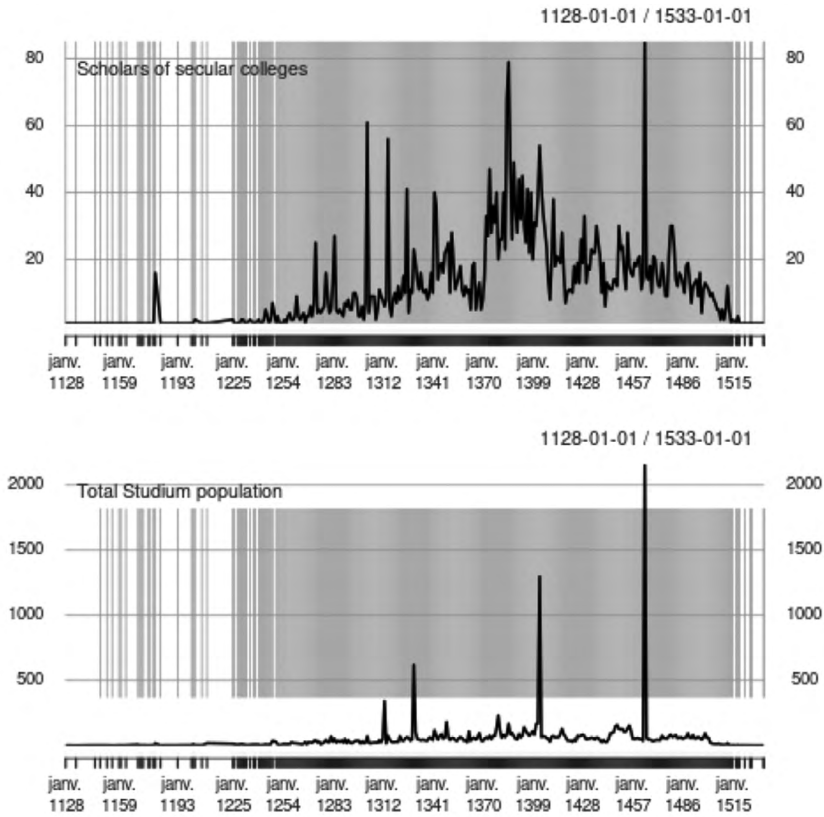
the Carmelites. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the increase of the Friars' number became one of the chief components of the University's growth, the proportion of friars reaching 32% in 1251-1275. They were completely integrated in the University machinery and, as is well known, provided some of its most famous Masters (see *infra*). But institutionally speaking, each Mendicant convent was a *studium generale* in its own right for his order, and funded by him by a complicated system involving all his provinces throughout Europe. The convents' priority was to satisfy their orders' needs in competent lectors, not to solve the educational and housing difficulties of Paris University! Once the convents accommodated the number of students necessitated for reaching their own objective, they stopped to grow: and the proportion of friars began to decrease regularly since the university population continued to swell, to a modest proportion of 7/8% in the fifteenth century. The very low proportions for 1401-1425 and 1451-1475 must not be taken into account, since they can be explained by the nature of the prominent sources for this period: the overwhelming statistical weight of the 1403 *rotuli*, and that of the list of the contributors to the 1464, both of them containing practically no names of mendicants.

Secular colleges, as mentioned earlier, had appeared at the end of the twelfth century: exceptionally, we know the names of the first eighteen scholars of the 'Collège des Dix-Huit', but after that we have practically nothing until the foundation of the Sorbonne, when many names can be retrieved from the house cartulary, though many doubts remain about the real status of those mentioned<sup>54</sup>. The proportion of scholars from the secular colleges already reaches 14,5% in the quarter century 1276-1300 and increases throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century to more than 30%: this is a minimum, since many or perhaps even most of the secular scholars whose affiliation is unknown to us could be members of these colleges. As table 1 reminds us, the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century make the great century of college foundations in Paris. The proportional decrease which the table shows for the 15<sup>th</sup> century may not reflect a real loss of importance of the colleges, though the period 1411-1436 is undoubtedly a very difficult one for them<sup>55</sup>. It may be a consequence of the terminal dates of the thesis we have used: 1418 for Na-

<sup>54</sup> Palémon Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. I, Robert de Sorbon, l'homme, le collège, les documents* (Paris : Vrin, 1965); Id., *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. II, Le Cartulaire* (Paris : Vrin, 1965). Glorieux tends to consider most if not all procurators of the Sorbonne as members or future members of the Sorbonne, which is possible, but far from certain.

<sup>55</sup> Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, "Le collège dans la tourmente", 138-144 for the case of Dormans-Beauvais College.

Graph 3. The scholars of secular colleges, convents and religious communities compared with global university numbers.



varre, 1458 for Dormans-Beauvais, 1480 for Laon. It is therefore a probable consequence of the specificities of the sources, as for the Mendicant Friars and most of the religious. The *rotuli* of 1403 rarely mention college affiliations, as well as the list for the 1464 collection, which only makes an exception for some students of the college de Navarre. The fact that the terminal date of our research, 1500, has prevented us so far to make full use of James K. Farge's publication explains that we cannot read in the table what we could call the fourth stage in Paris developments: the fact that, perhaps as a belated consequence of the Statutes of the Cardinal d'Estouteville<sup>56</sup> which required a

<sup>56</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 4, 713-734 (n° 2690): <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4230-guillelmusdeestoutevilla2>. See Jacques Verger, "La réforme du cardinal d'Estouteville (1452): l'université de Paris entre Moyen Âge et modernité", in *Les Uni-*

reinforced and stricter control on Parisian secular colleges and *pédagogies*, several colleges were reformed and recovered a long lost prosperity, integrating from the 1480 onwards many more students, providing a much better education and gaining a new international recognition: one may mention the reform of the Montaigu College by Jean Standonck<sup>57</sup> (principal from 1483) with the creation 72 *bursae* for poor students, the renovation of the Bourgogne College after the legacy of his principal, Jean de Martigny<sup>58</sup>, in 1491, or the reform of the Boissy College by Michel Chartier, his principal from 1482 to 1531<sup>59</sup>. Scholars continued to flock to Paris from all over Europe: but, as we shall see, they now came to the Paris colleges, not to the Paris convents.

### *Elements of prestige and international influence*

The problems of the international influence and of the prestige of the Paris schools and university can also be measured by the information provided by the *Studium Parisiense* database. These problems are not simply cultural matters: the influx of foreign students increases the town's population and the consumers' number, while the literary output of the scholars stimulated the multiplication of bookshops and scribal activity. And it is well known that the first printing press in Paris was established in the Sorbonne by Guillaume Fichet<sup>60</sup> and Jean Heynlin<sup>61</sup>. This printing press produced the first printed book in Paris in 1470. But how to measure all this? In Table 4, we have selected two quantitative indices. The first is the repartition between *magistri*, graduates and "students"<sup>62</sup> in each institution. The other one, is the number of authors. These data are tabulated in Table 4 (percentages have not been calculated if the number of scholars is inferior to ten).

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*versités en Europe (1450-1814)*, (Paris : Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens modernistes des Universités française, 2013), 55-76.

<sup>57</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/7539-johannesstandonck>

<sup>58</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/8142-johannesdemartignaco>

<sup>59</sup> Compère, *Les collèges français*, 105. See <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/20760-michaelquartier> ?

<sup>60</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3488-guillelmusficheti>.

<sup>61</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5824-johannesheyndlalape>.

<sup>62</sup> In *Studium Parisiense*, we use the word "student" to describe both people who are described as such in the sources and are students in the modern sense of the word, and people whose later grade is unknown (this is probably the case of many *bursae* holders in the Collèges de Dormans, Laon and in the Norman colleges) and people whose affiliation to colleges and nations is unknown. This may have to change.



As regards the number and proportion of masters, it must not be forgotten that, when the institution's sources have not been systematically scrutinized, a high proportion of *magistri* may simply be a result of the fact that most of those whose name is known to us are the *magistri* (and graduates) mentioned in *rotuli* or graduation documents<sup>63</sup>, whereas the names of students who never graduated can only be discovered by a close study of the accounts: this is what makes the data for the colleges of Dormans-Beauvais and Navarre especially valuable. Navarre has a higher proportion of masters than Dormans-Beauvais, and we know that in the Faculty of theology's examinations, the rank of Navarre's candidates is constantly better than that of other college's candidates. And Dormans-Beauvais masters are mostly master of arts, while Navarre has many Masters of theology. Dormans-Beauvais, though founded by a chancellor of France, is therefore not so different from the typical diocesan colleges, founded by a bishop mostly for students coming from the founder's diocese (in that case Soissons). The Sorbonne (74% of the scholars are masters) is also debatable: according to the college's statutes, all members ought to be at least masters of arts and engaged in theology's studies but the attribution of a grade of master of theology generously bestowed by Jeanne Vielliard to *hospites* and *socii* of the college has been contradicted by Thomas Sullivan on such a scale that we have preferred to be cautious<sup>64</sup>. Let us simply say that 74% is a minimum. Another interesting result shown on the table is the relatively high proportion of *magistri* in the mendicant convents and in some of the religious establishments, between 40 and 60%<sup>65</sup>. This is quite significant, since we know that many of the orders' students were engaged in the lectorate cursus, and were not expected to get a university graduation. This relatively high score is also found in some religious establishments, and here the difference between the college of the Ber-

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<sup>63</sup> This seems to be the case of the college of Harcourt (78% of *magistri*) and of the college des Cholets (73%). The high scores of the colleges du Trésorier (78,5) and of Maître-Gervais, where the archives have been studied by Marion Bernard-Schweitzer is more complex and may be a testimony to the good working of the *bursae* system: "small" *bursae* were reserved to students whose accession to the grade of *magister* was facilitated, while "great" *bursae* were given to scholars who were already *magistri*.

<sup>64</sup> The biographies compiled by Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology ... passim*, demonstrates that many of those described by Jeanne Vielliard as "perhaps doctor of theology" were at most graduates (bachelors?) in theology, not doctors or masters.

<sup>65</sup> The Carmelite score (70%) must be considered with suspicion: the grade seems to be attributed by internal sources such as Johannes Trisse's repertory of Paris Carmelite masters, written in 1360-1363, repeated by later historians of the order, to all those who were masters of the convent's school.

Table 4. Graduation and authorship.

College	Mag	%	Gr.	Stud.	Dubious or unknown	Total	Authors	%
<b>Convents of the mendicant orders</b>								
Austin Friars	119	44,6	50	95	3	267	47	17,6
Carmelites	115	70	36	11	2	164	52	31,7
Dominicans	227	53,5	81	101	15	424	192	45,3
Franciscans	186	56	42	98	5	331	157	47,4
Total	647	40	209	305	25	1186		
<b>Religious communities</b>								
Bernardines	88		52	72	3	215	44	20,4
Cluny	20		21	29	2	72	5	7
St. Victor	28		-	18	5	52	20	38,5
St. Geneviève	21		3	21	3	48	4	8
St. Catherine	22		4	8		34	8	23,5
Marmoutier	5		3	5	4	17	1	5
Mathurins	5		4	2		11	1	9
Servites	5		3	2		10	2	20
St. Denis	4		4			8	1	
Prémontrés	4		1			5	1	
Antonines			2		2	4		
<b>Secular Colleges</b>								
Navarre	288	35	26	503		817	38	4,6
Dormans <sup>1</sup>	113	17,6	43	463	21	642	6	1,5
Sorbonne	341	74	29	84	2	456	65	14,2
Laon	67	41,6	2	91	1	161	3	1,9
Justice	34	78	4	76		114	1	0,8
Maître Gervais	67	78,5	2	46		113	3	2,6
Harcourt	73	78	1	19		93	10	5,2
Trésorier	44	78,5	2	10		56	4	7
Cholets	36	73	2	11		49	5	10,2

<sup>1</sup> Kouamé, Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais, gives the names and careers of 12 servants or assistants of the College (« suppôts ») of the officers of the College and of the chapel' staff.

nardines (40%) and the college of Cluny (27,7) achievements is especially telling, as well as that which is observed to a lesser extent between the two abbeys of regular canons (both members of the Victorine congregation) of Saint-Victor (53,8) and that of Sainte-Geneviève (43,7). But we have another statistical indicator for an estimate of the intellectual activity of the colleges, convents and religious communities, the numbers of authors.

The number of authors is indeed another significant statistical indicator of intellectual activity and prestige which can be combined with other

numerical indicators, such as the number of manuscripts and of the early printed editions of their works. Here, secular colleges, even the Sorbonne (14,2%), are not in the class of the mendicant convents (from 17,6% for the Augustinians, to 47,4% for the Franciscans) and of some religious communities, such as Saint-Victor (38,5%) and even Sainte-Catherine (23,5%). The scores of the secular colleges are rather low, from 0,8% for the Justice College to a surprising high of 10,2 for the “Collège des Cholets”. Surprisingly, despite its academic excellence, the Navarre College has only 4,2% of its members who can be described as authors. But the authors of real importance are those who have an impact on the culture of mediaeval western Europe: it is their achievement and celebrity which draws the most brilliant students to Paris. To list the great authors of the Dominicans (Albert the Great<sup>66</sup>, Aquinas<sup>67</sup>, Hugo de Sancto Caro<sup>68</sup>, Herveus Natalis<sup>69</sup>, Johannes Quidort<sup>70</sup>, Robert Kilwardby<sup>71</sup>, Master Eckhart<sup>72</sup> or Guillelmus Peraldus<sup>73</sup> to name but a few among the most fertile and influential writers), Franciscans (Alexander of Hales<sup>74</sup>, Bonaventura of Bagnoreggio<sup>75</sup>, Roger Bacon<sup>76</sup>, Johannes Pecham<sup>77</sup>, Matthew of Acquasparta<sup>78</sup>, Johannes Wallensis<sup>79</sup>, Johannes Duns Scotus<sup>80</sup>, Nicolaus de Lyra<sup>81</sup> ...), Augustinians (Aegidius Romanus<sup>82</sup>, Augustinus de Ancona<sup>83</sup>, Jacobus de Viterbo<sup>84</sup> ...) and Carmelites (John Baconthorpe<sup>85</sup>) is equivalent to draw a list of the greatest European theologians, though we must not forget that generally Paris was not the only university they attended: the

<sup>66</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/385-albertusmagnus>

<sup>67</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/12000-thomasdeaquino>: the largest file in the database.

<sup>68</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51240-hugodesanctocar>.

<sup>69</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5097-herveusnatalis>.

<sup>70</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51520-johannesquidort>.

<sup>71</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51775-robertuskilwardby>.

<sup>72</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/18949-echarodusdehocheim>

<sup>73</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/23409-guillelmusperaldus>.

<sup>74</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/476-alexanderdehales>.

<sup>75</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/1533-bonaventuradabagnoregio>.

<sup>76</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51826-rogariusbacon>

<sup>77</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/5905-johannespecham>

<sup>78</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51497-matthaeusdeacquasparta>

<sup>79</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/52074-johanneswallensis>

<sup>80</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51367-johannesdunsscotus>

<sup>81</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51944-nicolausdelyra>

<sup>82</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/50875-aegidiusromanus>

<sup>83</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/1101-augustinusdeancona>

<sup>84</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51363-jacobusdeviterbo>

<sup>85</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51820-johannesbaconthorpe>

Oxford-Paris coupling is frequent for all orders, as the Cologne-Paris for the Dominicans. William of Ockham is the only major name missing<sup>86</sup>, since he probably had to set aside his projected Paris master graduation to rush to Avignon to defend himself against the attacks of the Oxford chancellor, Henry of Harclay (another Oxford-Paris student). The two canons of Saint-Victor, Hugo and Richard, are also two of the most widely read and copied medieval authors. Few authors from secular colleges can be compared with the great mendicants and the Victorines in terms of influence: perhaps Nicolas Oresme<sup>87</sup>, Pierre d'Ailly<sup>88</sup> and Jean Gerson for the 15<sup>th</sup> century at Navarre, Henry of Ghent<sup>89</sup>, Godfrey of Fontaines and for the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Albert of Saxony<sup>90</sup>. With the possible exception of Gerson, the mendicant authors are also outstanding in terms of manuscript copies: we know of more than 4 000 manuscripts containing the works of Aquinas, more than 1600 for those of Giles of Rome and there are more than 1 100 manuscripts for Lyra's *Postillae*. The works of these three authors have also been continuously printed.

It is also noteworthy that there are only three natives of the kingdom of France in the list of the most famous mendicant authors, Herveus Natalis (Nédellec) from Brittany, Johannes Quidort (maybe from Paris) and the Norman Nicolaus de Lyra<sup>91</sup>. Richard of Saint-Victor is probably a Scot, Hugo certainly a German from Saxony. However, the analysis of the scholar's geographical origin is riddled with difficulties. The scholar's diocese is mentioned in *rotuli* and in lists of graduation: it is the diocese in which he became a clerk, not that of his place of birth. The two coincide most often, but not always, and clerics may change for another diocese when it appears profitable to their beneficial career. When we have no indication of the diocese, we can make a guess from topographic names, but this is guesswork, and in that case we always record in *Studium Parisiense* an interrogation mark. This is for instance especially adventurous for Italian scholars called 'de Roma', 'de Florentia', 'de Venetia' or 'de Milano', for the diocesan network is so dense in Italy than jumping to the conclusion that they were born in the dioce-

<sup>86</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21496-guillelmusdeockham2>, classified as uncertain.

<sup>87</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/21498-nicolausoresme>.

<sup>88</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/13574-petrusdealliacio1>

<sup>89</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/4904-henricusdegandavo>

<sup>90</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/421-albertusdesaxonia>

<sup>91</sup> Guillelmus Peraldus and Hugo de Sancto Caro were respectively born in the dioceses of Viviers and Vienne when their territories had not yet been integrated into the kingdom of France.

ses of Roma, Florence, Milan, not to mention a fictitious diocese of Venezia (for Carole, Castello, Torcello and Equilio) very risky. But it is also difficult to deduce the region from the diocese: for instance, the diocese of Soissons is mainly situated in Île-de-France (the Soissonnais), but it has a small part in Champagne (Dormans and Château-Thierry), and another one in Picardy (Compiègne), while the diocese of Langres is divided between Champagne (Langres and Chaumont) and Burgundy (Dijon, Beaune). Another problem is the denomination and delimitation of these regions for medieval times: for instance, we have created a region of 'Alemania', which includes the dioceses of Strasbourg, Constance, Basel, Ulm/Augsburg and Chur<sup>92</sup>. All this explains why an exact correspondence between 'region' and 'diocese' is impossible, as it is impossible with modern countries. The next tables use the 'region' variable, since the diocese is very rarely mentioned for the regular clergy, and establish as strict a distinction as possible between those who are born inside the kingdom and those who were born outside.

Table 5a contrasts the recruitment of the mendicant orders with that of the secular colleges inside the kingdom. The Mendicants come from all French regions, though Berry and Touraine have very low scores. The four regions best represented are Flanders (25 friars), Brittany (24), Normandy (22) and Burgundy (21), but Languedoc (18), Picardie (17) and Champagne (16) have also a fairly good representation. However, it is noteworthy that Languedoc and Aquitaine are practically absent from the selected panel of secular colleges<sup>93</sup>, and the presence of men from these parts in Paris University seems mainly due to the mendicant convents. The only French province which is much better represented in the secular colleges than in the mendicant convents is Auvergne (corresponding to the dioceses of Clermont, Tulle and Le Puy). As regards the secular colleges, only two bring together individuals of markedly different regional origins, the Sorbonne and Navarre. But even in the Sorbonne, 76% of the students whose geographical origins are known and who were born inside the kingdom come from only five regions, Normandy (34%), Flanders (13,8%), Picardy (11,6%), Champagne and Île-de-France (10,1% each), and there are very few people originating from South of the Loire, Limousin and Auvergne excepted: none from Languedoc,

<sup>92</sup> K.H. Burmeister, '... der in fremden landen were uff der schuol'. Die Baccalaurei und Magistri in artibus der Universität Paris aus dem Bistum Konstanz und dessen näherer Umgebung, *Alemania Studens, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Vorarlberger Bildungs- und Studentengeschichte*, 11, (2003): 23-90.

<sup>93</sup> Though we must not forget the existence of the College of Narbonne.

Table 5a. Regional origins: inside the kingdom.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dormans	Laon	Maître-Gervais	Justice	Harcourt	Trésorier	Cholets
Anjou	2				2	2	5			1				
Aquitaine	9		1	1	11									
Artois	2	2	1	1	6	2	5					1		
Auvergne		6			6	7	7	1						
Berry				1	1	3	3							
Brittany	4	12	6	2	24	4	12		1					
Burgundy	3	16	2		21	3	20	6		1			1	
Champagne	7	9			16	14	75	77						
Flanders	7	9	7	2	25	19	9			1		2		
Île-de-France	4		1	4	9	14	32	99	1			1		1
Languedoc	2	8	3	5	18	1	1							
Limousin		3	2		5	5	2							
Normandy	2	13	4	3	22	47	40	4	1	55	98	60	39	
Orléanais	4	1			5	1	5	1		1				
Picardie	4	5	4	4	17	16	2	41	130			1		32
Poitou	1	1			2		1							
Quercy	3				3									
Touraine	1		1		2		2							
	55	85	32	23	195	138	221	229	133	58	98	65	40	33

Poitou, Aquitaine or Quercy<sup>94</sup>. The same is true for Navarre, though the provinces are somewhat different: Champagne (33,9%), Normandy (17,3%), Île-de-France (13,9%) and Burgundy (9%)<sup>95</sup>. The other secular colleges illustrate this Parisian specificity, that of colleges founded by bishops or ecclesiastics reserving the *bursae* to their diocese, their family or their village: they recruit their students from one region only. This is the case for the Norman colleges (Harcourt, Maître-Gervais, Trésorier and Justice) which, in con-

<sup>94</sup> This corroborates the conclusions of Jacques Verger, "Les étudiants méridionaux à Paris au Moyen Âge: quelques remarques", *Annales du Midi*, 189-190, *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval: hommage à Charles Higounet* (1990), 359-366.

<sup>95</sup> Nathalie Gorochov gives a detailed analysis of the geographical origins of the Navarre students by dioceses and by regions which shows that the geographical recruitment drastically changed from one period to another, favouring for a time Champagne, Normandy or Paris, whereas the founder, Queen Joan of Burgundy had expressly wished to have students coming from all French dioceses: see Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre*, 156, 239-246, 344-352, 433-443.

formity with their founders' wishes, appear exclusively reserved to Norman students (252 on 261 between the four of them), or for the colleges of Laon<sup>96</sup> and of the Cholets<sup>97</sup> for Picardy. This provincial recruitment helped the colleges to function within the Nations structure of the Faculty of Arts. As mentioned earlier, the College of Dormans is not so different, despite its repartition between three regions, Île-de-France (43,4%), Champagne (33,8%) and Picardy (18%), since this is at least for a part a consequence of the regional heterogeneity of the diocese of Soissons<sup>98</sup>. But the difference between the mendicant convents and the secular college is even more striking if we turn to the scholars originating from outside the kingdom.

It is true that there are several 'national' colleges in Paris, which are receiving students from Scandinavia<sup>99</sup> (colleges of Dacia, Uppsala, Linköping), Germany (the House of the poor German Students), Scotland, or Italy (College of the Lombards). But it is obvious that most Paris secular colleges received very few students from abroad. The Colleges of Navarre and above all the Sorbonne are exceptional in this respect: whereas the selected secular colleges have practically no scholars coming from a region outside the kingdom (a maximum of 3 for Dormans-Beauvais), the Sorbonne has 100 (21,9% of its members), and Navarre 10 (only 1,2%). The Sorbonne is clearly in the same class than the convents of the Mendicant orders for the proportion of foreign students and masters: 19,5% of the Carmelites, 22,9 of the Dominicans, 36,5% of the Franciscans and 32,6% of the Augustinians may be described as foreign students. But the regional distribution of the Sorbonne's scholars is quite different from that of the friars: 39% of them are coming from the Low Countries<sup>100</sup>, and 23% of the regions which are close to the kingdom's borders

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<sup>96</sup> Laon was created in 1314 for students of two dioceses, Laon and Soissons, but in 1324 the Soissons *bursae* formed the College de Presles and Laon was reserved to students from the diocese of Laon alone. The only exceptions are some theologians from the diocese of Saint-Malo in Brittany: see Fabris, *Étudier et vivre à Paris*.

<sup>97</sup> Also created for students of two dioceses, Beauvais and Amiens, with no separation in that case: see Compère, *Les collèges français*, 138.

<sup>98</sup> The repartition by dioceses is: Soissons 54%, Paris 12%, Reims, 11,5% and Meaux (10,4%), all the other French dioceses accounting for 11,5%: Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 200.

<sup>99</sup> Elisabeth Mornet, "Piété et honneur. Profil des fondateurs des collèges nordiques à Paris au Moyen Âge", in Sohn et Verger, ed., *Die universitären Kollegien*, 59-75. Elisabeth Mornet is responsible for the Scandinavian files in *Studium Parisiense*.

<sup>100</sup> States' borders coincide neither with those of provinces, nor with those of dioceses. In these tables, the dioceses of Théroutanne and Tournai are considered as "Flanders", that is inside the kingdom, Cambrai and Liège are considered with Utrecht as Low Countries, outside the kingdom.

Table 5b. Regional origins: outside the kingdom.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dormans	Justice	Harcourt	Total
England	20	5	12	2	39	4					4
Scotland	3	4			7	5	1		1		6
Ireland	2	5			2	1					1
Low Countries	5	9	5	2	46	25	3				28
Denmark		2			2	2					2
Sweden	5	13			18	1					2
Finland						3					3
Germany	12	15	4	18	49	17	1				18
Alemania	5	6		1	12	6	1				7
Bavaria	1		1	4	6						
Rhineland	1	2	1	5	9	5					5
Saxony	5	4	1	2	12	3					
Bohemia	1				1						
Bosnia	1				1						
Moravia		1			1						
Poland						1					1
Dalmatia		1			1						
Slovenia						1		1			1
Hungary				2	2	1					1
Italy	37	23	6	56	122	8	2			1	11
Campania	1				1						
Emilia Romagna	4	2	2	6	14	1					1
Latium	2	8	1	4	15	1					1
Liguria		3			3	1					1
Lombardy	1	2	1	5	9	2					2
Marches	4			7	11						
Umbria	5	2		6	13						
Piedmont	3	1	1	1	6		1				1
Apulia	1				1						
Tuscany	8	9	1	17	35	1	1				2
Veneto	2	1		6	9	2					2
Iberian Penins.	24	18	2	1	45	23	3	1			27
Aragon		4	2		6	2					2
Catalonia	5	6		1	12	8	2	1	1	1	11
Castile	6	2			8	9					9
Majorca	2	1			3						
Navarra		2			2	1					1
Portugal	7	3			10	1					1



	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dornans	Justice	Harcourt	Total
Valencia											
Crete	1				1						
Cyprus				2	2						
Burgundy (Ct.)	1	2			3	2					2
Provence	2	3	2	2	9						
Savoy	1	4			5	2					2
Lorraine	6	6	1	2	15	4		1			5
Total	121	106	32	87		100	10	3			

(Lorraine, County of Burgundy, Savoy, Provence). In the mendicant convents, Italians are by far the wider group of foreign students, even for the Carmelites (18,7%): 64,3% for the Augustinians, 30,6% for the Franciscans, and 21,7% for the Dominicans. For the Dominicans, the Iberian Peninsula (17%) comes immediately after Italy, followed by Germany (14,1%) and, quite remarkably, Sweden (12,2%). British Isles is the second place of origin for the Franciscans (19,1%), followed by the Iberian Peninsula (18,3%) and Germany (9,2%). The Carmelites give first place before Italy to the students of England (37,5% each), followed by the Low Countries (15,6%), and for the Augustinians, the Germans is the only other group of importance (20,7%) behind the Italians. These proportions did vary from one period to another as the decline of the number of British students shows: but they are a structural element closely linked to each order's organisation. In each convent, there was a "national" (i.e. French) proportion following the lectorate course or participating in campaigns of predication and in the administration of the house, but each province ought or could send (and fund) a given number of students to follow the graduation course in Paris. The importance of the Italians is due to the fact that there were many Italian provinces especially in the Augustinian and Franciscan orders. In the four orders, the number of scholars born abroad was largely superior to that of the scholars born inside the kingdom. It is only at the end of the fifteenth century that the colleges opened their doors to foreign students.

Finally, we may take into consideration another indicator, the number of students who have attended other universities. Once again, the contrast is complete: this time, even the Sorbonne appears cut off from the other European universities, though it is worth noting the presence of some scholars having attended central Europe universities, such as Krakow, Vienna and

Table 6. Other universities.

	Franciscans	Dominicans	Carmelites	Augustinians	Total Convents	Sorbonne	Navarre	Dornans	Laon	Maitre-Gervais	Justice	Harcourt	Tresorier	Total colleges
Orléans	1				1		11	14	1	1	1	1		29
Angers							1			2		2		5
Toulouse	8	7	3	1	19		1						1	2
Montpellier	2	6		2	10	1								1
Caen	1				1	2	1			1				4
Avignon	1	7	2	10	20		1							1
Oxford	15	4	7		26		1							1
Cambridge	2		2		4	1								1
St.Andrews						1								1
Louvain	1			1	2	2	1		1					4
Bâle						1								1
Cologne		12	1		13	3	1							4
Erfurt	2			2	4	2								2
Greifswald	1				1									
Heidelberg	1				1	1								1
Leipzig						1								1
Rostock		1			1									
Tübingen						1								1
Vienne			1	1	2	1								1
Prague	1				1	2								2
Cracovie						1								1
Bologne	5	7	1	4	17									
Florence		2			2									
Naples	3				3	1								1
Padoue	1			1	2									
Pavia		1			1	1								1
Pérouse	1	2		1	4									
Rome	1		1	1	3									
Alcala						1								1
Lerida	1				1									
Salamanca	1													
Valencia				1	1									
Coïmbra		1			1									

Prague. The only “other” universities which appear to admit a significant number of Parisian students are Orléans and at a lesser degree Angers, and this number is certainly underestimated, since many civil law students in Orléans and Angers were probably Parisian bachelors and masters of arts and/

or students of canon law. The friars also attended other French universities, but neither Orléans nor Angers, rather Avignon, Toulouse, and Montpellier. But the most salient feature of table 6 is the importance of the links with the three universities of Oxford, Bologna and Cologne, indeed other places of high intellectual achievement.

### *The colleges in the town*

Masters and students are also important as inhabitants of the city of Paris. The problem of scholars' accommodation was of crucial importance, not only for the students and masters themselves, but also for the burgesses owners of houses or flats. At some time in the thirteenth century<sup>101</sup>, a system had been set up, which we know thanks to surviving *taxationes domorum* dating from 1281-1283<sup>102</sup> and 1286-1288<sup>103</sup>: a committee, associating burgesses of Paris, Masters of arts and two or three Masters of theology (usually a secular cleric and a mendicant friar, some of them being quite famous, such as Adam de Gulyn<sup>104</sup> for 1281, the future Cardinal Hugo Aycelin de Billom<sup>105</sup>, O.P., and Arlotus de Prato<sup>106</sup>, O.F.M., for 1282 and Giles of Rome, O.E.S.A. for 1287) fixed maximum rents for houses opened to students (including schools and colleges). Nearly all these houses were situated on the left bank of the Seine and in 1329-1330, when all members of the university were visited house after house by the collectors of a tax for the defence of a student accused of the rape of a young girl, the localisation of students' lodgings was exactly the same<sup>107</sup>. Apart from some colleges founded in the vicinity of the Louvre palace (the Bons Enfants Saint Honoré, Saint-Thomas du Louvre, Saint-Nicolas du Louvre) and the 'Collège des Dix-Huit' in the City island close to Notre-Dame's cloister, all colleges were in the same part of the city. In fact, many colleges foundations started by the legacy of his house(s) by the founder, and since many of the founders were academics, it is quite natural that the colle-

<sup>101</sup> The right to control rents is the first royal privilege conferred to the university on the 23rd of February 1270 by Saint Louis: Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 1, n° 429, "De taxatione hospitiorum scholarium".

<sup>102</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. I, 597-600 (n° 511).

<sup>103</sup> Denifle et Châtelain, *Chartularium*, t. 2, 28-32 (n° 556).

<sup>104</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/87-adamdegulyn>

<sup>105</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/51233-hugoaycelindebillom>

<sup>106</sup> <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/16800-arlotusdeprato>

<sup>107</sup> Courtenay, *Parisians Scholars*, 59-80.

ges were situated there. Many colleges remained simple houses, or rather groups of houses more or less connected between them, the buildings being sometimes distributed along the two opposite sides of a street (as in the case of Harcourt College). Most of them were not very different from the surrounding houses, the only specificity in most cases being the existence of a large hall, the *Magna aula*: colleges were first and foremost places devoted to the common life of their members. Graph 4 gives a good idea of the Colleges' concentration in the "Quartier d'Outre-Petit-Pont" ("Quartier latin" is a XIX<sup>th</sup> phrase): and to the Colleges seen on the map, one must add the convents of the mendicant orders and the religious establishment: the Cordeliers and the Jacobins being delimited by Paris's fortified wall, as the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève while Saint-Victor was just outside the city walls<sup>108</sup>.

When the houses proved inadequate, they were sold and it was a natural choice to acquire new buildings in the schools district. The executors of the will of Queen Joan of Navarra chose to build Navarre College close to the schools on Sainte-Geneviève's mount, disregarding the place intended by the Queen. Since this was a royal foundation, they were able not only to buy houses, but also to get others by expropriation: they could therefore construct the new college buildings *ex nihilo* and on a wide space from 1309 to 1315<sup>109</sup>. Jean de Dormans, the founder of Dormans-Beauvais College had another strategy, similar to that of Robert de Sorbon a century earlier, because his foundation was a life affair for him: the foundation's official date is 1370, but he may have begun to accumulate lands and rents as early as 1354. And he began to buy houses in 1365, when he got from the Collège de Laon (the "*Maison des Ymages*" which was intended to be the core of the future college) and the Collège de Presles which had moved to new sites and had vacated them<sup>110</sup>. On these wider spaces, it was possible to construct buildings better adapted than a simple house or a group of houses to the functions which were those of a college, with a refectory, a library, a chapel and later classrooms<sup>111</sup>. The best example of a Parisian college's library was that of Navarre, which was demolished as late as 1877<sup>112</sup>. Saint Louis's '*Sainte Chapelle*' provided a model for the colleges who could afford to erect a chapel and new build-

<sup>108</sup> See the map in Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge. Espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006) 140, 145, 147, 172.

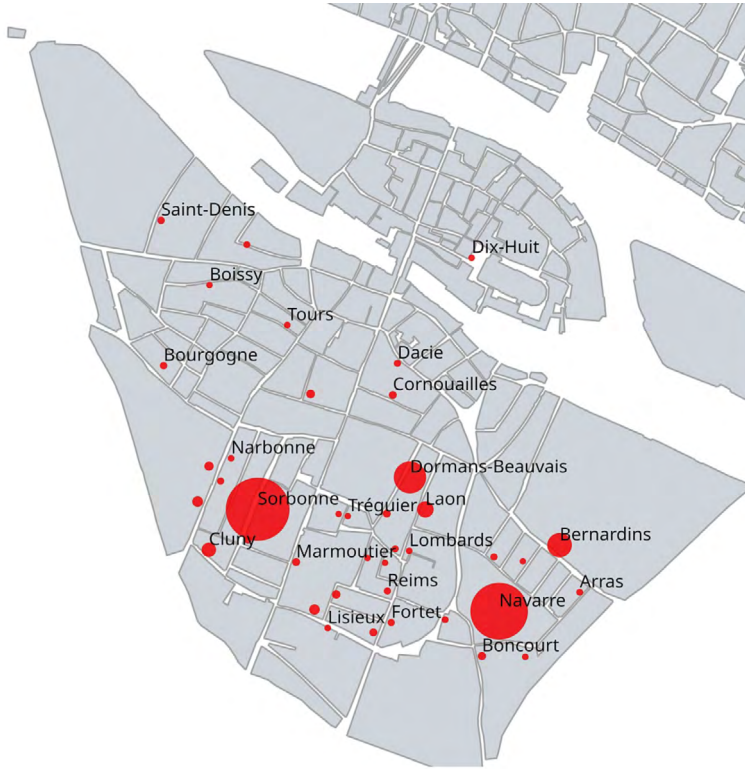
<sup>109</sup> Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre*, 153-154.

<sup>110</sup> Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 39-52.

<sup>111</sup> Aurélie Perraut, *L'architecture des collèges parisiens au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009).

<sup>112</sup> XIX<sup>th</sup> century photography in Lorentz and Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, 173.

Graph 4. Bursae geographical distribution in 15<sup>th</sup> century Paris.



ings<sup>113</sup>. The Sorbonne got its chapel in 1328, and the executor of the will of Jean de Dormans, his nephew Miles de Dormans, commissioned the famous royal architect, Raymond du Temple, to build the still surviving chapel of the college. The chapel was also intended to become a family sanctuary sheltering its members' graves, but Miles de Dormans went further than his uncle's intentions, and entrusted the famous architect to erect a college integrating in a beautiful two-story hostel of vast dimensions a kitchen and a refectory ("*salle basse*") built over a cellar, a hall ("*chambre haute*") and a library ("*salle haute*") on the first floor, and the scholars' bedrooms (four in each room) on the second one<sup>114</sup>. If even the largest Parisian colleges did not create a new architectural paradigm as those of Oxford, especially since the construction of William of Wykeham's New College, they gradually modified the aspect of

<sup>113</sup> This is not a Parisian specificity: see the chapel of Exeter College in Oxford, for instance.

<sup>114</sup> Kouamé, *Le collège de Dormans-Beauvais*, 52-57.

Paris' left bank and conferred to the "*Quartier d'Outre-Petit-Pont*" a specific visual identity, which was reinforced by the symbolic intervention of the scholars in the city's streets by enormous (sometimes as many as 4 000 participants, according to a chronicler) and frequent (330 between 1393 and 1492) university processions<sup>115</sup>.

Paris scholars were present and active in the city's life. The defence of their privileges was a constant preoccupation. They relied on the royal courts and above all on the Parliament of Paris for this defence: Serge Lusignan has reckoned that between 1277 and 1448 there were 633 trials in the Parliament involving universities (78%) or college (22%): most of them concern the university of Paris (71%) and its colleges (92%)<sup>116</sup>. These privileges were an efficient weapon against the university's adversaries. On the whole, the relations with Paris citizens were not too bad, with the possible exception of the butchers of Sainte-Genève's Mount, whose smelly garbage was a nuisance for the colleges. The relations with the sergeants and the guards of the "*Prévôté de Paris*" were more difficult. But what is the most important is perhaps the university's participation in the economic and social life of the city. The scholars privileges enabled them to benefit of fiscal and commercial privileges, for instance to import fish or wine in the city without paying taxes, a potential source of frauds: the Sorbonne, which was also a wine producer, was especially vigilant in the defence of these rights<sup>117</sup>. The university controlled many activities: the librarians, the paper and parchment dealers, the schoolmasters and schoolmistress, were all sworn members of the university. The university was also responsible for the control of medical practice in the city: those who had no Paris graduations were to be prevented to work in the city, but it also implied some control – not without conflicts – of apothecaries, surgeons and barbers, while quacks, bonesetters, sorcerers, grocers dealing with dangerous spices and astrologers were prosecuted and delivered to the royal courts. A special attention was paid to these matters in Colleges' statutes, and royal and civic authorities took care of the preservation of the students' morality: for instance, in 1358, the future Charles V had the "*rue du Fouarre*" closed at night to prevent prostitutes' promiscuity with the students<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Antoine Destemberg, *L'honneur des universitaires au Moyen Âge. Étude d'imaginaire social* (Paris: PUF, 2015) 161-170.

<sup>116</sup> Serge Lusignan, "*Vérité garde le roy*". *La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 26-41.

<sup>117</sup> Robert Marichal, *Le livre des Prieurs de Sorbonne, 1431-1485* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1987).

<sup>118</sup> Destemberg, *L'honneur des universitaires*, 311.

## Conclusion

By the fifteenth century, the integration of the university in the city was complete. In the early thirteenth century, masters and students constituted a group of individuals united by a set of shared values, a common culture and specific professional practices which set them apart from the rest of the town's population. As the crisis of 1229-1239 demonstrates, they could leave and migrate to another city. This was not a Parisian feature: it happened elsewhere in Europe, and the foundation by migration is for instance the chief cause of universities' creation in Italy. Once the colleges had been set up, migration was impossible: the university was tied to the town. And in the case of Paris, this town happened to be also the capital of the kingdom of France as well as one the most populated of western Europe, with some 200 000 inhabitants before the Black Death and again at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It meant that the Colleges had an unlimited access to potential external students, whereas most of them were offering bursae to provincial scholars: graduates could set up "*pédagogies*" or negotiate contracts with citizens trying to give a good education for their male children<sup>119</sup>. Among these clients were the citizens and burgesses of Paris, but also the staff of the royal administration and of the royal courts, such as the Parliament of Paris: a university education was more and more understood as the indispensable requisite for a career in the fast growing royal administration, a new alternative to the ecclesiastical careers, which were initially the only option opened to students. *Studium Parisiense* is especially useful to study this aspect because it contains files (in the category "External") of many people who are neither masters nor students but have ties and contacts with the university, and files of people who are under the control area of the university (librarians, schoolmasters etc. as detailed *supra*, but also messengers, beadles, and college's servants) and are identified in the "Suppôt" category.

Generally speaking, *Studium Parisiense* appears as a useful tool to intervene in the vexed question of the number of the university members and of their proportion in Paris total population. Jean Favier in the detailed study he

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<sup>119</sup> Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 68-70, details the very good example of a contract (1446) between Geoffrey Le Normand, the future founder of the Sainte-Barbe College, then rector of Saint-Benoît-le-Bestourné and provisor of Navarre College, and Robert de Buymont, "écuyer" – whose father and brother were ushers of the Parliament of Paris – and his wife, Agnès d'Auvergne (heiress of a butcher's dynasty): he rents two houses they own behind Navarre's College (the house "À l'écu de Boulogne" and the house "*Aux Deux Lions*"), but he gets special conditions since he will board in his "pédagogie" the couple's son for two years. The cost of this free boarding is estimated at 20 gold "écu".

has devoted to this problem gives a final evaluation of probably around 4 000 people, perhaps 5 000 at most<sup>120</sup>. But his method is questionable. He mainly use the graduation records as well as the numbers of available *bursae*. This may work for the higher faculties, though it takes no account of those who declare themselves in the *rotuli* as students in decree, medicine or theology and who appear to have never graduated. But it cannot work for the Faculty of Arts, for which the graduation lists are very far from being complete, and which obviously do not mention those students who never completed their courses. And these appear rarely in the documentation: the registers of the Anglo-German nation, by far the best we have in Paris, contains references to some of these students who were *nichil habentes* and disappear from view without graduating, presumably by lack of financial resources. But before the reform of the Cardinal d'Estouteville and the enforcement of a new definition of the status of the clerical student based upon the strict prohibition of arms wearing and the necessity to produce the *signet* of the college where the student is registered (whether as *bursa* holder or as external student)<sup>121</sup>, the vast majority of the Faculty's members is totally ignored by academic sources. *Studium Parisiense* integrates all those who appear to have been members of the Paris schools from the grammar school level to the higher Faculties: it intends to put at the disposal of the researchers a new statistical tool, the ratio between graduates (the categories "Master" and "Student") and students (the category "Student"). To achieve this, many difficulties have still to be solved. One is probably a redefinition of the category "student", hitherto described as those who have no graduation records but which aggregates too many different profiles: a new typology has to be devised. Another one is the overwhelming presence in our data of uncertainty: we are currently engaged in a research program with statisticians and computer scientists to improve the efficiency of data analysis in case of uncertain information<sup>122</sup>. But in the

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<sup>120</sup> Jean Favier, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris*, IV : *Paris au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'Histoire de Paris, 1974), 68-76.

<sup>121</sup> Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers*, 145-148.

<sup>122</sup> The Daphne research project, sponsored by the French National Agency of Research, directed by Cédric du Mouza and Stéphane Lamassé. See the two working papers on HAL: Jacky Akoka, Isabelle Comyn-Wattiau, Stéphane Lamassé and Cédric du Mouza, "Modeling historical social networks databases. HICSS 2019", 52<sup>nd</sup> Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, Jan 2019, Hawaii, United States (hal-02283278); and Jacky Akoka, Isabelle Comyn-Wattiau, Stéphane Lamassé and Cédric du Mouza, "Contribution of conceptual modeling to enhancing historians' intuition: application to prosopography", in *ER 2020: 39th International Conference on Conceptual Modeling*, Nov 2020, Vienna, Austria, 164-173, (10.1007/978-3-030-62522-1\_12). (hal-03023837).



end, we hope to be able to offer a more comprehensive evaluation of the economic and social weight of the university population in the capital town of France in the Middle Ages

### Databases

- *Franciscan authors 13th-18th centuries: a catalogue in progress*, MAARTEN VAN DER HEIJDEN and BERT ROEST, Radboud University Nijmegen : <https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscanauthors/>.
- Studium Parisiense : GENET, JEAN-PHILIPPE, THIERRY KOUAMÉ, and STÉPHANE LAMASSÉ, LAMOP (CNRS-Université Paris 1-Panthéon-Sorbonne, <http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/>)

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# La financiación de las universidades hispanas durante el período medieval (siglos XIII-XV)

## The Funding of Hispanic Universities in the Middle Ages (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

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Recibido: 18/02/2021  
Aceptado: 23/04/2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6156>

*Resumen:* Este artículo analiza los modelos de financiación de las universidades medievales de la Corona de Castilla y de la Corona de Aragón durante su primera andadura en los siglos medievales. La comparación entre dichos modelos revela diferencias y similitudes. Las diferencias observadas están relacionadas con el papel desempeñado por la monarquía, el pontificado, los obispos junto con sus cabildos catedralicios y los gobiernos municipales en su origen y evolución durante la Baja Edad Media. Las similitudes atañen a la administración y tipología de las fuentes de ingreso que demostraron ser insuficientes e

*Abstract:* This paper studies the funding models of medieval universities in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon during their initial stage in the Middle Ages. The comparison between the models reveals differences and similarities. The former are related to the role that the monarchy, the pontificate, bishops and their cathedral chapters, and municipal corporations played in their origin and development in the Late Middle Age. The similarities are seen in the administration and the types of sources of income, which proved to be insufficient and unstable. The financial weakness of the medieval universities meant

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Algunos de los datos de este artículo han sido tomados de las fuentes eclesiásticas reunidas en el contexto del desarrollo del Proyecto de I+D, PID2019-108273GB-I00 del cual la autora es investigadora principal.

inestables. La debilidad económica de estas universidades medievales hizo necesario el recurso continuo a la protección pontificia. Por otra parte, el compromiso de las ciudades y las oligarquías urbanas que las gobernaban para con esta nueva institución educativa no fue siempre igual de firme y efectivo.

*Palabras clave:* financiación-universidades; coronas de Castilla y Aragón; fuentes de ingreso-gastos; siglos XIII-XV.

that they constantly needed to resort to pontifical protection. Moreover, the cities and urban oligarchies who ruled them were not always committed firmly and effectively to these new educational institutions.

*Keywords:* university funding; Medieval Castilian and Aragonese Crowns; sources of income and expenses; 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

La Universidad o Estudio General como institución genuina de la enseñanza superior nació en los territorios de la España medieval a la par que en el resto del Occidente europeo pero con diferentes ritmos. Mientras que en los reinos de Castilla y de León (Corona de Castilla desde 1230) los Estudios generales de Palencia, Salamanca y Valladolid (referencia de 1293) aparecieron en los primeros decenios del siglo XIII como sus grandes homólogas europeas (Bologna, París y Oxford), en la Corona de Aragón se demoraron hasta el siglo XIV (Lérida y Huesca).

### *La financiación regia y eclesiástica de las primeras universidades castellanas frente a la iniciativa municipal de las aragonesas*

Historiográficamente, se ha puesto el acento en el mayor protagonismo que tuvo la monarquía castellana si se compara con la aragonesa, tanto en la creación como en la financiación de sus universidades medievales. La escasez de documentos fundacionales que caracteriza la infancia de las universidades castellanas no permite ir más allá de la formulación de hipótesis con mayor o menor aceptación. Esta afirmación puede extenderse a los tres primeros y únicos Estudios generales que florecieron en Castilla entre los siglos XIII al XV y es especialmente cierta para la primera universidad hispana (Palencia) con un siglo escaso de vida (ca. 1180-1275), así como para la de Valladolid que perduró. En la de Palencia, al igual que en la de Salamanca (ca. 1218), han sido los relatos cronísticos del obispo Lucas de Tuy (+1249) y del Arzobispo de Toledo, Jiménez de Rada (+1247), los que ha contribuido a reforzar el protagonismo regio. Ambos prelados inscribieron sus fundaciones en el contexto de la política de Alfonso VIII y de Alfonso IX para con sus reinos de



Castilla y León respectivamente<sup>1</sup>. Sin embargo, es preciso matizar que el protagonismo regio se tradujo en el impulso dado a la iniciativa de los obispos del entorno real. No hay que olvidar que la Iglesia y la monarquía castellana se hallaron aún durante el primer cuarto del siglo XIII financieramente comprometidas con las campañas militares de conquista de las ciudades andaluzas bajo dominio musulmán, además de los propios conflictos internos que se sucedieron entre los reinos cristianos.

En el surgimiento del Estudio palentino se ha querido ver en el Obispo Raimundo (1148-1183) el germen de la iniciativa que apoyaría Alfonso VIII, pero no existen documentos en los que intervenga el monarca<sup>2</sup>. Los frentes bélicos que tenía abiertos no facilitaron seguramente la dedicación de las tercias reales (rentas eclesiásticas concedidas por la Iglesia hispana a los reyes para llevar a cabo la guerra contra los musulmanes) a la dotación de los salarios de los maestros que enseñaban en Palencia. Con Fernando III y su canciller, el Obispo Tello Téllez de Meneses, se dispone de evidencias de la obtención de rentas eclesiásticas suficientes para mantener el Estudio general entre 1214 y 1246. Entre 1220 y 1225, ambos lograron del Pontífice Honorio III la cuarta parte de los diezmos de las iglesias de la diócesis de Palencia (1220) y dos prórrogas, por cinco años, de esta concesión para cubrir el salario de al menos cuatro cátedras (1221 y 1225)<sup>3</sup>. No cabe pensar en más partidas de gasto por entonces ya que, tanto las dependencias catedralicias como las casas propiedad del cabildo catedralicio, harían las veces de escuelas y residencia de maestros y estudiantes. Por otra parte, la condición de clérigos (bastaba con las órdenes menores) de la inmensa mayoría de los miembros del Estudio les hacía ya receptores de beneficios eclesiásticos, eso sí, con cuantías muy desiguales. Pero el lastre del estado de guerra continuo que se activó de nuevo desde 1224 hasta la conquista de Sevilla (1248) debió sumir al Estudio de Palencia en la decadencia ya que no vuelven a producirse noticias del mismo, con la excepción de una bula de Urbano V en virtud de la cual se le otorgaban a sus miembros los mismos

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<sup>1</sup> Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus hispaniae*, Siglo XIII, Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1218-1600* (en adelante, CUS), I, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1970), p. 600. Lucas de Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi*, ca. 1238, ed. de Emma Falque, (Turnhout : Brepols 2003).CUS I, doc. 11, 596.

<sup>2</sup> Gonzalo Martínez Díez, "Palencia, primera universidad de España" en *El Estudio General de Palencia. Historia de ocho siglos de la Universidad española*, Ed. Margarita Torremocha Hernández, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid-Instituto Universitario Simancas, 2012), 58.

<sup>3</sup> Bulas de Honorio III, ed. de Jesús San Martín Payo, *La antigua Universidad de Palencia* (Madrid: Afrosio Aguado, 1942), doc. I (30/12/1220), doc. VII (18/03/1221) y doc. 8(17/01/1225).

privilegios e inmunidades de que disfrutaba la Universidad de París<sup>4</sup>. No hay que desdeñar la competencia creciente que supuso la vecina villa de Valladolid, cuyo crecimiento urbano y condición de sede reiterada de la corte real, se manifestaron con vigor desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, a pesar de no ser cabeza de diócesis como Palencia. No hay pruebas documentales, sin embargo, que sustenten la hipótesis de un traslado de la Universidad de Palencia a la ciudad del Pisuerga.

Mejor suerte corrió la Universidad de Salamanca que nació en el reino de León con presupuestos de partida similares a la de Palencia. Sede episcopal y un cabildo catedralicio que respaldaría el desarrollo de unas escuelas catedralicias como caldo de cultivo previo. Bien es cierto que no destaca una figura episcopal de la talla de Tello Téllez de Meneses en Palencia, pero la proyección de la sede arzobispal de Compostela se dejó sentir en la composición del cabildo salmantino. El relato cronístico de Lucas de Tuy atribuye el protagonismo de su fundación al rey Alfonso IX hacia 1218, pero la escasa documentación disponible para el período remite a Fernando III como primer agente de la configuración del Estudio salmantino como un órgano privilegiado y autónomo, así lo definía cuando confirmaba en 1243 su “fuero exento”<sup>5</sup>. Por entonces, el pago de los maestros provenía de las tercias de la fábrica de las iglesias de la diócesis de las que el rey disfrutaba por concesión pontificia. Con todo, no es posible hablar de una madurez corporativa hasta la intervención de Alfonso X quien dotó al Estudio de un estatuto organizativo (Carta magna, 1254) y de rentas reales para sufragar los salarios de 11 catedráticos y cuatro oficiales (2.500 maravedíes de oro anuales). Aunque esta cantidad ascendió en 1286 a 11.600 maravedíes, apenas cubría las necesidades de los docentes<sup>6</sup>. Ahondó también en las exenciones de impuestos municipales sobre los artículos de alimentación<sup>7</sup>. Con el beneplácito del Obispo y el cabildo, la protección real contribuyó a asentar su sanción pontificia. Alfonso X obtuvo del Papa Alejandro IV en 1255 la bula que lo convertía en Estudio general (validez universal de sus grados)<sup>8</sup>. A pesar del fuero y de

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<sup>4</sup> Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 68-69.

<sup>5</sup> Fernando III, 06/04/1243, ed. de Enrique Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia pragmática e interna de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Vol. I (Salamanca, 1914): I, 19 y 12/03/1252, 20; Fernando III exime de impuestos a los estudiantes de Salamanca.

<sup>6</sup> Alfonso X, Carta magna, 08/05/1254, Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, CUS I, doc. 23, 604.

<sup>7</sup> Reales Cédulas de Alfonso X, ed. Esperabé Arteaga, vol. I, doc. IV (1267), 23; doc. V (1271), 24 y doc. VI (1276), 25.

<sup>8</sup> Bula de Alejandro IV, 22/09/1255, ed. de Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1219-1549* (en adelante, BUS), I, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1966), doc. 15, 322.

la dotación financiera que la monarquía le suministró, el Estudio salmantino se configurará como una universidad marcadamente pontificia y eclesiástica. La jurisdicción del Estudio estaría en manos del maestrescuela de la catedral al contrario de lo que sucedió en la universidad de Valladolid y en las universidades de la Corona de Aragón donde la figura de rector asumió las competencias jurisdiccionales.

Ciertamente y, a pesar de haberse sustentado también con rentas reales (procedentes de los diezmos de la Iglesia), la configuración de la universidad de Valladolid presenta un rasgo que la diferencia de las castellanas de Palencia y Salamanca, y la acerca al modelo de las universidades de la Corona de Aragón sin ser el mismo. Se trata del papel que jugó el concejo en la administración y cobro de las rentas fijadas por la Corona para el pago de los salarios de los maestros. El Estudio no fue elevado a la categoría de Estudio general hasta 1346 (bula de Clemente VI) pero se hallaba activo en las últimas décadas del siglo XIII. Por un documento de Fernando IV (1304) en el que ordena a los recaudadores del concejo de Valladolid que entreguen al Estudio una renta fija anual para su sustento (20.000 maravedíes sobre las tercias reales del Obispado de Palencia), sabemos que ya su padre, Sancho IV, había realizado donaciones de las tercias reales en la villa de Valladolid y sus aldeas. Es decir, el concejo administraría las rentas concedidas al Estudio por delegación real<sup>9</sup>.

En la Corona de Aragón los gobiernos municipales que hasta el siglo XIV se habían resistido a integrar dentro de sus ciudades una corporación autónoma que escapaba a su control tomaron la iniciativa en la fundación de las dos primeras universidades. En realidad, solo Lérida (1300) y Huesca (1354) lograron obtener sanción pontificia durante la Baja Edad Media. Los monarcas aragoneses tomaron el testigo de la iniciativa y solicitaron al Papado la autorización para crear en su reino Estudios generales, pero no los dotaron con fondos reales. Jaime II en el estatuto que otorgó a la Universidad de Lérida tras su fundación confió a los paheres de la ciudad su financiación y el nombramiento de maestros. Imitando el modelo boloñés de corporación de escolares juristas, entregó al rector elegido por ellos la jurisdicción del Estudio. El rey había delegado, de este modo, la facultad de ejercer justicia

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<sup>9</sup> 24/03/1304, Elena Sánchez Movellán, "La época medieval" en *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, José María Palomares (Coord.), (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1989), 28: "Sabed que el rey, mi padre, hobo a pro e a buen recaudo se dus reino hacer mercedes a los lectores e estudiantes, conservadores e demás ministros del Estudio General de Valladolid de las tercias de dicha villa e su tierra, e más de las de Mocientes y Fuensaldaña".

en el ámbito académico de acuerdo con los paheres y el obispo de la ciudad<sup>10</sup>. También Pedro IV entregó el gobierno de la Universidad de Huesca (1354) al municipio y le encargó su financiación<sup>11</sup>.

### *La hacienda de las universidades hispanas en los siglos XIV y XV: administración y fuentes de ingreso*

El papel jugado por las instituciones laicas (monarquía y gobiernos concejiles) y eclesiásticas (Pontificado e Iglesia diocesana) durante el siglo XIII y la primera mitad del siglo XIV, sin duda, marcó el devenir bajomedieval de los Estudios generales hispanos. Se forjaron modelos de gestión de su hacienda con rasgos diferenciadores, de menor calado en los castellanos, y un modelo mixto en los aragoneses. No obstante, ambos modelos compartieron una debilidad endémica en su financiación.

### *Corona de Castilla*

En la Corona de Castilla solo Salamanca y Valladolid contaron con Estudios generales que desarrollaron su juventud y primera madurez en los siglos XIV y XV. Apenas disponemos de indicios sobre la formación del patrimonio bajomedieval de ambas. De hecho, desarrollaron su actividad en inmuebles propiedad del cabildo catedralicio. La dotación financiera de ambas continuó descansando en rentas de origen eclesiástico, las tercias o tercera parte proveniente del diezmo destinada a la fábrica de las iglesias. Una parte de las tercias de la fábrica (es decir, el noveno del diezmo) solían destinarlos papas y reyes a la guerra contra los infieles. La recaudación y distribución entre los miembros del Estudio de la tercia de las tercias de la fábrica de las iglesias de las dos diócesis fue otorgada por los monarcas a los concejos de Salamanca y Valladolid.

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<sup>10</sup> Mariano Peset, "La fundación y el fuero universitario de Lérida", *Hispania* n<sup>o</sup> 58/2 (1998): 519-520.

<sup>11</sup> Isabel Falcón, María Luisa Ledesma, Carmen Orcastegui y Esteban Sarasa, "Las universidades en el reino de Aragón (Huesca y Zaragoza) y de Lérida en la Edad Media" en *Homenaje de la Universidad de Valladolid a la de Bolonia en su IX centenario*, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid), 87.

## Salamanca: rentas eclesiásticas y paulatina intervención regia al final del XV

Fernando IV reguló en 1300 la recaudación y distribución de las tercias del Estudio de Salamanca. Estas serían puestas en arriendo cada año por el obispo/cabildo catedralicio y los oficiales conservadores del concejo nombrados por el rey<sup>12</sup>. Los testimonios sobre la concesión pontificia por trienios de las tercias y las dificultades de la recaudación en momentos de crisis se suceden a lo largo del siglo XIV. Fernando IV obtuvo de Bonifacio VIII una prórroga en 1301 para seguir cobrando las tercias de las fábricas de las Iglesias en Castilla y otra de Clemente V en 1313 de la tercera parte de las tercias de la fábrica de la diócesis. Esta concesión supuso además el desligamiento de las tercias de la universidad de aquellas que se concedían a los reyes para la guerra contra el infiel<sup>13</sup>. Entre medias, hubo una crisis agraria (1302-1305) que culminó con la suspensión de las mismas y la consiguiente falta de dotación para los salarios de los maestros. El concejo acudió en su ayuda poniendo en 1306 un tributo sobre la tierra de 12.000 maravedíes y el cabildo se mostró también dispuesto a colaborar por iniciativa propia y no por mandado del rey<sup>14</sup>. Nuevas calamidades sobrevinieron entre 1312 y 1325, intensificadas por la inestabilidad política que prosiguió a la muerte de María de Molina (+1321), y que debieron provocar la suspensión de las clases puesto que, por entonces, la concesión que había hecho Clemente V en 1313 resultaba insuficiente para sufragar a los maestros<sup>15</sup>. Prueba de la anarquía reinante es que, un año antes de que Alfonso XI llegase al trono (1325), los clérigos de Alba de Tormes se habían negado a entregar la parte de las tercias que les correspondía<sup>16</sup>. Las contribuciones debidas para financiar la guerra de Granada empeoraron la penuria de estas décadas centrales del siglo XIV. Un leve alivio se produjo en 1335 cuando el Papa Benedicto XIII renovó al rey de Castilla la concesión de su antecesor de la décima de las rentas eclesiásticas y de dos partes de la fábrica de las Iglesias por un cuatrienio, esta promesa persistiría si no se produjeran treguas en la guerra de Granada. Circunstancia que sobrevino, por lo que el pontífice hubo de otorgar una prórroga de un

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<sup>12</sup> CUS, I,07/08/1300, doc.46, 626.

<sup>13</sup> BUS, I, 16/09/1301, doc. 22. y 14/10/1313, doc. 24, 330. Antonio García y García, *La Universidad de Salamanca. Historia y proyecciones*, I, en M. Fernández Álvarez. L. Robles Carcedo y L. E. Rodríguez San Pedro (eds.), (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), 22.

<sup>14</sup> CUS, I, 09/01/1306, doc. 48, 627.

<sup>15</sup> CUS, I, 117.

<sup>16</sup> CUS, I, 121.

año para completar el cuatrienio<sup>17</sup>. Además, puede considerarse esta concesión como un precedente de la donación que Clemente VII hizo al rey Juan I en 1381 de un tercio de las rentas de todo el reino por haberle apoyado en el contexto del Cisma de Aviñón; del cual el monarca traspasó a la universidad el tercio correspondiente a la ciudad de Salamanca y su término. Con ello, la institución se aseguró una donación estable de 20.000 maravedís anuales<sup>18</sup>.

Dentro de la estructura jerárquica del Estudio salmantino el órgano administrativo-económico principal era el claustro de Diputados (rector, diputados doctores y no doctores, y maestrescuela), del cual dependía el arca de la universidad, la concesión de préstamos y la rendición última de las cuentas. El maestrescuela era uno de los tres clavarios, junto con el obispo/cabildo y los oficiales del concejo nombrados por el rey (conservadores) que custodiaban las tres llaves del arca que se encontraba en dependencias catedralicias o en casa del bedel. El claustro de consiliarios (rector y consiliarios) elegían al administrador del Estudio que gestionaría los ingresos, ayudado por un grupo de oficiales del arca, los gastos y pagaría los salarios, debiendo dar cuenta de su gestión anualmente. Las fuentes de ingreso principales eran las provenientes de las tercias, a las que se unían algunas rentas, multas cobradas y la devolución de préstamos realizados por la universidad. La gestión de las tercias era compleja, éstas eran puestas en pública almoneda cada año. El control de los arrendadores y las cantidades que deberían entregar en tres plazos competía al administrador, quien de forma privada llevaba cuentas de ello por lo que no se han conservado pruebas documentales. La gestión de cobros y pagos cotidianos a cargo del administrador requería una organización contable amplia que no se recoge en los Libros de rentas y tercias conservados. En el siglo XV los adjudicatarios de estas rentas eclesiásticas se repartían en cerca de 300 aldeas integradas en cuatro villas con su tierra (Ledesma, Alba, Salvatierra y Miranda) y en los denominados cuartos (el de Val de Villoria, el de Almunia, el de Caños y el de Peña del Rey), a lo que hay que añadir Medina del Campo fuera de la diócesis<sup>19</sup>. El análisis de los remates finales en las almonedas públicas que tuvieron lugar entre 1403 y 1448 ha puesto de manifiesto que las fluctuaciones anuales fueron similares para cada fuente de las tercias. El grado de inflación fue significativo durante las cuatro crisis estacionales documentadas entre 1437 y 1442. Generalmen-

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<sup>17</sup> BUS, I, 12/04/1335, doc. 29, 336.

<sup>18</sup> CUS, I, 122.

<sup>19</sup> Fernando Martín Lamouroux, *La revelación contable en la Salamanca histórica*, (Salamanca: Diputación de Salamanca, 1988), 38-42.

te, los administradores pagaban menos de lo que ingresaban, entregaban las cuentas a veces con años de retraso. De ahí, que en los Libros de claustros del siglo XV puedan encontrarse requerimientos al administrador para que se entregase lo adeudado (en 1488 se le requirieron 100.000 maravedís). A pesar de estos retrasos, la recaudación funcionaba<sup>20</sup>.

Entre finales del siglo XIV y las décadas iniciales del siglo XV la Universidad de Salamanca se benefició de forma especial de la protección de dos pontífices. La historiografía ha considerado a Benedicto XIII como restaurador de la universidad salmantina, debido al efecto que las constituciones que le otorgó en 1411 tuvieron en su desarrollo durante gran parte del siglo XV. En las mismas, se aprecia el interés del pontífice por introducir rigor en el sistema de administración de la hacienda académica y fiscalizar los ingresos y gastos<sup>21</sup>. Reguló el sueldo de los maestros de derecho, medicina, teología y la facultad de Artes en el título segundo, al tiempo que concedió a los académicos un indulto para que pudiesen disfrutar durante un septenio de sus beneficios eclesiásticos, mientras estuviesen cursando sus estudios<sup>22</sup>. Intervino en los conflictos surgidos entre el Arzobispo de Santiago y la universidad a causa del nombramiento del administrador del Estudio (1413), reforzando el derecho del primero (1419)<sup>23</sup>. Su política para con la universidad salmantina se orientó, sobre todo, a salvaguardar su débil financiación y a orientar el superávit hacía la inversión en infraestructura, como muestran las bulas que otorgó en 1413. En la primera dirección fue la ratificación que hizo de las dos terceras partes de la renta de la fábrica de Almuña, Baños y Peña del Rey. Las rentas recaudadas en la segunda mitad del primer decenio del siglo XV, según algunas noticias aisladas, oscilaban entre 160.000 y 180.000 maravedís y debían cubrir ajustadamente los gastos<sup>24</sup>. En la segunda dirección fueron tres bulas, la de 1413 que obligó a depositar en el arca del Estudio el remanente para dedicarlo al pago de las suplencias de los catedráticos,<sup>25</sup> y las dos que reclamaban a los arrendatarios del cobro de las rentas del Estudio (adeudaban 2000 florines) para invertirlo en la construcción del edificio de las escuelas mayores (previsto en las constituciones de 1411) y en una

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<sup>20</sup> Idem, 165 y 228.

<sup>21</sup> Antonio García y García, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 42.

<sup>22</sup> BUS, II, 26/07/1411, doc., 444, constitución 2 y doc. 443, 24-25.

<sup>23</sup> BUS, II, 12/01/1419, doc. 571, 195-196.

<sup>24</sup> BUS, II, 31/03/1416, doc. 515, 82 y CUS, I, 1405-1408, doc. 82, 372: en este trienio la suma de ingresos anual fue de 53.00. 188.671 y 169.351 maravedís respectivamente.

<sup>25</sup> BUS, II, 03/07/1413, doc. 476, 56: se regula también las tasas de alquiler de casas en la ciudad a los miembros del Estudio y el aumento del salario de los catedráticos de cánones y leyes.

librería. En la misma línea, fue la concesión de indulgencias a los que ayudasen a sostener el hospital de la universidad<sup>26</sup>.

Mayor trascendencia tendrían en el devenir de la institución las constituciones aprobadas por Martín V en 1422, vigentes hasta las reformas del siglo XVIII. La corporación consideraba obsoletas y demasiado severas las constituciones de Benedicto XIII por las numerosas censuras que imponían. Por ello, elaboró unas nuevas que presentó a Martín V para ser aprobadas con resultado positivo. Eran muy similares a las de Benedicto XIII, tan solo modificaron y completaron algunas de sus disposiciones. En lo relativo a la gestión económica, las constituciones octava, novena y décima reglamentaban el cargo de administrador de rentas o mayordomo que, a partir de entonces, sería propuesto por la universidad y nombrado por el Arzobispo de Toledo. En el siglo XVI esta figura se desdobló, mientras que el administrador se transformó en juez de rentas, el mayordomo (elegido por el claustro pleno) se encargaría de la gestión patrimonial<sup>27</sup>. La pérdida de un control directo sobre las rentas por el prelado provocó su protesta ante el Papa y un pleito contra la universidad.<sup>28</sup> La constitución veintiuno regulaba la tasación de alquileres de casas a universitarios y la treinta la administración de las tercias eclesiásticas y la función del administrador. Las rentas recaudadas deberían ser invertidas en salarios, en la compra de libros y en la dotación de edificios para las escuelas y la biblioteca. Una vez cubiertos los gastos, si quedaba remanente (residuo), la mitad se depositaría en el arca para gastos imprevistos y la otra mitad se distribuiría entre los catedráticos vitalicios<sup>29</sup>. Las constituciones vinieron precedidas de la concesión del Martín V al rey Juan II de las tercias de la fábrica de las iglesias para la guerra contra el infiel con algunas excepciones, una ellas fue la de las tercias reservadas a la universidad (1421)<sup>30</sup>. Testimonios fragmentados revelan que las dificultades para la recaudación de las tercias del Estudio continuaron presentando dificultades<sup>31</sup>. En la misma línea de protección de la institución, Eugenio IV confirmó

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<sup>26</sup> BUS, II, 13/09/1413, doc. 480 y doc. 481, 60-61.

<sup>27</sup> Mariano Peset, "La organización de las universidades españolas en la edad moderna", 78.

<sup>28</sup> BUS, II, 20/02/1422, doc. 647, 235. El apoyo de Eugenio IV al arzobispo concluyó con la muerte del primero (1445) y el retorno a la constitución original de 1422.

<sup>29</sup> BUS, II, 20/02/1422, doc. 647, 185 y 201-220. Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, *La Universidad de Salamanca en el primer renacimiento (1380-1516)*, (Salamanca: Ayuntamiento de Salamanca, 2013), 28-29.

<sup>30</sup> BUS, II, 08/10/1421, doc. 638, 169: si bien una vez cada 20 años la mitad se destinarían a reparación de iglesias y la otra mitad a la Cámara apostólica.

<sup>31</sup> CUS, I, 17/11/1439, doc. 99, 686: mandamiento del señor de Valdecorneja al concejo de Alba de Tormes para que den facilidades al administrador del Estudio en la recaudación de las



en 1432 el privilegio para los universitarios de percibir íntegros sus beneficios eclesiásticos durante el tiempo de permanencia en el Estudio<sup>32</sup>.

En las constituciones de Benedicto XIII (1411) se menciona otra de las fuentes de ingreso que tuvo el personal académico, la colecta o pago que los maestros recibían de los estudiantes. La información sobre las mismas es muy escasa, pudieron introducirse a finales del siglo XIV y existían todavía en 1466, pues disponemos de una referencia a un estatuto de colectas en ese momento. En cualquier caso, es posible documentar que fueron suprimidas en 1480<sup>33</sup>.

A partir de la proyección que Benedicto XIII hiciera en sus constituciones de la construcción de 7 aulas (cuatro para juristas y tres para teólogos, médicos y filósofos) se advierte una política de dotación de infraestructuras propias de la universidad<sup>34</sup>. En 1414 y en 1418 el claustro adquiere solares y casas en la Rúa Nueva para construir unas Escuelas mayores que albergasen las escuelas de leyes, cánones y medicina, las cuales hasta entonces se encontraban en casas alquiladas al cabildo catedralicio<sup>35</sup>. Se cree que el edificio de las Escuelas mayores se finalizó hacia 1420, lo cual permitiría a la universidad ganar independencia con relación al cabildo catedralicio. En la Rúa Nueva se encontraba también el Hospital de Santo Tomás conocido como Hospital del Estudio. En 1427 precisamente la universidad recibió una donación de casas corral en dicha calle que habían sido del hospital. Por su parte, las nuevas Escuelas de Gramática o Escuelas menores, antaño ubicadas en casas del cabildo cerca de la Iglesia de San Vicente (1417), comenzaron a construirse en 1428 a partir de la adquisición de unos suelos pudiera ser que cerca de San Bartolomé<sup>36</sup>.

El avituallamiento del personal académico provocó algún conflicto con el concejo y fue objeto de regulación por ello. En 1388 el concejo estableció

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tercias del Estudio en la villa y aldeas. CUS, II, 22/08/1469, doc. 143, 65: proceso contra el regidor de Bobadilla y el comendador en Villoria por impedir la cobranza de las tercias del Estudio.

<sup>32</sup> BUS, II, 24/02/1432, doc. 837, 354.

<sup>33</sup> BUS, I, 75.

<sup>34</sup> BUS, II, 26/07/1411, doc. 444, 25-36.

<sup>35</sup> CUS, I, 01/09/1414, doc. 85, 664: adquisición de estas casas a cambio de una renta anual de 3.300 maravedíes. Ángel Vaca Lorenzo, *Diplomatario del Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1996), doc. 4: se adquieren casas en la Rúa Nueva a cambio de una renta. Sabemos que en 1378 las Escuelas de Leyes y de Cánones estaban en casas arrendadas al cabildo, CUS, I, 18/08/1378, doc. 71, 647: Las Escuelas de Decretales estaban en las casas que el cabildo había arrendado al bedel. Si éste se comprometía a restar de la renta 40 maravedíes anuales, el bedel acometería obras para acondicionarlo con bancos para 200 escolares, al igual que se había hecho con la Escuela de Leyes.

<sup>36</sup> 26/10/1427, Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, doc. 10. CUS, I, 24/09/1417, doc. 88, 667. Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, 17/08/1428, doc. 15.

algunas exacciones sobre el pan, el vino y la carne. Consecuencia de ello debió ser el pleito que se entabló entre el Estudio y el concejo en 1418 con la intervención del rey. En 1421 se alcanzó un acuerdo, según el cual los universitarios y sus familiares podrían introducir vino para sus bodegas, siempre que no fuera para vender. El Estudio tenía su propia panera para vender trigo, sin embargo, no parece que disfrutase de una carnicería propia pues la requirió al corregidor de la ciudad en 1497<sup>37</sup>.

Las tres últimas décadas del siglo XV se caracterizaron por el creciente intervencionismo de los Reyes Católicos en la Universidad como prueba el nombramiento de un visitador y de conservadores del Estudio entre 1476 y 1484 por la reina Isabel I<sup>38</sup>. Estas visitas, expresión del ejercicio del derecho de patronato regio sobre la universidad, fueron constantes en el siglo XVI, llegando incluso a influir en la modificación de sus constituciones<sup>39</sup>. Noticias aisladas como la de 1473 hablan de un remanente en el saldo de las cuentas anuales (582.268 maravedíes)<sup>40</sup> y de adquisición de casas en propiedad por la institución, sobre todo, en la Rúa Nueva donde se encontraban las Escuelas mayores<sup>41</sup>. Sin embargo, los viejos problemas con la recaudación de las rentas persistieron<sup>42</sup>. El pleito que el Estudio mantuvo con el cabildo por los derechos de ambos en los diezmos de la fábrica de la catedral finalizó con

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<sup>37</sup> Octubre de 1388, Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, doc. 1, doc. 4 (30/09/1418), doc. 7 (23-24/09/1421): "pueden meter ellos, o en otro por su mandato en la dicha çibdat, sin pena alguna, vino blanco e tinto, lo que ovieren menester para su provisión e mantenimiento de sus familiares continuos comensales, con un alvalá de un regidor qualquier".

<sup>38</sup> CUS, II, 08/10/1476, doc. 156, 74: la reina Isabel perdona al Marqués de Villena y a sus parientes y les restituye la conservaduría del Estudio; 31/12/1477, doc. 160, 76: Diego de Tejada presenta carta de los Reyes Católicos para ser proveído de la conservaduría; 23/11/1478, doc. 164, 78: Juan de Villafuerte presenta carta de la conservaduría que le hicieron los reyes; 08/02/1484, doc. 199, 130: confirmación por los reyes de la conservaduría para su doncel, Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera.

<sup>39</sup> Mariano Peset, "La organización de las universidades españolas en la edad moderna", 82.

<sup>40</sup> CUS, II, 09/11/1475, doc. 155, 73.

<sup>41</sup> Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, 05/11/1473, doc. 53: el cabildo vende a la universidad el censo anual de unas casas que le tenía arrendadas por 40.000 maravedíes. 25/10/1483, doc. 64: La universidad compra unas casas sitas en la Rúa Nueva próximas a las Escuelas menores por 70.000 maravedíes. 19/10/1487, doc. 74: el vicario del administrador del Obispado de Salamanca autoriza a Juan Pereira, arcediano de Nájera, a dar a la universidad en enfiteusis una casa sita en la Rúa nueva frente a las Escuelas mayores por una renta anual de 1.500 maravedíes.

<sup>42</sup> Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, 11/07/1468, doc. 47: Rodrigo de Bobadilla, regidor de Medina del Campo y señor de Bobadilla jura no ocupar ni embargar las tercias que la universidad poseía en Bobadilla. CUS, II, 21/08/1478, doc. 161, 77: que el alcalde de Monleón permita cobrar las tercias del Estudio en aquella vicaria.

una sentencia que reconocía al primero el noveno de los diezmos de Ledesma, Miranda de Castañar, Alba, Medina del Campo y Salvatierra junto con los de Valdoba y Monleón<sup>43</sup>. Por otra parte, las deudas que los administradores del Estudio tendían a contraer tiene su máxima expresión durante las dos últimas décadas del siglo XV en el administrador Diego Ruíz de Camargo. A su muerte, la universidad entabló un pleito con su hijo al que embargó bienes por no haber saldado la deuda de 343. 671 maravedíes que su padre dejó a deber a la Universidad, dada su posición de máximo responsable de la recaudación anual de las rentas de la misma<sup>44</sup>.

### Valladolid: tercias reales y administración municipal

La villa de Valladolid pertenecía al Obispado de Palencia, aunque su Iglesia colegial de Santa María disfrutaba de un privilegio de exención de jurisdicción y en el siglo XIII todavía no poseía el rango de ciudad. Sin embargo, se había producido una diversificación de la actividad económica y la presencia frecuente de la corte real favoreció la instalación de órganos de la administración de la monarquía. Se sabe que en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII existía un Estudio particular en la villa por la referencia que hace al mismo Sancho IV en 1293 cuando funda una institución similar en Alcalá de Henares<sup>45</sup>, pero tendría que esperar hasta 1346 para ser elevado a la categoría de Estudio general por bula de Clemente VI. El pontífice reforzó la financiación del Estudio vallisoletano con la concesión durante 6 años de dos partes de las tercias de la fábrica de la Catedral y diócesis de Palencia para sufragar los salarios de los catedráticos, período durante el cual el personal del Estudio podría disfrutar de beneficios eclesiásticos sin residir en ellos<sup>46</sup>.

Lo ingresos bajomedievales del Estudio de Valladolid se basaron en el siglo XIV en las rentas concedidas por reyes y papas sobre las tercias de la diócesis de Palencia. Los reyes de Castilla disfrutaron de una parte del tercio

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<sup>43</sup> Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, 08/02/1481, doc. 61.

<sup>44</sup> Ángel Vaca, *Diplomatario*, 26/08/1481, doc. 80.

<sup>45</sup> Mercedes Gaibrois, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, (Madrid : Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1922-1928), Vol III, doc. 479.

<sup>46</sup> BUS, III, 31/07/1346, doc. 1407, 345. La bula original de Clemente VI se perdió por lo que la Universidad solicitó a Clemente VII una copia en 1384 que incluye y confirma la anterior. *Bulario de la Universidad de Valladolid*, eds. M<sup>ª</sup> Ángeles Díez Rabadán, Ana I. Martínez Ferrerira y Miguel Ángel González Manjarres ,(Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2006), doc. 1, 36-37.

del diezmo eclesiástico que en principio estaba reservado a la fábrica de la iglesia. Los monarcas fijaron las rentas y entregaron al concejo de Valladolid su recaudación y la administración de la universidad, para lo cual nombraron unos oficiales o conservadores. En Valladolid estos fueron dos regidores del concejo pertenecientes a los dos grandes linajes de la oligarquía urbana, los Reoyo y los Tovar. El documento de Fernando IV de 1304, en el que instaba a los oficiales del concejo de Valladolid a entregar al Estudio los 20.000 maravedíes anuales donados por el monarca y derivados de varios tributos reales, hacía referencia a las donaciones de su padre Sancho IV de tercias reales de la villa de Valladolid y su tierra, junto con las de Mucientes y Fuensaldaña. Alfonso XI aumentará esta donación en 1323 con 10.000 maravedíes anuales derivados del arriendo de las tercias reales de Valladolid y su tierra, situadas en pan, vino y ganado, destinados a pagar los salarios de los maestros lectores, de los conservadores y del bedel<sup>47</sup>.

En los últimos tres decenios del siglo XIV Enrique II y Juan I confirmaron los 20.000 maravedíes de renta anual sobre las tercias de la villa y los lugares de Mucientes y Fuensaldaña, además de otorgarles la exención fiscal a los miembros<sup>48</sup>. Pero Juan I fundó el monasterio de San Benito en la ciudad que recibió la aprobación pontificia en 1387, cediéndole las tercias que tenía asignadas al Estudio. Ante las protestas del Estudio, su sucesor Enrique III le recompensó con la concesión de las tercias de los arciprestazgos de Portillo y Cevico de la Torre. La universidad se quejó a Enrique III de que los arrendadores le impedían la cobranza de dichas tercias, alegando que valían más de los 20.000 maravedís fijados; a lo cual el monarca respondió que debían ser percibidas por la misma, fuere cual fuere su valor<sup>49</sup>. Además, en 1404 destinó las tercias de los dos arciprestazgos a la creación de tres nuevas cátedras para asegurar los salarios de sus titulares<sup>50</sup>. La resistencia de las autoridades municipales a obedecer el privilegio de exención de impuestos para el Estudio motivó quejas ante rey por parte de este último y la búsqueda de protección real. La respuesta de los reyes fue positiva. Con Juan I lograron

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<sup>47</sup> Elena Sánchez Movellán, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1989), vol. 1, 28.

<sup>48</sup> Vicente Vázquez de Figueroa, *Libro Becerro de esta Real Universidad de Valladolid* (1757). Completado con notas de Mariano Alcocer, Francisco Fernández Moreno y Calixto Valverde y Valverde, (Valladolid, 1919), 20/12/1367, 204-205. Mariano Alcocer, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid. Bulas apostólicas y privilegios reales*, (Valladolid, 1919), vol. II, 22/12/1379, doc. 3, 11.

<sup>49</sup> Vicente Vázquez de Figueroa, *Libro Becerro de esta Real Universidad de Valladolid*, 205. Mariano Alcocer, *Bulas apostólicas y privilegios reales*, II, Enrique III, 1404, doc. 5, 15.

<sup>50</sup> Vicente Vázquez de Figueroa, *Libro Becerro de esta Real Universidad de Valladolid*, 206.

los miembros del Estudio la exención de hospedaje en 1379 y con Juan II en 1431 de acudir a la guerra de Granada<sup>51</sup>. La protección real no estuvo exenta de conflictos. Enrique III (1390-1406) devolvió al Estudio las rentas de que le había privado en beneficio del monasterio de San Benito, pero con la condición que debían entregar cada año 6000 maravedíes a Diego Meléndez de Valdés, debido a una merced real que este personaje había tenido anteriormente sobre las tercias<sup>52</sup>.

La obediencia de Castilla a los Papas de Aviñón durante el Cisma pontificio redundaría en la concesión por Benedicto XIII en 1416 de dos partes de las tercias de los arciprestazgos de Cevico y Portillo, a cambio de que el Estudio se rigiese por las constituciones que el pontífice había otorgado a Salamanca (1411)<sup>53</sup>. Contrapartida que el Estudio de Valladolid aceptó pero no cumplió<sup>54</sup> pues suponía una mayor intervención de los conservadores del Estudio, es decir, de la oligarquía urbana del concejo, en la asignación de cátedras. Benedicto XIII reaccionó decretando el embargo de las tercias del Estudio de los arciprestazgos de Cevico y Portillo, pero acabo levantado dicho secuestro en 1417 sin lograr introducir las nuevas constituciones<sup>55</sup>. Martín V tuvo también que transigir, en 1418 ordenó levantar cualquier secuestro sobre dichas tercias y confirmó los estatutos antiguos de la universidad<sup>56</sup>. La búsqueda de autonomía por parte de la universidad de Valladolid descansó en la obtención de la protección de la monarquía frente a la oligarquía urbana del concejo que trataba de controlarla. Por lo demás, los reyes del siglo XV mantuvieron las rentas reales destinadas al Estudio general aunque los ingresos debieron ser modestos. Así, en 1498 para fundar dos nuevas cátedras, una de Decreto y otra de Decretales, los Reyes católicos facultaron a la universidad a dividir en dos el salario de la Cátedra de Decreto (50.000 maravedíes)<sup>57</sup>. Durante su reinado, además, la universidad recibió el apoyo regio ante los intentos del corregidor y otros oficiales de justicia de violar la autonomía jurisdiccional de que gozaban sus miembros<sup>58</sup>. En los comienzos de la edad moderna se configuró como un Estudio más jerarquizado y con

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<sup>51</sup> Mariano Alcocer, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid. Bulas apostólicas y privilegios reales*, 22/12/1379, doc. 10, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, 10/09/1437, doc. 21, 62. Incluye diversas provisiones de reyes anteriores.a

<sup>53</sup> Idem, Benedicto XIII, 02/06/1416, doc. 10, 19.

<sup>54</sup> Idem, Benedicto XIII, 12/05/1417, doc. 11, 31.

<sup>55</sup> Idem, Benedicto XIII, 18/06/1417, doc. 11, 31.

<sup>56</sup> Idem, Martín V, 08/07/1418, doc. 16, 43; 201/12/1418, doc. 17 y doc. 18, 45-47.

<sup>57</sup> Idem, doc. 31, 103.

<sup>58</sup> Elena Sánchez Movellán, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, vol. 1, 34.

menor autonomía. Las constituciones del siglo XVI revelan su sometimiento al patronato regio<sup>59</sup>.

### *Corona de Aragón*

El nacimiento de las universidades en la Corona de Aragón no se produjo hasta el siglo XIV y fue el fruto de una acción mancomunada entre la monarquía, los gobiernos municipales y la Iglesia. Las dinámicas oligarquías urbanas que controlaban los gobiernos de sus ciudades veían en esta institución como una amenaza para su autonomía. Solo dos ciudades, Lérida (1300) y Huesca (1354,) tuvieron un Estudio general con aprobación pontificia y desarrollo durante los siglos XIV y XV. Los Estudios aparecidos en las ciudades de Gerona, Mallorca, Barcelona y Valencia no lograron confirmación pontificia hasta los albores de la época moderna.

#### Lérida: financiación municipal exclusiva y fórmulas mixtas

A finales del siglo XIII Jaime II de Aragón con la mediación de los franciscanos dirigió a los paheres del gobierno municipal de Lérida una carta con la petición de crear un Estudio General en la ciudad (1293). Poco después, en 1297, recibió autorización pontificia para el proyecto y en 1300, ratificando el deseo del gobierno municipal, concedió al nuevo Estudio privilegio fundacional. La fundación del Estudio General fue acompañada de unas normas estatutarias aprobados casi de manera simultánea. El municipio de Lérida como partícipe del nacimiento de la institución retuvo un claro protagonismo en los aspectos relacionados con la su financiación y con el nombramiento de profesores<sup>60</sup>. Aunque el Papa deseaba que siguiera el modelo de la Universidad de Toulouse se inspirará en el modelo boloñés. Jaime II evitó, de este modo, que el Estudio quedase bajo el control exclusivo de la Iglesia y lo convirtió en una estructura de poder equilibrado, que fue la base de las universidades de la Corona de Aragón, bajo un amplio poder municipal<sup>61</sup>. El rey conservaría la facultad de intervención en la nueva universidad, pero la

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<sup>59</sup> Mariano Peset, "La organización de las universidades españolas en la edad moderna", 93.

<sup>60</sup> Joan J. Busqueta (ed.). *Llibre de les Constitucions i Estatuts de l'Estudi General de Lleida*, 29-30.

<sup>61</sup> Rafael Ramis Barceló, *Estudios sobre la Universidad de Lérida*, 18.

jurisdicción de la misma correspondería al rector nombrado entre los estudiantes. En el privilegio fundacional se justifica la elección de Lérida por su posición central en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón, en cuyos territorios se le concedía el monopolio de la enseñanza superior que después no se cumplió<sup>62</sup>. A diferencia de los que ocurrió en las universidades de Salamanca y Valladolid, el Estudio general de Lérida no fue dotado con rentas reales o pontificias propias. La pahaería o gobierno municipal asumió la erección y sostenimiento del mismo. En el mes de septiembre del mismo año de la fundación (1300), el consejo general de la ciudad se reunió en la Seo y se obligó a pagar el salario de seis maestros y de un estacionario, así como a construir cuatro aulas y a facilitar vivienda a los estudiantes<sup>63</sup>.

Durante el período fundacional (1300-1319) se estableció una fórmula de financiación eclesiástico-municipal no exenta de dificultades por la falta de armonía. El Obispo y el cabildo llegaron a un acuerdo con los paheres para colaborar en el sostenimiento del Estudio. Para ello, crearon un impuesto que todos los clérigos de la diócesis deberían satisfacer so pena de excomunión. Por su parte, la ciudad estableció un impuesto municipal para pagar el salario de los profesores. El acuerdo funcionó entre 1300 y 1305 pero el Estudio hubo de cerrar en el quinquenio siguiente. Una nueva concordia<sup>64</sup> permitió reabrirlo en 1310. La Pahaería cedió al Obispo y cabildo el nombramiento de profesores durante diez años. Ambos deberían contribuir con 2.500 sueldos jaqueses (250 libras), cantidad que resultó ser suficiente para la plantilla inicial de siete catedráticos. En 1313 mediante una sentencia arbitral del monarca los paheres recuperaron el nombramiento de los catedráticos. Se allanó así el camino a una segunda etapa de financiación enteramente municipal (1319-1349). Para ello, sin autorización del monarca y burlando el fisco real, los paheres establecieron un impuesto sobre la venta del vino en la ciudad denominado la "libra del Estudio" (1 sueldo por cada 28 del valor del vino con una vigencia de 3 años). Pedro IV condonó esta irregularidad y concedió una prórroga del impuesto hasta 1359. Sin embargo, desde 1360 esta fuente de ingreso resultaba insuficiente debido al crecimiento de la plantilla. A pesar de los apoyos

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<sup>62</sup> J. Lladanao i Pujol, *L'Estudi general de Lleida del 1430 al 1524*, (Barcelona, 1970), 188, 210-212. y Mariano Peset, "La fundación y el fuero universitario de Lérida", *Hispania* 581/2, nº22 (1998): 519-520.

<sup>63</sup> Francesc Esteve Perendreu, *El régimen jurídico del Estudio General de Lleida (s. XIII-XVIII)*, (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1992), 61-64.

<sup>64</sup> Roser Gort Riera, *L'Estudi General de Lleida al segle XIV*, (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2016), 39: El obispo y cabildo de Lérida se comprometieron a proveer las cátedras durante 6 años, aportando la mitad del salario.

recibidos de Pedro IV para acrecentar la recaudación, comenzaron a exigirse tallas o imposiciones a los profesores y estudiantes. Hacia 1378 el sistema de financiación municipal única se había resquebrajado<sup>65</sup>. En 1399 el Rey Martín el Humano promovió reformas fiscales para equilibrar el pago de imposiciones dedicadas a captar recursos para el Estudio. Para ello, estableció que los estudiantes deberían también pagar por una serie de artículos alimenticios.<sup>66</sup>

Durante el período del Cisma de Aviñón se volvió en cierto modo a la fórmula de financiación municipal y eclesiástica. Clemente VII le concedió al Rey Martín el Humano los denominados “legados inciertos de la diócesis” (provenientes de los beneficios eclesiásticos vacantes en la Provincia eclesiástica de Tarragona que alcanzaban en 1398 la suma de 4000 florines, es decir, unas 2000 libras) pero eran eventuales. Obtuvo también tres rótulos pontificios de expectativa de beneficios eclesiásticos para los miembros del Estudio que dan fe de su crecimiento (1378, 1387 y 1394)<sup>67</sup>. La pahaería de Lérida estableció una imposición a los estudiantes de un dinero por cada libra de carne y, a pesar de la resistencia, se convirtió en una renta fija en el futuro. También Benedicto XIII favoreció al Estudio concediéndole 100 florines anuales sobre el decanato del cabildo de Lérida y una renta de 400 florines sobre los bienes legados por Berenguer Gallart (albaceazgo de Gallart). Además, intervino en la organización administrativa reduciendo el número de clavaros de seis a tres (uno por el Estudio, uno por el municipio y uno por el cabildo catedralicio). De este modo, al final del Cisma la Universidad de Lérida contaba con cinco fuentes de ingreso aseguradas que cubrirían la nómina de los profesores, sumando unos 970 florines: los tres que se acaban de mencionar (“libra de vino”, “los legados inciertos”, pensión anual del Decanato de Lérida y la pensión sobre el albaceazgo de Berenguer Gallart). A ello habría que sumar las colectas que cada catedrático podía recaudar de sus alumnos por las lecturas impartidas (estipuladas en estatutos fundacionales de 1300) y el bancaje, cantidad anual que se pagaba por sentarse en los bancos de las aulas<sup>68</sup>.

Hacia mediados del siglo XV (1447), el Obispo García Aznares emprende una reforma de los estatutos fundacionales del Estudio que en lo que se refiere a la financiación continúa nutriéndose de viejas fuentes imposi-

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<sup>65</sup> Ramón Gayá, “Las rentas del Estudio General de Lérida”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, nº 25 (1954): 293-303. Francesc Esteve Perendreu, *El régimen jurídico del Estudio General de Lleida (s. XIII-XVIII)*, 166-170.

<sup>66</sup> Rosert Gort Riera, *L'Estudi General de Lleida al segle XIV*, 45.

<sup>67</sup> Joan J. Busqueta, “Sobre l'Estudi General de Lleida a l'Edat Mitjana. Algunes qüestions”, *Millars: Espai i Història*, nº 46/1 (2019): 150-151.

<sup>68</sup> Ramón Gayá, “Las rentas del Estudio General de Lérida”, 308-315.



tivas. Se añadió una donación del obispo de 50 florines, media porción de la Prepositura de la Sede que recibía el maestro de gramática y un nuevo albaceazgo (del maestro Juan de Prusia), con los cuales se alcanzaría la suma de 1.005 florines para cubrir los salarios de profesores. El Papa Calixto III favoreció al Estudio y le asignó, además, una renta de 100 florines. Desde mediados del siglo XV, Lérida sufrió de forma directa los embates de la guerra civil que enfrentó a Cataluña y al rey Juan II (1462-1472). Tras la rendición, el monarca embargó las rentas de la pachería y del Estudio general pero los pacheres consiguieron que se respetase el privilegio de la universidad. Fue el comienzo de una larga decadencia pues se enfrentaron a la dificultad añadida de la competencia de la Universidad de Huesca que fue restaurada en este período por el Papa Paulo II a ruegos del monarca Juan II. Aunque lograron recuperar algunas fuentes de ingreso, el cobro de las demás no se restableció hasta 1553 por bula de Julio III<sup>69</sup>. El apoyo de la monarquía de que había disfrutado se fue diluyendo a causa de la atención prestada desde mediados del siglo XVI por los reyes a las universidades emergentes de Barcelona y Zaragoza. Tendencia que no excluyó la toma de medidas favorables a la Universidad de Lérida, defendida por Felipe II como sede universitaria tradicional<sup>70</sup>.

#### Huesca: insuficiente financiación municipal y débil apoyo eclesiástico

La segunda universidad en los territorios peninsulares de la Corona de Aragón fue Huesca. La iniciativa municipal, al igual que sucedió en otras universidades de estos reinos, caracterizó los comienzos de una institución cuya vida fue errática en la Baja Edad Media, debido precisamente a sus problemas de dotación financiera. Pedro IV, rompiendo el monopolio sobre la enseñanza superior que se había atribuido a la Universidad de Lérida y como respuesta a la petición de los jurados municipales, fundó el Estudio general de Huesca en 1354. Sin duda, el contexto político que llevó a Huesca a no jurar el privilegio de la Unión de los aragoneses (1287) en el pasado, pesó en esta decisión. El monarca les entregó el gobierno del Estudio y se reservó el derecho a promulgar estatutos. Como se ha observado que sucedió con el de Lérida, no le dotó con rentas reales por lo que la financiación del nuevo Estudio general recayó en el gobierno municipal de Huesca. El refrendo pontificio a esta nueva institución no llegó hasta 1465 lo que puede explicar la

<sup>69</sup> Ramón Gayá, "Las rentas del Estudio General de Lérida", 318-328.

<sup>70</sup> Rafael Ramis Barceló. Estudios sobre la Universidad de Lérida, 23.

ausencia de aportación eclesiástica. El municipio impuso un tributo sobre la carne que topó con la resistencia de los vecinos pero resultó ser insuficiente. Pedro IV intentó paliar la deficiencia financiera pidiendo a las aljamas judía y musulmana que contribuyeran con un impuesto pero la debilidad de la hacienda del Estudio culminó con su cierre entre finales del siglo XIV y comienzos de siglo XV. No se puede eludir que la protección de Fernando II a la universidad de Huesca suscitó recelos en el Estudio de Lérida que hasta ese momento se nutría también de estudiantes oscenses<sup>71</sup>.

La Universidad de Huesca hubo de ser refundada a comienzos del siglo XV, esta vez de la mano del Obispo Fenollet y del cabildo catedralicio. Por otra parte, la confirmación pontificia de 1465 la equiparó en privilegios a la de Bolonia y a la de Lérida, además de facilitar financiación eclesiástica. El obispo y el cabildo de Huesca la dotaron en 1473 con las rentas de cuatro beneficios eclesiásticos. La junta de gobierno en la segunda mitad del siglo XV estuvo constituida por el obispo/cabildo, de una parte, y, de otra, por el concejo (un prior de los jurados y un ciudadano designado por el concejo). El concejo recurrió a los impuestos, imponiendo alguna sisa sobre productos y a finales del siglo XV el obispo aportó más rentas. Nada de ello debió fortalecer la endeble financiación de un Estudio general que hacía 1475 continuaba siendo modesto en número de estudiantes<sup>72</sup>. Por otro lado, Cataluña contaba para entonces con Estudios desprovistos todavía de refrendo pontificio pero con suficiente prestigio como para suponer una competencia. Es el caso del Estudio de Gerona aprobado por Alfonso V, del Estudio de artes y medicina de Barcelona promovido por Martín el Humano (privilegio fundacional de 1401) y del Estudio de Mallorca (Privilegio fundacional de Fernando el Católico, 1483). La protección que Fernando II ejerció sobre las universidades de la Corona de Aragón no bastó para acrecentar la importancia del Estudio general de Huesca en los decenios finales del siglo XV.

### *Conclusión*

La escasez de documentación sobre el origen y evolución de las primeras universidades hispanas en el siglo XIII no permite establecer conclusiones defi-

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<sup>71</sup> M<sup>a</sup> Isabel Falcón, M<sup>a</sup> Luisa Ledesma, Carmen Orcastegui y Esteban Sarasa, "Las universidades del reino de Aragón (Huesca y Zaragoza) y de Lérida en la Edad Media", 88-89.

<sup>72</sup> José María Lahoz Finestres, "Las intervenciones reales en la Universidad de Huesca (1354-1599)", *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón*. Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, vol. 5, (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1996), 441-445.

nitivas sobre su infancia. El innegable protagonismo que la historiografía ha atribuido a los reyes Alfonso VIII y Alfonso IX en el surgimiento de las universidades de Palencia y Salamanca respectivamente, ha de ser matizado. Ambos fueron receptivos a las propuestas de los preladados que formaban parte del entorno real y sensibles al cado de cultivo cultural de las escuelas catedralicias existentes. Ciertamente, tomaron el testigo de estas iniciativas e impulsaron la mutación institucional que alumbró los Estudio generales. Ese apoyo político reforzado por la necesaria confirmación pontificia fue acompañado por una dotación financiera sustentada en rentas reales de origen eclesiástico, las tercias reales, (tercias del diezmo destinado a la fábrica de las iglesias de las diócesis de Palencia y Salamanca). Durante esta centuria sirvieron para sustentar el salario de los maestros. Los estudiantes, en su gran mayoría clérigos de órdenes menores, se valieron de los beneficios eclesiásticos anexos a esta condición para sufragar sus estudios. Sin embargo, a falta de mayores indicios, es posible aventurar que el Estudio de Palencia fue víctima de la prioridad que para los monarcas castellanos supuso completar la recuperación de la Meseta Sur bajo dominio musulmán. Una urgencia que ya no afectó al Estudio salmantino en las décadas centrales del siglo XIII cuando alcanzó una madurez corporativa que lo configuró como un Estudio marcadamente pontificio y eclesiástico (el maestrescuela, juez del Estudio, era además uno de los tres clavarios que custodiaban el arca de la universidad). En cambio, en la vecina Valladolid, cuyo Estudio se demoró en la obtención de la confirmación pontificia, el concejo asumió por delegación real el cobro y la administración de las rentas reales fijadas para la institución. Los oficiales del concejo encargados de esta tarea serían dos regidores que representaban a los linajes más importantes de la ciudad; en el futuro pondrían trabas a las exenciones de impuestos para los académicos e intentarían intervenir directamente en la provisión de cátedras.

En el siglo XIV, mientras que las haciendas universitarias de las universidades de Salamanca y Valladolid acusaban los vaivenes provocados por las crisis agrarias, las fluctuaciones de la moneda y el costo de la guerra de Granada, las universidades de la Corona de Aragón hicieron su entrada en la escena histórica como resultado de una acción mancomunada de los monarcas y los gobiernos municipales con el respaldo de sus iglesias diocesanas. De ahí, que desarrollasen un modelo de financiación mixta que, a diferencia de lo sucedido en Castilla, hizo recaer el peso de la misma en los gobiernos municipales y no contó con una dotación específica por parte de los reyes aragoneses, tampoco del Pontificado salvo de forma puntual. Solo los Estudios de Lérida (1300) y Huesca (1354) obtuvieron confirmación pontificia,

convirtiéndose en Estudios generales en la Baja Edad Media. Su evolución en los siglos XIV y XV se vio lastrada por la dificultad de consolidar unos ingresos sostenidos mayormente en la imposición de tributos municipales a unas ciudades recelosas de los privilegios de la institución, y por la tensión con las autoridades eclesiásticas que exigían el control sobre el nombramiento de maestros a cambio del apoyo monetario. Las aportaciones papales en momentos críticos no impidieron los períodos de decadencia que, en el caso del Estudio de Lérida, se agravaron con la guerra civil catalana en la segunda mitad del siglo XV; y, en el caso de Huesca, hizo necesaria una refundación con financiación eclesiástica. Paralelamente, en la Corona de Castilla, la universidad de Valladolid con una hacienda modesta durante el siglo XV buscó la protección regia frente a las pretensiones de control sobre la misma de la oligarquía urbana. La universidad de Salamanca, por su parte, reguló constitucionalmente la gestión de su hacienda para salvaguardar su debilidad financiera, mantuvo las tercias reales como fuente principal de sostenimiento, aseguró el avituallamiento mediante la exención de impuestos concejiles sobre productos básicos y orientó el superávit a la dotación de una infraestructura propia (escuelas mayores y menores). Su marcada impronta pontificia y eclesiástica, garante de su protección, no impediría una creciente intervención de la monarquía en la institución que se intensificó con los Reyes Católicos en los albores de la Edad Moderna.

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6161>

El estudio del doctorado como grado universitario ha tenido un gran desarrollo desde aquel estudio pionero de Carlos Petit (1997) en el que puso de manifiesto su singularidad en el proyecto liberal. Entre lo mucho escrito, destacan los trabajos de Aurora Miguel, que culminaron con su Catálogo de las tesis de derecho leídas entre 1847 y 1914 (2018). El catálogo permitió poner en valor como fuente las tesis o discursos del grado de doctor, dando un paso de lo adjetivo a lo sustantivo, pues ya no se trata de analizar una tesis concreta sino que al mostrar el conjunto nos enfrenta con el doctorado en sí; es decir, con una pieza fundamental en la construcción del sistema universitario nacional.

En efecto, los liberales rechazaron el concepto de universidad fundada en la corporación que era una realidad de ámbito local, y frente a ella proponen un modelo nacional. Este cambio de escala, de lo local a lo nacional, exigía neutralizar los poderes locales. Y para ello eran necesarios instrumentos adecuados: el doctorado fue uno de ellos.

Al crear un sistema centralizado en cuya cúspide se situó a la Universidad Central, es decir, la de la capi-

tal del Estado, se estableció también un circuito cuyo recorrido permitía uniformizar el sistema. Pieza fundamental de ese circuito fue que los aspirantes al profesorado debían cursar un año en las cátedras del doctorado que solo existían en Madrid. Así, se bebían unas mismas fuentes, se adquiría una misma doctrina, se adoptaba un estilo... nacional. Estos doctores, una vez ganada la cátedra, recorrían distintas universidades antes de llegar (en teoría solo los mejores) a ocupar las de la Central.

Por otro lado, esas cátedras del doctorado se dedicaban a materias que estaban en la vanguardia y que permitían así modernizar la ciencia nacional. En derecho fue fundamental la dedicada a la filosofía jurídica. Pero José Luis Peset recientemente ha señalado algo análogo para las cátedras médicas del doctorado.

Este proyecto, mejor o peor llevado a la práctica, fue rechazado en la Gloriosa Revolución (1868) que al proclamar la libertad de enseñanza permitió también que otras universidades (y no solo la Central) organizaran las enseñanzas del doctorado y concediesen ese grado. Se pudo así, por pocos años, ensayar otro modelo de modernización, distinto del centralizado puesto en juego hasta ese momento.

Eugenia Torijano nos cuenta cómo en Salamanca este cambio se vivió de manera especial. Salamanca había sido el modelo de universidad en el antiguo régimen y por ello sufrió con



mayor intensidad la política centralizadora y uniformizadora que, entre otras consecuencias, y muy significativamente, terminó con sus rentas. Si ser doctor por Salamanca lo había sido todo (hasta 1831 los doctores en leyes salmantinos tenían el privilegio de ejercer de abogados en todos los tribunales), se entiende el deseo de poder ser *de nuevo* doctor por Salamanca. Obviamente había un abismo entre lo que había sido y lo que podía ser ahora en el Sexenio doctorarse por esta Universidad, pero los imaginarios colectivos, las tradiciones, los sentimientos no desaparecen tan fácilmente.

La autora no solo hace una incursión en este argumento, utilizando el rico archivo universitario, analizando los expedientes del grado, elaborando el catálogo de las tesis defendidas; ofrece también la transcripción íntegra de las mismas. Hay que agradecerle este trabajo enorme, pues las cuartillas manuscritas conservadas, destinadas a un ejercicio oral, no siempre son de fácil lectura. Resulta así el único estudio completo sobre el particular. Gracias a él conocemos ahora cómo se vivió esta experiencia en una universidad de distrito. Si en el primer capítulo la autora nos cuenta el *iter* de la creación de las cátedras de doctorado, gracias a la intervención de la Diputación; en el segundo estudia a los

nuevos doctores: 37 biografías que como datos aparecen sistematizados en una base disponible en <<https://doi.org/10.21950/VGZHYT>>. Donde también aparecen algunos ejemplos de los expedientes del grado.

De las 38 tesis, la mitad corresponden a 1869, lo que indica la corrección de la demanda una vez agotada la novedad. Algunos de los nuevos doctores pertenecían a la élite de juristas locales. Hubo incluso oriundos de Puerto Rico y Cuba que eligieron Salamanca para doctorarse. También algún auxiliar (Modesto Falcón) aprovechó la oportunidad para obtener un segundo doctorado.

De los 38 ejercicios de doctorado celebrados (un doctor lo fue de dos secciones: Derecho civil y canónico; Derecho administrativo) se conservan 25, todos ellos disponibles en el libro. Previamente, la autora nos presenta estos discursos, los temas que trataron, las doctrinas defendidas, su mayor o menor novedad, adelanta una comparación con lo que sucedía en Madrid.

Sería interesante desde luego contar con los datos de otras universidades para tener un conocimiento más completo de lo que supuso esta experiencia del Sexenio. Pero este libro supone ya un avance fundamental.

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FRANCISCO JAVIER RUBIO MUÑOZ. *La República de sabios. Profesores, cátedras y universidad en la Salamanca del siglo de Oro*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2020, 289 pp.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6162>

La Universidad de Salamanca, pese a la muy laudable labor llevada a cabo por Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares y sus discípulos, sigue teniendo muchos ángulos inexplorados. Su importancia es tal, que –incluso con el ímprobo esfuerzo realizado– de momento tenemos valiosos cuadros generales y algunos específicos. Hace falta todavía una laboriosa recopilación exhaustiva de todos los datos sobre la hacienda, matrículas, grados... de la historia de la Universidad, desde sus orígenes hasta finales del Antiguo Régimen, un resultado que debe llegar llegar tarde o temprano.

La tesis de Rodríguez-San Pedro, *La Universidad salmantina del barroco, periodo 1598-1625*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1986, es, en cierto modo, el antecedente del trabajo que aquí presentamos, referente a su aventajado discípulo Francisco Javier Rubio Muñoz. El libro es el fruto principal de la tesis de este joven investigador, titulada *El profesorado en las universidades hispánicas del Siglo de Oro. El caso de Salamanca y sus proyecciones*, y defendida en la Universidad de Sala-

manca, en 2017. La tesis, extrapolación de la metodología de Rodríguez-San Pedro al estudio del profesorado como grupo, tenía un gran refinamiento conceptual, y en ella se entrecruzaban lo antropológico con lo estadístico, con una gran solidez en el trabajo archivístico. El libro que nos ocupa mantiene asimismo esa robustez metodológica, combinada con una redacción elegante y un tratamiento incluso literario de la cuestión. La división de la obra en cuatro partes (*Lectio, Repetitio, Disputatio, y Conclusio*) da fe de tal estructura.

La *Lectio* se ocupa de la ciudad de Salamanca y su Universidad como contexto de estudio, y da unas primeras nociones del profesorado como objeto de investigación, mediante las fuentes y la prosopografía. La *Repetitio* es el corazón del libro, en el que, a través del análisis de cifras y las características socioeconómicas del profesorado, arroja un balance de las tendencias entre 1570 y 1600. La *Disputatio* intenta establecer unas categorías acerca del profesorado como grupo social, cultural y económico, analizando su procedencia, estado civil, ocupaciones y promociones, rasgos que delimitan el gremio profesoral. Por último, la *Conclusio* es una síntesis que permite poner de relieve los rasgos del profesorado salmantino durante el período analizado.

Se trata, sin duda alguna, de un trabajo inspirado en las humanidades digitales, y en particular a la red

internacional *Héloïse-European Network on Digital Academic History*, a la que el autor pertenece. Baste ver el despliegue de tablas del apéndice, cincuenta y dos en total, para darse cuenta de hasta qué punto esta obra es fruto de un análisis serial, magistralmente combinado, sin embargo, con un discurso literariamente muy bien trabado y de lectura amena y agradable.

Frente a la frialdad de la estadística que se halla en el apéndice, el lector encuentra una cálida presentación de profesores como colectivo, y una explicación, –hasta cierto punto– didáctica de los temas, de modo que la obra puede leerse con gusto y provecho tanto por un especialista como por un lector curioso.

Con este libro, uno se percata de lo mucho que ha avanzado la historiografía sobre las Universidades desde los lejanos esfuerzos de Stone y Kagan, y el correctivo que ha supuesto la historiografía italiana sobre un estudio de la universidad a partir solamente de la historia social. El libro de Francisco Javier Rubio Muñoz encuentra un buen punto de equilibrio entre la mera prosopografía y el flemático análisis de los datos. El apéndice, dividido entre “estadístico” y “onomástico”, es, sin duda, un acierto.

Historiográficamente, el autor lleva a cabo muchas precisiones, especialmente a la interpretación de Pelorson, a quien rebate en muchos puntos con elegancia, como sucede,

por ejemplo, en el tópico del “profesor pobre” (pp. 175-178), que ya había sido discutido por Rodríguez-San Pedro, y que ahora queda perfilado con gran claridad también para la etapa final del reinado de Felipe II. Aunque la hacienda universitaria sea un tema en el que queda aún mucho por investigar, lo cierto es que las cátedras mejor remuneradas del Estudio salmantino no tenían nada que envidiar a los mejores oficios de la burocracia de la Corona de Castilla. La diferencia salarial entre Salamanca y las demás universidades era, en este punto, abismal. El tópico del profesor pobre, tan frecuente en las universidades colegiales de Castilla, y en las municipales de Aragón, solamente casa con ciertas cátedras cursatorias y otras de menor relieve del Estudio salmantino.

Entre las conclusiones, Rubio destaca que “manteístas, religiosos regulares y colegiales mayores se repartían de forma desigual en las facultades. El triunfo de los primeros fue generalizado en todas las facultades salvo en Artes, en donde los colegiales superaban a los ordinarios, y en Teología, en donde predominaban las órdenes regulares. La facultad de Leyes mantuvo cierto equilibrio, mientras en Cánones los manteístas eran más numerosos. Teología no contaba con colegiales mayores; los religiosos dominaban esta facultad, principalmente dominicos y agustinos, los cuales dejaban al clero secu-

lar en un discreto segundo plano. Los médicos eran prácticamente todos manteístas, al igual que gramáticos y el profesorado no adscrito a facultad. La representación de los colegios menores puede considerarse como residual” (p. 206).

Indica asimismo que los grados del profesorado arrojan un resultado total de 166 doctores, 50 licenciados y 27 bachilleres, estos últimos especialmente en la Facultad de Artes. Frente a lo que sucedió en el Seiscientos con los colegiales, subraya Rubio que “hasta inicios del siglo XVII, los manteístas consiguieron acaparar las principales lecturas de propiedad como una forma genuina de promoción en un nivel local” (p. 207). En cuanto al *cursus honorum*, el autor indica que los canonistas empezaban su carrera enseñando Decretales, para después pasar a alguna sustitución o Sexto para llegar a Vísperas o Decreto como antesala a la cátedra de Prima. En Leyes, lo más habitual era el itinerario Instituta - Código para pasar luego a Volumen o Digesto, y desde allí alcanzar la cátedra de Vísperas o Prima. Rubio subraya que los teólogos siguieron un orden bastante azaroso, con inicios en las cátedras de Escoto, Santo Tomás o Teología nominal, para pasar luego a otras superiores como la de Biblia, Vísperas o Prima. Los catedráticos de Medicina transitaban primero por algunas cursatorias de Anatomía, Método o Avicena, aunque, en el período estu-

diado, pocos fueron quienes lograron la de Vísperas o Prima, dada la longitud de sus poseedores. Los artistas, en fin, comenzaban con algún curso de Artes, Físicos o Súmulas, aunque, dependiendo de su titulación, desde ahí la trayectoria podía intercalar cátedras en Teología, alternadas con las de Filosofía moral o natural y Lógica.

Señala asimismo que el profesorado permaneció en cátedra aproximadamente unos catorce años de media, si bien algo menos de la mitad no pasó de un quinquenio como docente. Algunos llegaron a treinta y cuarenta años de ejercicio. El profesorado de la Universidad era, para Rubio, un grupo social “gerontocrático”, dado que casi la mitad de los catedráticos (99 individuos en total, casi todos manteístas) fallecieron en activo, con una media de edad de entre 55 y 57 años. En cuanto a la procedencia, la mayor parte procedía de Salamanca. En un segundo nivel hallamos las diócesis de Palencia, Burgos y Toledo, y luego una exigua proporción de otras.

Por último, cabe señalar que “el profesorado salmantino poseía un perfil eminentemente clerical, más palpable entre el sector colegial que entre el manteísta, con una fuerte presencia –casi exclusiva– del clero regular en las cátedras teológicas y del secular entre los artistas y gramáticos. En las facultades jurídicas, sin embargo, los seglares superaban a los clérigos, mientras que los [sic]

médicos la ausencia del clero fue total” (p. 210).

Este libro de Rubio Muñoz es una obra muy recomendable, que debería extenderse sincrónica y diacrónicamente. Por un lado, se tendría que llevar a cabo un estudio comparativo de todo el profesorado de la Universidad de Salamanca en el Antiguo Régimen, a fin de verificar si las conclusiones son compartidas en los períodos anteriores y posteriores. Por otro lado, sería sumamente interesante conocer el estado del profesorado en las demás universidades mayores y menores de Castilla durante el reinado de Felipe II, a fin de constatar la debatida hipótesis de la progresiva atracción profesoral de Salamanca, como imán universitario, tanto por su prestigio como por sus ventajosas condiciones económicas.

Así como Rubio se está especializando en el profesorado y conoce

muy bien el tema de la matrícula universitaria, sigue siendo necesario un estudio no solo serial de las matrículas y los grados. La Universidad de Salamanca tiene una historiografía envidiable, pero necesita un estudio sistemático de estas series, a fin de saber quiénes fueron los estudiantes, y quiénes los que llegaron a recibir los grados. De este modo, se podrían lograr interesantes comparaciones con las series de *Acta graduum* de las principales universidades italianas.

Mientras tanto, hay que felicitar a Francisco Javier Rubio por su trabajo, sólido y maduro, accesible gratuitamente desde la red gracias al admirable programa de “Historia de las Universidades” de la Universidad Carlos III, y animarle a perseverar en la historia de su Alma mater.

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ELISABETTA CANOBBIO. *Lauree pavesi nella prima metà del 500, II (1513-1535)*. Milano: Cisalpino, 2020, 613 pp.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2021.6163>

La serie *Lauree pavesi*, publicada desde 1996, procura una información detalladísima de los diversos diplomas de grados de la Universidad de Pavía. Al disponer de un fondo nutrido y bien conservado –aunque en diferentes sedes–, desde hace años –siguiendo las directrices de Agostino Sottili– se ha privilegiado la transcripción paleográfica de cada uno de ellos, de modo que el resultado es muy rico en información, si bien se procede de forma lenta, pues en 25 años apenas se han publicado los títulos desde 1540 a 1535. Queda toda la transcripción de los diplomas hasta finales del siglo XVIII.

Esta obra es la continuación del libro *Lauree pavesi nella prima metà del '500, I (1500-1512)*, en el que la misma Elisabetta Canobbio había transcrito con paciencia y solvencia la nómina de los graduados en aquellas fechas. En el presente libro se transcriben un total de 262 diplomas, en el que hay una presencia de hispanos menos abundante que en el anterior. En total, fueron 11 individuos procedentes de la Península Ibérica y de Baleares. Cabe subrayar la importancia de las islas, puesto que no pocos mallorquines se doctoraron en Pavía a lo largo de la histo-

ria, muy especialmente en Medicina, aunque también alguno en derecho, como Francesc Mília, en 1514 (p. 71). Buena parte de los graduados provenían del propio ducado de Milán y también de otras partes de Italia.

Se trata de una época convulsa para el Milanesado, pues los franceses y los hispanos intentaban controlarlo. El libro precedente concluía con la primera batalla de Pavía, que aconteció en junio de 1512, y enfrentó al ejército de Luis XII de Francia con la Señoría de Venecia, que se había aliado con las tropas de la antigua Confederación Suiza. Este último bando fue el vencedor, y el ejército francés abandonó el territorio, lo que permitió resistir a Maximiliano Sforza a la cabeza del Ducado. Mucho más célebre fue la batalla de Pavía, que tuvo lugar el 24 de febrero de 1525 entre las tropas germano-españolas del emperador Carlos V y el ejército francés al mando del rey Francisco I, quien fue derrotado y hecho prisionero.

En cuanto a las consecuencias bélicas en la Universidad, indica Canobbio que “mentre gli insegnamenti risentivano pesantemente delle operazioni militari del conflitto franco-asburgico per il controllo del Ducato di Milano, il conferimento dei gradi accademici si svolgeva, sia pure a singhiozzo, secondo la procedura documentata con continuità dal Quattrocento, ad opera di Collegi che almino ai primi anni Venti del XVI

secolo presentano una composizione prossoché immutata rispetto alla prima dominazione francese, così come stabili risultano gli assetti formali degli acta graduum” (p. 1).

Esta estabilidad permite mostrar una continuidad prácticamente inalterada en la colación de los grados, si bien es cierto que la perspectiva internacional que tuvo Pavía en las últimas décadas del siglo XV y en la primera del siglo XVI se vio bastante lastrada por los conflictos, y que no hubo tantos extranjeros ni profesores de nombradía. Canobbio lo ejemplifica con el caso de Andrea Alciato, que se había desplazado a Bourges y a Aviñón, y de Gian Francesco Sannazaro della Ripa, quien presenció los exámenes en Pavía hasta 1518, y luego continuó su periplo docente en otras sedes. Hay que apuntar, con todo, que Rinaldo Sannazaro della Ripa recibió la licenciatura y el doctorado *in utroque iure* el 22 de septiembre de 1517 (tal y como figura en el diploma n. 300, p. 258). Alciato, en un escenario mucho más tranquilo, regresó a Pavía en 1534, una época que cae fuera del estudio del libro.

En cuanto a las titulaciones, de los 258 individuos, 125 fueron de la Facultad de Derecho (109 *in utroque*, 10 en cánones, y 6 en leyes), y 127 del Colegio de los doctores médicos-artistas (99 en artes y medicina, 23 en medicina y 5 en artes). Solamente hubo 6 grados en teología, incluyendo un doctorado en artes y *sacra*

*pagina*) (p. 4). Uno de los grados en teología fue concedido el 7 de junio de 1526 “per commisionem sedis apostolice” a Luca da Romagnano, un ermitaño de San Agustín (p. 465), como ya había puesto de relieve Simona Negruzzo en *Theologiam discere et docere. La Facoltà teologica di Pavia nel XVI secolo*, Milano, Cisalpino, 1995, p. 165.

La reciente tesis doctoral de Daniela Buccomino, «*Di scienza ornati e di virtù famosi*». *I laureati dell’Università di Pavia (1525-1796)*, Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna, 2021, llena el vacío que había dejado la historiografía hasta el momento, optando por una elaboración de fichas que cubren hasta 1796. Por lo tanto, Buccomino ha seguido el mismo método que Maria Teresa Guerrini, en su obra: *Qui voluerit in iure promoveri... I dottori in diritto nello Studio di Bologna (1501-1796)*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2005.

La ventaja del enfoque prosopográfico es que ofrece rápidamente un censo de todos los graduados, que sirven luego para confeccionar bases de datos y para tener un acceso mucho más rápido tanto a los nombres como a las estadísticas. De todos modos, la labor paleográfica es totalmente complementaria, pues aporta un material de trabajo fundamental para la historia social y cultural, como son los nombres de los maestros y los testigos. Lo óptimo es que cada universidad sea estudiada des-

de ambas vertientes historiográficas. Si se completa la serie *Lauree pavese*, y se encomienda a personas tan competentes como Elisabetta Canobbio, no hay duda de que Pavía será la Universidad de referencia en los estudios acerca de los grados académicos.

Ojalá el resto de las universidades italianas y europeas recojan el guante y se apliquen a la elaboración de un censo de graduados. Hay que insistir en que la historia serial no basta para el estudio de las universidades: es necesario conocer quiénes fueron los graduados, sus profesores

y, si puede ser, los testigos que le acompañaron al acto académico. Solamente así se puede avanzar de una manera sustancial.

Por el momento, cabe felicitar al *Centro per la storia dell'Università di Pavia* y a la Dra. Elisabetta Canobbio por los logros de este volumen, rematado por un índice solvente, que ayuda mucho a realizar búsquedas y que será de mucha utilidad para los investigadores.

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