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To cite this version:

Marta Materni. The Viterban Studium of the sixteenth century: an educational experiment of the Italian Renaissance. Mordechai Feingold. History of Universities, XXV (2), Oxford University Press, pp.1-75, 2011, 9780199694044. hal-02118778

HAL Id: hal-02118778

https://hal.science/hal-02118778v1

Submitted on 3 May 2019

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The Viterban *Studium* of the sixteenth century: an educational experiment of the Italian Renaissance

Marta Materni

In September 1546, Bartolomeo Appoggio da Macerata, representative of Pope Paul III in the *Patrimonium of San Pietro* (the Papal States) in Tuscia,[1] is registered in the *Libro delle Riforme* of the commune of Viterbo. This decree authorized the foundation of a *Studium litterarium* in the city. Humanist culture had already penetrated Viterbo in the previous century, the *Quattrocento*, and the existing evidence permits us to identify four significant dates illustrating the development.

First, in 1454, Giovanni of Gallese prior of the church of Sancta Maria Nuova and *profexor grammatice atque rethorice*, was appointed public schoolmaster in a letter which includes the following phrase: 'Concedentes tibi et tuis qui te auditori undecumque oriundi fuerint scholaribus omnium immunitatum, prerogativarum, securitatum et exceptionum privilegia que magistris et scholaribus urbis Romae et ceterarum urbium regiarum in quibus generalia liberalium artium Studia vigere consueverunt.'[2] Viterbo's statute of 1250–1 already made reference to the *Autentica Habita*; the wording of this letter of appointment furrther epitomizes the attitude of Viterbo's civic world towards education.

Second, the 1469 Statute includes an article regulating piblic lectures in Law and Medicine, financed by the commune. Third, in December 1494, when Charles VIII stayed in Viterbo the *magister ludi* Tommaso Veltrellini welcomed him with an oration from which I quote this passage:

Et quantum regium putamus et celeberrimis virtutibus convenire, non solum civitates conservare, verum etiam moribus, institutisque bonarum artium augere. Nec ob aliam causam Octavium, Caesarem Augustum appellatum legimus, ceterosque tanto nomine ornatos, nisi quod rempublicam humanis comodis, equo iure, legibus et doctrina amplificaverint. Nam P. Emilius, devicto Perse Macedonum rege, copia librorum in Urbem advecta, ex qua litterarum studium

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Rome florere cepit; maximam gloriam sibi paravit Albinum quoque anglicum legimus, Caroli Magni eruditorem, ingenio et honestate morum et studio philosophie prestantissimum, Perusie per eumdem imperatorem prepositum, initia Perusini Studii, quod adhuc durat et floret, prebisse, ob hanc rem nomen illius inmortale factum est. Potentissime Rex, hoc idem hec Vetulonia civitas Viterbiensis expectat, hoc idem hic Herculeus, Trossolus populus rogat, hoc idem hic Senatus consultus, senes, juvenes, adolescentes orant: ut hec civitas Tuo regio officio, Tua regia munificentia, liberalitate et gratitudine, quibus et aliis amplissimis virtutibus memoriam maiestatis Tue facias sempiternam, ornetur, et Studio liberalium artium, jurisque canonici et civilis augeatur: quod opus sanctum et divinum ad comune omnium comodum et emolumentum est, cum et doctrinarum exercitia viros nobilitent pariter et illustrent.'[3]

Finally, in 1495, Charles's request was repeated and sent forward to the Pope: '[we supplicate] quod eius sancta maiestas sua regia munificentia operari dignetur quod in dicta civitate Viterbii Studium erigatur instar Studii Perusini, pro cuius substentatione et manutentione aliqua competens dos fiat, attento quod alias Studium predictum redderetur frustratorum cum maxime salaria legentium aliunde et ex redditibus dicte communitatis solvi non possent cum illi ad alios usus sint destinati pro necessitatibus dicte civitatis.'[4]

There is notable evidence too outside the official documentation, as in a letter addressed to the Council by *ser* Andrea Giovenali da Corneto, dated 1536:

Considerando l'amore ч porto alla vostra città donne ho imparato quelle poche littere che so et cossì questi nostri figlioli sotto el vestro mastro grammaticale fanno el medesimo, cognioscendo la presente oportunità che la santità di nostro signore ab antiquo [. . .] et considerato el fervente amore ч porta ad questa città, ho preso animo che con facilità sua santità donaria la mità del subsidio apostolico ogni anno ad questa comunità per fondare qui uno Studio a perpetua sua gloria et ad utilità della sua excelsa et illustrissima casa et del suo stato et per utilità di questa città e de tutti provinciali li quali et con denari et con littere arichariano et nobilitariano dicta città, della quale de vostri senza l'altri ne surgeriano tanti litterati che in quella patria de Roma sariano sublevati a grandi dignità et varie, et perché reconosco dentro in questo Studio un mirabile utile della fede apostolica que multi prelati et loro nepoti et parenti [. . .] ibi fariano studiare et instruere qui. Mostrata et apertoli questa porta sanza dubio ho certissimo et faranno conto sua santità et la sede apostolica perché levanno alla sede apostolica questa mità del subsidio nolli importa un dramma, [. . .] Pio II ne donò a Cornetani ducati 150 per el maestro della scola et el medico, et perché quest'opera è tanto utile et onorevole alla città anchora ne sonno modi da trovare del publico 200 ducati più con poca sua lesione, et un altro modo expugniato el primo ne sequirà per ingrandire detto Studio, perché le opere bone da Dio et da cieli sono sempre favorite. Interea presento a vostre

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magnifiche signorie esaminino bene questa intenzione et non se lassino perdere la presente occasione perché in manibus vestris est dictus et pontifex et si la manigiate colla vostra solita prudentia so certissimo el disegno sortiscerà effetto, che quando in altro tempo se reservasse, persa la presente occasione, in altri se trovaria difficoltà.'[5]

The word *Studium*, which seems to unite a number of aspirations, emerges regularly in Viterbo's documentation. For the sixteenth century, it seems to refer to a concrete reality. With the present study I hope to trace the vicissitudes of that *Studium* throughout the sixteenth century, sifting through the rhetorical pomp of the sources in order to identify the limits and effective realities of the institution, and emphasizing how its experience corresponds with a widespread historical trend involving many Italian communities.[6]

The commune's set of *Libro delle Riforme* is the most significant source for this investigation. Complementary sources are the *Bollettari*, the *Lettere ai Superiori*, the *Lettere diverse*, the *Ricordi dei Priori*, edited material on parchment, the fifteenth-century city chronicle of Niccolò della Tuccia and the Sacchi family's *Ricordi*.[7]

What Grendler describes as 'the third Wave' of the Italian university foundations began in the middle of the sixteenth century, after a hiatus of almost a hundred years: these were the foundation of the High Renaissance.[8] During this period the institution and strengthening of a *Studium* often worked to compensate for a territory's decline in importance or loss of autonomy: 'New foundations abounded, established in settlements on the peripheries or in the new capitals of regional States. This trend was especially evident in provincial cities'.[9]

The Viterban experience fits neatly into this historical trend and can be explained with reference to the shared context. An awareness of similar experiences all over Italian territories must surely have had a strong influence on the city government's resolutions on intellectual affairs, and on the ambitions of the professional *élite*.[10] In particular, the fact that the Viterban initiatives to found a *Studium* appeared more frequently in the 1540's suggests that the foundation of Macerata university in 1540, by the same Paul III[11] who gave Viterbo its Papal brief, stimulated Viterban ambitions. In any case, the Papal States had the highest number of university foundations in Renaissance Italy, with the establishment of the Macerata *Studium* in 1540, Fermo in 1585 and Ferrara in 1598; and, we can add, with all the provisos to be mentioned later, Viterbo, in 1546.

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A summary of Macerata's endeavours will reveal useful parallels with the Viterban experience. The municipal government campaigned for and created the *Studium*; its institution was preceded by pedagogical activity incorporating a municipal Latin school and some occasional lectures in Law. 1548 was the first turning point: Leo X allowed the college of *legisti* to award academic degrees. Between 1534 and 1539, numerous attempts were made to gain Papal permission for the foundation of a *Studium*; meanwhile, in 1536, the commune started to pay a salary to a lecturer in the Institutes of Justinian. Finally, in July 1540, Paul III issued a bull of foundation for the Macerata *Studium*.

The commune aimed to create a small legal university which would guarantee students from the Marche an administrative career. Initially, there were nine lecturers, two of whom were *legisti* from Siena. The subjects were law (ordinary and extraordinary), the Institutes, canon law, medicine, logic, moral philosophy; and lather Latin and Greek Literature. Later again, law predominated and there was never more than one lecturer for medicine; in some years, he was even absent.[12] The evolution of the Viterban *Studium* would be analogous but with one essential difference: it was never licensed to award degrees.[13]

Early references to higher education

Viterbo's statute of 1251–2 was not chronologically the first, but it was surely first in importance and symbolic value. It included two articles devoted to *scolares*, inspired by Frederick I's *Autentica Habita*.[14] These are the earliest dereferences in Viterbo's documentation to higher education:

Sectio III. Rub.[ca] 83. De scolaribus. Scolares causa studii Viterbium venientes tam ipsi quam nuntii eorum in personis et rebus salvi sint et securi in eundo et redeundo et stando. Et eos et res eorum potestas salvare et mantenere atque defendere teneatur a cunctis. Et illud idem dicimus in doctoribus et magistris nisi essent publici inimici aut exbanditi Viterbii. Rub.[ca] 84. De scolarium libertate. Item statuimus quod omnes scolares forenses in causis civilibus coram suis doctoribus et magistris debeant conveniri, et de omnibus exactionibus, exercitibus, angariis et perangariis sint exempti. Si vero aliquis magister veniret Viterbium ad regendum de omnibus exercitibus, cavalcamento, datiis, angariis et perangariis sit immunis.'[15]

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The articles thus guaranteed personal security to foreign students and teachers, established exceptions to this guarantee, and finally announced the *privilegium fori* for *scolares* involved in *causis civilis*. Without other supporting evidence it is only possible to speculate about the categories of teaching and students to which these rules applied: the references to *doctores* and *magistri* are the only evidence that higher education was at issue here.

This first use to *Autentica Habita* is elaborated in a text with more direct links to Viterbo, Article 73 of Book IV of the 1469 Statute, entitled *De salario docentium publice in scolis et de eorum exemptione*, which reveals that Viterbo offered public lectures in law and medicine.[16] The annual series of lectures in law was dedicated to the *Codicem vel Digestum novum vel vetus*, and the lecturer must complete a full analysis of the selected text by the end of the year; otherwise he would forego the salary of 40 *libre*, which was paid by the commune, in two instalments: at Christmas and at Easter. There are ambiguities in the language applied to these teachers: in the second part of the article the term *doctor* is employed, with the specification that *quilibet doctor* would be paid only on condition he had *ad minus duos scolares*; earlier however there was a reference to *docentes* who, in addition to having students, must also be *sufficientes*. The use of this adjective, which signifies personal competence rather than possession of a doctoral degree, may mean that possession of degree was not at this time an indispensable condition for teaching in the civic context. In addition to lecturers in medicine and law, the commune financed the activity of *doctores grammaticae et dictaminis*: they were not more than four in number, received a salary of twenty-five *libre* and had a schoolhouse reserved for their use. This form of instruction in letters would eventually be embodied in the institutional figure, omnipresent in the *Libri delle Riforme* of the sixteenth century: the *preceptor publicus* or *magister ludi litterarii*.

The above article and another dealing with student subsidies bear witness to cultural effervescence marking both the restoration of civic peace in the Papal States after a series of inner conflicts, and a renewal of economic well-being, which is confirmed by the city chronicles. Iuzzo, in 1471, noted that 'la nostra città si veniva integrando di omini. Aveva molti studenti, e molti in corte a Roma'[17]; and Niccolò della Tuccia, in 1472, related that, thanks to political stability alone 'Viterbo migliorava la sua condizione infinitamente, e cresceva in popoli, e teneva li studi di grammatica e loica e altre scienze'.[18]

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Student Grants

Besides undertaking to assure provision of teaching approaching, or rather preparing students for university level, the commune created a coherent system of grants for students aspiring to continue as far as the *privilegium doctoratus*. The grant was linked at first to a particular area of study, then to the condition of being a *studens pauper*.[19]

The Statute of 1469

The statute of 1469 contains the first formal reference to this grant[20] in the sources consulted. As already observed, this statute surpassed the provisions made in 1250–1 by a more complex system of public lectures now officially codified.

The *Libro IV Rub.*[ca] *157* is indeed entitled 'Quod provideatur per Commune studentibus in iure civili':[21] humanist rhetoric and practical necessities combine in its first lines, where the iniative is justified 'pro honore, statu et commodo civitatis et subventione iurium', but also by the shortage of jurists and lawyers which has resultes from the city's mid-century wars. At this stage, therefore, the condition for the allocation of the grant was the choice by 'quilibet civis et habitator civitatis' to study 'ius civile Bononie vel alibi ubi sit Studium generale': it was no longer necessary for the candidate to be *studens pauper*. The grant amounted to twenty golden *fiorini*, paid in two instalments over three years: at the beginning of October and at Easter. For their part, students must testify to the commune annually[22] that they were attending lectures in law with a *doctor* ('habita fide quod talis studens audivit iura a doctore'). However it was only later that beneficiaries of the grant were expressly charged with completing their studies and achieving the *privilegium* on pain of returning twice the value of the whole grant.

The *Libri delle Riforme* reveal that other grants existed at this time for those higher studies. The first type is attested in the brief of Sixtus IV, presented to the city on 6 January 1475 by Pietro Paolo Passerino, 'homo virtuosus et bone litterature'.[23] Passerino was prior of the collegiate cgapter of the church of San. Stefano and frequently delivered

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public orations before the Pope.[24] The papal brief invited the commune to grant this favourite of his what was described as the usual sum of 25 *fiorini* allocated to students of letters: 'ex vestra antiqua et laudabile consuetudine soletis concives vestros litterarum studiis operam dantes et in illis maxime commendatos in eorum subventione de 25 florenis auri auxilio iuvare et sublevare.'

It is not clear whether the grant of 4 March 1475[25], to 'venerabilis et religiosus pater magister Iacobus Ambrosii de Viterbio sacre teologie professor, ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini', is of the same type. Here too, Sixtus IV intervened, asking the commune to pay the sum of 25 *ducati* to Iacopo ('per vos pro subsidio gradus sumendi assignatam'), because he was ill; the sum had not been claimed earlier, but was now necessary.[26] The *Capitoli dello Studente* of 1582 (see below) mentions a grant of 25 *ducati* 'per vigor dello Statuto' assigned to graduates who had studied at their own expense: this must be the grant requested for Ambrosio, but it is not certain that Passerino's payment was made on the same basis.

The *Bollettari* and the *Riforme* attest to situations involving a sum of 36 *ducati*: in August 1528 36 *ducati* were assigned 'pro subventione studii' to 'eximius artium et medicine doctor magister Iacobus ser Ambrosii'; in April 1532 to 'eruditus iuvenis magister Antonius Ioannes Turchus artium et medicine professor';[27] in September 1545 to 'magistro Francisco e magistro Cesare Bussi per causa del loro dottorato come in la patente';[28] in November 1546 to 'eruditum iuvenem dominum Faustum quondam Petri Pauli Sacchi civem nostrum ac iuris utriusque professorem';[29] in June 1547 to 'eruditum iuvenem Paulum Dionitii iuris utriusque professorem'.[30] The fact that men already holding the doctoral degree were awarded grants 'pro subventione studii' can be explained only if this was a repayment of costs incurred during studies; but the *Bollettari* records only the date when these sums were allocated.

Besides the contribution of thirty-six *ducati* to graduates' outlay on their studies, another type of grant is attested: payment of a sum of eighteen *scudi* to young people still studying. The *Bollettario* records the completion in June 1453 of payment of eighteen *scudi*, 'che la nostra comunità per vigore delli Statuti è solita dare a dicti studenti'. The student in question was Cesare Pollione, who was studying *in iure civili* in Bologna,[31] and would graduate *in utroque iure* in 1548. The name of Fausto Sacchi reappears in the *Riforme*: he received thirty-six *ducati* in November 1546, then a further eighteen *scudi* on 27 May 1547,[32] as 'subventio sui studii iuxta formam Satuti': a sum obtained from the tax

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super panetteria. But these payments seem to have been two instalments of the same grant. Finally, in 1582, it was declared that student Ascanio Delicato, would qualify for one of the newly established grants on condition he renounce the sum of '18 scudi soliti darsi prima [before the revision of the *Capitoli*] dalla comunita per vigore dello Statuto.'[33]

But besides these statutory provisions, there were of course cases of private 'charity'.[34] On 25 May 1562[35] Pacifico Peronio, formerly an official in the chancellery, produced Giovanni Botonto's will before the General Council. The will decreed that 'heredes teneantur in perpetuum manutenere in publicis Studiis tres studentes de Viterbio'; if the heirs defaulted, the burden was to be transferred to the hospital of San Salvatore in Urbe: the *instrumentum* (that is the copy of the will) is delivered to the Council and ratified.[36]

Niccolò della Tuccia's civic chronicle confirms that many of Viterbo's young men undertook university studies. He noted for 1472, in the context of a general civic revival incorporating introduction of higher-level teaching, that 'insino al dì d'oggi erano assai giovani tornati a Viterbo con onore, dottori di legge civile, e assai giovani dotti in scienze; e ancora in corte di Roma vi erano assai li quali stavano in casa de' signori cardinali per migliorare la loro condizione.'[37]

Sacchi's *Ricordi* note further that, in 1477, the Servite Domenico Maltempi died and 'contavasi essere in Fiorenza stato avvelenato per invidia, che era valentissimo, e erano di molti maestri Viterbesi a quelli tempi valentissimi; anco molti dottori di legge e medici'.[38]

The 1582 Capitoli dello studente

The *Capitoli dello studente* are inserted in the 1582 *Libri delle Riforme*. This document was prepared by Pietro Pollione, *legum doctor*, and was dated 3 February 1582.[39] The original was solemnly deposited 'in capsa sigilli magnifice communitatis Viterbii'. On 18 March[40] the *Capitoli* were presented to the legate of the Papal States in Rome; on 22 July[41] the public announcement was promulgated, printed[42] and put on display in the city. The *Capitoli dello studente*, with additions made in 1604 abdd 1627, were also inserted into the 1649 Statute ('Lib. III, Rub.[ca] XIII').

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The subvention, funded through a tax on vegetables ('li ortaggi di tutta la Viterbese'), comprised 6 *scudi* a month over four years; it was to be paid only to native Viterban students, of all ranks ('nobili e ignobili'), unable to maintain themselves at their own expense ('non possano spendere il ben dell'ingegno che Nostro Signore gli ha dato'). As before, necessity and idealisme were united. In establishing the grant, the community represented itself as 'piissima et amantissima mater erga filios pauperes'; the objective being to 'riempire la città di huomini letterati et virtuosi',[43] but with a preference for law graduates[44] who were 'di grandissimo giovamento et ornamento alla comunità'. This preference, combined with the fact that provisions for funding were actually made for a limited period and confined to the education of twelve students, suggests that Viterbo was suffering a shortage of the professionals required for the ever more complex need of its developing political structures. The commune had therefore decided to invest public money in training its staff. In this regard, the tone of the public proclamation speaks volumes. If an individual was prevented from studying, 'n'è seguito particolare et publico danno'. To prevent this damage to private and public well-being, the commune had decided to invest 100 *scudi* in twelve young men 'acciò poi a loro stessi et alla città ne risulti splendore, utilità et ornamento.'

The provisions were for twelve students be sent *ad Studium*, to any public institution, no at a rate of no more than three per year so that the city would not suffer the loss of too many young people at the same time. The ratio of *legisti* to *artisti* must be two to one. Candidates for the grant must prove themselves suitable (*idonei*) by undergoing a public examination, after which the award winners were chosen by drawing lots. The examination took place before the vice-legate, the priori, law and medicine graduates, citizens, and, in the case of candidates hoping to study medicine or philosophy, teachers from the various monasteries. A potential *legista* was assigned his *punctus* by the lawyer of the commune; an *artista* received his *punctus* from a clergy man, usually a Dominican form the Monastery of Santa Maria in Gradi[45] or the Franciscan teaching brother.[46] Twenty-four hours later, the candidate would give a public recitation of the *punctus*.[47] At examinations, he would declaim an *oratiuncula*, recite the *punctus*, and respond to questions posed by graduates or lecturers in attendance.[48] If he passed the exam, he was declared 'sufficiens et valde habilis ad maiora studia destinandus', 'dignus et sufficiens' or simply *idoneus*.[49] Subsequently,

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when he left Viterbo for his chosen *Studium*, the student would produce his guarantors at a public ceremony.[50]

The existence of this examination accounts for the third absolute condition which candidates for financial support had to fulfil: two years' prior attendance at the public lectures on logic and Institutes. Hence these lectures can be described as pre-university preparatory courses. They maintained this function until the seventeenth century.

Candidates who obtained the grant must study for four years without interruption:, returning home only 'per cause urgenti e necessarie', on pain of losing the subvention. If they had such urgent cause for return, they were advised to inform the legate and the priori in advance.[51] They must send the commune written testimony, from their *doctores*, every July, that they were dedicating themselves 'alli studi et tenere buona vita né essere discoli et dishonesti'. They must undertake the graduate not only from their own *Studia* but also from colleges of *doctores*: a problem at the time was the existence of multiple routes to qualification.[52] After graduating, they must 'fare l'entrata' (for which we have several testimonies in the *Libri delle Riforme*, discussed below), display the *privilegium*[53] in public and, after two months, 'tenere conclusioni pubbliche'. In practice, these obligations were all fulfilled on the same occasion. Students who completed their studies 'sumptibus magnifice communitatis' were not of course entitled to the bonus of 25 *ducati* awarded to those who had studied at their own expense.

The rule that only three students per year must receive this subvention was contravened immediately. Already on 21 October 1582,[54] on the occasion of the first competition, the legate, Cardinal Farnese, ordered that all four of that year's applicant, all judged *idonei*, should be sent to their chosen *Studia*. In 1586,[55] it was objected that the system might produce discontent both because of the limited number of places offered and because the grant was means tested. Then commune decided[56] that the 1586 cohort would be the last, and that the money set aside for the grade would by diverted to a *Studium* for Viterbo ('allo Studio da farsi in questa città come cosa molto più utile et di molto maggior honore et grandezza alla città nostra et anche in maggior commodo ai cittadini'). The commune would continue meanwhile to support the four students 'già a Studio [. . .] nel modo consueto, ma intanto si cerchi di eriggere in Viterbo lo Studio e subito eretto e dato principio cessi la provisione delli studenti quali si ritroveranno fuori'. The vice-legate, the *conservatori*, and four citizens to be elected would have the authority to deal with the legalities ('hanno autorità di fare capitoli, provisioni et ordini').

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On 8th January 1587,[57] the Council sent a letter to the vice-legate asking him to plead with the Pope, on the basis that 'è tutto pronto e altro non manca salvo l'autorità di poter dottorare come nelli altri Studi pubblici.' But this was the umpteenth unsuccessful attempt to obtain licence to award degrees, and the grant system was continued.

Another attempt to change the situation came in 1589. Following the advice of the Governor, the commune resolved to ask that six places at the Perugian Sapienza Vecchia or Nuova should be reserved for Viterbo's students: 'È nata qualche difficoltà nel mandare tanto numero di studenti che ora sono a spese del pubblico et monsignor illustrissimo Governatore ha proposto che serìa molto meglio di comperare tanti beni et assegnarli per haver sei luoghi della Sapienza di Perugia, il che serìa di maggior frutto et manco spesa essa per la comunità'.[58] On 20 October the Council decided to send Giovanni Battista Nino to Perugia to obtain information.[59] On his return 'exhibuit illustribus dominis Conservatoribus quedam capitula facta, ut asseruit per deputatos seu superstites Sapientiae Novae super emptione sex locorum dictae Sapientiae, ad effectum illa videndi et super eius discutendi, asserens quod brevi ab illismet scribetur summa quam oportebit erogare indicta emptione'.[60] Unfortunately the discussion cannot be traced in Council records after this point, as it was delegated to a committee 'super studentibus et locis Sapientiae Perusii', consisting of Giovan Battista Nino, Onorato di ser Matteo, and Pietro Cordellio.

On 3 October of the same year,[61] the vice-legate ordered, on the legate's wishes, thtat the number of students to be funded at external *Studia* must be increased again to twelve. This is the only indication we have that the number was at some stage reduced. The limited number of grants, and the condition that their beneficiaries must be *studentes pauperes* made the system a constant cause of dissatisfaction for citizens. In the 1592 *Riforme* we find in fact evidence of a controversy as to whter a third student who had passed the examination should be sent *ad Studium* ('Perché fra i cittadini deve servirsi l'equità talmente che uno non sia di meglio o peggiore condizione d'altro, si propone alle Signorie vostre se il tempeamento usato con m. Lucio Bussi et m. Ottavio Faiani debba osservarsi con m. Pierotto Mosti, acciò la parzialità non sia causa di guastare così nobili instituta degli studenti').[62] Payments to the students are last recorded in the *Bollettario* for 1592; the list of the year's expenditure includes '432 scudi, studenti per numero sei l'anno', but corresponding information is not provided in the following years.

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There follows the text of the 1582 *Capitoli dello Studente*:

Ordini e costitutioni da osservarsi attorno al decreto del publico et general Consiglio sopra li dodeci studenti da mantenersi in perpetuo in Studio dalla magnifica comunità di Viterbo fatti dall'illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsignor Vicelegato, magnifici domini Priori et quattro cittadini spetialmente deputati.

In prima, chel numero di detti studenti sia prefinito et determinato di dodeci in tutto fra legisti et artisti quali debbino esser Viterbesi, et questa qualità d'esser Viterbesi s'habbi da intendere secundo lo statuto che parla di questa materia. Et perché si è considerato che mandando detti dodeci studenti tutti in una volta potrebbe apportar pregiuditio in varii et diversi modi alli giovani che alla giornata verranno, per questo s'ordina che ogni anno uno debba mandare tre e non più. Et per essere li dottori di legge di grandissimo giovamento et ornamento alla comunità piace che delli tre che si mandaranno due siano legisti et uno artista. Ma perché sì laudabile instituto è stato introdotto per riempire la città di huomini litterati et virtuosi, il che può anche provenire da persone di bassa conditione, si statutisce ч tanto nobili quanto ignobili, purché siano Viterbesi come di sopra, siano admessi nel numero di detti studenti indifferentemente, servato però il modo et forma infrascritta: cioè che debbino havere atteso due anni in Viterbo ad Instituta o Logica, et quando alcuno vorrà essere imbossolato debba presentarsi davanti monsignor Vicelegato et magnifici signori Priori dalli quali, o vero da un deputato da loro, gli sarà assignato un punto quale egli il giorno seguente nella medesima hora che gli fu assignato debba recitare davanti li sopraditti signori et anco in presentia delli signori dottori et scolari, et inoltre gli sia argumentato sopra i testuali ad effetto di far prova se sia atto alli studii più alti. Quali giovani, doppo che saranno stati esaminati, si saranno admessi per idonei debbino imbossolarsi in due bossole, cioè in una i legisti et nell'altra gli artisti, et poi nel tempo congruo se ne cavino tre persone secondo la distintione detta di sopra; quale estrattione debba farsi insieme con quella del magistrato et altri officiali che si suol fare attorno al fin di giugno.

Item, che quelli che saranno estratti possino andare a studiare in quel Studio che a loro parerà purché sia publico, dove potranno commorare anni quattro et non più a spese della comunità.

Item, si ordina et statuisce per provisione di detti studenti scudi sei di moneta <al> mese per ciasche studente indifferentemente per li detti quattr'anni. Et dicti danari da spendersi per detto uso siano fondati et debbino cavarsi dalli hortaggi di tutta la Viterbese [. . .]

Item, che li detti anni gratis s'intendino correnti et continui et non spezzati, o vero utili.

Item, saranno forzati quelli che vorranno essere in detto numero dare idonea sigurtà di ritornare dottorati in Studio publico dal collegio di dottori et non da

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persona privilegiata in camera, et mancando per qual si voglia caso o causa, escecto di morte naturale e non accidentale per caso fortuito et ancora per infermità incurabile, di restituire così i denari che hanno havuto. Et quia non negligentibus sed impotentibus subveniant, per questo si prohibisce che nessun ricco di beni patrimoniali o frutti di benefici o che da qual si voglia modo possa da se stesso mantenersi nello Studio possa esser admesso in detto numero ma solo quelli che per parenti non possano spendere il talento del ingegno che Nostro Signore Dio gli ha dato, della quale habilità o inhabilità, ricchezza o povertà, debba starsi alla dichiaratione di monsignor Vicelegato, magnifici signori Priori et congregatione pro tempore. Et volendo similmente provedere quanto sia possibile che quelli anderanno a studiare venghino a perfetione, si è risoluto che durante il detto quatriennio non possino tornare nella patria se non per causa urgenti et necessaria qual debba esser allegata a monsignor Vicelegato, signori Priori et congregatione inanzi che venghino, et essendo la lor causa approvata et admessa possino venire et delli sopradetti non gli corra la provisione per quel tempo che staranno in Viterbo, et non di meno s'intenda correre il tempo delli quattr'anni; et che ogn'anno del mese di luglio siano dicti scolari obligati mandar fede dal dottore che odiranno d'attendere alli studii et tener buona vita né essere discoli et dishonesti.

Item, saranno obligati quando torneranno dottorati far l'entrata et mostrare il privilegio publico del dottorato secondo l'ordine fin qui osservato dalli signori dottori, et fra dui mesi doppo il loro dottorato tenere conclusioni publiche in Viterbo, et di questo debbono darne sigurtà avanti la partita loro che contravenendo restituiranno tutto quello che havranno dalla magnifica comunità ricevuto.

Sed quia in uno gravatus in alio est relevandus, vogliamo che quelli che con questa provisione studieranno et doctoreranno non possino domandare ne debba darseli li 25 ducati quali per vigore dello statuto soglion darsi alli dottori o medici che a sue spese si siano dottorati quando fanno l'entrata. Datum Romae, in palatio cancellerie apostolice nostre solite residentie, sub anno 1582, die vero IX mensis martii, pontificatus sanctissimi domini nostri domini Gregorii papae XIII anno decimo. Alexander cardinalis Farnesius legatus. Loco + sigilli. Franciscus Linus secretarius. Original dictorum capitulorum fuit repositus in capsa sigilli magnifice communitatis Viterbii, adquod habeatur relatio.'[63]

The Capitoli in the 1649 Statute

In 1582 it seemed that the new initiative recorded in the *Capitoli*, which was to fund only a specific number of students, would be temporary. However, as the city proved unable to establish a *Studium* of its own

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empowered to grant the relevant qualifications, the initiative quickly became a custom with Viterban students still obliged to undertake this short-ranging *peregrinatio*.[64]

The *Liber III Rub.*[ca] *XIII* of the statute, 'Quod provideatur per Commune studentibus in iuri civili', reproduces the 1469 text along with an *additio* of 1604 and a revised version of the 1582 *Capitoli*.

The 1604 *additio* inserted in the statute a letter from the Papal congregation *de Bono Regimine* (the *Buon Governo*), signed by Cardinal Aldobrandino and dated 7 July. This letter referred to Cardinal Farnese's decree and approved the decision to fund 'quattro gioveni nativi di dicto luogo' with the sum of ten *scudi* monthly for four years. However, the Congregation imposed a condition: two of the four students must be clerics and the bishop must control their selection.

In response, the new 1604 *Capitoli* established that grants of six *scudi* monthly (not ten as in the letter) to be offered to four youths – two clerics and two laymens – for four years. All must be 'Viterbese nativi et di padre nativo tanto nobili quanto ignobili e di bassa condizione, purché siano Viterbesi'. The text of the *Capitoli* reproduced that of 1582, with some elaborations:

1) The clerics must study Theology or *in utroque iure*;[65] while one of the laymen must study medicine and the other *in utroque iure*: 'e non essendo tra li dicti due laici alcuno sufficiente per studiare in medicina, si debba servare dicto luogo e provisione per il primo sufficiente che vorrà andare, e il medesimo si intenda per il legista.'

2) Those wishing to be funded to study theology or medicine must attend lectures in logic in preparation for their studies in natural philosophy; those wishing to study law must prepare for the examination by familiarizing themselves with the Institutes; they should be 'atti ad udire gli ordinari e di questo ne abbiano fede giurata da loro dottori; a caso che da quelli non la potessero havere, per essere assenti o morti o in altro modo impediti, si debbano esporre all'esame et alla relazione giurata de' signori esaminatori si habbia a dare fide'. The reference to this exam and the specifications that 'quelli, i quali saranno estratti o eletti, debbano il giorno presentarsi' and 'gli sarà deputato un punto' – show that the mechanism of recruitment was now more complicated. There were two rounds to the selection process, the recitation of the *punctus* now a formal test rather than a substantial one. The examination of the *punctus* was held before the bishop and the conservatori for clerics; and before the vice-legate and the conservatori for laymen.

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3) It was specified that the *punctus* must be one paragraph of the *Instituta* for the *legista*, and one paragraph from *Predicabili o Predicamenti* for students of theology or medicine.

4) The condition that beneficiaries of the grant must earn doctoral rank was now subject to further regulations; not only must the *privilegium doctoratus* be granted by both a public *Studium* and a doctoral college; it was specifies that it must not be awarded by a 'persona privilegiata in Camera'.

5) The economic conditions qualifying candidates to apply for the grant were established. They must not be in a position to fund their own studies: 'nessuno ricco di beni patrimoniali o frutto di benefici, o che in qualsivoglia modo possa mantenerso allo studio, debba essere ammesso in detto numero; ma solo quelli che, per povertà, non possono compire il corso dello studio; della quale povertà, o ricchezza, debba starsi alla dichiarazione di monsignor Vescovo e delli signori Conservatori per li due clerici, e di monsignor Vicelegato e di detti signori Conservatori per li due laici'.

6) Finally, it was specified that students might return home without permission where there was danger of death, and that they must account for return before the conservatori: 'periculum est in mora, purché ritornati vadano ad allegare la causa della loro venuta avanti li detti signori Conservatori.'

The 1546 foundation

At the end of 1546 a *Studium litterarium* was officially founded in Viterbo, thanks to a papal privilege. Although they had not held university chairs, Viterbo's preceptors had been teaching above elementary level for almost three centuries, and had succeeded in attracting foreign students. The foundation of the *Studium* was their crowning achievement. It followed at least fifty years of requests to royal and papal authority.

On September 1546 Pope Paul III received the following request: 'Si notifica a Vostra Santità essersi pensato di dare un principio ad uno Studio e per adesso havere solo quattro lectori, tutti Viterbesi, con salario di scudi cento fra tutti, et più e meno secondo la deliberatione

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del generale Conseglio.'[66] Already, these few lines reveal some fundamental peculiarities of the Viterban university experience: 1) a rudimentary form of *Studium* pre-dated the papal privilege; and its institutionalization was now requestes; 2) the number of lecturers is reduced and would later decrease further as the university was restructures in line with its new aspirations; 3) all lecturers were citizens: this clause became an explicit rule when the *Studium* was refounded in the 1560s, at which stage it was required that lecturers should be Viterban natives. This is a manifestation of cultural and professional parochialism,[67] confirmed in the statutes by the articles devoted to the organization of doctors' and jurists' colleges, from which foreigners were excluded. The cultural and professional urban elite emphasized its own honourable rank and used the institution to project its own privileged social status; 4) salaries were very low:[68] in fact, the publicus preceptor's salary was always 100 *scudi* at least and represented the sum of all the lecturers' salaries. He was evidently the real protagonist of municipal intellectual life. When the *Studium* was re-founded in 1566, the legate Cardinal Farnese deplored the fact that salaries were so low, in fact, hardly fitting. This is further proof that teaching at the Viterban *Studium* was not a profitable professional activity, but the expression of privileged social and cultural status;[69] 5) the fundamental role of the *general Conseglio* and then of the local council was already made clear: the *Studium* was a 'creature' of the commune which was entirely responsible for its management; in this connection, the fact that the *Studium*'s classrooms were situated below the Palazzo dei Priori is significant: 'locus legentium et schole[70] dicti litterari Studii sint et esse debeant ubi ad presens exercetur esecutoria et ubi sunt tam publice quam secreti carceres tam a dextris quam a sinistris subtus palatium magnificorum dominorum Priorum';[71] this is where the public school would be placed.

The request continues: 'si supplica a Vostra Beatitudine si contenti concedere a tal principiato Studio qualche privilegio et massimamente di havere autorità di doctorare in qual sia facoltà'. There were thus two main requests. The first was to grant privileges which would facilitate the institutionalization of the *Studium.* In the event, the relevant privileges were limited to authorization to reinstate a tax which had fallen into disuse and which was now used to fund the *Studium*. The second and more important request was for permission to award degrees. This was the grand vision which animated this cultural initiative. The request was for *qualsia facoltà*, which would have made the Viterban *Studium* a

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Studium generale. This primary ambition seems however to have been disappointed: the Papal Brief in fact regulated lectures and salaries, but did not mention permission to award degrees.[72] The request was repeated in January 1547, a sure sign that it had not succeeded; indeed, it was never to be granted:

> Si supplica Vostra Beatitudine che essendosi dato questo principio di Studio altre volte a Vostra Santità ragionato et detto, et acciò dal principio habbia di bene in meglio ad ampliasse si supplica Vostra Beatitudine si contenti concedere a tal principiato Studio ampli privilegi come in le altre pleclare città di studio, et massimamente di haver autorità di doctorare in qual sia facoltà.[73]

The fact that the Viterban *Studium* coul not award degrees may explain why information about graduations is absent from the *Libri delle Riforme*, while the same texts commemorate the solemn and glorious homecoming of graduates from other Italian *Studia*; it also explains the coexistence of legislation concerning, on the one gand, grants to study further afield and on the other hand, public lectures in law and medicine in the city itself. There is further evidence that this request was rejected: in the public proclamation of 24 October, the Pope granted 'che sempre et in perpetuo li sia lecito et permesso in dicta città havere et tenere il dicto litterario Studio, et in qual sia facoltà pubblicamente lectori condurre, salariare et fare legere':[74] but again with no mention of permission award degrees. The city's appeal to the Pope for the right to award degrees was repeated again in 1587, as yet another attempt was made to found a *Studium* for Viterbo.[75]

The definition of the Viterban *Studium* as *Studium litterarium* needs some investigation. This adjective This adjective does not appear much in the sources for university-level institutions of this period, but as Bellomo emphasizes, 'apart from the regular selection, we find terms which are less familiar, either because they have been excluded, correctly, from the more rigorous historiography, or because they are not yet well known or accepted.'[76] Having situated the Viterban definition within this heterogeneous group of less familiar terms, we must determine what the expression means. Is it a term describing type of teaching? Viterbo did in fact possess a deeply rooted humanist culture, or, more precisely a culture linked to the *humanae litterae*. The public proclamation announcing the foundation of the *Studium*[77]emphasized that it would be *di generale satisfatione di tutti litterati et amatori di littere.* And, as demonstrated above with regard to Pietro Paolo Passerino, Viterbo's students in literary subjects received a subsidy. Actual

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teaching in Viterbo at this higher level, however, was in all instances centred on civil law and logic or philosophy. Moreover, the public elementary school continued to exist alongside the *Studium*: it was the public schoolmaster there who delivered a regular Renaissance curriculum, founded positively on the *humanae litterae*; and it was he alone who introduced a literary element to the new born *Studium*, being entrusted with a lecture on Cicero.

We must therefore seek to explain the nomenclature with reference to institutional factors. The most significant parallel for this expression is in the letter of foundation issued by Innocent IV for the *Studium Curiae*.[78] The version of this letter edited by Denifle corresponds to Bibliothèque de Grenoble ms. 72: 'providimus quod ibidem de cetero regatur Studium litterarum'. The noun, 'littera', is used here, whereas Viterbo's institution is described more precisely, with the adjective. In the later version preserved in the *Liber Sextus*, the term is abandoned in favour of 'Studium iuris divini et umani, canonici videlicet et civilis'. The document later specifies that the *Studium litterarum* will enjoy privileges identical to those provides 'in scolis ubi regitur Studium generale'. Evidently the two expressions, *litterarum* and *generale*, correspond with different institutional realities. To be more precise, as Paravicini emphasizes, 'Innocenzo IV could justify the grant to the *Studium Curiae* of a *Studium generale*'s privileges only [by trying to] disguise its circumstances with the term *Studium*.' What then distinguished the *Studium Curiae* or *Studium litterarum* from a *Studium generale*? Probably the same feature which characterizes the Viterban *Studium*: the lack of degree-granting powers. 'From an institutional perspective, the *Studium Curiae* had the features of a *Studium generale* [...] but the absolute lack of information concerning the award of degrees by the *Studium Curiae* may not result not from the paucity of sources alone.'

The papal brief was copied into the *Libri delle Riforme* under the date 13 October 1546:

Decretum et ordinatum extitit ut in civitate Viterbii erigatur litterarium Studium pro decoro et utilitate civitatis predicte, et sic elapsis diebus per magnificos dominos Priores et non nullos cives fuit ad sanctum dominum nostrum supplicatum et a sanctitate sua obtentum. Solim igitur restat providere scutos centum pro salario quatuor doctorum qui in huiusmodi principio in dicto Studio legent, videlicet: pro Logica et Instituta scutos 40, et pro Philosophia et Ordinaria legum lectione scutos 60. Et quia tale opus magnificus dominus Locumtenens prefatus multum laudavit et ad illud executioni demandandum exhortavit, et ad effectum

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predictum infrascrittum decretum ordinavit perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum. Cuius decreti tenor talis est, videlicet. In Dei nomine amen. Cupientes nos Bartholomeus Appogius de Macerata utriusque legum doctor Advocatus Curie generalis Provincie Marchie et ad presens pro reverendissimo domino nostro Paulo tertio pontifice maximo nobilissime civitatis Viterbii totiusque provinciae Locumtenens generalis, ut optimum dicet gubernare provincie et civitati predicte omni quo possumus paterno affectu consulere, ipsasque condignis omnibus quibus possumus honoribus ac dignitatibus decorare et insignire pro ipsarum cuiuslibet earundemque posterorum perpetuis futuris temporibus ornamentis pariter et emolumentis, presenti nostro decreto sancimus quatenus in hac nobilissima civitate Viterbiensi, anno quolibet ac tempore solite prout in aliis Italie Studiis fieri solet, legi debeant in scholis per dicte civitatis universitates eligende et deputande per legum doctores et phisicos eiusdem quatuor lectiones. Una videlicet super Institutionibus et altera super Ordinariis iuris civilis et similiter una in Logica et altera in Philosophia. Declarantes salarium Institutiones et Logicam profitentium fore et esse scutorum viginti pro quolibet, Ordinaria vero iuris civilis et Philosophie legentium scutorum triginta, de bimestre in bimestrem eisdem solvendum. Et quia premissa omnia ut supra statuta sancti domini nostri collata de eiusdem consensu et voluntate sancita fuerunt, idcirco percipimus et mandamus Prioribus et universitati predicte Viterbiensi quo facilius predicta omnia debite executioni demandent et modum reperiant unum merces predicta eisdem solvenda statutis ut supra temporibus valeat reperiri sub penis arbitrio nostro imponendis etc. Declarantes post modum fieri et ordinari debere per nos et universitatem predictam seu ab ipsa eligendi homines, capitula et alia que necessaria esse videbitur pro premissorum omnium manutensione et perpetua defensione, ad laudem altissimam domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque gloriosissimae Virginis matris Marie ac divi Laurenti capitis et ducis predicte civitatis Viterbii pariter et sanctorum Hilarii et Valentini quorum corpora hac in civitate requiescunt. Bartholomeus Appogius locumtenens qui sua manu subscripsit.[79]

The document institutionalizes lectures in four disciplines only – 'super Institutionibus,[80] super ordinariis iuris civilis,[81] in logica [and], in philosophia'. It stipulates that these subjects should be taught by *legum doctores* and *phisici* according to schedules customary at Italian *Studia*. Public lectures therefore seem to be the *Studium*'s only authorized activity. The papal brief established salaries, confirming the total of 100 *scudi* already announced by the Commune: 30 *scudi* for the lecturers in *ordinaria iuris civilis* and *philosophia*, 20 *scudi* for teachers of the *Institutiones* and *logica*. Dates of payment were also established: *de bimestrem in bimestrem*. Finally, the University was granted the responsibility, and thus also the freedom, of arranging its own internal affairs.[82]

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The *Studium*'s foundatio was promulgated on 24 October 1564:[83]

Il molto magnifico et eccellentissimo signor magistro Bartholomeo Appogio di Macerata della magnifica città di Viterbo et provincia del Patrimonio per la santità di nostro signor general Lochotenente et li magnifici signori Priori et Conservatori del populo di dicta magnifica città di Viterbo havendo per spetial commissione, ordine, et decreto del publico et general Conseglio di dicta magnifica città il dì 5 del mese di settembre prossimo passato, tutti unitamente supplicato, et humilmente alla santita di nostro signore Paulo dignissimo papa tertio domandato che, per universal bene di dicta magnifica città di Viterbo, sua gloria, esaltatione et universale comodità di tutto lo stato ecclesiastico et altri luoghi vicini et non vicini, et generale satisfatione di tutti litterati et amatori di littere et virtù, che in dicta magnifica città si concieda gratia, comodità, licentia, facultà et privilegio di erigere et principiare un nuovo litterario Studio. Et il prefato signore sancto nostro in Viterbo et a dicta molto istanzia et requisitione di dicti magnifici signori et loro publico et generale Conseglio, paternamente et con sua solita benignità, pietà, clementia et bonità concesse a dicti magnifici signori, populo et comunità di Viterbo che sempre et in perpetuo li sia lecito et permesso in dicta città havere et tenere il dicto litterario Studio, et in qualsia facultà publicamente lectori condurre, salariare et fare legere, offerendone scilicet per esecutione di tal cosa amplissime gratie et privilegii. Et però li prefati magnifici et illustrissimi signori volendo tal tanto honorevil et degna inpresa di dicto litterario Studio esequire, per il presente loro publico bandito a tutti e singoli di qualsia luogho, città, terra o castello tanto dello stato ecclesiastico quanto a qual sia principe, signore o repubblica subietto o non subietto, se intima, se bandisce et notifica qualmente in dicta magnifica città di Viterbo si è novamente eretto et principiato il dicto nuovo litterario Studio, dove publicamente per huomini et lettori granni et famosi et litterati si legerendo in principio di Studio, cioè in la prima settimana di novenbre del presente anno 1546, tutte le infrascritte lectioni: un solito ordinario in Iure civili della mattina et la sera la Instituta; item un altro ordinario in Philosophia la mattina et la sera la Logica; item in Humanità la Rectorica di Cicerone. Et tali sopradicte lectioni secundo che in li altri famosi Studii si costuma continuatamente et in publico si legerando, et però si eshorta ciaschuno a venire in dicta città di Viterbo ad abitare, che chi alli dicti litterarii Studii attenderà, goderà et haverà tutte gratie, privilegii et esentioni dal dicto sanctissimo Signor nostro per la causa alla dicta magnifica comunità concessi et più ampliamente secundo in li altri luoghi et Studii soliti concedersi. Domenicus Nellus Auditor et Locumtenens.[84]

The announcement follows a sequence of rhetorical *topoi*, common in documentation relating to acts of foundation: 1) the *Studium* would bring glory to its city and, most importantly, assure citizens' welfare;

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2) citizens were invited to spread the news; 3) the lecturers' fame was announced;[85] 4) young students were encouraged to come to Viterbo.

These and other rhetorical *topoi* appear too in the *patentes littere* sent to the lecturers on 1 December 1546. The letters patent refer to the glory of the city; build an image of a city governed by wise men (a leitmotif recurring in the *patentes litterae* addressed to the public schoolteachers), and describe the advantages which a local *Studium* will bring to the citizens, whose education will be useful to the entire community.

Magnifici domini Priores et Conservatores populi civitatis Viterbii de consensu legum doctoris generalis Locumtenentis Patrimonii mandarunt mihi Cancellario infrascritto ut efficerem patentes litteras quatuor lectoribus in dicto publico litterario Studio cum salario in eis specificato, et quod dictas patentes faciam sub datis 11 novembris proximi decursi, in quo die dictum litterarium Studium initium habuit. Cuius commisionis vigore infrascrittas patentes effici et lectoribus sigillo Communis segnatas ac manu prelibati magnifici domini Locumtenentis subscripti effectualiter dedi et tradidi. Quarum patentium tenor talis est, videlicet. Bartholomeus Appogius de Macerata iuris utriusque doctor Provincie Patrimonii ac civitatis Viterbii pro Sanctissimo Domino Nostro papa ac reverendissimo domino Legato generalis locumtenens, Priores et Conservatores populi civitatis Viterbii ac quatuor infrascritti super conservatione litterarii Studii Viterbiensis vigore publici et generalis Consilii specialiter electi et deputati. Cum sanctus dominus noster Paulus divina providentia dignus papa tertius hanc suam civitatem veluti precipuam ac dilectissimam patriam intimo complectato affectu eamque semper insignire et decorare intendat inter alias dignitates ad eiusdem civitatis ac suorum civium presentium et futurorum et omnium quorum utilitatem, comodum et honorem, nuper gratiosus concessit, voluit et instituit, quemadmodum plures Italie urbes litterario Studio clariores et nobiliores existant pariter et ista Etrurie vetustissima et Provincie Patrimonii caput litterario Studio atque Gymnasio omnino prorsus litteratis generibus pollens perpetuo gaudere ac florere possit et debeat potestatemque debuit eligendi et ordinandi doctores sive lectores tam in ure canonico et civile quam in medicina, philosophia ceterisque liberalibus artibus eisque mercedes et emolumenta ad nostrum nostrisque Communis libitum designandi atque solvendi. Nos autem cognoscentes quantum utilitatis, honoris et glorie perpetuis futuris temporibus hec allatura sit santissima institutio, eo precipue quod non recte nisi a sapientibus viris civitates gubernari possunt, voluimus ut omnibus hic liber ad litteraria studia pateat aditus et continus audiere et adiscere possit in esse comoditas, ut non solum sibi, parentibus et patrie sed Sancte Romane Ecclesie universisque populis commodo pariter et ornamento existant. Nos qui te magistrum Iacobum Sacchum artium medicine doctorem eximium esse cognoscimus et tue vite ac morum probitas, virtutum merita ac dictarum artium medicine et philosophie excellentia inducunt ut te meritis et favoribus prosequamur, decrevimus

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propterea te virum moribus et litteris prestantissimum in nostri Communis et publici nostri litterarii Studii tam philosophie quam artium medicine lectorem ad annum a presentium dato incohandum et ut sequitur prospere finiendum eligendum, nominandum et deputandum prout per presentes, cum salario scutorum quinquaginta de iuliis decem anno quolibet aliisque honoribus et oneribus in aliis Italie Studiis solitis et consuetis harum serie et presentium tenore eligimus, nominamus et deputamus mandantes propria quibuscumque nostri Communis gabellariis et presertim gabelle nostre mercature vini conduttoribus ut dictam summam pro rata de tertiara in tertiariam tibi integram persolvant. Quam sic solutam in eorum computis admitti volumus et mandamus et hoc tam vigore nostri publici et generalis consilii ac eiusdem decretorum et auctoritate ut supra nobis attributa etc. in quorum fidem. Fuerunt similiter concesse patentes littere domino Francesco Bussio iuris utriusque doctori sub dicto tenore pro scutis triginta tantum pro uno anno. Fuerunt etiam date et traddite patentes littere magistro Antonio del Turco artium medicine doctori eximio et in dicto litterario Studio in logica sive dialetica lectori pro scutis viginta pro dicto anno. Nec non dominus Iohannes Valerio Canapina iuris utriusque doctor ac in dicto litterario Studio Instituta sive Institutiones lector patentes litteras sub dicto tenore habuit cum salario scutorum viginti pro uno anno. Et similiter fuerunt concesse patentes lictere Iohanni Baptiste alias Zazarone pro bidello cum salario carlinos viginti mense quolibet [...] Quod dicti quatuor sapientes ut supra electi una cum magnifico domino Locumtenente et magnificis dominis Prioribus autoritatem habeant undecumque et qualitercumque ex introitibus Communis minus dannosis pro salario lectorum pecunias inveniendi et persolvendi.[86]

As was invariably the case in this period, the commune's first problem was the funding of the new institution. On 18 October 1546,[87] a diplomatic mission composed of Iacopo Sacchi, *doctor in medicina*, and Cesare Bussi and Antonio Gentile, both *doctores in lege*, petitioned the Pope for permission to levy a tax on the wine-trade, reserving the revenues for the *Studium*. The same arrangement was in place for the *Studium Urbis* and Macerata University:[88]

Item supplicarete a sua Beatitudine che, per supplire alle necessarie spese dello già principiato Studio, noi et nostra comunità hanno risoluto imponere una non dannosa impositione et gabella, ansi solita, utile, e per le ragioni a voi notissime necessaria, supra la mercantia del vino; per il che suppliarete sua Beatitudine li piaccia et si contenti non ostante qual sia cosa in contrario concederne licentia et autorità di possere dicta impositione et gabella solum per causa de mercantia de vino imporre, acciò ogni esactione di tal cosa sia et se intenda alle necessarie spese di dicto già principiato Studio integramente applicata.

On 5 November 1546,[89] the General Council received notification of papal approval: this was finally promulgated on 6 January 1547.[90]

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The second step after finding funding was the election of the *conservatori*, on 20 October 1546.[91] The *conservatori* were to remain in office for only four months, and, having made the necessary preliminary arrangements, were to see the university's official activities inaugurated. Their remit was comprehensive, incorporating such pedagogical concerns as the appointment of lecturers, and the practical questions of arranging payment of salaries, and sitting and furnishing classrooms[92] ('autoritatem tam lectores eligendi quam eisdem salaria costituendi, locum et scholas eligendi, cathedras et banchas coeficiendi facere, et ex introitibus communitatis pro eiusdem necessariis occurrentiis et predictis conficiendi pecunias undecumque et qualitercumque inveniendi, et omnia alia et singula in premissis faciendi que circa ea necessaria et oportuna esse cognoverint'). These names were: Ottaviano degli Spiriti, Agostino Almadiani, Paolino Tignosino *legum doctor*, and Michele Florenzolo *legum doctor*.

Lecturing hours and the initial selection of lecturers were supplied in the public announcement.[93] For *ius civile*, Innocenzo Ugonio *legum doctor* was the first choice. If he declined the position, either Nicola Malagriccia *legum doctor* or Francesco Bussi *iuris utriusque doctor* was to be substituted: in the event, Francesco Bussi was appointed on; an annual salary of thirty *scudi*; lectures in the morning (*de mane*). Iacopo Sacchi *phisicus*[94] was selected for *philosophia*, with a salary of thirty *scudi* and lectures to be given *de mane*. For *logica*, the first choice was Prospero *phisicus*, to be paid a salary of twenty *scudi*, and to lecture in the evenings (*de sero*). If he declined the position, it was to be offered to another not specified: the appointment was Antonio Turco *phisicus*. It was stipulated that lecturers in the *Instituta* must be recent graduates ('aliquis ex his novitiis doctor'),[95] as if to ensure that the new blood would be on display, bolstering the institution's reputation. This practice would be reinforced in the 1566 refoundation. The salary was to be twenty *scudi*, with lectures given *de sero*. Giovanni Valerio di Francesco of Canepina, *iuris utriusque doctor*, was appointed to this position. Finally, the public schoolmaster was to give lectures in the *Studium* on Ciceronian rhetoric. It is worth noting that his salary would be one hundred *scudi*.

All those named in the announcement were prominent in Viterban politics, Innocenzo Ugonio in particular. His voice dominated proceedings in the General Council at this time, and was still more loudly heard in later years. He was usually the first to intervene in debates after the agenda had been announced, and often succeeded in imposing his will.

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He had a higher profile than even Iacopo Sacchi. Sacchi was a man very much in love with his city, and a member of a prominent family, but his activities had however been confined mostly to the Roman court until he became *protomedicus*.

As the new wine tax had yet to be introduced, the lecturers were at first paid from the commune's existing revenues: 'pro quibus scutos centum reperiendos et habendos dicti omnes unanimes decreverunt ut omnes braviorum cursus hactenus soliti penitus amoventur excepto bravio dive Virginis de Quercu de mense tamen septembris et dictorum braviorum pecunie applicentur dictis salariis, residuum vero usque ad dictam summam centum scutorum quod inveniantur et habeantur ex introitibus Communis.'

The institution was at first situated 'subtus palatium magnificorum dominorum Priorum', but the commune would discuss on January 1547 plans for a new magisterial palace (*Palazzo del Podestà*), part of which would house the *Studium*.[96]

The *Studium*'s inauguration ceremonies took place between 7 and 24 November. On 7 November,[97] the inaugural mass was celebrated in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, in the presence of the *Luogotenente*, the *Priori* and *aliis doctores*: this confirms that the *doctores* formed a visible social group easily identifiable and always present in important moments of Viterbo's public life. On this occasion and over the following days the lecturers or their representatives delivered orations: the inaugural oration was declaimed by Giovanni Francesco, son of Innocenzo Ugonio (7 November);[98] Francesco Bussi delivered his *principium*,[99] which was attended by an unnamed 'eximius iuris utriusque doctor dominus', who undertook to engage in a disputation with Bussi (11 November); Antonio Turco gave an oration[100] before an audience including 'excellentissimus philosophie professore et dominus doctor Antonius de Mirandola' (12 November); Iacopo Sacchi performed[101] in the presence of 'dominus Reginaldus Polus Sacre Romane Ecclesie diaconus cardinalis et dicte civitatis Viterbii et Provincie Patrimonii dignissimus Legatus' (15 November); and events culminated with the *principium* of Giovanni Valerio son of Francesco of Canepina, lecturer in *Institutiones Iustiniani imperatoris* (24 November).[102]

On 1 December 1546,[103] letters patent were officially dispatched to the lecturers appointed; they set the salaries and days of payment, with a contract valid for one year.[104] The salaries offered in the latter patent are not entirely consistent with those announced earlier: an instance of economic restructuring. Iacopo Sacchi, lecturer in philosophy and

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medicine was now offered fifty *scudi*; Francesco Bussi, lecture in civil law, thirty *scudi*; Antonio Turco, lecturer in logic and dialectics, twenty *scudi*; and Giovanni Valerio of Canepina, lecturer in the *Instituta sive Institutiones*, twenty *scudi*. At the same time a beadle was appointed: Giovanni Battista *alias Zazarone*, with an annual salary of eighteen *scudi*.

The records in the *Bollettario* of payments made during the *Studium*'s second year of activity reveal changes in personnel: in November 1547,[105] there were still four lecturers but 'magister Ysach ebreo' had replaced Antonio Turco, lecturer in Logic. The lecturer in the *Instituta*, Giovanni of Canepina, was mentioned for the last time in February 1548.

There are gaps in the *Libri delle Riforme*, but one fact stands out: references to the *Studium* became more and more rare, then disappeared altogether, while the attention and the care dedicated to the choice of the public schoolteacher intensified. Viterbo, which was after all a provincial town, was perhaps not a suitable setting for an educational institution more advanced than the elementary school, which was probably all it could maintain. Provisions recorded on 1 December 1548[106] reveal that the *Studium* had by then ceased to operate ('non perseveratio Studii'). Payment of lecturers' salaries had now been suspended, and it was determined that proceeds from the wine.tax established to finance these salaries would be diverted to help fund the building of the new magisterial palace ('sed reservetur gabella super mercatura vini ut applicata intelligatur litterario Studio et publico Gymnasio his elapsis annis in hac civitate nostra incepto [...] et quia ad presens salaria lectorum in dicto Studio non solventur idicirco pecunie dicte gabelle mercature vini debent exponi in fabrica et pro fabrica huius palatii). The commune's *Bollettario* confirms this fact: in September 1548 the three lecturers had received payment of the 'ultima terziaria [and] ogni resto.[107]

On 19 March 1556,[108] the Council discussed a proposal to institute courses in logica and the *Institutiones* for *adolescentes*, with a guaranteed salary for the lecturers: this demonstrates that no account was taken of the *Studium* ten years after its foundation ('pro institutione adolescentium fuit alius prepositum quod bonum esset ut legerent lectiones logices et Institutiones, et lectoribus aloquod salarium constituetur'). The courses were entrusted to public officials, who were awarded a pay rise: the commune's lawyer, and the doctor employed at the town hospital.

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An entry for 10 June 1559 mentions a teacher of logic,[109] Br Lucasanto of Rieti, a Franciscan of the Roman Province, who besides preaching, lectured daily on the Pauline espistles and gave lessons in logic and philosophy. As his courses also attracted foreign students ('multi studentes forienses concurrerint'), the Council resolved to make payment to the learned friar 'pro honore civitatis.'

The *Libri delle Riforme* make no further reference to a *Studium* or the lectures until 1566.

The 1566 re-foundation

After a silence of almost twenty years, the word *Studium* reappears in the 1565–7 *Libro delle Riforme*. The new endeavour seems to have been presented as a re-foundation, Rhetoric aside, however, it was far from matching the ambition which marked the 1546 foundation even apart from its failed aspiration of granting degrees. The 1566 project seems in fact to have produced a return to the previous custom of funding public chairs for the elementary teaching of law and logic. It was intended that these courses would be delivered within a quasi-university framework, but the reality was much more limited. The new *Studium*i was restricted too by competition from a public school which, thanks to the *preceptor*, was Viterbo's real intellectual centre, and from new forms of intellectual associations such as the *Academia smarritorum*, instituted a few months before the re-foundation.

In the surviving documentation at least, the attempt to renew the *Studium* appears abruptly: during the session of 25 March 1566, on the initiative of Iacopo Sacchi, *prothomedicus* of the Papal Court. The language is ambiguous, referring not to founding a *Studium* but to the institution of courses. The reference is to the *Institutiones*, so that the level of the teaching must not be advanced, which confirms the introductory quality of these *lettioni*. Salaries were the same as in 1546, and were considered very low. Finally, as in 1546, the municipal authorities were to have a fundamental role in managing the life of this institution in its early days; again four *conservatori* were appointed for the *Studium*:

Vedendo i signori che nela città nostra ogni dì più crescono i giovani desiderosi di letture e di virtù, parendoci non sol bene ma debito di aiutarli, hanno pensato acciò più facilmente e più brevemente possino venire a qualche grado che sarìa

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bona cosa dar loro comodità d'udire in Viterbo la lezione d'Instituta e dela Logica, e però parendoli che in ogni modo debbano instituire le dette dui letioni, non volendosi risolvere da loro hanno voluto che vi si proponga in questo Consiglio avvertendovi che ciò sarà grandissimo benificio a la città e non costarà se non 48 scudi l'anno dei quali se ne trovano già scudi vigintiquattro che si davano a certi altri li quali gli si levano, però la spesa sarà quasi niente et l'utilità infinita. Consigliate dunque. Dominus Iacobus Sacchus ascendens consulendo dixit: io laudo quanto si è proposto et anco monsignor Vicelegato et signori Priori che l'hanno fatto proporre e tanto più quanto che l'illustrissimo e reverendissimo Legato nostro è di questa mente e vuole che si facci né si guardi a li danari ma si piglino perciò dove si potrà et si ordini chi ha da leggere e dove, e si pare che si piglino i giovani a leggere e si cavino per bossolo per sei mesi o per tre, o altrimenti si come meglio parerà a monsignor Vicelegato e signori Priori e dui huomini sopra di ciò da elegersi i quali habbino ogni authorità insieme, come di sopra, sopra la detta cosa e di fare tutti li ordini che si convengono ma leggasi in publico. Dominus Anselmus Ninus etiam ascendens in summa consulens confirmavit dictum Iacobi addendendo che per trovare i danari si debba mettere due o tre più per cento sopra la gabella delle bestie vive. Capitaneus Bernardinus Chisius etiam ascendens consulens dixit che per trovar danari li parerebbe che si dovesse levare il salario al advocato et procuratore de la comunità percioché sono benefitiati dalla communità e sono essenti di gabelle, et si un dottore viene dottorato tira dalla communità ducati 25. Dominicus Casata surgens consulens dixit che per trovar danari si potrìa fare pagare la gabella a forestieri che lavorano nela Viterbese et ne estraggano il grano. Dominus Ludovicus Veltrius ascendens consulens dixit che in ogni modo si debbano fare le dette lettioni et li trovino li denari ancor fino a la summa di 50 scudi, e per trovarli si facci un publico bando che tutti i forestieri che non habitano in Viterbo et hanno terreni nela Viterbese debbano venire a fare catasto e pagar intanto per soma di sementa fra un certo termine. Et cum nemo aliud dicere vellet, placuit dicto reverendissimo Vicelegato et Prioribus poni ad partitum consilium dicti domini Iacobi infrascritto tamen modo, videlicet: che onninamente si istituischino e leghino le due lettioni una de Instituta e l'altra di Logica con salario di scudi 24 per lettore per anno, et si legga in quei lochi e con quelli ordini e per quelli lettori che pareranno a monsignor Vicelegato et signori Priori e quattro huomini sopra di ciò da eleggersi da esso.[110]

Iacopo Sacchi's proposal came to fruition slowly, with the first concrete results cominf on 2nd November,[111] following months of discussion: 'cumque deinde, tam coram illustrissimo ac reverendissimo domino Legato quam coram reverendissimo domino Andrea Recuperato Vicelegato prefato, fuerunt desuper et per dictos dominos deputatos et per magnificos dominos Priores et Conservatores, bimestribus preteritis, facta plura et dievrsa colloquia, ratiocinationes et discussiones.' On

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this occasion the names of the 'deputati agli affari dello Studio' were given: Gabriele Tignosino (perhaps a relative of the 1546 *conservatore* Paolino Tignosino?), Ascanio Salimbene 'legum doctor', Anselmo Nino, and Domenico Poggi.

The November session produced a decree specifying the limits and functions of this new (if pre-existing) institution: 'decretum fuerit quod in hac civitate duae lectiones, altera Institutionum et altera Logices, omnino legere deberent pro erudiendis iuvenibus, et ut sic aliquantulum introducti ad Gymnasia publica deinde se conferentes facilius, commodius et cum multo minori impensa ad doctoratus apicem pervenire queant.' That is, courses were to supply introductory instruction in the two subjects of young men wishing to obtain degrees, for which of course they would have to study elsewhere (again, as in 1546).

On this occasion the *conservatori* appointed two lecturers: their own Ascanio Salimbene for the *Institutiones* and Giovanni Turco 'artium et medicine doctor' (perhaps, a relative of Antonio Turco 'artium et medicine doctor', appointed lecturer in 1546?). These lecturers were not prominent members of the council as had been the case for those appointed at the original foundation.

Some fundamental details of institutional life were established and noted in the so-called 'decreta et statuta': 1) lecture hours were established: they must take place daily 'ut in publicis fieri solet Studiis', logic 'de mane', *Institutiones* 'de sero'; 2) Rigorous supervision of the lecturers' work was ensured: a fine was to be levied on lecturers who did not teach as scheduled, with the revenue reserved for the *Studium* (first mention under this name here) ('et ut in legendo sint magis solliciti et diligentes vouerunt quod quicumque ipsorum sine legittima causa legere defecerit perdat de suo onorario seu provisione pro singula lectione iulios tres commodo Studii applicandos'); the beadle was to monitor lecturers' fulfilment of their duties (etiam bidellus teneatur sic deficientes apuntare et suae apuntationi credatur'). Such provisions, which had been totally lacking in 1546, imply a drive to formalize and conform with university practices in an effort to compensate for the lack of real university privileges. This was not a *Studium* in the strict sense of the word, but a public institution imitating a conventional *Studium*'s organization; 3) Lecturers' salaries were fixed at twenty-four *scudi* for the lecturer in the *Institutiones* and twenty-nine for the lecturer in logic; 4) Giovanni Battista Tollerono was appointed beadle, with a salary of six *scudi*, and his duties outlined: 'qui scolarum curam habeat, illas tempore debito aperiat et claudat, campanam pulset, denuntianda in

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scholis denuntiet, et alias faciat quae bidelli in Studiis publicis facere soliti sunt'; 5) Salaris, as in 1546, would be financed through a tax, in this case through the what was described as the chestnut tax, the 'gabella dicta la castagnaria'; 6) Days were indicated for annual payment, in three instalments: on Christams Eve, on the first day of Lent, and on Easter; on these occasions fines due for non-attendance would be calculated; 7) Finally, lecturers' contracts would be issued annually, and, most importantly, the task of public lecturing was reserved to recent graduates, 'doctores iuniores' ('et singulo quoque anno novissimi doctores tam iuris quam artium intelligantur, et sint electi, creati et deputati lectores pro uno anno'), as in 1546 for the lecturer in the *Institutiones*. Lecturers had to fulfil two conditions: they must be of Viterban origin with degrees obtained through ezamination at a public *Studium*.

The development of the Viterban Studium

The *Studium* solemnly re-founded in 1566 ceased activity again after a few years, at least so far as its university ambitions were concerned. It returned gradually to its starting-point: the funding of public lectures by graduate professors, a custom which stabilized and endured into the next century, as the seventeenth-century statutes show. It is thus evident that, unlike for example Macerata, Viterbo could never offer higher-level teaching beyond this introductory level, probably because sufficient internal demand simply did not exist. Who was likely to attend a new *Studium* so close to the more prestigious centre of Rome, Siena, and Perugia?

The *Studium* seems to have been fully operational still in 1569: Ascanio Salimbene 'lector Institutionum' and Giovanni Turco 'lector logicae' delivered their inaugural lecturers at the *Palazzo dei Priori* on 20 and 21 October.[112] It was surely a positive sign that the beadle and the lecturer in logic had their salaries increased on 22 November,[113] from eight to ten scudi and from thirty to forty *scudi* respectively. The latter was noted to have earned this increase: 'satis elaborat in legendo logicam, et in Gymnasio et in domi, et bene inseruit in legendo'.[114] This date saw another reference to the *conservatori* of the *Studium*: Domenico Poggi, Anselmo Nini, Gabriele Tignosino, and Camillo Finiziano;, who were mentioned again in November 1570,[115] when Cardinal

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Farnese appointed the three lecturers: Ascanio Salimbene *arcipresbitero* of San Sisto church for the *Institutiones*, Giovanni Turco for logic, and Francisco Scotto, public schoolteacher, for rhetoric.

But the first difficulties had begun to appear by 1571.[116] On 24 September the 'deputati super Studio' Gabriele Tignosino, Domenico Poggi, Camillo Finiziano, and Anselmo Nini met with Legate Alessandro Farnese and the vice-legate in Farnese's private chamber in Viterbo, 'ut Studium in civitate Viterbii inceptum conservetur'. Lecturer in logic Giovanni Turco had his pay reduced from thirty to twenty-five *scudi* because 'paucos discipulos habet et parum elaborat'; but on 26 September his position was confirmed for three years. Muzio Bussi legum doctor was nominated to fill the vacant position of lecturer in the Institutes, with an annual salary of twenty-five *scudi*, very much reduced compared with the sixty *scudi* of 1566. Evidently the position was no longer regarded as sufficiently profitable: Muzio declined and Giovanni Battista Fustino *legum doctor* was appointed instead.[117] Agostino Colaldo[118] was appointed beadle in the place of Tommasino of Grisedia on 7 august 1574,[119] demonstrating that the *Studium*, in spite of its defects, still functions as, or at least was perceived as, a university.

In the sources for the following years, however, the word *Studium* gradually disappears. There is a return to the custom of delivering public lectures, when named, was dubbed a *Gymnasium*, as was the school were the *publicus preceptor*, the elementary teacher, worked: a single institution appears to have been operating on two levels. The *Bollettario* for 1578 still registered'58 scudi per lo Studio' amongst its outgoings for the year, but the documentation in the *Riforme* shows that the institution existed by then only in name. The section devoted to the students' grants even included a suggestion, made in 1586, that a sum of money should be reserved for student maintenance, to attempt 'di eriggere in Viterbo lo Studio come cosa molto più utile et di molto maggior honore et grandezze alla città nostra et anche in maggior commodo ai cittadini',[120] an indication that less tan twenty years after the refoundation, the 1566 Viterban *Studium* had been forgotten.

The *Libri delle Riforme* and the commune's *Bollettarii*, despite chronological gaps, allow us to trace the history of these public lectures through to the end of the century, giving both the lecturers' names and their subjects: [121]

1) 1574–75. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *L.*: Francesco Scotto; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[122]

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2) 1575–76. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni;[123] *L.*: Francesco Scotto; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[124]
3) 1576–77. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *L./P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi;[125] *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[126]
4) 1577–78. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni;[127] *L./D.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[128]
5) 1578–79. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *L./D.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[129]
6) 1579–80. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *L./D.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[130]
7) 1582–83. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni;[131] *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi;[132] *D./L.*: Fr Giovanni Battista degli Speroni[133]
8) 1583–84. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni;[134] *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *D.*: Giovanni Battista degli Speroni[135]
9) 1584–85. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *D.*: Giovanni Battista degli Speroni[136]
10) 1585–86. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni;[137] *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi[138]
11) 1586–87. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi[139]
12) 1589–90. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *P.*: Pietro Paolo Sacchi; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[140]
13) 1591–92. *I.*: Pietro Pollioni; *P.*: Nicola Torellini; *C.*: Agostino Colaldo[141]

A final notable aspect of Viterbo's engagement with the world of universities is a particular ceremony, perfectly balanced between private and public contexts, mentioned frequently in the *Libri delle Riforme* from the middle of the sixteenth century. The individual and private fact of earning the degree led to a general celebration involving the highest civic officials and the town's *doctores*, and featuring public display of the *privilegium doctoratus*.[142]

The ceremony's structure[143] remained constant over the years. The new graduate processed with *doctores* and citizens ('associatus quam plurimis doctoribus et civibus') from his own home ('domus sue solitae habitationis') or, in some cases, from a religious house,[144] to the palace of the Priori. Received by the Priori 'in pede scalarum', he was led into the presence of the Vicelegato and delivered his *privilegium* to the chancellor of the commune, who read it aloud to the municipal

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authorities, the representatives of the Papal States, the assembled citizens, the *doctores*, and to teachers from the monasteries if the degree was in medicine or philosophy. The new graduate delivered a public oration,[145] and received the congratulations of the other *doctores*. The procession escorted him home, where a solemn banquet (*ientaculum*) was sometimes held.

Conclusion

It has been observed that the sixteenth century witnessed a flourishing of provincial universities, and Viterbo's experiences are entirely consistent with this historical phenomenon. The late medieval period is considered a time of decline and fossilization for the university, with the institution's early splendour and the intellectual vivacity a distant memory. This decline was counteracted with the reorganization of large traditional universities during the modern era. At the same time, university qualifications became more and more necessary to a professional career in the modern world. Employment need no longer depend on an individual's private ties if such an external, universally recognized, and reputedly objective measure existed. We could say that a sort of 'licentia ubique praticandi' replaced the old 'licentia ubique docendi'.

Nevertheless and paradoxically, the qualification itself often lost in content, and specific degrees did not necessarily guarantee relevant employment. As more students graduated, the degree was transformed from an intellectual to an honorary qualification. Hence the insistence, in Viterbo's documentation, that the degree must be assigned 'in Studio publico' by a college of *doctores*. *Doctores* were necessary because the increasing bureaucratization of the political machine and of daily life created ever more frequent demands for specific professional qualities; yet, because contemporaries were aware that the mechanism by which the university certified learning had altered, they required confirmation that the *doctores* on whom they relied were authentic, that the qualification correspond with real knowledge.

However, the Viterban case is of interest for study of the history of ideas as well as that of institutions. Viterbo represents an urban reality in which intellectual matters were of primary concern. Turning points in the town's educational endeavours mirror reflect its political development,

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and correspond with the moments of the commune's greatest achievements. The *Authentica Habita*, as observed above, coincided with the Statute of 1250–1; more complex rules concerning public lectures appeared in the statute of 1469, in harmony with a trend witnesses all over Italian territories. A system of grant for university studies was maintained throughout the period, culminating in the elaboration of the *Capitoli dello studente* in 1582. Furthermore, the *Consiglio dei Quaranta* regularly deliberated on the appointment of teachers to the *publicum Gymnasium*, establishing sub-committees which included prominent council members, themselves usually *doctores*.

The public elementary school seems to have been a real source of civic pride. Sixteenth-century Viterbo's most ambitious educational project, the attempt to found a *Studium generale*, started with the expansion of the public school's prerogatives. Massimo Miglio identified 1454 as 'the moment when Viterbo showed the most acute consciousness of the function of teaching, expressed through the desire to connect with the tradition of the *Studia generalia* and through the reference to the nearby Roman University.'[146] The appeal to Charles VIII reveals the other reference point for the ambitions of Viterbo's political and cultural elite, that is, the Perugian *Studium*, which with Siena was the favourite destination of young Viterban students..

There was also a desire to convert the system of public lectures funded by the commune into an authentic university institution ewhich could award degrees; this would have assured the city's prestige, allowed its *doctores* to advertise their distinction, and given Viterbo an advantage over the majority of Italian communes. But the project was destined to fail, and not only because, as was often the case in Italy, the commune could not support its cost. The rapid disappearance of the *Studium* from the *Libri delle Riforme* in the years following its foundation and re-foundation suggest that it was a quasi-university without students. This demonstrates that it was not popular demand which drove the *Studium*. Viterbans were attracted still to the *Studia* of Perugia and Siena, and also to Padua and Rome. The project was an aspiration of Viterbo's *doctores*, who had resolved to reproduce at home the atmosphere they had experienced while studying further afield.

Caught between the theory and the reality of a university institution, this small social group of civic professionals was still tantalized by the vision of teaching from a *cathedra*.

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2. Quoted in Massimo Miglio, 'Cultura umanistica a Viterbo nella seconda metà del Quattrocento', in Giuseppe Lombardi and Teresa Sampieri (eds), *Cultura umanistica a Viterbo: per il V centenario della stampa a Viterbo (1488–1988) (Viterbo, 12 novembre 1988)* (Viterbo, 1991), 11–46.
3. Quoted in Cesare Pinzi, 'Carlo VIII a Viterbo', in *Bollettino Storico Archeologico Viterbese*, 1 (1908), 36–9.
4. Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardenti, Archivio storico preunitario, *Libri delle Riforme* (R.), 25, 158v.
5. Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardenti, Archivio storico preunitario, IV AO II 21bis, *Lettere diverse*, doc. 138.
6. Robert Black has researched similar phenomena in Arezzo, discovering long-forgotten documents from which he has been able to reconstruct the story of a veritable city *Studium* active during the Renaissance. See Robert Black, 'The Studio Aretino in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', *History of Universities*, 5 (1985), 55–82; and Robert Black, *Studio e scuola in Arezzo durante il Medioevo e il Rinascimento. I documenti d'archivio fino al 1530* (Arezzo, 1996).
7. On these city chronicles see Massimo Miglio, 'Cronisti viterbesi del secolo XV', *Biblioteca e società. Rivista del Consorzio per la gestione delle Biblioteche di Viterbo*, 6 (1984), 73–5, and Giuseppe Lombardi, 'Cronache e libri di famiglia: il caso di Viterbo', in *Saggi* (Rome, 2003), 199–210; for a description of these documents see Marta Materni, 'Riformanze consiliari e bollettarii come fonti per lo studio delle popolazioni studentesche nella prima età moderna', *Annali di storia delle Università italiane*, 12 (2008), 357–85.
8. The first stage was marked by the foundations in Bologna., Padua, Naples, Siena, Rome, and Perugia; the second, extending from the foundation of the University of Florence to the foundation of the University of Catania, coincided with the first century of the Renaissance; the third lasted from 1540 to 1601 and featured university foundations in Macerata, Messina, Urbino, Salerno, and Parma (Richard L. Kagan, 'Le università in Italia, 1500–1700', *Società e storia*, 28 (1985), 275–317). The Renaissance produced institutions which have been conceptualized as 'provincial universities' (Piero Del Negro, 'Il principe e l'università in Italia dal XV secolo all'età napoleonica', in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Angelo Varni (eds), *L'università in Italia fra età moderna e contemporanea. Aspetti e momenti* (Bologna, 1991), 12–27) and 'minor universities' (Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'Le università minori in

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Italia in età moderna', in Andrea Romano (ed.), *Università in Europa. Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni. Strutture, organizzazione, funzionamento* (Messina, 1995), 287–96). Brizzi explains, 'I wish to use the concept of minor universities to cover [institutions] offering higher level teaching which fulfilled at least part of the educational remit of the principal universities, and likewise ratifying the course of studies by issuing of academic degrees. In most cases these were formally established *Studia generalia*: the difference with the major universities [. . .] was in the internal organization and in the *modus operandi*' (287).

9. See Del Negro, 'Il principe'.
10. Ibid.: '[For some cases, when the communal magistrates intervened on behalf of the institution or when a *Studium* was restored,] it is possible to discover by reading between the lines clear signs of the pressure exerced by professional groups with academic credentials, particularly jurists. [Jurists were] the most influential because of their very close relationship with government buraucracy in some circumstances and with the town councils and eilites in others' (21).
11. On his pontificate see Ludwig von Pastor, *Paolo III (1534–1549), (Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medioevo*, *Vol. V*, Rome, 1924); for his interventions in aid of the Sapienza college in Rome see Giovanna Falcone, 'La Sapienza e i suoi studenti', in Paolo Cherubini (ed.), *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento* (Rome, 1989)e.
12. Antonio Marongiu, 'L'Università di Macerata nel periodo delle origini', *Annali dell'Università di Macerata*, 17 (1948), 3–73; for the sources see *Studium generale. Atti dello Studium generale Maceratese dal 1541 al 1551*, ed. Sandro Serangeli (Turin, 1998); *Studium generale. Atti dello Studium generale Maceratese dal 1551 al 1579*, ed. Sandro Serangeli (Turin, 1999); *Gli Statuta dell'antica università di Macerata (1540–1824)*, ed. Sandro Serangeli, Lorella Ramadù-Mariani and Raffaella Zambuto (Turin, 2006).
13. An analogous case of a university which lacked the authority to award degrees, at least for a period, was another Renaissance *Studium*: Messina. The university was solemnly inaugurated in 1596 after almost 160 years of attempts by the commune: in 1548, with the Jesuits' collaboration, the commune created a quasi-university institution but there was strong opposition from the Catania *Studium* which was determined to keep the maintain its monopoly within Sicily: so Messina was permitted to pay lecturers and offer teaching within a university framework, but could not award degrees. Finally in 1590, in return for a huge donation, thecCommune obtained the power to award degrees from Spanish *camera*. This privilege was later conceded through a papal bull. See Michele Catalano, 'L'Università di Catania nel Rinascimento', in *Storia della Università di Catania dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Catania, 1934), 3–98, Mario Scaduto, 'Le origini dell'Università di Messina', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesus*, 17 (1948), 102–59; Rosario Moscheo, 'Istruzione superiore e autonomia locale

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nella Sicilia moderna: apertura e sviluppi dello *Studium* Urbis Messane (1590–1641)', *Archivio Storico Messinese*, 59 (1991), 75–221.

14. See Antonio Marongiu, 'La Costituzione *Habita* di Federico I: problemi e discussioni', *Clio*, 1 (1965), 1–24; Id., 'Alle origini dell'Università (la-Costituzione *Habita* di Federico Barbarossa)', *Rivista giuridica della scuola*, 5 (1966), 313–20; and Walter Ullmann, 'The medieval interpretation of Frederick's Authentic *Habita*', in Ullmann (ed.), *Scolarship and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978), 101–36. Another example for the reception of the *Autentica Habita* in the thirteenth-century documents is Perugia in 1275 (Luigi Tarulli, 'Documenti per la storia della medicina in Perugia (dalle epoche più remote al '400)', *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 25 (1922), 159–90). The question of teaching in this period requires attention, ad needs to be placed in the context of statutes which 'generally rather late, pay little attention to elementary teaching and to the connected problems. The instructions contained in the Bassano statutes of 1259, in the article entitled *De magistro scolis*, are unique: they testify to the advanced educational agenda of the Venetian hinterland.' (Giovanna Petti Balbi, 'Istituzioni cittadine e servizi scolastici nella Italia centro-settentrionale fra XIII e XV sec.', in *Città e servizi sociali nell' Italia dei secoli XII–XV. Atti del XII Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Pistoia, 9–12 ottobre 1987)* (Pistoia, 1990), 21–48)
15. *Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo*, ed. Ignazio Ciampi (Florence, 1872).
16. From the sixteenth century, publicly funded lectures were a common feature of Italian communes, many of which aspired to establish university. The appointment of a lecturer in a university subject could indicate the wish to introduce higher education in the institutional form of the *Studium*. Consider the experiences of Lucca between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, Genoa in the fourteenth century, and Vicenza in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Jonathan Davies, 'A Paper University? The Studio Lucchese, 1369–1487', in Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800) (A History of the University in Europe, Vol. II*, Cambridge, 1991), 262–306; Giovanna Petti Balbi, *L'insegnamento nella Liguria medievale: scuole, maestri, libri* (Genoa, 1979), 107–13; Vincenzo Sansonetti, 'Le pubbliche scuole in Vicenza durante il Medioevo e l'Umanesimo', *Aevum*, 26 (1952), 156–79. There is one case very similar to Viterbo's: Piacenza's. In Piacenza public lectures were estabòoshed by 1500; the *Collegio dei Notari* sought in 1509 and gained in 1518 the official establishment of a chair for instruction in the Institutes. These lectures took place at *Collegio dei Notari*, beside the commune's palace, then were transferred to the college of the Doctors and Judges from 1565. There was a strong emphasis on the local (as in the Viterban case): the lecturer had to be a graduate, native to Piacenza, and the appointment (as in Viterbo) was the prerogative of the general city council. Lecturer were added in scripture (1513) and humanities (1527) and a professor of logic was appointed in

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1540; but by the end of the next decade only a lecturer in the Institutes remained (a trajectory similar to Viterbo's) (Emilio Nasalli Rocca, 'Le cattedre di istituzioni legali nelle città italiane con particolare riguardo a Piacenza', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 21 (1948), 211–30).

17. *Cronache e statuti*, 110.
18. Ibid.
19. On the problems of interpretation presented by the term *studens pauper* see Antonio I. Pini, 'Scolari ricchi e scolari poveri tra Medioevo ed età moderna', in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Jacques Verger (eds), *Le università dell'Europa. Gli uomini e i luoghi. Secoli XII–XVIII* (Milan, 1993), 157–89; he emphasizes that in the Middle Ages *pauper* meant: 'an individual not having sufficient means in relation to his social status or his established aims'. The author also examines the phenomenon of public subsidization of study costs. On poor university students, see also Jacques Paquet, 'L'universitaire "pauvre" au Moyen Age: problèmes, documentations, question de méthode', in Jacques Paquet and Jozef Ijsewijn (eds), *Les universités à la fin du Moyen Age* (Louvain, 1978), 329–425.

    On the value of university studies see Jacques Verger, *Gli uomini di cultura nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1999), 85: 'Certainly, until the end of the Middle Ages, university study and degrees offered to young men of humble origins, most remarkably [...] But it is also true that in some families, above all those of medics and civil servants, university studies were already a habitual custom through which the sons succeeded the fathers, assuring the continuity of the familial vocation. It is also probable that amongst the established elites – old noble families and, in some cases, mercantile dynasties beset by uncertainty in times of crisis – university studies allowed young men to maintain their social status by giving them access to the ranks of "men of culture" '.
20. An analogous initiative is recorded for Lucca where, from 1340–50, grants from three to over ten *fiorini* were established, funding studies for a period of up to six years. Later, in 1599, Lucca like Viterbo announced that a particular number of students would receive grants (twenty-nine, as against Viterbo's total of twelve announced in 1582). See Paul F. Grendler, *La scuola nel Rinascimento italiano* (Rome, 1991), 24.
21. *Lo statuto del Comune di Viterbo del 1469*, ed. Corrado Buzzi (Roma, 2004), 368.
22. More information on these letters was recorded in 1583, in R. 67, 25v: 'Che le fedi che hanno da mandare li studenti ogn'anno conforme alli capitoli debbino essere sigillate con li sigilli delli lettori che odano in Studio e sottoscritte da loro'.
23. R. 19, 162v.
24. For the relationship between this Pope and the world of humanism see Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978). On Pietro Paolo Passerino see also John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome. Rhetoric, Doctrin and Reform in the Sacrated Orators of the Papal*

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Court, c. 1450–1521 (Durham, 1979), 252: ms. Roma, Bibl. Angelica, 246, ff. 252r-263r, is a transcription of an oration delivered by Passerino in 1481.

25. R. 19, 186r.
26. The following sums were probably distributed on the same basis as this award of 25 *ducati*: the sum that the *Priori*, in 1476, ordered to *Vice-cancelliere* to pay a citizen committed to the 'studium legum et iuris civilis pro studio suo et doctoratu' in Rome (quoted in Giuseppe Lombardi, 'Tre biblioteche viterbesi del XV secolo', in Lombardi (ed.), *Saggi*, 309–36); and the 26 *ducati* paid to Anselmo di ser Giovan Battista dei Nini 'eruditus adulescens [...] per gli studi', registered in the *Bollettario del Comune* (Bo.) 1524 in October 1530.
27. Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardenti, Archivio storico preunitario, II F 2 20, *Bollettario del Comune* (Bo.) 1524, August 1528: 'Tibi eximio artium et medicine doctori magistro Iacobo ser Ambrosii salutem. Quam diu et fere semper consuevit respublica virtutum sectatores non solum dignis prosegui laudibus verum etiam pro ipsius rei publice viribus summis meritis decorare et in eorum cum evenerit subvenire necessitatibus, ne igitur a nostrorum tam laudabili maiorum istituto discedamus duximus te magistrum Iacobum antedictum pluribus decoratum virtutibus aliquibus muneribus et gratis onestare, ut tui exemplo alii ad similia fiant promptiores et audaciores; idcirco iuxta nostrum solitum nostrisque Communis solitam et laudabilem consuetudinem pro tui subventione studii te antedictum magistrum Iacobum physicum nostris Communis ducatorum triginta sex ad Lta facimus et harum serie constituimus creditorum etc. mandantes etc.'.

    April 1532: 'Exierunt etiam patentes littere in favorem eruditi iuvenis magistri Antonii Ioannis Turchii artium et medicine professoris et sectatoris pro summa et quantitate ducatorum triginta sex ad Lta iuxta solitum, et hoc pro subventione sui studii'. Antonio Turco would be appointed lecturer at the *Studium* in 1546 (see below).
28. Bo. 1545–48.
29. Bo. 1545.
30. Ibid.
31. Bo. 1542, June 1543: 'Allo erudito giovane Cesari Polione studente in Bologna in iure civile scuti nove de iulii dece per scudo et per lui a Lutiano Polione suo tiano, quali sonno per resto delli scudi diece et otto che la nostra communità per vigore delli Statuti è solita dare a dicti studenti, atteso ancora che in forma ha prestata cautione che in evento che non si fesse dottore de restituirli alla communità come ne è rogato il nostro cancelliere, et ancora di consenso del reverendissimo signor Vicelegato nostro'.
32. R. 44, 54v.
33. R. 67, 20r: 'Et che il magistro Ascanio figlio di magistro Leonardo Delicati il quale ha ricevuti li 18 scudi soliti darsi per prima dalla communità per vigore dello Statuto, debba restituirli in termine di 18 mesi, cioè uno scudo il mese, et per quo effecto durante detti 18 mesi segli faccia la bolletta di scudi cinque solamente il mese et scud'uno si ritenga per tal conto per la

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communità, et da 18 mesi in là se gli faccia di sei scudi come agli altri.' The sum was in fact paid in 1578, as can be deduced from Bo. 1575 and 1578.

34. Sixteenth-century Roman cases are cited in Giovanna Falcone, 'La Sapienza e i suoi studenti', in Cherubini (ed.), *Roma e lo Studium*, 41–8.
35. R. 55, 112v.
36. Lombardi cites in *Tre biblioteche*, 311, the will of Vittore Vittori (1504), which offers evidence of a grant paid to a member of the same family: in relation to Vittore's sister's dowry, it was specified that 6 *ducati* had already been delivered to the husband, Domenico *del fu* Sigismondo from Canino, Viterban citizen, to resolve some difficulties he had experienced when 'accessit ad Studium civitatis Senensis'.
37. *Cronache e statuti*, 110.
38. Ibid., 146.
39. R. 64, 118r.
40. R. 64, 128r.
41. R. 64, 145r.
42. The printed version of the proclamation is quoted in Attilio Carosi, *Librai cartai e tipografi in Viterbo e nella Provincia del Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Viterbo, 1988); the text of the proclamation is in Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardenti, Archivio storico preunitario, IV AP 4 34, *Bandi 1522–50*, doc. 274.
43. R. 64, 146r.
44. Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2001), 473: 'Demand [for law graduates] was high, because Italy and the rest of Europe had become societies in which the credential of a law degree mattered more than in the past. The increased demand probably originated with governement. Italian and European states seem to have been expanding their jurisdiction and, therefore, needed more trained personnel with law degrees. The call for legal traininig may have started at the top.' The ideal cultural preparation for the highest state officials would include a degree in civil law along with humanist training. The professional pre-eminence of the jurists also implies a cultural pre-eminence (Verger, *Gli uomini*, 41–2): 'Although the theologians and the medics appear to us today to have been the original thinkers among men of learning, law was sureley the most significant discipline of all the possible components of medieval learned culture. This applies too if we think only in terms of the numbers involved, or of social kudos. The last centuries of the Middle Age were for the jurists a golden age which in many countries continued throughout the years of the *ancien régime* and beyond [. . .] Throughout the West, at the end of the Middle Ages, the learned man was often a jurus'.
45. Although it was one of the biggest monasteries of Lazio – perhaps even in central Italy – there are not detailed studies of this Dominican foundation. This may be due in part to the fact that the sources are now difficult to assemble, being dispersed over several centres. Some indications

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concerning the institution's intellectual activity and its library are in Massimo Miglio, *Santa Maria in Gradi* (Viterbo, 1996).

46. On 26 July, the Council decided upon the composition of the board of examiners (R. 67, 18v): 'Furono deputati per esaminatori di detti studenti, cioè a quelli che vorranno attendere alle leggi, il sopradetto Auditore et altri dottori di Viterbo, et a quelli che vorranno attendere alla filosofia, il reverendo padre lettore di Santa Maria in Grado et il reverendo padre lettore di San Francesco, con intervento ancora di altri medici et dottori di tal professione'.
47. We have some examples of the assigned *puncti*: on 17 August 1582 (R. 64, 152v) the *punctus* assigned to Rosio Malagriccia for law was *ff. his quos nunquam fin. De heredibus instituendis* (*Inst.*, Lib. II, Tit. XIV); on 22 August 1585 (R. 65, 138r), the *punctus* assigned to Cesare Crivellato for logic was *in capite De accidenti, videlicet accidens est quod adest et abest propter subiecti corruptionem* (*Isag.*, V.1); on 23 October 1585 (R. 65, 146r), Paolo Caparozio was assigned, for logic, *in capite De proprio* (*Isag.*, IV); on the same day and again for logic, Giovanni Foglia was assigned *in capite De specie, species est quod de pluribus et differentibus numero predicatum ad effectum* (*Isag.*, II.4); on 7 November 1588 (R. 66, 129r), Cesare Ilario Brigidi was assigned, for theology, *in capite De differentia videlicet differentia est quae predicatur de pluribus differentibus specie in eo quod quale cum omnibus suis distinctionibus et divisionibus* (*Isag.*, III.10); on 5 January 1589 (R. 66, 146r), Muzio Liberato was assigned, for law, *qui tutores in testamento dari possint* (*Inst.*, Lib. I, Tit. XIV); on 28 October 1590 (R. 68, 80r), Giuseppe Architetto was assigned, for law, *in principio Institutae De adoptionibus* (*Inst.*, Lib. I, Tit. XI); on 12 August 1591 (R. 68, 158r), Ottavio Faiano was assigned, for logic, *in capitulo De differentia* (*Isag.*, III); on the same day (R. 68, 158v), Perozio Mustio was assigned, for law, *in 55 Institutae De capitis diminutione* (*Inst.*, Lib. I, Tit. XVI).
48. R. 64, 128r (1582): 'Et inoltre gli sia argomentato sopra i testuali ad effetto di far prova se sia atto alli studi più alti'; R. 64, 146v (1582): 'Punctum legit et recitavit, argumentis eorundem patrum lectorum et aliorum doctorum sibi factis acute et subtiliter respondendo'; R. 68, 80r (1590): 'Recitavit et enodavit punctum divisiones tituli assignando, dubia solvendo et notabilia demonstrando'.
49. The formalities characterizing this examinatio were clearly inspired by the graduation ceremony, on which see Giorgio Cencetti, 'La laurea nelle università medievali', in Roberto Ferrara, Gianfranco Orlandelli, and Augusto Vasina (eds), *Giorgio Cencetti. Lo Studio di Bologna. Aspetti, momenti e problemi: 1935–1970* (Bologna, 1989), 77–94. For a description of examinations held in Siena during the sixteenth century see Giovanni Minnucci and Leo Košuta, *Lo Studio di Siena nei secoli XIV–XVI. Documenti e notizia biografiche* (Milan, 1989), pp. xiii–xiv.

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50. On 28 October (R. 67, 20r) it was declared: 'Non siano admessi né si possino accettare per sigurtà li padri di essi studenti ma altre persone idonee a sodisfazione sempre delli signori Priori pro tempore'. We have records of the presentation of guarantors for 1590: (R. 68, 78r) Bernardino Paulonio guarantor for Arcangelo Iuzzanti; (R. 68, 78v) Evangelista Peio for Muzio Liberato; (R. 68, 80v) Br Paolo for Giuseppe Architetto; and for 1591: (R. 68, 162v) Paolino Tignosino for Cesare Tignosino; (R. 68, 181v), Leonardo Spadario for Ottavio Faiano; (R. 68, 182v), Valerio Bussio for Lucio Bussio.
51. 1589 saw one instance of a return authorized by the *Priori*. This is recorded in R. 66, 219v: 'Magnificus dominus capitaneus Iulius de Brigidis exhibuit et presentavit magnificis dominis Conservatoribus fidem licentiae concessae reverendo domino Cesare eius filio redeundi in patriam iustis de causis, subscriptam a quatuor dominis Conservatoribus bimestris preteritis'. In the same year, as recorded in R. 67, 64v, measures were taken to prevent students from returning home without permission: 'Che quanto alle bollette degli studenti che sono stati in Viterbo senza licenza che si osservino li capitoli sopra ciò fatti, et si ritencghino li denari et si faccino rimettere'. Bo. 1590 (September 1591) refers again to Cesare Brigidi: 'Scudi sei per messer Cesare suo figliuolo studente in Roma che ha domandato licenza di venire per il presente mese'.
52. The same Viterban sources testify to one of the various other mechanism for obtaining a degree, the *privilegium* granted by imperial authority. Niccolò della Tuccia *Cronaca* notes that Emperor Frederik III exercised this privilege and granted doctorates to Viterban citizens when he stopped at the city on his way to Rome in 1469 ('fe' de Viterbesi dottori e conti palatini'). For 1594, R. 70, 232v registers the public exhibition of Francesco Mentebona's *privilegium doctoratum*, granted in Padua by a *conte palatino*. For more examples, concerning different locations, see Elda Martellozzo Forin, 'Conti palatini e lauree conferite per privilegio: l'esempio padovano del sec. XV', *Annali di storia delle Università italiane*, 3 (1999), 79–119; and Carla Penuti, 'Collegi professionali di giureconsulti con prerogativa di addottorare in area estense e romagnola', in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Jacques Verger (eds), *Le università minori in Europa (secoli XV–XIX). Convegno internazionale di Studi* (Catanzaro, 1998), 337–52. For the problem of the degrees awarded by professional colleges or *conti palatini*, see Grendler, *The Universities*, 183–6; and Ad Tervoort, *The* iter italicum *and the Northern Netherlands: Dutch students at Italian Universities and their role in the Netherlands' society (1426–1575)* (Leiden, 2005). According to Tervoort, it was Emperors Charles IV and Sigismund who first gave the *conti palatine* the right to award degrees.
53. A physical description of the *privilegium* is given in entries for 1582 (R. 63, 13v): 'In carta pergamina cum sigillo appenso et manu publici notarii publicatum'; 1593 (R. 70, 174r): 'Doctoratus privilegium in quodam libello carte pergamine descriptum'; 1594 (R. 70. 232v): 'In carta pergamina descriptum et duobus sigillis appensione munitum'.

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54. R. 64, 161v.
55. R. 67, 46v.
56. R. 65, 227v.
57. Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardenti, Archivio storico preunitario, IV AP 1 1, *Letterario del Comune* (Let.) 1585, 65v.
58. Let. 1585, 65v.
59. R. 66, 214r; Let. 1585, 259r,
60. R. 66, 219v.
61. R. 66, 43v: 'Illustrissimus dominus Vicelegatus, de ordine illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Legati et vigore litterarum sibi a prefato illustrissimo ut asseruit trasmissarum, auxit numerum studentium qui volunt ad Studia publica sumptibus communitatis usque ad numerum duodecim prout erant ante reductionem alias factam per dominum illustrissimum'.
62. R. 70, 27r.
63. R. 64 128r.
64. Fro the development of student mobility, and the connections between this phenomenon and the increasingly regional character of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century universities, see Jacques Verger, 'Peregrinatio Academica', in Brizzi and Verger (eds), *Università dell'Europa*, 107–35. On the composition of the student body in the modern period, see also Maria Rosa Di Simone, 'Per una storia delle università europee: consistenza e composizione del corpo studentesco dal '500 al '700', *Clio*, 12–13 (1986), 349–88. As emphasized in Maria Teresa Guerrini (ed.), *Qui voluerit in iure promoveri . . . : i dottori in diritto nello Studio di Bologna (1501–1796)* (Bologna, 2005)), it is necessary to distinguish precisely between the phenomenon of straightforward student mobility, which saw students travel from their places of origin to locations with *Studia*, and the *peregrinatio academicai,* the custom of attending several *Studia*, very common for example among the North European students who journeyed through the various Italian university centres. Particular sources for the study of this second phenomenon are the *Libri Amicorum*: that is, the travel books in which students collected the dedications of teachers and acquaintances encountered during this sort of *Grand Tour* (Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'Una fonte per la storia degli studenti: i *libri amicorum*', in Francesco Piovani and Luciana Sitran-Rea (eds), *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del Convegno (Padova, 6–8 febbraio 1998)* (Trieste, 2001), 389–402). Unfortunately, it was principally German students who produced such documents, and Italian equivalents are very rare. On student mobility in Italy, see Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'ASFE: una banca dati per lo studio della mobilità universitaria e per un onomasticon dei laureati in Italia nell'età moderna', *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 8 (2004), 449–53, in which he describes the ASFE database project, named after the expression used by Frederik II in the *Habita, Amore Studii Facti Exules*. he members of the FIRB research project, *Percorsi tra le università storiche europee*, have adopted this database in order to register information concerning the presence of students

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and graduates in Bologna, Pavia, Padua, Pisa, and Siena: 'The structure of the database should make it possible to assemble all information concernig a particular individual, who will potentially have numerous contacts with the multiple universities operating in the peninsula'. The project originated in the Bolognese context from the plan elaborated by Brizzi, *La storia sui muri*, that is, the initiative of creating a registry of the students' family crests on the walls of the *Arhiginnasio*: 'Since [this material] provides a record only for those students who were not citizens [...], it provides direct evidence of manner in which the ancient universities could contribute to the construction of the European cultural identity, as did such institutions and associations as the humanistic socienties and learned academies' (451).

Sandro Serangeli and Laura Marconi (ed.s), *I laureati dell'antica Università di Macerata, 1541–1824. In appendice: La matricola degli studenti marchigiani a Perugia, 1511–1720 e un piccolo esempio di* migratio *accademica fra le università di Perugia e Macerata* (Turin, 2003), incorporates an appendix edited by Marconi which provides examples of *peregrinatio* from the *Studia* of Perugia and Macerata. Furthermore, a new sort of *peregrinatio* from *Studium* to *Studium* appeared in the late middle ages: the custom of moving to a smaller university which specialized in an easier or cheaper route to the degree, based on more or less rigorous training. Ferrara might, for example, be chosen over Bologna for this advantage.

65. Ennio Cortese, 'Legisti, canonisti e feudisti: la formazione di un ceto medievale', in *Università e società*, 195–284, emphasizes the fact that a new theory of law evolved from the end of twelfth century: it would eventually entail the replacement of specialists in either one of civil or canon law with the *doctor in utroque iure*. This convergence of the two legal branches was encouraged above all by the canonists, who welcomed the new attention to decretals and the general renewal of Roman law.
66. R. 43, 200r (5 September 1546).
67. In Perugia, for example, contracts were granted only to members of the Perugian college of *doctors*, but these men did not have to be natives of the city.. Because of the parochialism which characterizes this period, it was often necessar to have attended the university at which one aspired to lecture, a situation which produced some true dynasties of lecturers. But in Viterbo, where it was never possible to award degrees, only citizenship or at most Viterban origin was required. On the tendency of late medieval universities towards regional particularism see Verger, *Gli uomini*, 83–5.
68. Florence offers an example of conflict between political institutions and lecturers over the salaries to be paid at a *Studium.* See Armando F. Verde, 'Vita universitaria nello Studio della Repubblica Fiorentina alla fine del Quattrocento, in *Università e società nei secoli XII–XVI. Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale* (Pistoia, 1982), 495. On salaries see also Gaines Post, 'Master's Salaries and Student-Fees in the Mediaeval Universities', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 181–98.

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69. On the other hand, the Studium's lecturers were totally immersed in the political life of the city, and clearly supported themselves through their other duties. In the case of Viterbo then, we see the reverse of the more common scenario according to which the lecturer supplemented his salary through his professional activities: jurists by providing *consilia* to the commune, doctors by operating as courtly physicians, humanists by becoming tutors to great families. The Viterban case does not comply with Grendler's observation that, despite these distractions, 'the majority [of lecturers] devote[d] their professional lives to university teaching'; see Grendler, *Universities*, 161. See also Mario Ascheri, 'Consilium sapientis, perizia medica e res iudicata: diritto di dottori e istituzioni comunali', in Stephan Kuttner and Kennet Pennington (eds), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Salamanca, 21–25 September 1976)* (Vatican City, 1980), 534–79.
70. The term *in scholis* referred to the physical locations where lectures were delivered in the university. See Alfonso Maierù, 'Gli atti scolastici nelle Università italiane', in Luciano Gargan and Oronzo Limone (eds), *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento nell'Italia medioevale (secoli XII–XIV). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi (Lecce-Otranto, 6–8 ottobre 1986)* (Lecce, 1989), 249–87.
71. R. 43, 216r. See R. 43, 131v: 'in platea Communis subtus scolam publicam'.
72. Ermini notes that the privilege of teaching and the *facultas doctorandi* were often, but not invariably, granted in combination. Inn Perugia the two privileges were un fact awarded at different times: Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'università di Perugia* (2 vols., Florence, 1971), i, 28.
73. R. 44, 45r. In Bo. 1545, October 1547, there is a record of a payment 'a Pietro Famiglio per ire a Roma per causa dello Studio'. However, as the *Letterario* for that year have not been preserved, it is impossible to identify Famiglio's mission.
74. R. 43, 217r.
75. Let. 1585, 65v. The 1587 request suggests that papal permission was been granted but never exploited: 'Che altre volte la medesima facoltà ne fu concessa dalla santa memoria di Paolo terzo, se bene non ne fu fatta espeditione'.
76. Manlio Bellomo, 'Scuole giuridiche e università studentesche in Italia', in Gargan and Limone (eds), *Luoghi e metodi*, 121–52, 123.
77. R. 43, 217r.
78. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'La fondazione dello *Studium curiae*: una rilettura critica', in Gargan and Limone (eds), *Luoghi e metodi*, 59–81.
79. R. 43, 211r.
80. On the importance and the geographical distribution of such teaching during the period in question, see Emilio Nasalli Rocca, 'Le cattedre di istituzioni legali nelle città italiane con particolare riguardo a Piacenza', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 21 (1948), 211–30, 211: 'In the context of the history of teaching and of legal studies, we have noted the existence of a

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particular chair, above all for the period beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and extending to the end of the seventeenth century [. . .]: the chair in the legal or imperial Institutes "*cesaree*" (*Instituta*).' Outside universities, the subject was taught in cities which had no *Studium* at that stage of their existence. This trend is exemplified very precisely by Viterbo: in fact, when the *Studium* ceased activity, the commune continue to pay an annual salary to a public lecturer in the Institutes. Such lecturerships, insofar as they often existed to compensate for the lack of an actual university, present an interpretative problem: 'Should we classify [the instruction] as intellectual, of the type which chracterizes very high university culture [. . .], an introduction to advanced Roman Law starting from the study of the other sections of Justinian's legislature [. . .]; or was this elementary instruction with practical aims, serving the bourgeois culture?' Rocca favours the second interpretation but tempers it by noting that university experience has always been informed by the local civic mindset. In the Viterban case, an introduction to university studies was one of the acknowledged aims of these courses, even if it was not their exclusive function.

The contente of these lectures (although faithfully linked to Justinian's text) 'may perhaps have contributed, inadvertently, [. . .] to the formulatin, to the creation of the commom law [. . .] in fact, the aim of such courses was not so much to explain texts in slavish conformity to Justinian's *Institutes* as to provide definitions of concepts and institutions informing the legal training of the citizens. [. . .] This chair was very useful to the advancement of the legal culture and its influence in civic society' (213–6).

81. Two of the three available categories of lecturer are listed here; Perugia's *condotte*, which is contemporary, mentions *ordinaristi*, i.e. the lecturers in civil or canon law who are required to interpret the text; and *istituzionalisti*, i.e. those lower down on the professional scale. The third category, not present here, was that of the *starordinaristi* required to read without commenting. Usually the *ordinarista* had the privilege of teaching in his own home during holydays or on feast deays, while others could teach only at the university. See Maierù, 'Gli atti scolastici', 259–68.
82. For contrast, see the Paul III's bull of foundation for the Macerata *Studium*. This document features a formula analogous to Viterbo's, but in this case the term is 'correctedì' later in the text when the institution is described as a *Studium generale*: 'Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum [. . .] ut in ipsa civitate literarum studium incrementum suscipat, opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremus [. . .] Nos igitur, attendentes quod ex literarum studio, tam publica quam privata spiritualia et temporalia comoda proveniunt [. . .] huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, in eadem civitate Maceratensi perpetuis futuris temporibus Generale Studium cuiuscumque facultatis et scientie licet cum cathedris facultatum earumdem ac potestate et facultate doctorandi seu magistrandi, nec non rectorie et aliis pro illius prospero et felici redimine necessariis facultatibus et officiis, ita ut in ibi

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Generale Studium in qualibet licita facultatibus perpetuo habeatur et vigeat, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium erigimus et instituimus'. (*Gli Statuta dell'antica università*, 53)

83. On 6 November (R. 43, 227r) the vice-legate and the *Priori* ordered that a public announcement should be printed (now ms. 414). This is a symptom of modernity. The connection between the modern cultural word and printing is so strong that the *Studium* was allocated its own print shop, in the charge of Antonio Blado and Pier Matteo Tesoro. Carosi examines Viterban printers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and provides the transcription form the *Libri delle Riforme* of the commune's ordinance entrusting the shop to the two printers: *Librai, cartai e tipografi*, 50. The most significant passage reads: 'Havendo noi et nostra comunità in questi prossimi passati giorni ottenuta gratia dalla Santirà di N.S. di erigere, principiare et in perpetuum, etc., continuare in questa città di Viterbo un nuovo letterario studio e per manutenzione del quale di continuo havere, et tenere, condurre, et salariare famosi et eccellenti doctori et considerando noi al gran concurso de' studenti, altre persone letterate che in questa città concorreranno [e] perché voi et ciasch'un di voi per comodità di dicto novo, eretto et principiato studio volete in questa città di Viterbo erigere et principiare il bel et onorevole esercitio della stampa in dicta città non più esercitato'.

    The connection between *Studium* and printer recurred witht the 1566 refoundation: on the initiative and intercession of Giovanni of Canepina, governor of Foligno (lecturer in the Institutes at the 1546 *Studium*) and Ascanio Salimbene (lecturer in the refounded *Studium*), the commune persuaded printer Agostino Coraldi to move from Foligno to Viterbo, and granted him licence to print in Viterbo on 27 December 1567. The words of Giovanni of Canepina are significant: 'certamente con lo Studio va accompagnata la stampa.' Like the public school and later the *Studium*, the printshop was also 'in platea Communis'.
84. R. 43, 217r.
85. The gap between reality and rhetoric is widest here: aspiring lecturers would in fact have to be Viterban natives.
86. R. 43, 237r.
87. R. 43, 214r.
88. On Rome, see David S. Chambers, '*Studium Urbis* and *gabella Studii*: the University of Rome in the Fifteenth Century', in Cecil H. Clough (ed.), *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester and New York, 1976), 68–110; and 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. The expression 'gabella vini forensis ad minutum' or 'gabella Studii' was first attested under Pope Paolo III, and established definitively by Eugene IV for the Roman *Studium* in 1431.
89. R. 43, 226r.
90. R. 44, 14r.

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91. R. 43, 215v.
92. Bo. 1545 reveals that the *Studium*'s furnishing were already prepared in September and had been ordered from the carpenter Niccolò, nicknamed il Ciomba: in September, 'al Ciomba falegnale scudi cinque de iulii diece per il scudo sonno a bon ocnto de' suoi legnami et manifattura tanto delle cathedre per li novi lectori quanto per li banchi per li studenti et ancora a bon conto delle porte et chiustrini delle presoni per causa dello Studio del solito locho mutate'; in December, 'per una porta de legname datta al novo Studio scudi quattro, per una tavola per li scolari et bidello iulii 25, per una porta nova fatta alla sala dello Studio scudi dui, per due belle cathedre per li lectori scudi diece'.
93. R. 43, 218r.
94. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Modena too, medics were usually responsible for lectures in law and philosophy. On this subject, see Emilio Vicini, 'Le Letture pubbliche in Modena nei secoli XV–XVII', *Rassegna per la storia della Università di Modena e della cultura superiore modenese*, 5 (1935), 47–170.
95. This custom was ubiquitous. Similarly, lectures on the third book of Avicenna were reserved for recent graduates in medicine and lectures on introductory texts in logic and moral philosophy were reserved for recent philosophy graduates.
96. R. 44, 53r.
97. R. 43, 230r.
98. On the potential ideological value of the lecture celebrating beginning of the academic year, see Carla Frova, 'Il maestro universitario nel Medioevo: forme di autorappresentazione', in Brizzi and Verger (eds), *Università dell'Europa*, 137–55; for examples from fifteenth-century Rome, see Carla Frova and Rita Nigri, 'Un'orazione universitaria di Paolo Veneto', *Annali di Storia delle Università italiane*, 2 (1998), 191–7; and Anna Esposito, 'Un'inedita orazione quattrocentesca per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico dello *Studium Urbis*', Giulia Barone, Lidia Capo, and Stefano Gasparri (eds), *Studi sul Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi* (Rome, 2001), 205–33. Frova observes of university oratory: 'We find orations declaimed at the Universities for the most diverse official occasions: candidates' presentation at their final examination, promomtion to academic ranks, appointment of the chancellor, *principia* of the academic year or of *lecturae*, feast days of patron saints [...] The orations declaimed for the beginning of the academic year were surely the most extensive, and their main theme was the praise of the disciplines; the *prinicipia* of the courses are primarily pedagogical in focus; while te declamations in honour of the patron saints represent a separate genre. [...] As early as the 1960's, Celestino Piana made extensive use of some important compilations containing examples of university oratory to discover information about teachers and students [...] later on, various scholars drew on this type of source, considering it not only as repository of information for the extension

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of prosopographical data, but also as a witness to the culture, mentality, values, and aspirations of the university population' (196).

With regard to the Viterban inaugural oration, in R. 43, 230r, we read: 'oratio Studii per discretum adulescentem *** domini Innocentii Ugonii'; in Bo. 1545, in December 1546, it is specified that one *scudo* was paid to 'erudito Giovanni Francisco di messer Innocentio per haver recitato la oratione dello Studio in Santo Lorenzo.' In Bo. 1545, it is noted that a payment was made in September 1547, probably for the beginning of the first academic year following foundation, to 'magistro Cesare Busso della comunità nostro advocato et in questi giorni passati ad una con magistro Iacomo Sacchi et Antonio Gentile in Roma per occurrentia della comunitàt nostra ambasciador, [of] iulii cinque per la scrittura della oratione fatta scrivere in Roma per recitare in principio di Studio'. The orator of 1547 was the 'letterato et erudito giovane Cesare di Peroni', to whom one *scudo* was paid in November 'secondo il solito dell'anno passato' (Bo. 1545); on this occasion the oration took place 'in S. Agnilo.'

99. R. 43, 230v.
100. Ibid.
101. R. 43, 232v.
102. Ibid.
103. R. 43, 237r.
104. Payment was in three instalments and not *de bimestre in bimestre* as announced in the papal brief. This was in fact that normal schedule, conventional for other civiv officers: the three instalments were usually paid on 1 November, on 1 March, and on 1 August. In 1566, it was specified that the instalments would be paid on Christmas Eve, on the feastday of *Carnis privii* (the last Sunday before Lent) and at Easter.
105. Bo. 1545.
106. R. 45, 41r.
107. Bo. 1548.
108. R. 50, 25r.
109. R. 52, 26r.
110. R. 57, 98v.
111. R. 57, 142v.
112. R. 58, 105r: '20 octobris. Magnificus dominus Ascanius Salimbenius Institutionum lector dicta die pro principio novi Studii disertissimam et eloquentissimam orationem habuit in palatio magnificorum dominorum Priorum etc. 21 eiusdem. Magister Iohannes Turcus lector logice etiam pro principio Studii orationem disertissimam habuit'.
113. R. 58, 120r.
114. The *doctor*'s activity was not therefore restricted to the public school, but we cannot be certain that this implied a private revenue apart from the salry guranteed by the commune. The possibility that lecturers would teach outside the places designated for public instruction had already been raised in 1567 (R. 57, 203v) when, in Council, Giovanni Turco himself suggested

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that it should be permitted 'che li lettori leggerno in casa a tempo delle vacantie et li lettori siano affabili et domestici'.

115. R. 158, 194r.
116. R. 59, 30r.
117. R. 59, 37r.
118. R. 57, 14v.
119. That is the printer mentioned above.
120. R. 65, 227v.
121. *I.*: *Institutiones*; *L.*: Logic; *P.*: Philosophy; *D.*: Dialectic; *C.*: Beadle.
122. Bo. 1575, April 1575.
123. On 3 November 1575, 'de sero et hora 22 [. . .] in aula palatii [his first lecture was] de contractis, venditionibus et obligationibus' (*Inst.*, Lib. III, Tit. XIII, 'De obligatione'; Tit. XXIII, 'De emptione et venditione').
124. Bo. 1575, December 1575, April 1576, June 1576; R. 61, 13v.
125. 6 November 1576, an oration 'de laudibus philosophiae et logicae facultatis'.
126. Bo. 1575, January, April, and June 1577; R. 61, 13v.
127. 4 November 1577, first lecture abour 'titulum de usucapionibus et de aquirendo possessione' (*Inst.*, Lib. II, Tit. VI, 'De usucapionibus et largi temporis possessionibus').
128. Bo. 1575. January and March 1578; Bo. 1578, June 1578; R. 61, 312v.
129. Bo. 1578, March and April 1579.
130. Bo. 1578, December 1579; January, February, and July 1580.
131. 3 November 1582, 'de sero [his first lecture] in quam de anno proxime venturo interpretare velle proposuit et affirmavit et de testamentis et desuper se multum extendit'.
132. 3 November 1582, 'de mane [an oration] de nomine et laudibus philosophiae in qua summopere optimum ordinem a magnifica communitate introductum, ut duodecim iuvenes bonarum studiis artium incunbentes aere publico in alienis regionibus in quibus Gymnasii florent subvenire etiam commendant'.
133. R. 64, 165r.
134. He gave an oration on 7 November 1583, 'de sero in hoc venturo anno se et de donationibus interpretaturum fore promisit.' (*Inst*., Lib. II, Tit. VII, 'De donationibus').
135. R. 64, 239v.
136. R. 65, 65v.
137. 4 November 1585, 'de mane titulum de his qui alienari possunt se lecturum et explicaturum promisit' (*Inst.*, Lib. II, Tit. VIII, 'Quibus alienare licet vel non').
138. R. 65, 149r.
139. R. 65, 232r.
140. Bo. 1590, June 1590.
141. Bo. 1590, January and March 1592; R. 68, 148r.

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142. Instances of this ceremony are recorded in the sixteenth-century *Libri delle Riforme*: 1562 (R. 55, 173r), Aristofilo Florenzolo; 1563 (R. 56, 84v) Giovanni Battista Fustino and (176r) Alessandro di Giovanni di maestro Galieno Almadiani; 1568 (R. 57, 300r) Fausto Alosio; 1569 (R. 58, 67r), Giovanni Battista Nino; 1571 (R. 59, 37r), Paride Turellio; 1574 (R. 60, 45r), Pietro Pollione; 1577 (R. 61, 228r), Vincenzo Franceschino, in May 1577 Bo. 1575 registers: 'a messer Vincenzo Franceschini dottore di leggi scudi diciotto quali segli danno per la sovvenzione dello studio secondo la forma di nostri statuti e secondo il solito'; 1577 (R. 62, 288r; Bo. 1575, August 1577) Annibale Regio; 1578 (R. 62, 145v; Bo. 1578, September 1578), Domenico Ferro; 1579 (R. 62, 203v), Giulio Durante; 1579 (R. 62, 254r; Bo. 1578, August 1579), Alessandro Iacomucio; 1585 (R. 65, 163v), Santoro Paulonio; 1586 (R. 65, 143v), Orazio Bussi and (R. 65, 178v) Ascanio Delicato; 1587 (R. 66, 19r), Coloniso Sannello; 1588 (R. 66, 140r), Roscio Malagriccia; 1589 (R. 66, 146v), Agostino Ciosa; 1593 (R. 70, 174r), Lepido Bussi.
143. The ceremony is clearly modeLled on the *conventus* or *publica*.
144. To be more precise 'ab conventu Sancte Marie supra Quercum' (R. 58, 67r; R. 60, 45r) and 'a conventu Beatae Mariae Paradisi' (R. 57, 300r; R. 59, 37r). This fact seems not to indicate that the graduates in question were in holy orders. One might speculate that the civil ceremony was in some cases preceded by private worship.
145. In 1563 (R. 56, 84v), Giovan Battista Fustino delivered is oration *de legibus*. In the same year (R. 56, 176r), Alessandro Almadiani gave an oration 'continens in se quantum sit utile ius civile et leges et quantum precedat aliis in medicina doctoribus'. The oration delivered by Annibale Regio in 1577 (R. 62, 228v), was 'de laudibus iuris civilis scientie'. In 1582 (R. 66, 19r), Coloniso Sannello pronounced an oration 'super laudibus predicte magnificae communitatis et presertim istituto alendi scolares in Studiis publicis'; after which he gave a public defemce of 'conclusiones in logica, phisica et universa philosophia et medicinis'.
146. Miglio, *Cultura umanistica*, 17.