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Locus Studii: Spatial Concepts in the First Iberian Universities (XIII-XIVcc.)

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Locus Studii: Spatial Concepts in the First Iberian Universities (XIII-XIVcc.)

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Abstract

In this article I study medieval concepts of locus studii: how they were constructed, proclaimed and discussed by social actors before producing any real university space in the first Iberian higher schools. I mark out three general types of university spatial concepts in early juridical documents from the universities of Palencia, Salamanca, Lisbon-Coimbra and Lleida. The first group is connected to the universal locale of the studium: “light of science” and scholars’ privileges should extend over the whole Christian world. In political rhetoric, “universal” locus studii (that was based on the authorities of the Pope or Emperor) was imitated by temporal sovereigns. The second type of loci studii is a city. Such conceptions (including civitas regia) considered urban space as integrated and homogeneous place of university activity leaving municipal law out of account. The third group described locus limitatus, a special university quarter. In the last part of my article I observe the use of spatial concepts in social and legal practices of Iberian medieval university corporations.

Keywords: social history, medieval universities, social meaning of space, University of Salamanca, University of Coimbra, University of Lleida.

Locus Studii: Conceptos Espaciales en las Primeras Universidades Ibéricas (XIII-XIVcc.)

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Abstract

En este artículo estudio conceptos medievales de locus studii: cómo fueron construidos, proclamados y discutidos por parte de los actores sociales antes de que se produjera algún espacio universitario real en las primeras escuelas superiores ibéricas. Se destacan tres tipos generales de conceptos espaciales en los primeros documentos jurídicos de las universidades de Palencia, Salamanca, Coimbra y Lleida. El primer tipo se vincula con la ubicación ‘universal’ del studium: “la luz de ciencia” y el hecho de que los privilegios de los académicos debían extenderse a todo el mundo cristiano. En la retórica política, el locus ‘universal’ (que se basó en las autoridades del Papa y del Emperador) fue imitado por los soberanos temporales. El segundo tipo del locus studii es una ciudad. Tales concepciones (incluyendo la civitas regia) contemplaron el espacio urbano como un lugar integrado y homogéneo para la actividad universitaria, sin tener en cuenta las leyes municipales. El tercer grupo, describió el locus limitadus, un barrio universitario especial. En la última parte del artículo analizo el uso de los conceptos espaciales en las prácticas sociales y legales de las corporaciones universitarias ibéricas medievales.

Keywords: historia social, universidades medievales, sentido social de espacio, Universidad de Salamanca, Universidad de Coimbra, Universidad de Lleida.

Universities, or *Studia generalia*, are often called one of the most significant medieval phenomena (or even one of the powers along with the Empire and the Papacy (Grundmann, 1951)) but we can hardly observe early testimonies of their own places (in contrast to a monastery or a castle). Lessons were mostly conducted in professors' houses, academic corporations began to rent buildings only in the early XIV c. (Gieystor, 2003, pp. 136–137), the first special buildings are dated from the same time (Congregation House in Oxford, c. 1320. Munby, 2007, pp. 56–57). Nevertheless, concepts of the special university spaces and places – *loci studii* – seem to be a very important part of forming university corporation law. Area of university's influence, its legal space (where its privileges were in force) or descriptions of ideal schools and apartments for professors and students – all these concepts should be estimated as substantial aspect in (self-) identification of the new social institution (about spatial theories and practices in the Middle Ages see: Hanawalt & Kobialka, 2000; Classen, 2009; Classen, 2012; Suarez-Nani & Rohde, 2011; medieval legal spatial concepts remain little-investigated).

Legal and social conception of medieval university was formed as a combination and a convergence of two basic juridical terms: *universitas* and *studium* (Ermini, 1942; Michaud Quantin, 1970). Neither of them had definite spatial sense in tradition of the Canon and Civil Laws. For example, in the title of Decretals dedicated to school teachers (Dec. Lib. V. Tit. V. De magistris) the term *studium* signified only a process (study: e.g.: “*regere studia literarum*”(Cap. IV)¹) and so could be applied to a studying person (*studens* or *studio insistens*). Traditional use of these terms and concepts in the Common Law was supplemented by experience of the first universities (Paris, Bologna, Oxford) and reflection in the corporation law. These “glorious” higher schools arose spontaneously and became models for the future created universities, and so did their spatial concepts. For example, universal privileges given to the University of Bologna in Frederick I's *Authentica Habita* were adopted by most later universities. Famous decretalists Goffred (ca. 1243) and Henry of Segusio (between 1250 and 1261) used cases of Paris and Bologna for describing general legal tradition of *studia*². In these texts *studium* already meant a social institution. The first founded universities – Emperor's Naples (1224) and Papal Toulouse (1229) – were also important models for later *studia*. With earlier legal and rhetoric

image of studium the founders borrowed both a concept of its privileged corporation (*universitas*) and a notion of its privileged place. The creators of papal and royal universities had to combine elements of the university conception and gave them new interpretation and realization (Novarese, 1999, p. 155).

I will analyze cases of the first Iberian universities: Palencia (c. 1208/12), Salamanca (1218), Lisbon-Coimbra (1288/90), Lleida (1300) and some university projects that did not seem to be realized (E.g., restauration of Palencian studium in 1261). I will observe three general concepts: universal privileges and significance of studium, a conception that regards the whole city as a common space of the university activities and privileges, and the idea of the special academic quarter. These three levels presupposed three types of locales for universities' social life (Catholic universum (or Empire or kingdom), city and special quarter) that were combined and used in social and cultural practices.

My main sources are royal diplomas and papal bulls that provided privileges of founded universities. There are some investigations dedicated to reconstruction of early university locations (Costa, 1991; Lobo, 2013; Vaca Lorenzo, 2007) and conflicts with citizens (Cruz Coelho, 2007; Gomes, 2001; Heusch, 2007; Monsalvo Antón, 2002; Peset, 1998; Val Valdivieso, 1988). In some cases historians supposed continuity between earlier educational centers (capitular or monastery schools) and new schools (Brandão, 1974; Sánchez y Sánchez, 1989); my investigation can show what difference was brought by the new status formed in the convergence of different legal traditions. I try to generalize the main spatial concepts that were applied to the corporate law of so-called “model” universities and used the texts of Bolognese canonists and legists. So I observe how the fusion of rhetoric and law in foundation diplomas and bulls produced legal and social field where university corporations acted and how it determinated their future strategies (about rhetoric tradition of Iberian royal diplomas. Grévin, 2008). For example the numerous removals of the Portuguese university between Lisbon and Coimbra (1308, 1337, c. 1352, 1377) and the gaps of continuity provoked by this situation make possible to observe unique aspects of the connection between conceptions of locus studii, their rhetoric and their realization.

Studium Universale and Studium Regni

The mentioned title of Decretals dedicated to magistri and its later supplements and commentaries presuppose the universal area of Catholic world. In the Canon and Civil legal tradition all the substations of scholar privileges were universal, so was the territory where they were in force. This idea was represented with the term ‘general’ (*generale*): general school should attract scholars from other places or from all the (Christian) world. So was the area of the privileges that proceeded from the Roman law. (Kibre, 1961) According to Henry of Segusio all the privileges of the Decretal law were applied only to students of the studium generale unlike persons who had gone to school in a little town or castle³.

In medieval tradition of the Civil law the main basis for universal locale of studium and its privileges was the authentic *Habita* (1155). According to this document Emperor Frederick I gave his special patronage to the scholars because “the world is illuminated with their science”⁴. This authentic was included in *Novellae of Corpus juris civilis* and became an example for the later foundation documents. However, in Emperor’s privilege the influence, “the light” of studium spread everywhere, so it had no special locus. It can be estimated as non-spatial concept. (About problem of not-spatial structures in social studies see Filippov, 2008, ss. 90–93) In later diplomas we can observe how this not-spatial concept was transferred to the sphere of concrete territories and places. For example, in 1288 the group of Portuguese prelates wrote a petition to the Pope. They asked about permission for founding a university in their kingdom. The authors of petition used a direct citation from the authentic of Frederick Barbarossa⁵. But they not only glorified possible illumination and cultivation of the world but also added description of the long and dangerous travel *causa studii* that future scholars had to undertake earlier. To avoid it the Portuguese university should be founded⁶. So we can retrace next spatial (regional) level of studium: studium regni (university of kingdom)⁷. In papal confirmation of the University of Salamanca (1255) instead of the whole world only the kingdom should be illuminated with the light of wisdom⁸. In some projects other regional concepts were proposed. The bull that proclaims restauration of the Palencian university (1263) says that it would be an intellectual center not only for Palencia but for all Hispania⁹.

Nevertheless, the regional concept of studium was always related to the political rhetoric and polemics, it aimed at confirmation and consolidation of the royal power¹⁰. Other regional concepts (for example Hispania of re-established Palencian university) mainly had no support from temporal power and were not successful. In this context, first we should pay attention to the idea of studium as a basis of the wise government; there were many rhetoric passages dedicated to this topic in foundational documents. Such proclamations as “multitude of wisdom is a health of kingdom” were related to the image of king-intellectual (rex sapiens or rex literatus) who always listens to good advices of illuminated counsellors¹¹. (About political significance of these images see Kleine, 2015). Sometimes studium was called treasure or decoration of the king and his kingdom (“ad decorum patrie” in the Portuguese petition of 1288; Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 6)¹².

Studium as an attribute of rex literatus did not presuppose any definite spatial connotations. But there was one more important fragment of the authentic Habita. It was imitated by temporal university founders and was dedicated to dangers of peregrinatio academica (Ridder-Symoens, 2003) that were mentioned in the Portuguese petition (1288) and many other documents. In his diploma, the Emperor undertook students’ security during their travel to the higher schools¹³. The authentic extended the temporal limits of the privileged being in studio to the time of travel and spatial limits to the whole Empire (formally – to the whole world “illuminated with the knowledge”)¹⁴. In the imitating foundation documents this extension also gets reverse significance: by such proclamation the king could declare his control over all his lands. This aspect can be clearly observed in the Portuguese king Denis’ solemn diploma (March, 1, 1290) that demonstrated his independence and authority in polemics with Castile¹⁵. Similar proclamations in diplomas of Ferdinand III of Castile (1252)¹⁶ and Jaume II of Aragon¹⁷ had less rhetoric but also constituted spatial concepts of university. The kings established locus studii as a territory where its privileges were undertaken with their power but also proclaimed independence and control over the land illuminated with the light of their own studium.

Studium Civitatis

For their “universal” school the creators should choose an ideal place, so a description of electio loci was also an important part of political rhetoric in

the foundation diplomas. The choice of “a city or a place of our land” (“civitate vel loco terrae nostrae”) should tie universal and local levels and also should show power over the whole kingdom. The patterns of diploma from Naples were mostly used: in 1224 the emperor Frederick II in the rhetoric description of his new locus studii underlined its “proximity to the sea and riches of terrain fertility”, he claimed that there, “on the land and the seaside human life passes easily”¹⁸. Similar passages that were based on the Summa dictaminis of Pier della Vigna (*Delle Donne*, 2016) became an obligatory part of the later foundation diplomas. Good air, beautiful environs, healthy climate and accessibility of the city were mentioned in the bull of Salamanca (1255)¹⁹ and the diploma of Lleida²⁰. We can observe similar descriptions of locus studii in the heritage of Alfonso the Wise: Athens as an ideal city and an intellectual center in the General Estoria²¹ and the studium generale in the Second Partida²². Every rhetorical component of this description could become argument in the political polemic: especially the idea that subjects should not study “in other regions”²³ (in analyzed the Portuguese petition and in the foundation diploma of Lleida, where it was also borrowed from the diploma of Naples²⁴).

In the cases of electio studii we can observe that the city was the main locus of the university and gave a name to it. Though historians of universities often note that the legal concept of studium generale did not formally relate to the city and its legal space being based on the power of universal authorities (the Pope or the Emperor) (Ascheri, 2010; Gilli 2007, pp. 3–4). Nevertheless, the term studium civitatis (university of city, e.g. “studium Parisiensis”) is one of the key juridical fundaments (together with corporation-universitas) of forming university idea. According to the investigations of O. Weijers in the early XIII c. “studium” meant association of all the schools situated in one city (Weijers, 1979, p. 261). If a scholar leaved a privileged city of studium he lost student or doctor status (Dec. III. IV. 2.; Ullman, 1954, pp. 115–116), except a travel causa studii. Sometimes those cities were enumerated, for example, in constitutions of the Council of Vienne (1311–12): Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca²⁵. Corpora of privileges that could be transferred from an old and famous university to a new one are implicated to urban legal space (for example privileges of the University of Toulouse were conferred at the University of Lleida²⁶) (Gort Riera, 1997; Peset, 1998). So a medieval university can be defined as a

temporary unstable association of sojourned persons that was made in one city for studying (*studium*, see: Verger, 1983)²⁷.

City as a part of the legal space was a very important element of many conceptions related to the status of higher schools. Jurists from Bologna estimated the Studium as attribute of so-called civitas regia (royal city)²⁸. This opinion was based on the commentary to Justinian's constitution *De conceptione Digestorum (Omnem)* that specifies so-called urbes regiae: cities where the Codex must be sent and where it must be learnt only²⁹. Commentators believed that this status proceeded from the city's royal (or emperor's) foundation; therefore they paid big attention to the legendary foundation of Bologna (this theory was closely related to the spatial concepts: only the old part of Bologna was considered as civitas regia; therefore, university studies could be authentic only on one side of the Aposa river). Iberian royal documents of university foundations refer to the conception of civitas regia. So, the king Denis's diploma (March, 1, 1290) gave this name to locus of the new studium, Lisbon³⁰, unlike its usual title: "the most noble city"³¹. This statement should be observed as part of legitimization of Portuguese royal power (which was proclaimed equal to the Castilian or even Emperor's auctoritas): so we can observe one more case of "backward" legal power of founded studium generale and its status. Obviously, it was difficult to use this status in legal and spatial practices of the academic corporation. Papal bulls also regarded cities where they founded universities as homogeneous legal spaces. They "implanted" studium in the whole city without any distinction³². In borders of these conceptions, little attention was given to relations between university and municipal power. This vagueness of the legal sources led to conflicts between created academic corporations and citizens. For example, the University of Lisbon could not realize its privileges and moved to Coimbra because of such strokes in 1308³³ (Rusanov, 2014).

Universal privileges of students and professors hardly corresponded with the citizens' legal framework. Later, in the XIV – early XV cc. tradition of the common law tried to surmount this discrepancy. In the works of Bartolo from Sassoferato all privileges of the city of Bologna were extended to the scholars³⁴; Johannes of Platea generalized this extension to all the civitates studii³⁵. Nevertheless even in the XV c. it could hardly be realized. These conceptions required explicit separation of legal spaces of studium and city

(for example, like in Florence where we can observe a difference between lectures in civitate and in studio in the middle of the XIV c.). Later signs of this process became notable in Iberian universities. For example, in Portugal at the turn of the XV c. new formula became popular in university documents: “studium that stays in the city of Lisbon”³⁶ instead of the usual form: “studium of the city of Lisbon”. However, was there any own space of the university?

Locus Limitdus: University Quarter

Idea of honor was an important argument in the rhetoric of universities’ foundation. The *topos* of *electio loci* should demonstrate how the city was worthy of the university, but at the same time we can see another type of “honor relation”. According to rhetoric and juridical texts, the “model” universities “gave a part of their honor and glory” to their cities in spite of numerous conflicts between students and citizens (about so-called “town and gown” problem in the Middle Ages see: Bender, 1988, pp. 13–46; Gilli, Verger & Le Blévec, 2007; especially: Verger, 2007). In the “model” universities special academic quarters were formed spontaneously and gradually, and later they became an integral part of urban space³⁷. Authors of rhetorical texts tried to comprehend and analyze this integration. In the late XIII c. theologian Thomas of Hibernia wrote that Paris (similarly to the ideal city, Athens) is divided into three parts: one of artisans, the royal part (including court and Cathedral) – and the university quarter (Destemberg, 2015, pp. 41–42; Lusignan, 1997, pp. 71–72).

Iberian legal rhetoric also contained conception of “divided” glorious urban legal space. In cases of mentioned *electiones loci* the sovereign granted honor and mercy to the city by founding a university. This grace was given to the whole urban community (see the diploma of Lleida, 1300³⁸). Studium was estimated as a source of cultural and political prestige for the city along with its main treasures, for example royal graves (the grave of Ferdinand III of Castile in Salamanca according to the diploma of Alfonso X, 1254)³⁹.

In some documents the creators of universities passed from the political rhetoric of honor to the construction of a university quarter within urban space. They outlined locale of studium, allocating its activity and privileges “*infra loca limitada infra dictam civitatem*”. In the statutes of the University of Lleida “national” level of its prestige (that is observed above) was

combined with declaration of the created university quarter where nobody could defy students' and doctors' accommodation privileges⁴⁰. Sometimes locus limitatus (limited place) completely replaced the concept of the university city. So-called *Charta magna* of the University of Coimbra (1308, it is often called the first statutes of this studium) only mentioned the fact of royal choice of this place and gave no idea of *civitas studii*. According to this diploma, the main locus studii was an academic quarter (bairro, barrio). Rhetoric description proclaimed that nobody (especially knights and jugglers) was permitted to approach scholars' and doctors' houses and disturb members of academic corporation⁴¹.

We can also observe the solitude as a necessary attribute of locus studii in the 31st title of the Second partida. Observed tradition is related to the description of ideal school in "Rhetorica novissima" of Boncompagno de Signa (1235)⁴², it was elaborated in the works of Bolognese jurists of XIII–XIV cc. Already Henricus of Segusio (*Hostiensis*, d. 1271) opposed locus studii to its dangerous urban neighborhood. Later, when Baldus (1327–1400) described a "house of wisdom" that must be defended by the authority⁴³, the term "house" seemed to have as metaphoric as literal sense also implying halls, schools and accommodation of students. Odofredus (d. 1265) and later Bartolus (1313–1357) directly demanded to avert disturbing neighborhood of studium (especially craftsmen)⁴⁴. Sometimes these theoretic constructs were implemented under the patronage of church and temporal powers (see the case of the University of Paris: Lusignan, 1999, pp. 139–140).

Practices: Direction for Further Research

All the spatial concepts that were analyzed in this article combine elements of rhetoric and law, and presuppose unified system of the Catholic world: for example in observed sources we cannot find a universally received consistent idea of center and periphery. Now I adduce some examples of how university corporations used spatial conceptions in their practices. Every case should be observed in integrated regional context; so I just outline some directions for future researches.

It is important to underline that university spatial practices (in terms of Lefebvre, 1986) could be independent of general spatial concepts (and many spatial practices were not confirmed by juridical and rhetoric texts). For

example in early solemn descriptions of loci studii we do not find any mentions of special university public places where corporations could hold meetings and other collective acts. But based on the notarial acts we can see that the corporation of the Portuguese university used public urban spaces: in Coimbra it was the cloister of the Cathedral (the Sé)⁴⁵, in Lisbon – a place near the portal of the Sé⁴⁶. In the medieval studia production of their own space was realized with the concepts of written rhetoric and legal tradition, oral customs (that could never be written) and everyday practices. Consecutive study of this process based on various types of sources can throw light upon early social history of Iberian universities.

Sometimes practical institutions that supplied and produced spatial social relations were borrowed directly from the corporation law of the “model” universities. The most revealing case is an office of taxators (taxatores hospiciorum) – elective officials that controlled students’ accommodation rents (Gieysztor, 2003, p. 128–129). This institution was borrowed from the practice of the University of Bologna and became widespread in European studia generalia including Salamanca, Coimbra and Lleida (Val Valdivieso, 1988, p. 50–51; Martins, 2013, pp. 52–53). Study of taxators’ activity as a cross point of university and urban spatial legal systems seems to be a very productive way to analyze the social meaning of the space in the Middle Ages.

Another aspect of the further studies is use of the spatial concepts in academic economics. For example, it is necessary to ask one of the first obvious questions: who should pay for university? We can see that “rhetoric level” of locus studii was important for an answer. Such case relating to the University of Salamanca was observed by the Castilian King in 1305–1306. Primarily he ordered to exact a financial support for the studium from “the land”, but collected funds were not enough. Using argumentation that was related to the “universal” locus studii (there would be great damage to the king and to his land, and specially to the Church and to the city of Salamanca)⁴⁷, the king applied to the chapter of the city but it was denied under the threat of papal excommunication. After this the money for the university was given by the city Council; so another spatial concept (civitas studii) was realized. Analyzing the use of legal and rhetoric spatial concepts by powers and social actors (including university corporation), we can observe dynamics of economic and social life in the medieval universities.

In cases of continuity gaps the patterns of loci studii helped university corporations to produce and reproduce their own space. A significant example is the forming of academic quarter in Portugal: after the removal to Coimbra academic corporation insisted upon Almedina as its only locus in spite of cease of free buildings in this part of the city⁴⁸. When the university came back to Coimbra after staying in Lisbon (1338 – c. 1354), academics tried to reestablish their own quarter and caused new conflict with the citizens. In their complaint (1361) the scholars stated that their quarter (limited by the gates of Almedina) had loosed its significant part⁴⁹. After removal to Lisbon the academic corporation demanded “restauration” of its locus limitatus in concrete borders in spite of the lack of confirmatory documents; this demand seemed to remain only a proclamation⁵⁰. Only in the XV c. academic quarter became a usual part of space that appeared in notarial and juridical documents⁵¹, including texts and actors that were not related to the university⁵². By the beginning of the 1430s it became obvious that the university needed its own buildings⁵³, in 1431 they were bought by Infante Henrique the Navigator, who was the protector of the studium⁵⁴. From the same time in Coimbra and Salamanca the first known representations of university space in art are known (Afonso, 2013; Lahoz, 2009). Those phenomena seem to indicate a new period of university spatial concepts in Iberia.

The study of rhetoric and legal spatial concepts can help to mark out new aspects of social life in the Iberian universities in the first ages of their existence. We can amplify reconstructions of the university corporations and investigations of the medieval corporative understanding of time (especially politics of memory) with analysis of social meaning of space that was inherent in the activity of the first Spanish and Portuguese professors and students.

Notes

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¹ See also: Clem. Lib. 5. Tit. 1. Cap. 2. Here and further *Corpus juris canonici* cf.: Richter, 1959.

² “Queritur autem de magistris aliis regentibus parisiis vel bononie vel neapoli vel aliis locis” (Gottofredo da Trani, 1519 (1968), fl. 204v.) “...vel de jura, puta cancellario Parisiensi, & archidiacono Bononiensi magistro scholarum...” (Henricus a Segusio, 1612, col. 1345)

³ “Sed & si cui indultum fuerit, ut in studio fructus suarum percipiat praebendarum, de studio generali intellegendum est, non de studio speciali alicujus castri, vel villae, cum hoc in fraudem fiat...” (Henricus a Segusio, 1612, col. 1347)

⁴ “...quorum scientia illuminatur mundus ad obediendum deo et nobis, eius ministris, vita subiectorum informatur” (Stelzer, 1978, s. 165)

⁵ “Nam per scientiam mundus illuminatur et vita subiectorum ad obedienciam Deo et ministries eis plenius et fidelius informatur...” (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 6–7 (doc. 2))

⁶ “ad partes longicas ratione studij se transferre” (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 6 (doc. 2))

⁷ Cf. the juridical conception of “studia generalia respect regni” in its classic reconstruction in Rashdall, 1895, vol. I, pp. 12–15.

⁸ “desiderans regna tibi divini muneric largitate concessa, inextiguibili sapientie lumine illustrari, eaque sanis peritorum consiliis et maturitate fulciri...” (Beltrán de Heredia, 1966, p. 320 (doc. 10))

⁹ “...quia per hoc non solum Palentia sed tota solebat Hispania spiritualis et temporalis persipere commoditatis augmentum” (Beltrán de Heredia, 1966, p. 326 (doc. 20))

¹⁰ For example, idea of *translatio studii* in France, see: Lusignan, 1997.

¹¹ “...quod multitudo sapientium sanitas est regnum, quodque non minus prudentum consilio quam strenuitate vel fortitudine robustorum, regnum ipsorum moderamina disponantur...” (Beltrán de Heredia, 1966, p. 320 (doc. 10))

¹² Cf. a combination of observed images: “Scientie thesaurus mirabilis qui dum plus dispergitur incrementum maioris suscipit ubertatis mundum spiritualiter & temporaliter dignoscitur illustrare...” (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 10 (doc. 4)) About another important metaphor, “garden of knowledge” concerning Palencia see: Fuente, 2012, pp. 13–31.

¹³ “...ut ad loca, in quibus litterarum exercantur studia, tam ipsi quam eorum [imperatoris] nuntii veniant et habitant in eis securi” (Stelzer, 1978, s. 165)

¹⁴ Commentators also interpreted this privilege as the liberation from all kinds of tolls during a travel, see: Ullman, 1954.

¹⁵ “verum quia relatione quorum dam intelleximus non nullos ex uarijs partibus ad dictum nostrum studium accessuros si ibidem corporum & rerum Securitate gauderent nos ipsum uolentes bonis conditionibus ampliare omnibus ibidem studentibus uel in posterum studere uolentibus plenam securetatem presentibus pollicemur nec ipsos per aliquem uel aliquos quantecumque dignitatis existant permittemus offendjs edeos ad iniurijs & uolentiis curabimus largiente domino deffensare”. (Moreira de Sá, 1966, pp. 10–11 (doc. 4))

¹⁶ “otorgo que los Escolares que estudiaren en Salamanca que non den portadgo por quantas cosas aduxieren para si mismos ellos o sos omes por ellos nin de ida nin de uenida” (Beltrán de Heredia, 2001, p. 630. (doc. 6))

¹⁷ “Item concedimus eidem studio, quod doctors, magistri, scolares et omnes alii superius nominate, cum familia, et rebus suis, possint libere et secure ad ipsum studium venire, et morari in ipso sub fide nostra undecumque sint...” (Rubió y Lluch, 2000, p. 18 (doc. 16))

¹⁸ “Tam marine vicinitatis habilitas quam terrene fertilitatis fecunditas... Napolim, amenissimam civitatem, ubi... vita hominum per terras et maritimas facile transvehuntur”. (Huillard-Breholles, 1852, pp. 447–451)

¹⁹ “apud Salamantinam civitatem, et locum in regno tuo Legionensi salubritate aeris et quibuslibet opportunitatibus paelectum... generale studium statuisti» (Beltrán de Heredia, 1966, p. 320 (doc. 10))

²⁰ “ipsam nempe civitatem ad hoc aptiorem elegimus tanquam locum comunem et quasi regnorum et terrarum nostrarum intermedium quoddam, fertilitate viciualium opulentum, aeris temperantia moderatum, aquarum et fluminum abundancia circunspectum, nobilitate civium insignitum ac decente populo decoratum...” (Rubió i LLuch, 2000, p. 17 (doc. 16))

²¹ See: Rucquoi, 1998, pp. 740–743.

²² «...de buen ayre e de fermosas sallidas deve ser la villa o quieren establecer el Estudio, porque los maestros que muestran los saberes e los escolares que los aprenden vivan sanos en él, et puedan folgar e rrescebir plazer a la tarde, quando se levantaren cansados del estudio». (Alfonso, 1555 (1985), fl. 115)

²³ “...ut nec potissime nostros fideles et subditos pro investigandis scientiis naciones peregrinas expetere nec in alienis ipsos opporeat regionibus mendicare” (Rubió y Lluch, 2000, p. 14 (doc. 15))

²⁴ “compellantur ad investigandas scientias peregrinas nationes expetere, nec in alienis regionibus mendicare” (See: Delle Donne, 2016, pp. 317–318).

²⁵ “...hoc sacro approbante concilio scholas in subscriptarum linguarum generibus, ubicunque Romanam curiam residere contigerit, nec non in Parisiensi et Oxoniensi, Bononiensi et Salamantino studiis providimus erigendas, statuentes, ut in quolibet locorum ipsorum teneantur viri catholici, sufficientem habentes hebraicae, arabicae et chaldaeae linguarum notitiam...” (Clem. Lib. 5. Tit. 1. De magistris, et ne aliquid exigatur pro licentia docendi. Cap. 1)

²⁶ “...concedendum ut in aliqua civitate vel loco terre nostre insigni fundare vel ordinare possemus studium generale, et quod idem studium postquam per nos existeret ordinatum eisdem graciis, privilegiis et indulgenciis gauderet omnino que a Sede Apostolica Tholosano studio sunt concesse...”(Rubió y Lluch, 2000, p. 14 (doc. 15))

²⁷ In Iberian documents members are often called “residentes”: “...e nom podem star residentes e continuar seu studio como lhes he compridoyer...” (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 222 (doc. 211).)

²⁸ This conception was mostly projected on the status of Bologna itself, e.g. commentary of Odofredus (d. 1265): “...ista tria volumina... debent legi et doceri in regiis civitatibus, scilicet in urbe Romae et Constantinopolis vel in Beritensium civitate quae est ultra mare, et non in aliis civitatibus... Leges debent doceri in regiis civitatibus... unde Bononiae possunt leges quia

regia civitas est.... » (Odofredus. Interpretatio ad proem. Pandect. ad. Haec autem tria. Cf.: Ermini, 1942, p. 13)

²⁹ “tam in regiis urbibus, quam in Berytiensium pulcherrima civitate... et non in aliis locis quae a maioribus tale non merurint privilegium” (Krueger & Mommsen, 1870, vol. I, p. XXXI).

³⁰ “apud vlixbonensem ciuitatem regiam...” (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 10 (doc. 4))

³¹ E.g.: “apud nobilissimam suam ciuitatem ulixbonensem”. (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 7 (doc. 2)) See: Fleisch, 2006, ss. 346–356.

³² See the bull of 1290 of the Portuguese university: “studia in ciuitate vlixbonensi sunt de nouo non sine multa et laudabili prouisione plantata” (In: Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 13 (doc. 6))

³³ “cum propter grauiam dissensiones et scandala exorta postmodum inter ciues Ciuitates eiusdem ex parte una et scolares ibidem studentes ex altera...”. (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 39 (doc. 22))

³⁴ “Sed pone, statuto bononiensi cavitur, ut scholares forenses pro civibus habentur in omnibus, an tunc habebunt privilegium huius authenticae. Ego tenui, licet transitorie, quod sic... et idem nunc teneo”. (Cf.: Ullmann, 1954, p. 113)

³⁵ “Licet scholares non habeant domicilium in loco studii, tamen adhuc gaudent privilegiis illius civitatis, in qua student” (Johannes de Platea. *Comm. ad X. De incolis. l. cives.*; Cf.: Ibid.)

³⁶ E.g., “os Rectores e vniuersidade do nosso studio que sta em essa çidade”. (Moreira de Sá, 1968, p. 226 (doc. 486))

³⁷ See famous description of Paris and *la Rive gauche* in *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* by John of Jandun (d. 1323): Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand, 1867, pp. 33–37.

³⁸ “...volentes ciuitatem eandem hujusmodi gratie nostre prerogativa potiri tantique honoris titulis decorari gratis et ex certa scientia ciuitatem predictam... ad generale studium pre ceteris locis et ciuitatibus terre nostre eligimus... volentes ac firmiter statuentes ut in ipsa ciuitate sit studium generale...” (Rubió y Lluch, 2000, p. 14 (doc. 15))

³⁹ “he de facer bien e merced e levar adelante a la noble ciudad de Sevilla e de enriquecerla e ennoblecer más, porque es de las más honradas e de las mejores ciudades de España, e porque yase hi enterrado el muy honrado rey don Ferrando mío padre que la ganó de moros e la pobló de cristianos a muy gran loor e grant servicio de Dios e a honra e a pro de todo crisitianismo, e porque yo fui con él en ganarla e en poblarla, otorgo que que aya hi Estudio e Escuelas generales de latín e de arábigo” (Beltrán de Heredia, 2001, p. 607 (doc. 24))

⁴⁰ “item ut idem studentes in majori quite ac firmiori securitate permaneat, statuimus et ordinamus quod nullus privatus vel extraneus tam audax reperiatur quod infra loca limitada infra dictam ciuitatem et ad habitacionem dictorum studencium specialiter assignada presumant contra ipsos doctores, magistros, scolares eorumque familiares et omnes alias supradictos...” (Rubió y Lluch, 2000, p. 19 (doc. 16))

⁴¹ “studendi omnimodam preparemus quod cura exsequimur vigilanti dum ab eis negotiorum secularum et strepitus militaris necnom mundane dilectionis appetitum vt possumus amouemus projnde volumus et mandamus nostris comilitonibus eorum armigeris et rapaucibus necnom vnuersis soldadeiris regni nostri et omnibus instrionibus acque mimis vt dejnceptis ad domos scolarium uel doctorum causa ibidem hospitandi uel comedendi non adeant declinare jnsuper prohibentes mjmjs et saldaderijs supradictis ne a supradictis

scolaribus aliquid presumant petere uel allias colore quesito exigere..." (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 46 (doc. 25)).

⁴² "Domus scholastice discipline in libero et puro aere construatur. Remota sit a frequentationibus mulierum, a clamoribus fori, ab equorum strepitu, a navigio, a latratu canum, a nocivis rumoribus... Due autem vel tres fenestre taliter disponantur, quod magister interdum et maxime in ameno tempore valeat exteriores partes, arbores, hortos, et pomeria intueri, quoniam in visione rerum delectabilium memoria roboratur...". (Gaudenzi, 1892, vol. II, p. 288. (8.1.20.))

⁴³ "Ideo priores, quando expedit, debent mittere armatos ad domum sapientiae, nam est quoddam sacrilegium ibi offendere". (Cf.: Ullmann, 1954, p. 112)

⁴⁴ "Scholares vel doctores possent repellere fabrum, qui stat juxta scholas vel compellere ne malleat propter publicam utilitatem, ut res publica peritis hominibus repleatur" (*Bartholus. Infort. De sol. matr., lex. I.*); "haec lex potest allegari contra malos vicinos scholarium, qui impediunt eos legere, si moniti nolunt abstinere" (*Odofredus*). (Cf.: Ullmann, 1954, p. 118)

⁴⁵"a crasta da see" (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 277 (doc. 258))

⁴⁶"a porta da igreja catradal da cidade de lixboa" (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 279 (doc. 824))

⁴⁷ "sería muy gran danno del rey e de todo el reino e señaladamente de la iglesia e de la villa de Salamanca do se perecía tan noble cosa e tan hondrada como el Estudio" (Beltrán de Heredia, 2001, p. 628 (doc. 48))

⁴⁸ "a vnjuersidade... me dise que per razam de mjngoa de casas que em esse logo dalmedina leixam alguuns scolares do meu senhorio e de fora parte de vijnrem ao studio e que uerfám mais compridamente se entenedesem e soubesem que as poderiam auer e que em esse logo dalmedina ha pardieiros e casas derribadas que se fossem feitas auerfam comprimento de casas para morar e que pero a esses seus donos forom tempos asñados a que se fizesem que as nom querem fazer...". (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 61 (doc. 39))

⁴⁹ "elles aujam seu bayrro limjtado des a porta dalmedina". (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 217 (doc. 217)).

⁵⁰ "pois mijinha merçee era de os scollares desse studio teerem scollas e leere em no arrualde desa çidade que fosse minha merçeede lhes mandar dar scollas conuenhaues em que podessem leer e outrosy pousadas aos dittos scollares em poussasem por sseus dinheiros". (Moreira de Sá, 1966, p. 292 (doc. 272))

⁵¹ "humas cassas que nos auemos na çidade de lixboa no bairoo dos escolares" (Moreira de Sá, 1970, p. 396 (doc. 1322)); "Item littera quod servetur barrium ipsorum scollarium" (Rodrigues, 1991, p. 26).

⁵² E.g. in 1475: "...casas na dita frequesia na rua que vai do bairro dos escolares para a porta do Cruz". (Cf.: Farelo, 2013, p. 194)

⁵³"nom tijinha casas proprias em que leesem e fezesem seus autos escolasticos de todas as sciencias, ante andaua senpre". (Moreira de Sá, 1968, p. 300 (doc. 576)).

⁵⁴ In: Moreira de Sá, 1970, pp. 29–30 (doc. 956)

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