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Why Were There Almost No Matriculation Registers in Late Medieval European Universities—Except in Those of the German Empire? *

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In European university history there is a consensus that general matriculation registers—official student enrollment books—were kept by the rectors of universities in the old Roman-German Empire, but not in many other countries. This has been noted with regret, since comparisons, for example, of student mobility or frequency between European countries are difficult, sometimes nearly impossible, to make. But why is this the case? Are the many wars, catastrophes, and crises in European history to blame, causing collective archive loss in many countries, but, strangely, somehow not in the middle of Europe? Let us first take inventory and examine the existence—or non-existence—of general matriculation registers in Europe, and then try to answer the question of ‘why’ or ‘why not.’

1. INVENTORY

With few exceptions, students of the late Middle Ages were required by the universities’ statutes to join a master or professor of their choice. In this way, students became members of a social community. Yet, only by enrolling did they become *membra* or *supposita universitatis*: members in the full sense of the legal and privileged community of a university. The enrollment (*immatriculatio*, also called *inscriptio*, *registratio*, or *intitulatio*)

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was a formal, constitutive act.¹ In spite of some differences in the details from one university to another, this always included the taking of an oath of enrollment, the payment of fees (or exemption from them), and the entry of the name, together with information on geographical origin and the date, in a specially created register book, usually called *matricula*, *album* or *registrum*.² This book documented the oath and payment made by each enrollee. In some instances, it also documented that some information was missing at the moment of enrollment that would need to be completed later. Further, the book documented the fact that the enrollee was now a member of the university for life. Repeated enrollment when changing universities or after returning from home was therefore unnecessary, and in fact rare. As late as the fifteenth century, some universities started numbering their *membra* from their foundation to their present day.³

¹ For the enrollment procedure see Jacques Paquet, 'L'immatriculation des étudiants dans les universités médiévales', in *Pascua Mediaevalia. Studies voor Prof. Dr. J.M. de Smet*, ed. Robrecht Lievens (Louvain, 1983), 159–71; idem, *Les matricules universitaires: Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, Vol. 65 (Turnhout, 1992), 35–45; Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Admission', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Walter Rüegg, Vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1992), 171–94, 177–82; idem, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des alten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1986), 23–6, 714–15 (Register).

² On source typology see Paquet, *Matricules*, 14–19; Astrik L. Gabriel, 'Matriculation Books at Medieval Universities', *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996), 459–68; Ulrich Rasche, 'Über die deutschen, insbesondere über die Jenaer Universitätsmatrikeln', *Genealogie. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Familienkunde* 25 (2000), 29–46; Ingrid Matschinneg, 'Universitäre Massenquellen (Matrikeln, Akten)', in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, eds. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz and Thomas Winkelbauer (Munich, 2004), 714–724; Susanne Häcker and Florian Lang, 'Hochschulmatrikel', in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, Vol. 5 (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2007), 549–51; Matthias Asche and Susanne Häcker, 'Matrikeln', in *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven*, ed. Ulrich Rasche (Wiesbaden, 2011), 243–67; Maximilian Schuh, 'Matrikeln', in *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13.–16. Jahrhundert. Ein interdisziplinäres Quellen- und Methodenhandbuch*, eds. Jan-Hendryk de Boer, Marian Füssel and Maximilian Schuh (Stuttgart, 2017), 103–17. For a German version of this article, more focused on cultural ranges of university spaces in Europe, see Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Warum gab es fast nur im deutschen Reich allgemeine Universitätsmatrikeln? Eine Frage der Reichweite', in *Reichweiten. Dynamiken und Grenzen kultureller Transferprozesse in Europa, 1400–1520*, Vol. 1: *Internationale Stile – Voraussetzungen, soziale Verankerungen, Fallstudien (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 49/1)*, eds. Nikolaus Henkel, Thomas Noll and Frank Rexroth (Berlin/Boston, 2020), 37–58.

³ Cf. e.g., University of Erfurt, *a summa [intitulatorum (omnium)] per rectorate since 1392/1394, Acten der Erfurter Universität, Vol. 1: Allgemeine Studentenmatrikel, erste Hälfte 1392–1492*, ed. Johann Christian Hermann Weissenborn (Halle an der Saale, 1881, reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1976), 43 etc.; University of Ingolstadt, since the opening of 1472 every hundredth person has been counted: *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landsbut-München, Part I: Ingolstadt, Vol. 1: 1472–1600*, ed. Götz von Pölnitz (Munich, 1937), 10, 13, 66 etc.; University of Leipzig, from 1409 to 1524 a *numerus omnium ab initio universitatis huiusque inscriptorum 36231*: *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, Vol. 1, ed. Georg Erler (Leipzig, 1895, reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1976), 591.

Hence, although the register was part of the university's administrative records, it was also more than that: it was the most important symbol of the corporation and its cultural identity and a medium of communication of both local and nationwide significance. In the register, the entire catchment area of the university was represented, as can be visualized, for example, for the German Universities of Heidelberg and Cologne (Figure 1).⁴ To better differentiate those registers from other types of writings—faculty or college registers, or registers of university nations—one speaks of general university or rectorate registers, linking them with the responsible management office.⁵ These registers, written in Latin until the nineteenth century,⁶ also bore the character of legal documents and became evidence whenever necessary, for example in disputes with local authorities or when student canons had to prove to their chapter that they really had attended university. An example is Balthasar Stricher from Waiblingen, who was fortunate in 1472 that the rector of Freiburg in Breisgau still remembered him, *quamvis in matricula non repertus sit*.⁷

This was the state of affairs in the Holy Roman Empire from the late fourteenth century to the sixteenth century. We can include the universities in northern and eastern Europe that were within the Empire's sphere of cultural influence. Consequently, there are extant general or rectorate registers in Krakow (Poland) and St. Andrews (Scotland), and there probably were some in Glasgow and Aberdeen (Scotland), Copenhagen (Denmark), and Uppsala (Sweden), though they did not survive.⁸ Unfortunately,

⁴ See Rainer Christoph Schwings, 'The Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) and the Geography of German Universities and Academics (1350–1550)', in *Geographies of the University: Knowledge and Space*, Vol. 12, eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan and Laura Suarsana (Cham, 2018), 23–42, open access: <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-75593-9>; a series of scenarios can be found in the RAG database: rag-online.org. On a previous study, based on samples, see idem, 'Entre régionalité et mobilité: Les effectifs des universités dans l'Empire romain germanique aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in *Les Échanges entre les Universités Européennes à la Renaissance*, eds. Michel Bideaux and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard (Geneva, 2003), 359–73.

⁵ Paquet, *Matricules*, 16–20.

⁶ Jürgen Schiewe, *Sprachenwechsel – Funktionen – Wandel – Austausch der Denkstile. Die Universität Freiburg zwischen Latein und Deutsch* (Tübingen, 1996), 221–23.

⁷ *Die Matrikel der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau von 1460 bis 1556*, Vol. 1, ed. Hermann Mayer (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1907, reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1976), 231.

⁸ *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508: Metrica universitatis Cracoviensis a. 1400–1508*, eds. Antoni Gašiorowski, Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Skierska (Krakow, 2004); *Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509–1551*, eds. idem (Warsaw, 2010); James Maitland Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews: the Graduation Roll, 1413–1579 and the Matriculation Roll, 1473–1579* (Edinburgh, 1926); from Glasgow, only lists of names are handed down in the annals of the university, see Cosmo Innes, *Munimenta alme universitatis Glasguensis*, Vol. 2: 1451–1558 (Glasgow, 1854), 55–177; but nothing is really known from Aberdeen and Uppsala, cf. Paquet,



Figure 1. Catchment areas of the Universities of Heidelberg (1386), in grey, and Cologne (1388), in black, until 1550.

Source and copyright: Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG), rag-online.org.

nothing is known about the Hungarian universities and their records.⁹ For the German universities, in contrast, there is an unsurpassed wealth of general registers. They are almost complete from the time of the universities'

Matricules, 17; For Copenhagen see Ejvind Slottved and Ditlev Tamm, *The University of Copenhagen. A Danish Centre of Learning since 1479* (Copenhagen, 2009), 14.

⁹ For an overview of the available sources see László Domonkos, 'The Founding (1395) and Refounding (1410) of the University of Óbuda', in *Universitas Budensis 1395–1995. International Conference for the History of Universities on the Occasion of the 600th Anniversary of the Foundation of the University of Buda*, eds. László Szógi and Júlia Varga (Budapest, 1997), 19–34.

foundation to the twentieth century. They allow research for the Empire (and Poland) that is impossible elsewhere in Europe. I mention the registers in the order in which the universities were founded:¹⁰ Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipzig, Rostock, Leuven, Greifswald, Freiburg in Breisgau, Basel, Ingolstadt, Tübingen, Wittenberg, Frankfurt/Oder, Marburg, Königsberg and Jena—to name only those founded before the middle of the sixteenth century. In the French-speaking areas of the Empire mention can be made of the University of Dôle in Burgundy, which started keeping a register in 1498 (Figure 2).¹¹ The rectorate



Figure 2. Matricule de l'Université de Dôle 1498–1525. Bibliothèque publique de Besançon, Ms 982, fol. 1r and 12r. Reprinted with permission.

¹⁰ Directories of the editions offers Paquet, *Matricules*, 100–111; mise à jour: Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen, *Les matricules universitaires* (Turnhout, 2003); Eva Giessler-Wirsig and Johanna Böhm-Klein, 'Universitäts- und Hochschulmatriceln', in *Taschenbuch für Familiengeschichtsforschung*, eds. Wolfgang Ribbe and Eckart Henning (Innsingen, 13th ed. 2006), 167–170, and a documentation on Compact Disk, 96–132.

¹¹ Besançon, Archives Municipales, MS. 982: *Annales rectorum et matricula Universitatis Dolanae ab anno 1498 ad annum 1525*; MS. 983: *Annales [...] ab anno 1540 ad annum 1557* (digital copies available); cf. George Gazier, 'Les Annales des recteurs de l'université de Dôle', *Mémoire de la Société d'Émulation du Jura* 6 (1937), 75–86; Kaspar Gubler, 'Universitas Dolana. Juristen- und Transituniversität im Land der Legisten (1498–1601), in *Gelehrte Lebenswelten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. Kaspar Gubler and Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Zurich, 2018), 107–128 (open access: https://vdf.ch/gelehrte-lebenswelten-im-15-und-16-jahrhundert-e-book.html?collection_id=35).

registers of the universities of Wuerzburg (first foundation of 1402), Trier, and Mainz which once existed are the only ones that failed to survive.

In all other regions, from Northwestern Europe to Southern Europe, university rectors hardly ever kept general matriculation registers: neither in Italy, nor in France, Spain, Portugal or England. This was the case despite the fact that the statutes of the universities in these countries, especially in Italy and France, included an *inregistratio* among the rector's duties since the early fourteenth century.¹² Of course statutes are always subject to disposition, but there is not the slightest indication that general registers were ever kept, at least not before the early sixteenth century. Individual documents that suggest otherwise need to be read carefully, and one must not be deceived by the appearance of the word *matricula*. Lists certainly existed in the West and in the South, but mostly of individual years, such as among the lawyers of Pavia (around 1390) and Ferrara (1447), among the physicians and artists of Bologna (1405, 1442), or more generally in Florence (1387), Rome (1451), Perugia (fifteenth/sixteenth century),¹³ and Padua (1385).¹⁴ As Jacques Paquet stated succinctly in 1992: 'Quelques listes d'étudiants, oui; matricules, non'.¹⁵

As the individual records indicate, registration did take place everywhere. At first, the masters of the arts faculties (in Oxford, Cambridge and Paris) began keeping individual records, by the mid-thirteenth century, under the pressure of increasing numbers of scholars. This occurred in Oxford before 1231; in Cambridge between 1236 to 1254;¹⁶ and in Paris before the faculty of arts made a formal decision about registration in 1289. A master's matriculation list (*matricula magistri, rotulus, cedula*) was to serve as a guide, to control the enrollment of students in certain academic courses, but especially to separate actual students from pretenders

¹² See Heinrich Denifle, 'Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Bologna vom Jahre 1317–1347, und deren Verhältnis zu jenen Paduas, Perugias, Florenz', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1887), 196–397, 358: *Et habeat quilibet rector matriculam, in qua iuratorum [i.e. scolarium] nomina describantur*; idem, 'Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Padua vom Jahre 1331', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1892), 309–562, 410.

¹³ Paquet, *Matricules*, 16–17; for Perugia see now Anna Alberti, 'Fonti inedite di archivio per la storia dello Studium Perusinum (secc. XV–XVI)', *Annali di storia delle Università italiane* 18 (2014), 101–113.

¹⁴ Erice Rigoni, 'Il tribunale degli scolari dell'Università di Padova nel medioevo', *Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Padova, Classe di Scienze morali – Nuova Serie – Vol. LIX* (Padua, 1943), 19–34, 33. I thank very much Prof. Donato Gallo (Padua) for the reference to this article.

¹⁵ Paquet, *Matricules*, 17, note 18. See also Peter Denley, 'Recent Studies on Italian Universities of the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *History of Universities* 1 (1981), 193–205, 202.

¹⁶ Cf. *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. Strickland Gibson (Oxford, 1931), 60–61, 82, 107, 227; M. B. Hackett, *The original Statutes of Cambridge University. The Text and its History* (New York, 1970), 72, 211, 330.

who sought to enjoy university privileges: *boni ac legitimi aut ficticii scolares discernere*.¹⁷ Later, masters of other faculties also drew up lists of names (*cedulae*), handing them over to their faculty, out of which genuine faculty registers emerged—probably around the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁸ Understandably, nearly none of these *rotuli* or *cedulae* have survived: they were private rather than official documents. Insofar as faculty registers are concerned, however, the reasons for their survival were different. Faculties, otherwise known as *fraternitates* of men, were special social associations dedicated to a particular discipline, who rarely registered members other than advanced students: bachelors and masters of arts or doctors. There often existed a wide variety of writings, and the similitude to catalogues of graduates (as in the case of the Parisian theologians since 1373, for example) should not be overlooked.¹⁹

Student associations of the so-called university nations in the Holy Roman Empire also kept enrollment registers from early on. Here the *nationes*—the *cellulae universitatis*, as they were called in Italy²⁰—probably took care of the enrollment of their members themselves from the beginning, in accordance with their social constitutions.²¹ The procurators of individual university nations held office in the same way as masters, deans, and later, rectors did. The oldest and most important register of this kind for Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe is the *Matricula nationis Germanicae* of Bologna, which was kept from 1289 until the eighteenth century.²² It was followed by other German nation registers at Italian universities²³ and, since 1444, by the matriculation books of the German

¹⁷ Cf. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, Vol. 1*, eds. Heinrich Denifle and Émile Châtelain (Paris 1889), 35–6, no. 561.

¹⁸ See Paquet, 'Immatriculation', 161–62; idem, *Matricules*, 20–22.

¹⁹ Ibidem; Jana Madlen Schütte, 'Akten: Rektorats-, Senats- und Fakultätsakten', in Gelehrtenkultur, eds. Jan Hendryk de Boer et al., 39–50. See e.g., also for what you can do with simple lists, Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373–1500. A Biographical Register. Vol. 1: The Religious Orders* (Leiden and Boston, 2004); Vol. 2: *The Secular Clergy* (Leiden and Boston, 2011).

²⁰ Denifle, 'Statuten Bologna', 361; Paquet, *Matricules*, 22–3.

²¹ For a general overview see now Jana Madlen Schütte, 'Nationenbücher', in Gelehrtenkultur, eds. Jan Hendryk de Boer et al., 119–127.

²² *Acta Nationis Germanicae Universitatis Bononiensis (1289–1543)*, eds. Ernst Friedländer and Carlo Malagola (Berlin, 1887); *Natio Germanica Bononiae. La matricola 1573–1602, 1707–1727*, eds. Maria Luisa Accorsi and Claudia Zonta (Bologna, 1999).

²³ See for an overview Fritz Weigle, 'Die Deutschen Nationen an den italienischen Universitäten des Mittelalters und bis 1800', *Einst und Jetzt. Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung* 2 (1957), 12–22; idem, *Die Matrikel der Deutschen Nation in Perugia (1579–1727). Ergänzt nach den Promotionsakten, den Consiliarwahllisten und der Matrikel der Universität Perugia im Zeitraum von 1498–1791* (Tübingen, 1956); idem, *Die Matrikel der deutschen Nation in Siena (1573–1738)*, 2 Vol. (Tübingen, 1962); *Matricola Nationis Germanicae Artistarum in Gymnasio Patavino (1553–1721)*, ed. Lucia Rossetti

nation in Orléans, the *Libri procuratorum*.²⁴ The nation books of the University of Bourges, the *Matricula inclytæ nationis Germanicæ ac Belgicæ in Academia Bituricensi*, began soon after 1488, but it is only preserved from a much later time.²⁵ However, these nation registers should not be confused with those of Paris, which only recorded the graduates of the *artes liberales* in the individual nations. In addition to the Picardy and French nations, the best preserved are the *libri procuratorum* of the English–German nation from 1333 onwards.²⁶ Is it, then, pure coincidence that of all the nations only the registers of the German nations survive in a more or less complete form?

Of course, universities produced other types of registers, too, but I can only mention them in general terms.²⁷ There existed various college books, deanery files, and handbooks, books of account (*libri receptorum*, among many others, the important account book of the University of Avignon²⁸), even special registers of poor students,²⁹ the so-called *rotuli* to be sent to

(Padua, 1986); *Matricula Nationis Germanicæ Iuristarum in Gymnasio Patavino I (1546–1605)*, ed. Elisabetta Dalla Francesca Hellmann (Padua, 2007).

²⁴ *Premier Livre des procureurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Université d'Orléans, 1444–1546, Part 1: Texte des rapports des procureurs*, eds. Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Leiden, 1971); *Part 2, 1–3: Biographies des étudiants*, eds. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Detlef Illmer and Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff (Leiden, 1978–1985); *Deuxième Livre des Procureurs... 1546–1567, Part 1, 1–2: Texte des rapports des procureurs*, eds. Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff and Chris L. Heesakkers (Leiden, 1988); *Troisième Livre des procureurs... 1567–1587*, eds. Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff, Hilde De Ridder-Symoens and Chris L. Heesakkers (Leiden, 2013); *Quatrième Livre des procureurs... 1587–1602*, eds. Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Leiden, 2015).

²⁵ See Willem Frijhoff, 'Matricule de la Nation germano-néerlandaise de Bourges: Le second registre (1642–1671) retrouvé et de nouveau transcrit', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 11 (1984), 83–116, 86.

²⁶ *Auctarium Chartularii Parisiensis: Liber procuratorum nationis Anglicanæ (Alemannicæ) in universitate Pariensi. Vol. 1: 1333–1406, Vol. 2: 1406–1466*, eds. Heinrich Denifle and Émile Châtelain (Paris, 1894, 1897); *Vol. 3: 1466–1492*, eds. Charles Samaran and Émile-Aurèle Van Moë (Paris, 1935). *Vol. 6: Liber receptorum nationis Alemannicæ ab anno MCCCCXXV ad annum MCCCCXCIV*, eds. Astrik L. Gabriel and Gray C. Boyce (Paris, 1964). See Mineo Tanaka, *La nation angloallemande de l'Université de Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge: Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Vol. 20* (Paris, 1990). For the other nations see *Auctarium Chartularii Parisiensis Vol. 4: Liber procuratorum nationis Picardicæ in universitate Pariensi, 1476–1484*, eds. Charles Samaran and Émile-Aurèle Van Moë (Paris, 1938); *Vol. 5: Liber procuratorum nationis Gallicanæ (Franciæ) in universitate Pariensi, 1443–1456*, eds. Charles Samaran and Émile-Aurèle Van Moë (Paris, 1942).

²⁷ See Paquet, *Matricules*, 23–35; Bultot-Verleysen, *Matricules*, 3–8; Matschinegg, 'Massenquellen', 714–24; Schuh, 'Matrikeln', 112–15; Schütte, 'Akten', 39–50.

²⁸ Still unedited (Archives départementales du Vaucluse, D 133–135), see Jacques Verger, 'Les comptes de l'université d'Avignon (1430–1512)', in *Les universités à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du congrès international de Louvain, 26–30 mai 1975*, eds. Jacques Paquet and Jozef Ijsewijn (Leuven, 1978), 190–209.

²⁹ See John M. Fletcher, *The Liber taxatorum of Poor Students at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau* (Notre Dame, 1969).

the Pope to ask for benefices,³⁰ and furthermore notarial records and testimonials (*libri testimoniales*),³¹ or graduation files and doctoral directories (*acta promotionum*).³² The latter include, for example, the *Acta graduum* of the University of Padua which have been compiled from various other types of sources.³³

2. WHY WERE THERE NO GENERAL OR RECTORATE REGISTERS ELSEWHERE?

As shown above, medieval universities produced great amounts of diverse written materials for administrative purposes. Yet, while other types of university records, from faculty and nation registers to deanery files and graduation lists, were available at all universities from the beginning, i.e., from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, the general rectorate registers remained a feature unique to German-Central Europe, including their influence on northern and eastern regions, and those where roman-*esque* languages were spoken. It would take some two centuries before such registers became common also in the rest of Europe, as a central documentation of the overall holdings and of the daily intake of newcomers. But the progress was sluggish, as can be seen from the example of the medical university of Montpellier, where such registers were introduced only in 1503,³⁴ or from the example of Perugia that is probably the oldest preserved rectorate register in Italy. Although the university was founded in 1487, enrollment began only in 1511, and then only sparsely; a

³⁰ E.g., Rotuli Parisienses. Supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris, eds. William J. Courtenay and Eric D. Goddard, 3 Vols. (Leiden and Boston, 2002–2013). For an overview see Bruno Boute and Tobias Daniels, 'Rotuli und Supplicken', in *Gelehrtenkultur*, eds. Jan Hendryk de Boer et al., 139–52.

³¹ Cf. e.g., Jürg Schmutz, 'Notariatsakten als prosopographische Quelle für die Universitätsgeschichte. Ein Neuanatz zur Auswertung der «Memoriali del Comune» von Bologna', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 76 (1996), 125–46.

³² See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Acta Promotionum I: Die Promotionsdokumente europäischer Universitäten des späten Mittelalters', in *Examen, Titel, Promotionen. Akademisches und staatliches Qualifikationswesen vom 13. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. idem (Basel, 2007), 213–28.

³³ *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*, eds. Gaspare Zonta and Giovanni Brotto, 3 Vols. (Padua, new ed. 1970); *Acta... ab anno 1451 ad annum 1460*, ed. Michele Pietro Ghezzi (Padua, 1990); *Acta... ab anno 1461 ad annum 1470*, ed. Giovanna Pengo (Padua, 1992); *Acta... ab anno 1471 ad annum 1500*, ed. Elsa Martellozzo Forin, 4 Vols. (Padua, 2001); *Acta... ab anno 1501 ad annum 1525, ... ab anno 1526 ad annum 1537, ... ab anno 1538 ad annum 1550*, ed. idem, 3 Vols. (Padua, 1969–1971).

³⁴ *Matricule de l'Université de Médecine de Montpellier (1503–1599)*, ed. Marcel Gouron (Geneva, 1957).

comparison with the German nation's register at Perugia shows that it contains far more names than the central book of the university.³⁵ There are attempts to explain these differences in administrative writings in university history literature, but they are not convincing, least of all those based on national calamities such as religious wars or revolutions.³⁶ Of course, it cannot be ruled out that some registers were lost due to such disasters, but the idea of a collective loss of the general registers throughout Western and Southern Europe that somehow did not affect Central Europe is hardly tenable. Jacques Paquet sought to explain the unique survival of rectorate registers, as well as the quality of the faculty and nation registers by the character of the '*populations germaniques*' with their special aptitude for matters of order and administration: '*L'hypothèse ne peut être exclue a priori*', he wrote.³⁷ I here propose two further reasons for the uniqueness of registers in Central Europe, one external, the other internal.

2.1 The external reason

The external reason is rooted in the diversity of the university systems in Europe, or in their different ranges, which can even be empirically tested in the migration pattern of European students. No university, wherever situated, was like another. The only shared features were ceremonial and they were necessary for the university as an institution, although they, too, were shaped by local circumstances. Nevertheless, these ceremonial features were important, because 'only what was recognized as a university could assert itself as one.'³⁸ Broadly speaking, there existed three different types of universities with their own distinctive characteristics: a Parisian, a Bolognese and a German type (although we know that not all Italian universities oriented themselves towards Bologna, nor all French ones towards Paris).

It made a great difference, of course, whether one found oneself at a university of lawyers, or a university of physicians (and artists), or a university of theologians (and artists) or, in contrast, at a four-faculty-university that combined theology, law, medicine and *artes liberales* and that would later

³⁵ Cf. Weigle, *Matrikel der Deutschen Nation in Perugia*, 7, 13. See now *Studenti a Perugia. La matricola degli scolari forestieri (1511–1723)*, ed. Laura Marconi (Perugia, 2009), with a concordance to Weigle, 452–54.

³⁶ Some voices are collected by Paquet, *Matricules*, 19.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ This is a fundamental statement ('Universität ist, was als Universität anerkannt ist') made by Peter Moraw, 'Aspekte und Dimensionen älterer deutscher Universitätsgeschichte', in *Academia Gissensis. Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte*, eds. Peter Moraw and Volker Press (Marburg, 1982), 1–42, 11.

become the classical model. The disciplinary orientations, in addition, were closely linked to social and cultural foci, and this led to very distinct profiles of the individual universities. Bologna was the type of the southern, mainly Italian, Southern French (and partly also Spanish) elite university of lawyers and, at most, physicians, while Paris was the type of the western, northern French (and partly also English) university of artists-theologians, and a university accessible for everyone.³⁹

When, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, universities began to be founded in Central Europe and in the regions bordering to the north and east, the institution as such had already taken shape and earlier, rather open social structures such as magisterial families, faculty brotherhoods, colleges, and nations were now reshaped by princely governance. Hence, a third type of university emerged in Europe, the ‘German type’ of the four-faculty university, which united lawyers, physicians, theologians and artists in one institution. In this type, there was an overwhelming majority of artists (80 percent and above) facing a minority of lawyers, theologians and physicians. In the beginning, this obviously led to conflicts. The union of communities that had hitherto been socially incompatible, of the noble legal milieu on the one hand and other social and professional groups on the other, did not work immediately, as the examples of Prague, the first foundation on Empire soil, in 1348, of Krakau in 1364, and of Basel after 1460 show.⁴⁰ The *domini juristae* of Prague, for example, separated from the other faculties in 1372 to create their own *universitas dominorum juristarum*. One could not act ‘Bolognese’ and think ‘Parisian’ at the same time and bring it all together in a ‘German way.’ In other words, in Prague, the different cultural spheres of the university systems clashed. That they did eventually merge later was due to the political power of the early modern territorial state.

As a consequence, the general register of Prague’s Legal University, begun in 1372, can be acknowledged as the oldest extant rectorate register in Europe, despite its modern editorial title that associates it with the legal

³⁹ See for the following Rainer Christoph Schwinges, ‘The Medieval German University: Transformation and Innovation’ (1998); ‘Genossenschaft und Herrschaft in der Universität der Vormoderne vom 12. bis 15. Jahrhundert’ (2000), both texts reprinted in idem, *Studenten und Gelehrte. Studien zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte deutscher Universitäten im Mittelalter / Students and Scholars. A social and cultural history of medieval German universities* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 3–17, 20–33.

⁴⁰ See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, ‘Reformverlierer an der Basler Universität des 15. Jahrhunderts. Oder: Die verhinderte Definitionsmacht der Juristen’, in *Reformverlierer 1000–1800. Zum Umgang mit Niederlagen in der Geschichte der europäischen Vormoderne*, eds. Andreas Bihrer and Dietmar Schiersner (Berlin, 2016), 255–75.

faculty only.⁴¹ Moreover, the older concepts of separate faculty registers and nation registers gave way to a new concept that was to be the future. But nothing was set yet: contrary to the view of previous research there cannot have been a general matriculation register for the remaining three-faculty university (artists-theologians-physicians) in Prague. It is not helpful to assume that it fell victim to the looting of the Prague Charles University archives by retreating German soldiers and administrative bodies in 1945, which did cause the loss of one third of the archive's holdings.⁴² The only proof for its existence is a fragment from around 1367, which I however contend was just a piece of the register of the Saxon Nation in Prague: Every person in it originated from the northeastern parts of Germany.⁴³ That again is very fitting for the period of transition from one system to another, where cultural spheres overlapped. Another example is the Prague *Liber decanorum*, a faculty register of artists, which, as in Paris, contains only the graduates of the nations (Figure 3).⁴⁴ The next step, definitive for everything that followed afterwards in terms of the 'German type,' is the rectorate register of Vienna since 1377. But it was accompanied, and once again that is characteristic for this phase of transition, by a unique abundance of the older forms that never occurred elsewhere: registers of all four faculties and all four nations as well as the accounting books of the entire university.⁴⁵ However, other universities in

⁴¹ *Album seu Matricula Facultatis Juridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab Anno Christi 1372 usque ad Annum 1418: Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, Vol. 2 (Prague, 1834). For classification see Peter Moraw, 'Die Juristenuniversität in Prag (1372–1419), verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtlich betrachtet', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), 439–86; Jiří Kejř, *Dějiny Pražské Právnické Univerzity* [History of the Prague University of Law] (Prague, 1995).

⁴² See the comprehensive documentation by Karel Hruza 'Der deutsche Insignien- und Archivalienraub aus der Prager Universität 1945', *Bohemia. Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 48 (2008), 349–411, 367–72.

⁴³ Ferdinand Doelle, 'Ein Fragment der verlorengegangenen Prager Universitätsmatrikel aus dem 14. Jahrhundert', in *Scritti di storia e paleografia. Miscellanea Francisco Ehrle*, pubblicati sotto gli auspici di S. S. Pio XI in occasione dell'ottantesimo natalizio dell'E. Mons. Cardinale Francesco Ehrle, 6 Vols. (Rome, 1924), Vol. 3, 88–102.

⁴⁴ *Liber Decanorum Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis et Registrum Ordinis Graduatorum in Artibus ab Anno Christi 1367 usque ad Annum 1585: Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, Vol. 1, 1–2 (Prague, 1830, 1832). For a classification see the selected studies of František Šmahel, *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter / The Charles University in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), especially, 'The Faculty of Liberal Arts 1348–1419', 213–71.

⁴⁵ For an overview see Paul Uiblein, 'Zur Quellenlage der Geschichte der Wiener Universität im Mittelalter', *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 7 (1963), 161–66. On the rich sources see also: *Artes – Artisten – Wissenschaft. Die Universität Wien in Spätmittelalter und Humanismus*, eds. Thomas Maisel, Meta Niederkorn-Bruck and Christian Gastgeber (Vienna, 2015). *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, Vol. 1: 1377–1450, Vol. 2: 1451–1518*, eds.

Translati	de Znojma	Fo: 84
Johannes de Praga	111	Musterberg
Johannes de	112	fr. Johannes Post de ma subargo
Petrus de	113	albo Euzastall
Erasmus de	114	fr. Jacobus de leobing de muer
nicolaus de	115	subargo fridricus simer
Jacobus de	116	fr. Nicolans de Cumerado de ma
Johannes de	117	subargo Vico stantenfordis
Johannes de	118	fr. Paulus de Radimo de ma
Michael de	119	petra die nup ffebnary subargo
Paulus de	120	domico de lombega
Jacobus de	121	fr. qui die nup ffebnary arx
		domo de Praga obtinuit dissen
		sationem plucino copland parpa
		emissionem de telens secundum
		forma statutoz
		fr. eodem die Paulus de Slabinkovis
		obtinuit confirmat dissenfacione
		fr. eodem die Johannes de Znojma
		Anno domi millesimo trecento
		nonagesimo octavo electa fuerit
		examinatores cragshavoz post M. D. Rector
		apostolice sedis archiepiscopus Johannes
		de muer pater Petrus universitatis
		in bice cancellarius de muer
		archiepiscopus Erasmus de Znojma
		Polonoz archiepiscopus Petrus de Redno
		Pravoz archiepiscopus Jacobus de Saxon
		archiepiscopus Holmoldus Zaltvedel et alii
		instituerunt istos secum ordinem
		Nicolaus Gusselmaister de Praga
		Gregorius de Praga
		Eleonora sturberstorf
		Johannes Wulphstun
		Jacobus Kober
		Antonius Pirant
		Antonius de ptes
		Andreas arx
		Franciscus Cragshav
		Johannes de muer
		Sanctissimus maritus
		et verus dominus
		162
		S. M. Magister Johannes

Figure 3. Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585, Universitas Carolina Pragensis, Prague 1983 (Facsimile), fol. 84r: enrollment of Jan Hus, 1396.

the Empire soon caught up and produced a wealth of faculty registers, deanery books and graduation directories, in addition to their rectorate registers.⁴⁶

Otherwise, the three different types remained in place, which, as indicated above, can be seen in the migration behavior: While students from northeastern Europe, from Scotland to Scandinavia, to the Baltic States, Poland and Hungary can be found at various universities in the Empire since the beginning in Prague, students from the West and South of Europe remained almost entirely absent.⁴⁷ Therefore, one can assume that ideas concerning the written materials were transferred to the northern Alpine region east of the Rhine, but not the other way round, from the north to the west and south. The mediation in the south that eventually did happen may have happened through the German university nations—as one hypothesis has it. This becomes plausible if one considers the internal reasons for the range of written university materials which reflect the different cultural spheres.

2.2 Internal reason

The obligation for students to enroll was based on both fiscal and legal interests of the university. While the former applied throughout Europe, the latter had a special importance in the German area. The legal interest was related to the oath, the *juramentum*, of those who wanted to become

Franz Gall and Willy Szaivert (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1954, 1967); *Vol. 3: 1518–1579*, eds. Franz Gall and Willy Szaivert (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1971); *Vol. 4: 1579–1658/59*, eds. Franz Gall and Hermine Paulhart (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1974); *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385–1416*, ed. Paul Uiblein (Graz, Vienna and Cologne, 1968); *Die Akten der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien (1396–1508)*, ed. Paul Uiblein, 2 Vols. (Vienna, 1978); *Acta Facultatis Medicae Universitatis Vindobonensis (1399–1558)*, ed. Karl Schrauf, 3 Vols. (Vienna, 1894–1904); *Die Matrikel der Wiener Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät – Matricula Facultatis Juristarum Studii Viennensis*, eds. Thomas Maisel and Johannes Seidl, *Vol. 1: 1402–1442*, ed. Johannes Seidl (Vienna, 2011); *Vol. 2: 1442–1557*, ed. Severin Matiasovits (Vienna, 2016); *Die Matrikel der ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität, 1453–1630*, ed. Karl Schrauf (Vienna, 1902). For further registers such as the four registers of the Vienna Faculty of Arts (1416–1555), the register of the Rhenish Nation or the *Liber receptorum* cf. the online offer of the University Archive <http://bibliothek.uni-vie.ac.at/archiv/archivrecherche.html> (15.10.2020).

⁴⁶ See the directories in Paquet, *Matricules*, 20–35, 100–111; Giessler-Wirsig and Böhm-Klein, 'Universitäts- und Hochschulmatrikeln' (on Compact Disk). For a newer edition of a graduation register see e.g. *Das Bakkalarenregister der Artistenfakultät der Universität Erfurt 1392–1521*, eds. Rainer Christoph Schwinges and Klaus Wriedt (Jena and Stuttgart, 1995).

⁴⁷ See Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 234–44; idem, 'Französische Studenten im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', in *Les échanges universitaires franco-allemands du moyen âge au XXe siècle*, ed. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1992), 37–54 (reprinted idem, *Studenten und Gelehrte*, 135–157); idem, 'Akademische Mobilität in der älteren Vormoderne (1350–1550)', *Traverse. Zeitschrift für Geschichte / Revue d'Histoire* (2018), issue 1, 27–40, 34–5.

membra universitatis. The oath was usually the first and most important act of the procedure; without it, the rector simply refused enrollment from the outset. The oath was constitutive for university life; and so, all members, students, graduates, and professors, swore to their university in the same way as citizens did to their city, or merchants and craftsmen to their guilds.⁴⁸ Both German national registers abroad (Figure 4) and German rectorate registers adhered to this practice, in contrast to faculty or nation registers in other countries. Both were first and foremost oath books and only in the second place accounting books. This was aptly expressed by forms like *juravit et solvit* or similar, or the negation thereof.⁴⁹

My mention of citizen oaths above provides me with an opportunity to point out a significant analogy to the rectorate's matriculation certificates. The German citizen books (Bürgerbücher), or rather new citizen books (Neubürgerbücher), were also primarily oath books, and they, too, were unique to the German area until well into the sixteenth century. And again, they are only found in the bordering northern and eastern countries, but not in the west and south, despite the enormous variety of writings there, especially in the municipal administration.⁵⁰ Like the oath of citizenship or the tax oath, equally rare in Western and Southern Europe, the matriculation oath was taken by those that promise to fulfil their duties faithfully. This type of oath was much less prevalent in Romanesque countries, that had stronger ties with the Roman legal system and, in the course of the late Middle Ages, it took on a different significance and gradually lost its importance together with the 'citizen law' (Bürgerrecht) more generally.⁵¹ This may well be the reason why the statutory provisions in

⁴⁸ On the oath of matriculation see Paquet, 'L'immatriculation', 164–66; idem, *Matricules*, 36–8; Schwinges, 'Admission', 182–85. For the general significance of the oath see Jürgen Miethke, 'Der Eid an der mittelalterlichen Universität. Formen seines Gebrauchs, Funktionen einer Institution', in *Glaube und Eid*, ed. Paolo Prodi (Munich, 1993), 49–67. On the general legal content of the matriculation registers see also Hartmut Boockmann, 'Ikonographie der Universitäten. Bemerkungen über bildliche und gegenständliche Zeugnisse der spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Universitäten-Geschichte', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), 565–99, 577–78.

⁴⁹ This is the case for almost every enrollment in Cologne, regularly from around 1450 onwards; cf. *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, Vol. 1, ed. Hermann Keussen (Bonn, 2nd ed. 1928), 530.

⁵⁰ See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Neubürger und Bürgerbücher im Reich des späten Mittelalters: Eine Einführung über die Quellen', in *Neubürger im späten Mittelalter. Migration und Austausch in der Städtelandschaft des alten Reiches (1250–1550)*, ed. idem (Berlin, 2002), 17–50, 32–7.

⁵¹ Cf. Adalbert Erler, *Bürgerrecht und Steuerpflicht im mittelalterlichen Städtewesen mit besonderer Untersuchung des Steuereides* (Frankfurt/Main, 2nd ed. 1963), 51, 121; Schwinges, 'Neubürger', 35–7. For classification see Lothar Kolmer, *Promissorische Eide im Mittelalter* (Regensburg, 1989); Paolo Prodi, 'Der Eid in der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte', in



Figure 4. Statuta Nationis Germanicae anno 1497: Taking the oath at the German Nation in Bologna, Archivio dell'Università di Bologna, Cod. n. 5, fol. 2r. Reprinted with permission.

Bologna or Padua that specifically required the creation of an enrollment register of the *iurati* in the *De iuramento scolarium* section, were not effective.⁵²

Thus, German matriculation registers documented that the student had sworn to the university, represented by the respective rector, to uphold the law, to obey the statutes and to fulfil his duties (Figure 5), usually extending the oath into the future to include ‘whatever position I may attain’ (*ad quemcumque status devenero*).⁵³ Exceptions to this rule were members of the higher nobility and of monastic orders, whom the oath would potentially bring into conflict with other legal parties, and underage students, for whom an oath assistant had to be appointed until they reached majority age.⁵⁴ However, the registers also documented, explicitly or implicitly,



Figure 5. The Rector’s Manual of the University of Cologne, around 1400: Taking the oath in Cologne, the pages are black due to the fingerprints of the oath making students. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Universität 10, fol. 49v–50r. Reprinted with permission.

Glaube und Eid, ed. Paolo Prodi (Munich, 1993), VII–XXIX; idem, *Il sacramento del potere. Il giuramento politico nella storia costituzionale dell’Occidente* (Bologna, 1992).

⁵² Cf. Denifle, ‘Statuten’, 358.

⁵³ So a part of the oath formula in the rector’s manual of the University of Cologne, about 1400, cf. *Älteste Stadtuniversität Nordwesteuropas. 600 Jahre Kölner Universität. Ausstellungskatalog des Historischen Archivs der Stadt Köln 4. Oktober bis 14. Dezember 1988*, ed. Manfred Groten (Cologne, 1988), 68, No. 73.

⁵⁴ Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 378–80; idem, ‘Admission’, 183–4.

that the student had simultaneously sworn to the respective authorities or the sovereign. This, as well, began in Prague with Charles IV, not in his role as the emperor, but as the king and sovereign of Bohemia. Around 1368, every newcomer to the university, including those from abroad, had to promise loyalty to the king and the kingdom (*regi et regno fidelitatem*).⁵⁵ Later, the newcomers to Freiburg in Breisgau (1460) or Ingolstadt (1472) also had to swear not to dishonor the House of Habsburg or the House of Wittelsbach.⁵⁶

There is only one exception outside the Empire, and it is significant: At the university of Caen in Normandy the oath of obedience was taken to the king of England in his role as the lord of Normandy. And sure enough, general matriculation registers (*libri sive acta rectorum*) were kept there since 1440.⁵⁷ Hence, issues of law, discipline and control played an important role in the creation of this type of register, as did the specific political structures. In general, one can state that wherever such forms appeared the institutions were under greater pressure to legitimize themselves.

Because the rectorate registers were oath books and represented a community sworn for life, they were particularly well looked after and were strictly separated from the University's utility writings. The representative function of the matriculation register was evident when the rectors handed the register over to their successors. Along with the scepter, the seal and the book of statutes, it was one of the core power symbols of the new dignitary. Self-designations of German rectors around 1500, after all, included terms such as the *monarcha academiae* or the *imperator academicus*. Whether or not the newly designated rector was in the possession of the *matricula* could even be decisive in legitimizing the taking of office.⁵⁸ Some German universities therefore kept two registers in parallel, a daily 'working register' or, in some cases, provisional records as a basis for a later fair copy, and an official register intended for representative purposes. The latter was decorated accordingly: on finest parchment, containing illuminations, pictures of patrons or the rectors' coats of arms, all of them with ornamental initials and solemn italics, but with varying quality of ornamentation (Figure 6).⁵⁹ The matriculation registers of the two neighboring universities

⁵⁵ Cf. *Codex Juris Bohemici*, Vol. II, 3, ed. Hermenegild Jireček (Prague, 1889), 277, 289.

⁵⁶ Cf. Mayer, *Matrikel Freiburg I*, 1–2; Pölnitz, *Matrikel Ingolstadt I*, 1.

⁵⁷ See Lyse Roy, *L'Université de Caen aux XVe et XVIe Siècles. Identité et Représentation* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 119–20. Halfway comparable are only the registers of Dôle [at that time, however, located within the Empire], see above note 11, and the *Liber rectorum* of Avignon, see above note 28.

⁵⁸ See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Rektorwahlen. Ein Beitrag zur Verfassungs-, Sozial- und Universitätsgeschichte des alten Reiches im 15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 11–15.

⁵⁹ Selected illustrations can be found in the register editions, e.g., of Erfurt, Leipzig, Basel, Wittenberg, Marburg, Jena, or totally in digital form (with descriptions of the



Figure 6. Matriculation register of the University of Erfurt, winter term 1483/84: The Rector, Doctor Marcus Decker, kneels before Saint Mary. Stadtarchiv Erfurt, Matrikel A, 1-1/XBXIII-46, fol. 229r. Reprinted with permission.

of Freiburg (Germany) and Basel (Switzerland), for example, could not be more different: In Freiburg they are practically unadorned, including the first page, whereas in Basel they are opulently decorated already on the first page (Figure 7). The decorative ambitions sometimes went so far that the election announcements of the rectors were playfully written for their first letter to alphabetically follow from the previous announcement, as is the case in Basel (Figure 8). The model for this, however, originated in Erfurt, with which there were not only statutory but also close personal ties.⁶⁰ It was only as of the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries that the decorations of the general matriculation registers become more and more simple.



Figure 7. First pages of the matriculation registers of the Universities of Basle and Freiburg (1460). Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Rektoratsmatrikel der Universität Basel, Vol. 1, AN II 3, fol. 2v; Universitätsarchiv der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, A 66: Matrikelverzeichnis 1460–1517, p. 1. Reprinted with permission.

matriculation manuscripts), Basel: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/ubb/AN-II-0003>, or Wittenberg: <http://digital.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/id/2450785>, or Leipzig: http://codex.isgv.de/codex.php?band=cds2_16, or Jena: http://zs.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/jportal_jpvolume_00278293 [all 17.10.2020]. Unfortunately, there is no comparative work on illuminations in matriculation registers. For some remarks see Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild. Repräsentation, Darstellung und Wahrnehmung einer sozialen Gruppe im Mittelalter* (Goettingen, 2006), 326–33 (mostly non-German examples); Asche and Häcker, 'Matrikeln', 246. For singular cases see Ulrich Mittelstädt, 'Spätmittelalterliche Erfurter Buchmalerei. Die Illuminationen der Universitätsmatrikel', in *Beiträge zur Erfurter Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Ulman Weiss (Erfurt, 1999), 23–8; Paul Leonhard Ganz, *Die Miniaturen der Basler Universitätsmatrikel* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1960).

⁶⁰ Schwinges, *Rektorwahlen*, 24.

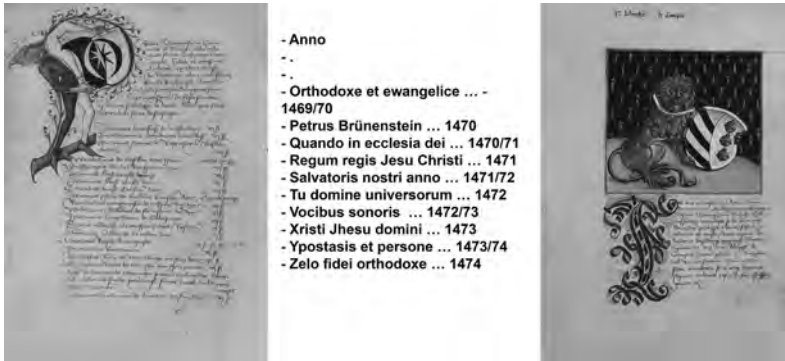


Figure 8. Initials in alphabetical order of the rectorate register of the University of Basle, e.g., 1470–1474. Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Rektoratsmatrikel, Vol. 1, AN II 3, fol. 829v and 836v.

The official registers at times even regrouped the students in a profile-building way, from an ordering principle that followed the daily enrollments to one that depicted the social status, from the nobility and other *statum tenentes* to the simple and poor students, as was the case for example in Basel (since 1461) and in Erfurt (after 1470). With this, an official reflection of the estates society at the university was put down in writing.⁶¹ In addition, important names were underlined, marked with an index finger or a *Nota Bene*, and in many cases the career stages of those enrolled at one stage, whether they remained inside the university or not, were added in the margins, as if the universities were forever proud of their graduates.⁶² Other types of matriculation records, such as faculty and nation registers and even accounting books also benefited from such creative ambitions. (Figure 9).⁶³

⁶¹ Cf. *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, Vol. 1: 1460–1529*, ed. Hans Georg Wackernagel (Basel, 1951), 18–25 etc.; Weissenborn, *Acten der Erfurter Universität, Vol. 1*, 337–41 etc. Later, since 1519, Erfurt has ranked its students in social categories from *classis prima* to *classis tertia*, cf. *Acten der Erfurter Universität, Vol. 2: Allgemeine Acten der Erfurter Universität, Vol. 2: Allgemeine Studentenmatrikel, zweite Hälfte 1492–1636*, ed. Johann Christian Hermann Weissenborn (Halle, 1884, reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1976), 308. In Freiburg, since 1546, the *ordo matricule* (i.e. the social rank of the enrolled students) was placed column by column next to the *ordo locationis* (i.e. the rank after passing the exams in the Faculty of Arts), cf. *Matricula Facultatis Artium I, UnivArchiv Freiburg, B 38 5, fol. 129*. For classification see Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 373–375; idem, ‘Student Education, Student Life’, in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Walter Rüegg, Vol. 1: *Universities in die Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1992), 195–243, 202–13.

⁶² For examples cf. Erler, *Matrikel Leipzig, Vol. 1*, 29, 51, 99, 108, 111, 113, 154, 226; von Pölnitz, *Matrikel Ingolstadt, Vol. 1*, 12, 17, 25, 38, 40, 42 etc.; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab anno Ch. MDII usque ad annum MDLX*, ed. Carolus Eduardus Foerstemann (Leipzig, 1841, reprint Tübingen, 1976), 47, 223–27.

⁶³ Beside the *Statuta nationis Germanicae* of Bologna (Figure 4) and the *Liber Receptorum* of Erfurt (Figure 9) see e.g., Schwinges and Wriedt, *Erfurter Bakkalarenregister*, VI, XLVI–XLVII, or the register of the Rhenish nation of the university of Vienna: *Protocollum Incluytae*



Figure 9. Account book of the University of Erfurt. Stadtarchiv Erfurt, Liber receptorum, 1-1/XBXIII-40, Vol. 1, fol. 64r. Reprinted with permission.

Thus, the German rectorate registers stood out not only in terms of their quantity but also in terms of their quality, and in regards to their composition one can even speak of specific cultural techniques. These did exist elsewhere too, for example in Italian doctoral degrees and commentary literature,⁶⁴ but not in this central corpus of administrative writings, and their scope remained limited, for the external and internal reasons discussed above.

In this article, I have tried to explain why general matriculation registers as special administrative documents are almost unique to late medieval German universities, as opposed to other European universities. There may be additional causes to the ones I propose here. However, essentially, there are external reasons such as the different types of universities (Paris, Bologna, German), and internal reasons such as the special significance of the enrolment oath in the universities of the German type. It would be wrong to speak of a lack of matriculation registers for the other countries—that is the perspective of the modern historian who regrets not having a broad basis for comparative research across Europe. Instead, one must take into account the differing social and cultural traditions of Europe's universities, including perhaps the varying status of the rectors. Apparently, the older universities of the West and South kept to their own, particular traditions. These were so strong, in fact, that even the request in the universities' own statutes that registers be kept was to no avail, as is particularly evident in Italy; and the few lists that did exist did not translate into any serious record-keeping before the second half of the sixteenth century.

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Nacionis Rehmanae ab anno 1415 usue ad annum 1582, Universitätsarchiv Wien NR 1, or the register of the faculty of theology of Basel, 1462–1740, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, AN II 6, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/searchresult/list/one/ubb/AN-II-0006> (17.10.2020).

⁶⁴ See Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild* (picture panels); *Le Università dell'Europa, Vol. I: La Nascita delle Università*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Jacques Verger (Cinisello Balsamo, 1990); *Diplomi de Laurea conservati nell'archivio storico dell'Università di Bologna*, ed. Ilaria Maggiulli (Rimini, 2016).