

DANISH STUDENTS 1450-1535
AND THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN.

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I

The purpose of this paper¹ is to give a preliminary account of Danish students and their social behaviour in the years 1450 to 1535.

Fundamental studies into this field were made by Ellen Jørgensen 1914 and 1915-17 and we possess parallel studies for Sweden by Clara Thörnquist 1929 and Kjell Kumlien 1942 (cf. also Malmström 1976: 10-47). Since then some of the source-material has become more easily available, and the general conditions of late Medieval universities have become much better known. So a new examination of the data may help to disclose further facts and to encourage new questions.

Ellen Jørgensen asserted (1915-17: 203) that the matricula of the universities did not allow statistic studies in social history. To a great extent this assertion cannot be challenged. The information which can be gathered from these sources is often too unprecise to allow certain conclusions as to the social origin of the students mentioned. Nevertheless the progress of prosopographic studies and the comparative material to be drawn from studies of the economic and social aspects of the late Medieval universities make further investigations into this field of study look promising. In this paper, however, I shall refrain from questions concerning the social recruitment of Danish students, their financial situation abroad, and their careers resulting from their university studies, especially since I can refer to a very substantial paper by Elisabeth Mornet 1978, and to the more ambitious project, described by Schwinges 1980, and intended to cover all students at all German universities during the 15th century.

Instead I have concentrated on some other common features concerning the visits to foreign universities made by Danish students. Especially,

1. The material for this paper was collected when I prepared the edition of *Universitas Studii Hafnensis*, 1979. A preliminary version of the paper was read and discussed in Dansk Selskab for Oldtids- og Middelalderforskning, on Dec. 7th 1979. I have to thank the participants in the discussion, especially dr. Svend Gissel, for many illuminating remarks.

I have tried to assess the varying importance of the foreign universities for Danish higher education as universities were founded closer to Denmark, culminating with the foundation of the university of Copenhagen in 1479 (III-IV). Further, I have tried to discover some main trends regarding the local recruitment of Danish students (V), and finally I have tried to establish as far as possible the compass of studies pursued by Danish students, including the extent to which they acquired degrees (VII-VIII). Needless to say the results are preliminary and the nature of sources is such that most conclusions must be taken with some caution.

II

THE SOURCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS.

The main source for investigations of the proposed kind are the *matricula* of the universities, and above all of the three German universities which received most Danish students: Rostock (founded 1419), Greifswald (founded 1456) and Cologne (founded 1388). For a list of the relevant editions and further relevant literature see the bibliography below.

Certain problems are, however, connected with exploiting such sources, reflecting very much the amount of care and zeal invested into the drawing up of the *matricula*-insertions by the changing university rectors and their scribes. As a result the data offered are far from uniform. For a very illuminating introduction to the *matricula* as a source see Erler's introduction to his edition of the *matricula* of Leipzig.

For some older universities *matricula* did not exist (as in Paris) or have been lost (as for Prague). Moreover, the older *matricula* often lack information as regards the precise origin of the students, especially when they came from far away and could easily be identified by their name or nationality alone. This is the main reason why this investigation only starts with 1450, the time from which the *matricula* of Rostock begins to inform more systematically of the land of origin and normally even the diocese or town of the students. But even in this period the *matricula* are not entirely uniform, so that we can have full information on one student and only the name of the next on the list.

This nature of the *matricula* gives raise to some ambiguities which may affect the absolute numbers as discussed in the bulk of this paper, but not necessarily, I think, the main proportions revealed.

The main types of ambiguities and inexactitudes are the following:

(1) Not all students can be found in the *matricula*. Now and then we find e.g. examinees mentioned who apparently never were immatriculated. One such case is the later vice-chancellor of the university of Copenhagen, Peder Albertsen, who studied and taught in Cologne for a longer period, but cannot be identified with certainty in the immatriculation lists.

(2) Some students, on the other hand, are immatriculated twice, presumably by mistake, or both when they arrived and when they paid, or when they changed faculty. These cases are however a negligible quantity.

(3) Lacking or confused information on nationality, especially but not exclusively (as was mentioned) in the older *matricula*. This lack can sometimes be remedied from later insertions (e.g. in the examination lists), or from an analysis of the name forms, which is, however, to be used with extreme caution, or from the context in the immatriculation lists: it has been observed that in about 27% of the insertions immatriculation by groups can be shown to have taken place: i.e. the simultaneous arrival and immatriculation of two or more students originating from the same place (see Schwinges 1980: 46ff.). In some cases, by due consideration of the context and corroborating evidence (e.g. from the name-form), this may help to disambiguate the issue. But of course this again is pretty hazardous. - Since I have been extremely cautious in such cases, the result is that my numbers will probably be slightly lower than the actual number of Danish students, and than the numbers given by E.Jørgensen and E. Mornet.

(4) Lacking information on diocese or town of origin. This is especially obnoxious in the Cologne-*matricula* after 1480. Nevertheless, the total number of Danish students, indeterminate in this respect does not surpass 20% of the total (see below, section V).

(5) Ambiguities arising from the fact that the same or a similar name is used for different cities, e.g. Arusia/Arosia for Århus and Vesterås (Sweden) respectively, but sometimes confused - Nicopia for presumably one Swedish and three Danish cities - Vibergia for Viborg in Jutland and in Finland - Husem/Husen for Husum in the diocese of Slesvig and for several towns in Germany. In some cases the issue may be disambiguated from the context, mention being made of the diocese or compatriots belonging to the same immatriculation-groups or, most important, knowledge of the person from other sources, but in many cases decision is impossible. Here again I have been cautious not to include dubious cases in the count.

(6) A final element of deficiency must be mentioned at last, i.e. the shortcomings of the investigator who may overlook one or other person or fail to identify persons in the examination lists with persons in the immatriculation lists. I have checked and rechecked, but some Danish names are bound to have fallen out. The remedy for this type of shortcomings will only be found when the great computerized list of students prepared by Schwinges (see 1980) becomes available.

As a result of all this the absolute figures of this study are not absolutely certain being probably somewhat lower than the actual ones, and so do not match the figures of other investigators precisely. Nevertheless the approximate size of the figures and the proportions appear to be dependable.

III

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

Before approaching the period with which we are concerned it seems fitting to give a short summary of conditions in the preceding periods. This summary is mainly based on Ellen Jørgensen 1915 and Clara Thörnquist 1929, for Paris supplemented with Maury 1934.

UNTIL 1350 the dominant centre of studies was of course the university of Paris. For the older periods no exact figures are available, since our only sources are chance mentionings in university records, manuscripts and Danish records which sometimes mention university degrees of contrahents or witnesses involved. With the beginning of the 14th century when records from the English nation at Paris become available - as edited in the *Liber procuratorum nationis anglicanae-alemanniae* in: *Auctarium Chartularii universitatis Parisiensis* I-II, 1338-1466 (1894) and III, 1466-1492(1535) - figures are for the first time available. It must be born in mind, however, that the only systematic evidence concerns students who have passed a degree at the faculty of arts, so that the actual number must have been considerably higher. For the first half of the 14th century Ellen Jørgensen has found evidence of 32 Danish students - which even from the most optimistic calculations can scarcely yield more than an average total number of 20-30 per decade. - The corresponding number of Swedish students evidenced is much higher, viz. 85.¹

1. Kumlien pp.161-62 attains even higher figures for Swedish students; his calculations, however, use for its premisses the averages known from the

The university of Bologna was frequented by at least 40 Scandinavians (of whom 23 were Danes) in the years 1285-1300 (Sällström 1957: 151ff., 211ff.), but then the interest seems to have faded until the end of the 14th century, but even then the figures are negligible as compared to the attendance at other universities.

In the SECOND HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY Paris was outrivalled by the new university of Prague (founded 1348) which in this period attracted the majority of Scandinavian students. This held true until 1409, the year of the successful Bohemization of the university of Prague which caused members of other nations to emigrate and found the university of Lepzig. The actual figures for this period are for Paris according to Ellen Jørgensen (1915: 351ff.), with the same qualifications as for the previous period, 15 Danes (and 26 Swedes), for the German universities (especially Erfurt, founded 1392) 15 Scandinavians. For Prague the information is deficient since we have left only the list of promotions at the Arts faculty from 1367 on, and the immatriculation lists of the *universitas iuristarum* from 1372, together with fragments from earlier immatriculation lists (1373-75 and 1382-83, see Thörnquist 1929: 258-59). The Swedes outnumber the Danes (approximately by 85 to 75 at the *facultas iuristarum*, and by 50 to 10 at the faculty of arts. These figures seem to imply an increase in the number of Scandinavian students, especially of Swedish students; but also the number of Danes may, again according to the most optimistic evaluation, average about 40-50 immatriculations per decade.

With the foundation of the German universities in the FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY it becomes possible to make more concise calculations, both as a result of the new and better preserved *matricula* and as a result of the general increase of numbers. One important change seems to be that the number of Danish and Swedish students at German universities approximately balance each other (Ellen Jørgensen 1915: 352), this being due apparently to an increase in the number of Danes, whereas the Swedes remain approximately at the same level.

Ellen Jørgensen gives the following tables:

15th century: 5-10% of students only attaining the degree of master and an average stay of 2 years. Probably the percentage of masters was somewhat higher. However, it must be born in mind that the Swedish colleges could provide for 20 students at a time (the Danish probably for eight). Supposing that the colleges were booked up and some Danes lived outside the colleges, supposing moreover an average stay of 3 years - the result would be approximately 175 Danish immatriculations in Paris 1300-1350, or 35 per decade.

A (1915: 362), *Scandinavian students per decade*

1400-09	27	[To this has to be added at least 30 from the university of Prague, Thörnquist 1929: 281]
1410-19	114	
1420-29	176	
1430-39	162	
1440-49	239	

718 [To add the students from Prague as above and 8 Swedish students at the university of Kraków, and at least 16 Danish and 23 Swedish students at the university of Paris]

The proportions between the various Scandinavian nations cannot be made out with certainty, since the *matricula* of Rostock, which alone has 335 Scandinavian entries, does not distinguish their land of origin. However, we have the following data:

B (1915: 352), *Students at German universities (apart from Rostock) 1400-1449*

	Dan.	Swed.	Norw.	Unspecified
Köln	11	1	1	1
Wien	1	6	0	4
Heidelberg	3	0	1	1
Louvain (from 1426)	4	7	0	0
Erfurt	75	25	10	22
Leipzig (from 1409)	59	112	4	35
[Kraków	0	8	0	0]

From this a clear predilection of the Swedes for "eastern" universities (Leipzig, Kraków, Wien) can be established, whereas the Danes tend to gather at more "western universities" (Erfurt, Köln). This tendency holds for the whole Middle Ages (see E. Jørgensen 1916-17: 201). Since the Danes outnumber the Swedes by approximately 4:1 at Rostock in the period after 1450 when nationality is indicated (cf. Ellen Jørgensen 1916-17: 201) it is probable that at least one half of the 335 Scandinavians at Rostock 1419-50 were Danes.

With extreme caution we may then interpolate the following trends:

1) The number of Danish students immatriculated per decade increases from about 50 (in 1410-19) to at least 120 (in 1440-49), whereas the Swedish average seems to remain stable between 55 and 75 for the whole 15th century (see also Kumlien 1942: 157-58). This trend as we shall see also

fits the development after 1450. - The total number of Scandinavian students in this period makes it understandable that Erik of Pommern in 1419 attempted to found a university in Scandinavia.

2) The favourite universities of the Danes are Rostock (at least 170 immatriculations) and Erfurt (75) followed by Leipzig (59) and Paris (at least 16). This pattern will be changed somewhat after 1450.

We are now able to pursue the developments AFTER 1450. Before presenting a table of my figures the following should be understood:

(a) By Denmark I understand the East-Danish dioceses of Lund and Roskilde (including Rügen), the diocese of Odense (also comprising Lolland, Falster and Femern), the four dioceses of Jutland: Børglum, Viborg, Århus and Ribe, and the diocese of Slesvig.

(b) According to normal practise when calculating the frequency of universities I summarize for 5-year periods. This should make comparisons with Eulenburg's tables of frequency immediately possible.

(c) Since the university years do not always follow the calendar-years I have decided to follow the university years, thus e.g. referring the immatriculations of the entire winter-term 1460/61 to the 5-year period 1456-60. This makes direct comparison with the countings per term of the various *matricula* possible, and thus makes it possible to see whether fluctuations in the number of Danish students at a given university is a reflection of general conditions prevailing at the same university.

(d) One further problem should be mentioned. Some students were immatriculated at more than one university. In the following table each immatriculation is counted as one entry. According to Schwinges (1980: 47) at least every fourth immatriculee can be expected to move to another university. The percentage may not be that high as far as Danish students are concerned. The question, however, is difficult to assess. There are quite a number of Danes who were immatriculated at several universities, especially among those who studied for a longer period, e.g. those who took university degrees. Some of these names can be found in the list of masters in Appendix I. Often, however, it is impossible to be certain that the same name by two immatriculations cover the same person, especially if further identifications are lacking. Moreover the nameforms and spellings vary from one entry to the other so that it also for this reason can be difficult to recognize the same person. Since the uncertainties are so many as to make any precise calculation possible I have abstained

from this question.¹ The only exception is that I have tried to discover how many immatriculees of the university of Copenhagen can be found at other universities (see Appendix III).

The fact that several persons thus are counted twice or more affect the import of the absolute figures given: What is quantified is immatriculations, not persons. But this does not affect the relative importance of the various universities which will be studied in the following. - What becomes less easy to assess is the percentage of the Danish population acquainted with higher education. But there are several other insufficiently known factors which make it impossible to answer this question anyhow. The cathedral schools in many cases furnished an education at par with the elementary levels of the universities (cf. e.g. Kornerup 1952), but we have no precise ideas about their size and recruitment. The learning of the friars - who certainly played an important role - was more or less independent of university education, but the exact extent of local learned traditions within the mendicant orders has not been investigated thoroughly, and the loss of most Danish Medieval Mss. makes it difficult to believe that any precision can be attained in this matter.

The total number of Danish immatriculations abroad (see Table on opposite page) remains fairly stable during the period 1461-1520 (200-250 immatriculations per decade) with some minor exceptions.²

The period 1456/60 marks a considerable increase. This is above all due to the fact that a new university was founded at the border of Denmark, the university of Greifswald from 1456. This, however, does not account for the entire increase. The number of Danish students at Cologne also increases significantly from this year on.

After 1520 we can discover a very significant decrease. This decrease must certainly be seen in the light of the developments connected with the German Reformation, which are characterized by a proportional decrease of university attendance as a whole (Eulenburg's numbers are for the whole of Germany: 1516-20: 10999; 1521-25: 5696; 1526-30: 3243; 1531-35: 4700; proportions which fit the Danish numbers closely.

Except for the sudden increase 1466/70 for which no specific reason seems to offer itself, the fluctuations between 1456 and 1520 seem slight

1. I have no complete count, but of 136 immatriculations of students from the diocese of Odense 1481-1530 only 18 (or 13%) are 'repetitions'.

2. Excerpts from the *matricula* concerning Danish or Scandinavian students can be found in Daae 1885 (Prague & Rostock), Ellen Jørgensen 1926 (Louvain) and H. Friis Pedersen (in alphabetical order).

TABLE OF DANISH IMMATRICULATIONS 1451-1535.

	ROS	GRF	KOLN	ERF	LPZ	WIT	LOUV	FRKF	OTH	TOTAL
1451-55	33	-	3	3	1	-	0	-	2	42
1456-60	38	33	27	8	0	-	0	-	1	107
1461-65	45	15	13	13	8	-	0	-	0	94
1466-70	90	35	22	3	4	-	0	-	1	155
1471-75	65	36	16	7	0	-	0	-	0	124
1476-80	58	25	15	1	0	-	1	-	0	100
1451 - 1480	329	144	96	35	13	-	1	-	4	622
1481-85	50	17	20	1	0	-	0	-	1	89
1486-90	26	56	31	3	1	-	0	-	0	117
1491-95	56	24	19	3	2	-	0	-	0	104
1496-1500	34	41	11	0	0	-	0	-	4	90
1501-5	85	15	28	2	1	2	4	-	0	137
1506-10	74	17	20	1	0	2	1	2	1	118
1481-1510	325	170	129	10	4	4	5	2	6	655
1511-15	85	5	24	0	1	2	6	2	3	128
1516-20	52	4	25	0	4	30	9	4	1	129
1521-25	24	5	1	0	1	12	9	0	0	52
1526-30	3	-	2	0	2	12	4	1	0	24
1531-35	6	-	0	0	5	23	4	0	0	38
1511 - 1535	170	14	52	0	13	79	32	7	4	371
TOTAL	824	328	277	45	30	83	38	9	14	1648

and may not exceed the effects of chance.¹ The foundation of the university of Copenhagen in 1479 does not significantly diminish the number of students going abroad for higher education. As a whole the four decades after the foundation of Copenhagen show the same average as the preceding period. So the foundation of the new university augmented the number of Danes acquainted with higher education, at a degree proportionate to the actual number of students immatriculated in Copenhagen (the evidence for this will be discussed in section VI below), but it did not decrease the number of students going abroad. Since there is a slight increase of immatriculations at the German universities taken as a whole during this period, the trend towards a slightly higher participation in higher education suggested for Denmark is not atypical.²

IV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AT THE VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES:

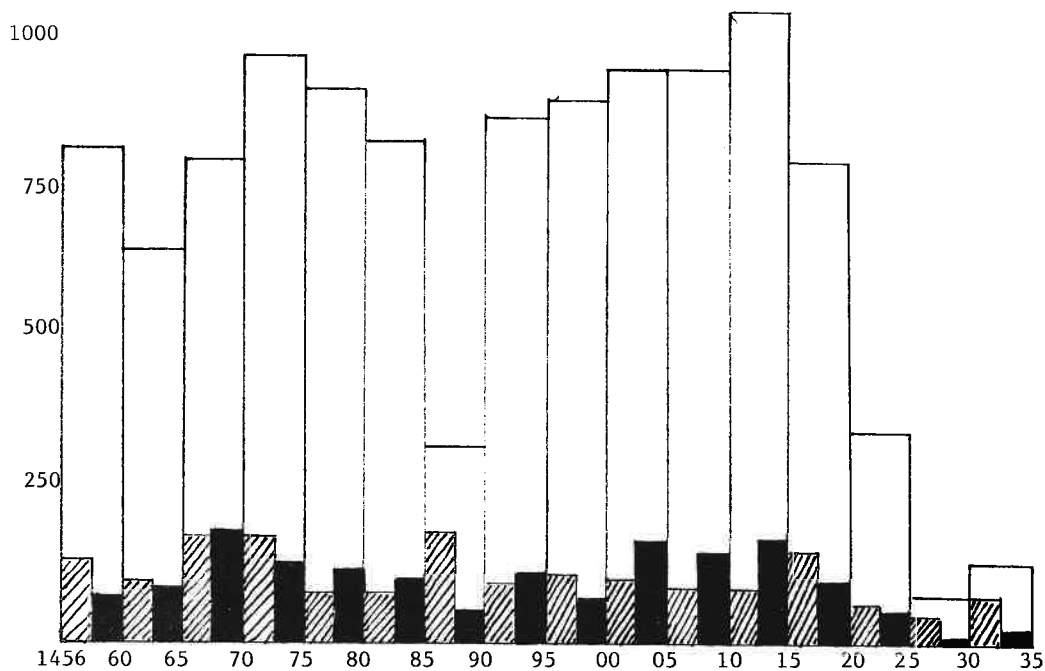
The table above also illustrates the popularity of the various foreign universities among the Danish students. The general trend is clear: The most popular university is that of Rostock which alone accounts for one half of the Danish immatriculations. The university of Greifswald only momentarily threatened Rostock, at the very beginning and in the periods 1486/90, which in general was a period of decline to Rostock, and 1496/1500 which was a period of flourishing at Greifswald in general; after 1500 Greifswald quickly lost importance. Cologne remained third, only threatened at the end of the period by the university of Wittenberg (founded 1502). Of the universities which played a more modest role for the Danish students, Erfurt early lost its importance, whereas Louvain only gained in importance after 1510. That Erfurt and Leipzig lost in importance is not due to internal decline at the two universities; Scandinavian students simply preferred the closer situated North-German universities.

Changes in the pattern due to the foundation of the university of Copenhagen cannot be seen, except perhaps an even greater concentration at the three favourite universities. Changes are more manifest in the years

1. I should like to add that Ellen Jørgensens figures (1916-17: 203) do not display exactly the same fluctuations.

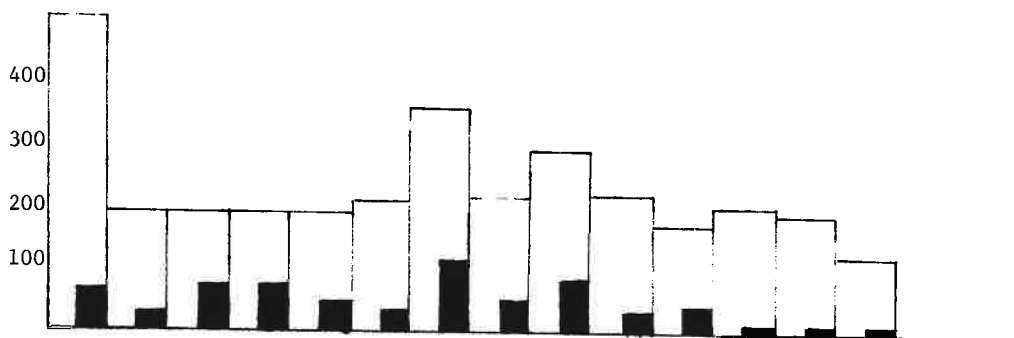
2. The figures for Sweden appear to be analogous: Despite the foundation of the university of Uppsala in 1477 the number of Swedes at German universities remain fairly constant (cf. Kumlien 1942: 157-8): 1470s: ca.75; 1480s: ca.70; 1490s: ca.80; 1500s: ca.55; 1510s: ca.65; 1520s: ca.65; 1530s: 3.

after 1510. In accordance with the general trend Rostock, Greifswald and Cologne lost in importance whereas Wittenberg and Louvain rose¹. This was certainly due to the general cultural developments of the time, Wittenberg being the centre of the Lutheran reformation and Louvain the centre of humanism in Northern Europe.



Frequency at the university of Rostock 1456-1535.

Dark: the number of Danish students. For comparison is also added a striped column for Danish students from all other universities.



Frequency at the university of Greifswald.

Dark: the number of Danish students.

1. For Rostock and Greifswald see the following diagram. The figures for Köln are 1501-5: 1681; 1506-10: 1588; 1511-15: 1662; 1516-20: 1340; 1521-

The choice of university seems to be very much dependent on geographical reasons, the two nearest universities attracting the greatest number of students. The popularity of Cologne against Leipzig and Erfurt may be explained by the close cultural ties connecting Denmark, especially Jutland, and the city at the Rhine. Cultural and economical ties with the two North-German harbour towns, Rostock and Greifswald, are also well-attested.

Unfortunately it is difficult to assess whether ideological considerations played a role for the choice of university. Our knowledge of ideological developments in the 15th century is still rudimentary, and evidence displaying the motivation of students is scarce. Cologne has a well established fame for conservatism and stability - and we know that the *via antiqua* especially in the form of Thomism and later on Albertism played a significant role. *Via antiqua* is, however, not synonymous with conservatism and obscurantism - actually *via antiqua* was the *new* trend, and we know that in Cologne it had fairly well established connections with the new wave of humanism (cf. N.W. Gilbert: Ockham, Wyclif, and the "via moderna". in: *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 9, 1970, pp.85-125).

Since the university of Cologne was to play a decisive role for the new university of Copenhagen, most teachers of the new-founded university having been educated there, further studies in the Cologne tradition would shed much needed light on the presuppositions of Danish intellectuals in the later Middle Ages.

About the Northern universities which, at least numerically, play an even more important role, we unfortunately have even less information. It seems that they followed the moderate tradition of the Eastern German universities, Erfurt and Leipzig, allowing both ways, 'via antiqua' and 'via moderna', to develop around a core of traditional Aristotelianism, with a heavy emphasis on logic and natural philosophy at the beginning of the Arts-course. The curricula were very much the same for all these universities (see e.g. Piltz 1977: 18-24).

Rostock was founded mainly by professors from Erfurt (see Kleinedam I: 86-93). We only possess a few Mss. reflecting the teaching at Rostock (Pinborg 1966 & 1967), suggesting that the characterization given above is justified. It is especially worth noting that the "student's

25: 894; 1526-30: 433; 1531-35: 356. - For *Louvain* 1501-5: 2845; 1506-10: 3208; 1511-15: 3452; 1516-20: 3492; 1521-25: 3485; 1526-30: ; 1531-1535: . - For *Leipzig* 1501-5: 1917; 1506-10: 2272; 1511-15: 2339; 1516-20: 1772; 1521-25: 941; 1526-30: 500; 1531-35: 733. - For *Wittenberg* 1506-10: 879; 1511-15: 1037; 1516-20: 1725; 1521-25: 1099; 1526-30: 689; 1530-35: 1062.

manual" from 1462 written by one Johannes Meyger, perhaps later on canonicus at Bordesholm (cf. Friedlaender 63) where the Ms. belonged, is nothing but a faithful copy of a similar 'manual' used at the town-schools of Erfurt in the 1370s (see Pinborg, CIMAGL 17).

I should like to be somewhat more detailed in my remarks on the university of Greifswald. During the entire period it remained a very small university, with a total of 3376 immatriculations. According to the habitually accepted calculations, presupposing an average stay at the university for a student of 21 months, the average student population was $(3376 \div 70 \times \frac{21}{12}) = 84$.¹ So the university of Greifswald is the university which best can be compared with the Medieval Scandinavian universities in size and general conditions.

Moreover, we are fortunate that the *Liber decanatum facultatis artium*, edited by Friedlaender together with the matricula, offers fascinating glimpses, showing what life was like at a small university of the time. We hear about rivalries among the teachers, expulsions, the election of two rectors or two deans at the same time, and rivalries among the citizens of Greifswald having reflections upon the university.

Problems with receding recruitments of students and teachers appear regularly. Thus in 1471 the dean notes that the university seems at the verge of dying (p.48):

"Item nec quispiam in baccalarium magistrumve promovebatur quia facultas artium et ymmo tota ipsa universitas aut mortua fuit aut mori proxinxit."

Sometimes the reason is the plague. Thus in 1464 it is stated rather pathetically (p.28): "sub cuius decanatu non fuit aliqua promotio in artibus, quia Deus in celis estate precedenti optinuit nostros abiles ydoneos et promovendos in suis celestis partibus."

Much space is devoted to financial problems: the distribution of income between the teachers, attempts to make it economically more attractive to stay on; the deans worked hard to make incomes meet the expenses. Regulations were made for the fees to be paid by students and it was even tried to give a strict definition of the degree of pauperty required to be absolved from such obligations (p.15):

"Et hunc facultas reputat pauperem qui sub sua consciencia dicat quod ultra libros et vestes non habet de bonis hereditariis nec de quibus-

1. For comparison: Rostock has an average of 250, Wittenberg 400, Cologne 500, Leipzig 595, Erfurt 485, Louvain 800.

cumque aliis bonis nec in spe nec in re ultra x florenos, et cum hoc habeat unum magistrum aut virum fide dignum, qui credit rem fore sicut ipse dicit sub sua consciencia."

One recalcitrant problem was the maintaining of the two college-buildings; at regular intervals they are reported to collapse or to be at the verge of collapsing. Often it is not possible to get any outside help for this; thus in 1473 (p.57) each collegiate has to pay one guilder of their own in order to pay the bill for the cleansing of the cloaque of the Minor college: 12 Marks and a barrel of beer.

"Item tempore eiusdem decani cluaca minoris collegii fuit purgando evacuata expensis 12 marcarum et una tunna serevisie, ad quas solvendas unusquisque collegiatorum de propriis unum florenum exposuit."

On the same occasion it is forbidden to keep horses at the college, which seemed particularly hard on one of the prominent professors, magister Theodoricus Steffani de Sundis.

But the deans' book also tells us about the triumphs and the glorious occasions. The recruitment of new, prominent teachers; reforms of the university carried through by the local prince. Thus duke Bugislav in 1497 at no small expense introduced two Italian juridic professors "pro reformatione universitatis"; unfortunately the result seems to have been less positive than anticipated. At least a later hand adds the following remark on the Duke (p.137): Cui Deus parcat, qui illius reformationis extitit auctor, unde huic universitati gravissima evenerunt damna. - Memorable feasts like the one in 1518 where Johannes Oldendorp, educated in Bologna, celebrates his promotion to Doctor of imperial law and his wedding at the same day, "que solemnitates hic numquam una die vise sunt. Et proficiet sibi in vitam eternam" (p.183).

But most of all, of course, we hear about the customary cases of administration: the redistribution of income, the appointment of new teachers and collegiates and especially about examinations.

In all this Danes played a conspicuous role. Their presence in Greifswald was never negligible (cf. the diagram above), and sometimes apparently was felt rather overwhelming. So we read under the year 1497 (p.136):

"Item de pecunia pro stantiis sufficientem suis confratribus fecit rationem, defalcatis singulis pro reformatione phalangerum certarum bur-sarum et canalís sub tecto maioris collegii, et quia maxima pars suppositorum nostre facultatis arcium Daci fuerunt, qui sparsim in civitate a

civibus sibi stantias procuraverunt, ob id modicum ex parte stantiarum facultati eidem proveniebat."

And when the Danish dean, magister Petrus Petri, in 1476 ends the list of new bachelors with the rather solemn words: "quos promovit mgr. Petrus Petri, protunc decanus, canonicus et collegiatus", a different hand adds: "Ecce arrogancia Dacorum" (p.66).

Danes were also involved in scandals. The dean of 1520, Johannes Heliae leaves town without making a clear account of his financial transactions during his decanate (p. 188). But the worst case concerns a murder, which in the wording of the rector almost takes the shape of a detective story (pp.65-67; cf. Kosegarten p.188):

"Item in hoc rectoratu [1476/7] feria secunda ante circumscisionem Domini de nocte, que fuit nox Silvestri, fuit factum detestabile homicidium, quia quatuor Daci in conflictu quendam Conradum Dechowen hic de partibus interfecerunt,¹ qui eapropter fugientes ad monasterium Predicatorum et ibidem latitantes per dictum rectorem unacum dominis de universitate fuerunt de dicto monasterio extracti et incarcerati. Et tandem iudicio contra eosdem criminaliter instituto per amicos interfecti, presente duce Wartislao principe terre, ad instanciam quorundam iudicium fuit suspensum et continuatum usque ad adventum amicorum parcium rearum. In cuius continuatione duo ex toto rei carceres dolose evaserunt aliis reservatis usque ad emendam. <Tandem rex Dacie misit scribam suam, nomine Bertoldum Stenhagen, oriundum de istis partibus hic, ad dominum Wartislaum, principem terre, qui adiutorio principis eosdem incarceratos liberavit de carcere cum emenda ducentorum florenorum, salvis variis notabilibus expensis que facte fuerunt>.²

In isto rectoratu [1477] fuerunt relaxati de carcere et omnino liberati in pregnantibus tamen et duris tractatibus retrospecti duo incarcerati Joachim Daa, filius militis et Nicolaus Marquardi, plebeus de partibus Dacie, qui propter detestabile homicidium cuiusdam Conradi Dechouwen, nobilitaris de Damgarden, huius inclite Gripeswaldensis universitatis suppositi, remanserunt incarcerati, aliis duobus principalibus mirabili ingenio et sagaci astucia, clausis omnino seris, aufugentibus, nescitur

1. It belongs to the story that Conradus Decow and Nicolaus Marquardi had both been created bachelors in the winter term 1476/7 (p.66).

2. This section is only transmitted in the Liber rectoratum, edited by Kosegarten, pp. 159-197. The following section is only in the Matricula.

tamen qua astucia et quo ingenio nec post diligentem multorum inquisitionem cognitum est."

But Danes were also welcomed and remembered for more positive reasons. Several Danes had teaching posts over longer periods (see below). And several ties connected the two small universities of Greifswald and Copenhagen. Several bachelors and masters, educated at one of the universities, were received at the other (see below appendix II & III). Here I shall only mention two entries from the Liber decanatum which belong to the history of both universities.

1480 (p.76):

"Sub isto rectoratu fuit conclusum per universitatem, ut depositio modi doctrinandi, legendi et disputandi a principio universitati habiti et tenti secundum statuta facultatis artium¹ fieret et assumptio modi doctrinandi etc. prout habetur et tenetur Parisius, Lovonii, Colonie et nove universitatis Haffnensis."

1481 (p.80):

"Item sub eodem decanatu fuerunt recepti ad facultatem duo magistri, videlicet Balthasar de Pingwia et Johannes Sartoris de Linghe Westvalus, qui primum venerunt ad Daciam de Colonia, vocati per regem Cristiernum cum multis aliis doctoribus et magistris pro erectione novi studii Haffnensis, postea mortuo rege Cristierno ad scripta dominorum de consulatu huius oppidi et nostre facultatis, que tunc defecit in magistris et suppositis, venerunt prefati magistri ad universitatem istam; et extunc incepit hic vigere via beati Thome, quam doctinarunt hic primum prefati magistri."

Again in 1495 the university of Greifswald invested much in order to gain a Danish scholar (p. 131). "Item baccalarius² Johannes Biltzemann de Dacia, qui gratis fuit receptus ob spem restaurationis facultatis eiusdem, quia pauca erant supposita propter pestem regnantem in precedenti ordinario." In the same year Biltzemann was promoted master and again "non dedit universitati neque facultati propter causam promemoratam" (p.132). He then partook in examinations and was elected rector for the summer term of 1497. Now he is already titulated 'ordinarius in sacra theologia'. In December 1498 the Rostock ordinarius of theology, Gererdus Wrylde was called in "ad promovendum in teologia insignem virum magistrum Johannem Biltzemann" (p. 139). Biltzemann, however, left Greifswald again in 1501 (p. 149).

1. As edited by Kosegarten pp. 296-312.

2. baccalarius from Rostock 1494.

Previously, in 1473-74, Greifswald had been visited by another famous Danish scholar, Erik Nielsen Rosenkrantz, who was later to become rector of the university of Copenhagen for several periods. He was rector in Greifswald in the winter of 1473/4, and was in the same period promoted doctor of canonical law (p. 53) and received into the faculty of arts (p. 56): "Sub cuius decanatu dominus et mgr. Ericus Nicolai, ecclesie Wiber-gensis archidiaconus, ecclesiarum Lundensis, Ripensis et Wibergensis canonicus, decretorum baccalarius, fuit receptus et postea facultatis consilio incorporatus, qui pro sui recepcioni facultati dedit florenum monete Lubicensis, et magistris fecit solidam et laudabilem refectionem in domo hospitit sui."

The "strong" periods of Danish scholars in Greifswald seem to cluster around the following years:¹

1463-69: Jacobus Stake de Ripis; examiner 1462-65, 1467-69, dean 1468 S, rector 1468 W.

1473-82: Ericus Nicolai (as above). Palno Nicolai, canonicus Arusiensis, examiner and dean 1473 S. Ketillus Krabbe, examiner 1474, dean 1474 S. Petrus Petri, examiner 1474-77, dean 1476 W. Johannes Petri de Haffnis, examiner 1477-80, 1482; dean 1477 W, 1479 S, 1480 W, 1482 W; rector 1481 S.

1491-1501: Johannes Biltzemann (see above).

It is hardly a coincidence that the same years show an especially high influx of Danish immatriculations.

About the doctrinal trends at Greifswald we are less well informed. As for the faculty of arts our only source of information is the Statutes and the Liber decanatum.

The statutes §83 have a general description of the competence of a bachelor and a master, which seems worth quoting (Kosegarten p. 306). "In scientia autem hos reputat dignos pro baccalariatu qui bene fundati sunt in trivio, in aliis competenter. Pro magisterio autem dignos reputat qui bene sunt fundati in loyca, naturali philosophi et metaphisica, in aliis competenter." The minimum age required for a bachelor was 17, for a master 21 (§79).

The formal requirements for the bachelor's degree were the following (§110): To have attended *lectiones* on

1. For details of degrees see below Appendix I.2.

Ars vetus (3 months at least)
 Analytica priora et posteriora (3 months)
 Elenchi (2 months)
 Parva logicalia (4 months)
 Rhetorica: Laborinthus (1½ months)
 Physica (6 months)
 De anima (3 months)
 Astronomy: Sphaera materialis (1½ months)

and the following *exercitia*:

1. *term* Ars vetus

Parva logicalia

2. *term* Logica nova

Petrus Hispanus cum sophismatibus/Sophistria

3. *term* De anima + parva naturalia

Physica

For the master's degree were added the following *lectiones*:

Topica, De celo et mundo, De generatione, Meteora, Parva naturalia, Ethica, Economica, Politica, Theorica Planetarum, Perspectiva, Arismetica, Musica, Geometria, Metaphysica.

and these *exercitia*:

Physica (repetition), Nova logica (repetition), De celo et modo, De generatione, Meteora, Ethica, Metaphysica.

These formal requirements were supplemented by the following clarifications or additions. Bachelors should have attended at least 30 sessions of disputations for at least 2 hours (\$95), have acted as *respondens* at least 8 times to a bachelor, and 8 times to a master in ordinary disputations (these 16 sessions could be included in the 30 sessions required above) and at least 2 x 4 times at extraordinary disputations (\$96).

If a student remained absent from a course for 3 consecutive lectures, the course was not reckoned as absolved (\$98).

Finally, in order to make it possible for the masters to evaluate the character and behaviour of the students, every student had to stay for at least 18 months at one of the colleges (\$102). However, dispensations were granted, normally at the cost of a prolonged time of study (\$106).

These requirements do not differ significantly from those of other universities. They were, however, sometimes difficult to reinforce, as evidenced e.g. by a decision of 1477 (Friedlaender p. 69): "Eodem tempore

fuit conclusum, ut scholares ad maiorem diligenciam stringerentur, quatenus non audientes lecciones et exercicia ordine debito solvere deberent tempore dispensacionis integrum pastum magistris de facultate et nihilominus integrum magistro qui legit vel disputavit tempore, quo audiri debuisset, alias nullatenus examini submittatur."

About the contents of the university teaching we do not hear much. The absence of Mss. deriving from Greifswald makes it impossible to supply any direct evidence. The many teachers exchanged with Rostock suggest that there were no great doctrinal differences between these two universities. This may be corroborated by an entry in the Liber decanatum from 1466/7 (p.38):

"Sub quorum temptamine in eodem decanatu facta ad hoc speciali convocatione totius universitatis ad sopiendam dissensiam et discordiam magistrorum in viis tenendis quam tunc habuerunt in admissione ad examen predictorum magistrandorum, conclusum fuit, quod licitum est cuilibet magistrorum legere, disputare, doctrinare et philosophice concludere in artibus in quacumque via probabili sine qualibet derogacione vie alterius.."

Further we have the entry concerning the introduction of the via Thome (above p. 85).

Some glimpses can be had from the list of books belonging to the university library in 1482 (Friedlaender II pp.142-3) and from the books left to the same library by various teachers.

Just as at the other universities of the area (including Copenhagen, cf. Tre latinske grammatikker, Kbh. 1979, pp. 243ff.) Humanism begins to get popular, especially in the beginning of the 16th century.¹

Thus the rector of 1520 introduces his entry into the immatriculation role with the following bombastic "Ad altitonantis preconium": Rectoratus primus seduli ingenuarum artium Palladis Minerve magistri Pauli Molitoris Sundigene, facultatis artium universalis studii Gripeswaldensis collegiati, in die divi Luce ewangeliste electi; sub cuius rectoratumore.veterno-so hos autem subscriptos in dexterrimi huius studii universitatem suscepit (p.189).

A list of lectures from 1521 gives a more specific impression of the impact of humanist studies (p.190):

Cicero, De officiis.

Albertus, Summa philosophiae naturalis.

1. A delightful exposition of German university life about 1500 can be found in Paulus Nivis dialogue, edited in Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch VII (1972) 187-251.

Sallust, Jugurtha.

Georgius Valla, De expedita argumentandi ratione.

Vergil, Georgica.

Valerius Maximus, Exemplorum libri 3 (reliqui proxima hyeme sequente).

Cicero, Cato Maior.

Erasmus, Epistolarum conficiendarum formula.

Elementare introductorium in litteras graecas.

Donatus.

As for the faculty of law our sources are again mostly indirect. Relations to Bologna seem well-attested. The ordinarius of 1473, Georgius Walteri was educated in Bologna (p.53); the same holds true for Johann Oldendorp in 1518. And we have seen that duke Bugislav in 1497 introduced two Italian law professors to Greifswald. We have no statutes, but requirements were probably not very different from e.g. Cologne and Copenhagen (see Malmström 1976: 104-11 & Pinborg 1979).

We possess, however, one piece of direct evidence, a Ms. in the University library of Greifswald, fol.11. I submit H. Müller's description of the Mss.:¹

Papier in Folio, meist von derselben Hand saec. XV geschrieben, 443 Blätter; - enthält: 1) Bl. 1-99'. Joh. Meyloff, Lectiones in libros digestorum; - Bll. 68-78 sind nicht beschrieben. 2) Bl. 100-153'. Ejusdem Lectiones in Clementinarum Lib. II. Tit. 12; - Bll. 121-126 u. 134-153 unbeschrieben. 3) Bl. 154-222. Ejusdem, Lectiones in Clementinarum Lib. II-V. - Am Schlusse: Et sic est finis hujus totius libri, Clementinae nominati, per h. v. domin. et magistr. Joh. Meyloff... in univers. studii Grypswaldensi per me Erasmus Hanneman collecti, a. 1482, quod profiteor manu mea. 4) Bl. 223-254. Ejusdem Lectiones in Sexti Decretalium Lib. I. Tit. 1-5. 7; - Bll. 238 u. 255-258 unbeschrieben. 5) Bl. 259-282. Ejusdem Lectiones in Gregorii Decretalium Lib. I. Tit. 11. 13. 17. 21. 28. 29.; - Bll. 278-282 nicht beschrieben. 6) Bl. 283-334' Ejusdem Lectiones in Gregorii Decretalium Lib. I. Tit. 36. 37. Lib. II. Tit. 24. Am Ende: Et sic est finis hujus libri II. 7) Bl. 335. Urkunde d. d. oppido Gryphiswald. in domo mag. Joh. Sartoris a. 1482; Bll. 336-338 nicht beschrieben. 8) Bl. 339-408. Joh. Meyloff, Lectiones in Gregorii Decretalium Lib. II. 1. De judiciis, mit der falschen Ueberschrift: "Explicit Liber II. Incipit Liber III. De judiciis", Bll. 343-351 nicht beschrieben. Folgt der Commentar zu 14 weiteren in den Decretalen gar nicht vorhandenen Titeln, welche willkürlich gemacht sind. - Bll. 367, 368, 386-391, 409, 410 nicht beschrieben. 9) Bl. 411-433. Ejusdem Lectiones in Institutionum Lib. I. et II. "Inc. Rubrica De capitis diminutione". Bl. 434 leer. 10) Bl. 435-442' Excerpta ex libro Joh. Meyloff. Am Schlusse: "Collectum per me Erasmus Hanneman a. 1415 (sic!)" sabbate Exaudi, in oppido Grypswaldensi, Camin Dioec." Dahinter das Register. 11) Bl. 443' consilium Georgii

1. H. Müller: Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften in der Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Greifswald. Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft 1875: 171.

Gualteri, Iur. Pont. Doct. scriptum manu Joh. Parlebarch. (NB. Zwischen Blatt 14 und 15 sint 2 Blätter ausgeschnitten.)

About the faculties of theology and medecine we know nothing at all.

V

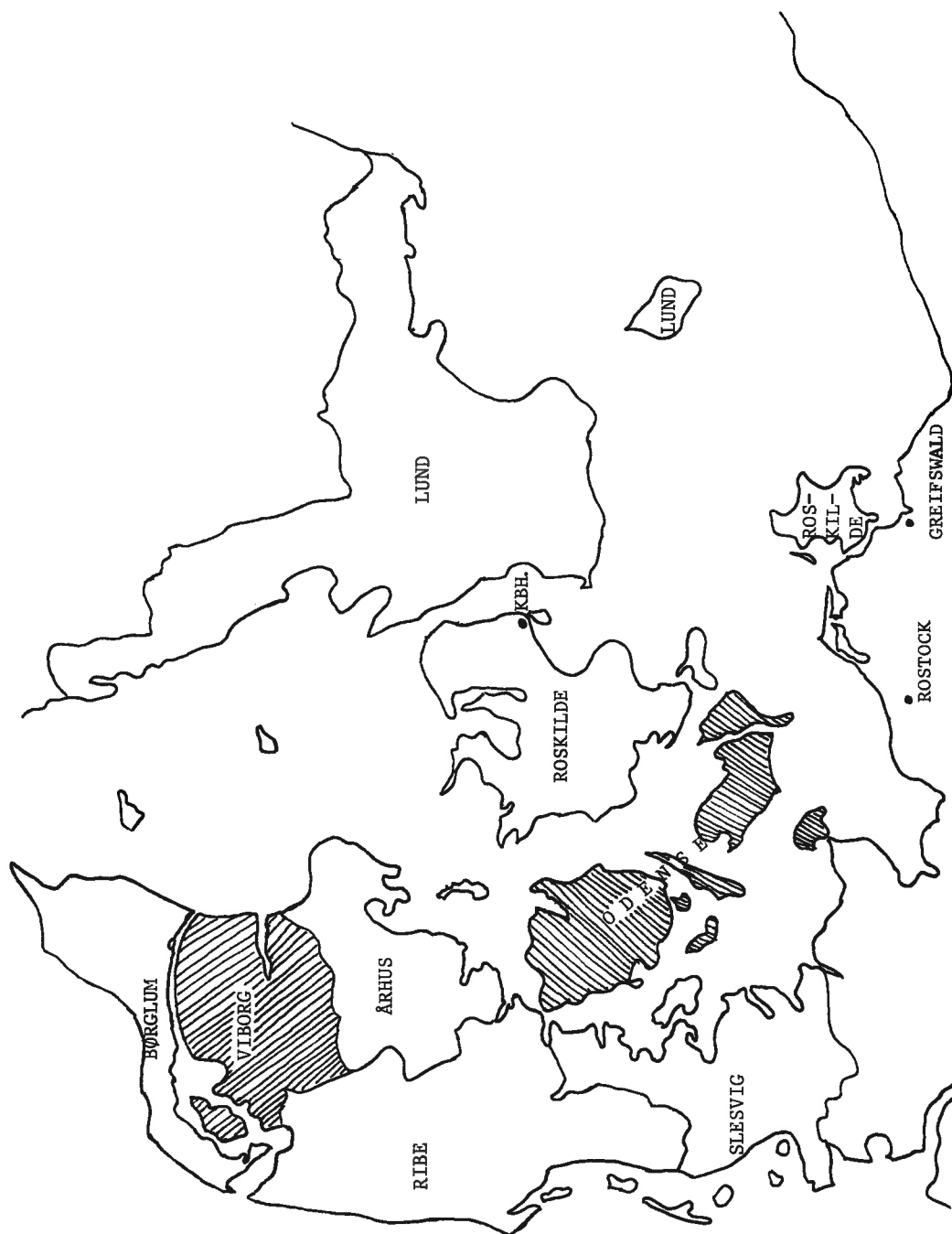
THE LOCAL RECRUITMENT OF DANISH STUDENTS.

The *Matricula* makes it possible to have some impression of the local recruitment of the students. The Rostock *matricula* normally gives town of origin or region (Iutia, Selandia etc.), whereas the other universities normally list the students according to their diocese. The Cologne *matri-cula* after 1480 often lacks the relevant information, but still almost 80% of all entries have sufficient information to make a distribution of the immatriculated students according to diocese. The remaining 20% are listed in a separate column (UNS). I have also made a special column for Jutland, since several entries in Rostock give this as place of origin, not making it possible to choose between the four dioceses of Jutland.

For the period before 1450 we have no similar material. Ellen Jørgensen (1915: 357) has made a calculation based on 138 evidenced Danish scholars in Paris (1200-1450). By 30 of uncertain attribution we have 71 from the two Eastern Danish dioceses (Roskilde 43, Lund 28) and 28 from Jutland (with the majority from Ribe) only 5 from Slesvig and 3 from Odense.

When my calculations start the proportions look quite different:

	BGL	VIB	RIB	ÅRH	JYL	SLV	OD	RSK	LD	UNS	TOTAL
Rostock	16	52	52	102	258	198	106	126	53	83	824
Greifswald	11	28	24	23	88	17	52	93	33	45	328
Köln	1	7	16	6	31	8	13	27	25	173	277
Erfurt	0	3	5	1	9	10	5	9	4	8	45
Leipzig	0	2	1	1	4	6	4	9	2	5	30
Wittenberg	1	4	6	2	13	27	8	10	4	21	83
Louvain	0	2	8	2	12	1	2	11	5	7	38
Frankfurt	0	3	0	1	4	1	1	2	0	1	9
Others	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	2	5	14
TOTAL	29	101	112	138	419	272	191	290	128	348	1648



The total gives the following proportions, changed into percentage of the number of diocese-determined immatriculations: Slesvig 21, Jutland 32, Odense 15, Eastern Denmark 32. Within Jutland Viborg, Ribe, and Århus are very close, whereas the northernmost diocese Børglum is very modestly represented. Probably these figures are not very different from the proportions between the regions in terms of population and wealth, though perhaps as we shall see below the eastern provinces are somewhat underrepresented. [Cf. Aksel E. Christensen: Danmarks befolkning i Middelalderen i Nordisk kultur II: Befolkning i Middelalderen. Stockholm/Oslo/København 1938, pp.41ff.]

The question is whether these numbers to a closer inspection reveal significant irregularities as to time or universities. Let us first consider universities (again the figures are changed into percentages of diocese-determined immatriculations):

	ROST	GREIFSW	COLOGNE	WITTENBERG
SLESVIG	27	6	8	44
JUTLAND	35	31	30	21
ODENSE	14	18	12	13
EAST-DENM	24	45	50	22
uncertain	10%	14%	62%	25%

Admittedly, the figures from Cologne and Wittenberg have a somewhat weak foundation, so I doubt if they can say anything; perhaps, though, the significantly high count for Slesvig in Wittenberg reveals actual fact, since we know that precisely Slesvig was early and strongly influenced by the Lutheran Reformation.

However, the figures for Rostock and Greifswald suggest a somewhat different area of recruitment for the two universities. In Rostock the percentage of students from Slesvig and to a certain degree Jutland is higher than in Greifswald, where students from the two eastern dioceses dominate. Of course, this is hardly surprising, since that is just what you would expect from an inspection of the map.

This trend is as clear when we look at the figures from another angle:

Students from	immatriculated at (in per cent)		
	ROSTOCK	GREIFSWALD	OTHERS
SLESVIG	72	7	21
JUTLAND	61	21	18
ODENSE	55	27	18
EAST-DENM	43	30	27

I doubt if the figures can be pressed much further. However, I want to add three observations, for whatever they are worth.

1. Of the dioceses of Jutland Århus seems to have a much greater preference for Rostock. Since we know of especially close economic ties between Rostock and the cities of Eastern Jutland this might be no accident. - The old seaway from Ribe to Brugge might corroborate the apparent tendency of students from Ribe to go to other, especially West-European universities (Cologne, Louvain - Paris in the 13th century).

2. Since Odense, for reasons which will become apparent shortly, merits special consideration in this study, it might be mentioned that of the 191 entries for Odense, 28 with certainty concerns the islands of Lolland and Falster.

3. The following towns and cities, besides the episcopal sees, are mentioned in the immatriculation-lists. Of approximately 330 entries, 250 derive from Rostock and 40 from Greifswald. So, bearing in mind the distribution discussed above, it should cause no wonder there is a heavy overweight on cities of Slesvig and Jutland.

More than 50 times: Flensborg, Husum

" " 30 " : Copenhagen (half of them from Greifswald)

" " 10 " : Haderslev, Ålborg, Horsens, Svendborg, Halmstad

" " 5 " : Helsingør, Nykøbing (which?), Malmø, Randers, Nakskov, Nyborg, Kolding

3 - 5 times : Landskrona, Varberg, Næstved, Køge, Tønder, Nordstrand, Eckernførde, Assens, (Bornholm)

1 - 2 times : Falkenberg, Ystad, Århus, Helsingborg, Søborg, Sorø, Kalundborg, Stege, Vordingborg, Ringsted, Præstø, Esrum, Holbæk, Saxkøbing, Nysted, Middelfart, Bogense, Thisted, Vestervig, Holstebro, Varde, Ringkøbing, Sønderborg, Skagen, (Læsø), (Samsø)

The next problem is if we can discover any variation over time.

	BGL	VIB	RIB	ARH	JYL	SLV	OD	RSK	LD	UNS	TOTAL
1451-55	0	3	7	4	14	3	3	2	8	12	42
1456-60	1	3	12	7	25	8	15	19	9	31	107
1461-65	0	5	4	10	19	11	7	34	9	14	94
1466-70	2	7	19	8	37	26	18	39	8	27	155
1471-75	6	10	3	17	42	12	15	25	12	18	124
1476-80	2	4	3	3	17	17	16	23	11	16	100
1451 - 1480	11	32	48	49	154	77	74	142	57	118	622
1481-85	3	6	1	6	22	12	7	13	8	27	89
1486-90	3	11	7	14	35	16	15	12	11	28	117
1491-95	1	6	3	8	19	15	16	22	7	25	104
1496-1500	0	10	7	2	22	15	14	17	11	11	90
1501-5	1	6	10	16	35	30	14	14	7	37	137
1506-10	2	13	8	8	35	31	13	21	4	14	118
1481 - 1510	10	52	36	54	168	119	79	99	48	142	655
1511-15	2	6	11	17	44	30	14	13	7	20	128
1516-20	4	6	7	12	30	30	14	16	3	36	129
1521-25	1	0	5	3	9	9	9	10	5	10	52
1526-30	1	2	1	1	5	5	0	2	4	8	24
1531-35	0	3	4	2	9	2	1	8	4	14	38
1511 - 1535	8	17	28	35	97	76	38	49	23	88	371
TOTAL	29	101	112	138	419	272	191	290	128	348	1648

If we try the same groupings and the same calculation as before we get the following proportions:

	1451-80	1481-1510	1511-35
SLESVIG	15	23	26
JYLLAND	30	33	35
ODENSE	15	15	14
EAST-DENM	40	29	25

What seems to happen is that Slesvig gains, whereas the eastern provinces lose. Now there is reason to suspect that Slesvig actually gained in wealth and population; especially the two cities of Flensborg and Husum seem to increase rapidly during the latter decades of the 15th century

(see e.g. Ellen Jørgensen 1915-17: 211). On the other hand there is no reason to suspect a general recession in the eastern provinces. Perhaps the ceding figures of the eastern provinces, even in absolute numbers, are caused by the foundation of the university of Copenhagen, which certainly would be especially attractive to students from these parts.

It seems, then, natural to attempt a reconstruction of the relevant figures for the university of Copenhagen.

VI

THE SIZE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

Unfortunately the *matricula* of Copenhagen is lost for the years before 1611. So we shall have to collect the evidence and try to assess its significance. In Pinborg 1979 I have already presented the material. We have two sets of excerpts from the *matricula*: one in Thura 1734 who selects interesting names and incidents and so cannot be exploited statistically. The other excerpt is by J.J. Bircherod excerpting all students from the island of Fyn.¹ So it should be possible, with much caution, to use this excerpt to get an estimate of the size of the Medieval university of Copenhagen. But two factors may affect our use of the figures. 1^o The inhabitants of Fyn could be overrepresented at the university of Copenhagen, just as it and especially the eastern provinces were over-represented at Greifswald. Moreover, we have already found some evidence suggesting such an 'overrepresentation' of the eastern provinces (but not significantly of the diocese of Odense) at the university of Copenhagen. 2^o Bircherod apparently selected students from Fyn, whereas our calculations so far have had the more comprehensive diocese of Odense as a unit. These two factors, however, seem to work in opposite directions. It is of course not possible to decide which is the most influential.

Now Bircherod counts 147 immatriculations concerning Fyn between 1479 and 1535. If this makes out about 10-20% of the total number of immatriculations - which seems to cover well the range of probabilities - we can estimate a totality of 750-1500 immatriculations at the university of Copenhagen.² This is even less than Greifswald which in the same period

1. Kgl. Bibl. Ms. Gl. klg. Saml. 1076, fol. printed in Rørdam 1866.

2. In Thurah's excerpts and in foreign university-matricula we encounter several students from Jutland. There are even cases of student's from abroad who took their degree at Copenhagen (see Appendix II). In Kulturhistorisk Lexikon for Nordisk middelalder, art. "Studierejser" it is mentioned that two Icelanders studied at the Medieval university of Copenhagen. I do not know the evidence for this.

had about 2033 immatriculations. We do not know exactly for how long students remained at the university, but an average of 2 years will not be too far off the mark. This would give an average student population of 30-60, obviously (as we saw in Greifswald) showing quite violent variations.

A total of 750-1500 immatriculations for the period 1479-1535 equals or surpasses the number of Danish immatriculations at foreign universities. Even if approximately one third of the students immatriculated in Copenhagen later went on to foreign universities¹ - it is still possible to talk about a considerable increase in immatriculations by Danes as a consequence of the foundation of the university of Copenhagen. This is, of course, not surprising. But there has been a tendency to make the Medieval university of Copenhagen less significant than it was.

From the two excerpts mentioned above we know approximately 200 names of the surmised 750 to 1500 (See further Appendix III). A few more can be found in foreign *matricula* (see App.II.2-3).

Bircherod's material is too small to warrant a dependable picture of the fluctuations over time. Nevertheless a rearrangement of his names into 5 year periods, as follows, is quite suggestive:

STUDENTS FROM FYN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN 1479-1615

1479-80	11	1546-50	12
1481-85	7	1551-55	18
1486-90	11	1556-60	37
1491-95	15	1561-65	72
1496-1500	8	1566-70	80
1501-05	8	1571-75	47
1506-10	24	1576-80	30
1511-15	14	1581-85	47
1516-20	16	1586-90	46
1521-25	19	1591-95	40
1526-30	12	1596-1600	38
1531-32	1	1601-05	51
1537-40	4	1606-10	31
1541-45	20	1611-15	47 [by a total of 513]

1. Of Bircherod's 147 students only 30 are found immatriculated at other universities. Of the 137 students from Fyn mentioned in foreign *matricula* only 47 can be traced in Copenhagen.

25

20

15

10

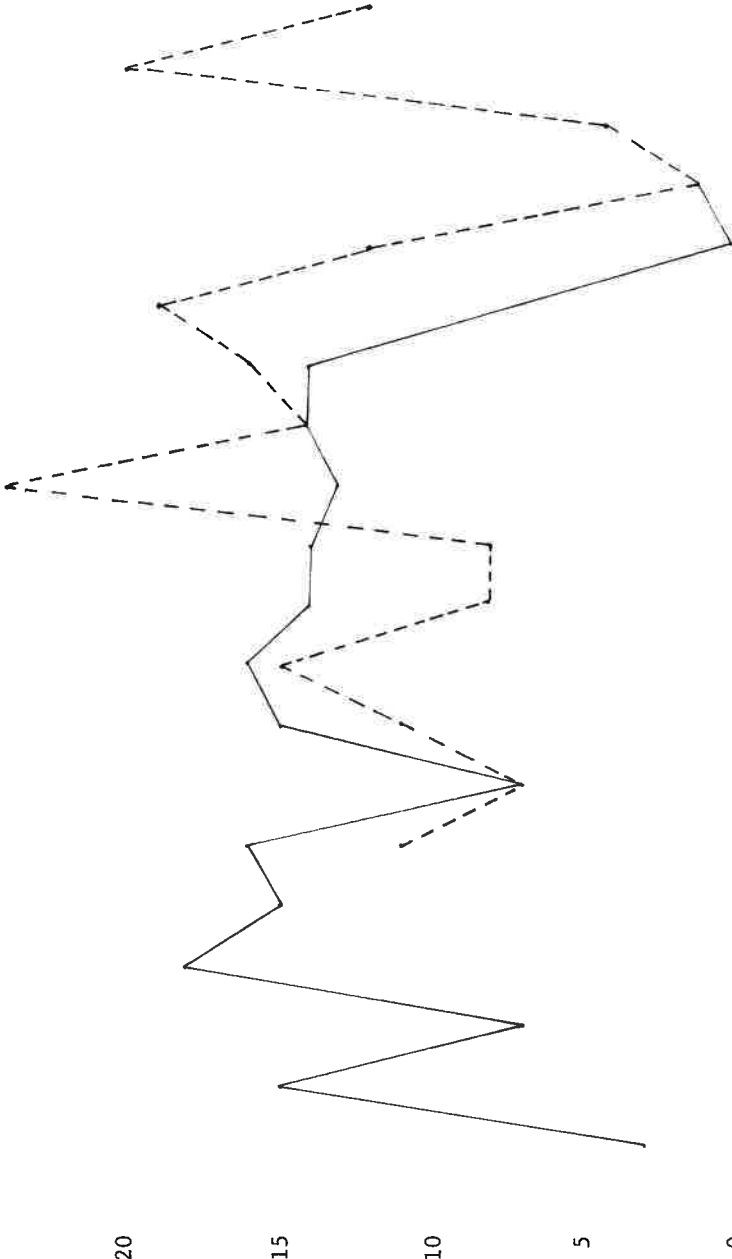
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0

1450 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 00 05 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50

STUDENTS FROM FYN

— foreign universities --- univ. of Copenhagen



I find it very hard not to believe that the university of Copenhagen had a rather strong period beginning at 1506 and lasting almost until 1530. As we have seen the Northgerman universities had a very difficult period already from 1520. That this was not the case in Copenhagen is certainly due to the efforts of King Christiern II. But there is no reason to believe that he had to refound the university almost from scratch, as it is sometimes intimated.

Secondly I want to emphasize that the restauration of the university in 1537 did not immediately create a university much different in size from the Medieval one. First the general amelioration of the financial conditions in the 1560s effects an expansion of the university.

We do not know much about the behaviour of the students at the university of Copenhagen: to which extent they stayed on to be promoted or to which extent they continued their studies abroad or to which extent they gave up. For presentation of some of the relevant material I refer to Appendix III. We know, however, that the foundation of the university of Copenhagen did not stop Danes from going to foreign universities. This is not only true of the Middle Ages, but also of the Post-Reformation university. It would be interesting also to have the immatriculations for the latter period quantified.

VII

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMATRICULATIONS AS TO FACULTIES

Most *matricula* do not specify the faculties for which an immatriculation was made. The only exceptions relevant to this study are Prague, Cologne and occasionally Louvain. The *matricula* of Prague, however, only covers the period 1372-1418, which is not our direct concern. The figures of Ellen Jørgensen appear to show a preponderance for the faculty of law, but the figures are not directly comparable: 75 students of law as against 10 graduates at the faculty of Arts.

All figures from our period show a different picture. The total account for Cologne for the years 1389-1558 is the following (Keussen p. 195*):

ARTES	THEOL.	JURA	MED.	UNSPECIFIED
ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)
27445 (75)	997 (2.8)	4689 (13) ¹	167 (0.4)	3317 (9)

1. Of these 3305 are inscribed to 'law' unspecified, 1157 to 'canonical law' and 227 to 'Roman law'.

There appears to be some changes in the attractiveness of law-studies. Around 1400 the count for 5 year periods vary between 20 and 30%; around 1450 between 10 and 15%; around 1510 between 13 and 17%.

For Danish immatriculations in Cologne I have counted the following:

	ARTES	JUR.	TEOL.	MED.	UNSPEC.	TOTAL
	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	ABS (%)	
1451-1480	88 (91)	4 (4)	1 (1)	0 (0)	3 (3)	96
1481-1510	111 (86)	13 (10)	2 (2)	0 (0)	3 (2)	129
1511-1535	40 (77)	8 (15)	1 (2)	3 (6)	0 (0)	52
	239 (86)	25 (9)	4 (1)	3 (1)	6 (2)	277

As for the other universities, especially for Greifswald and Rostock, we have only indirect evidence. We know of some students who have taken degrees in law in Greifswald, we know at least 2 Dominicans who came to Greifswald to study law (Friedlaender p.142 l.20),¹ and we can assume that masters of arts who were immatriculated again, probably were so in order to study at another faculty. But this kind of evidence is hardly quantifiable. Nothing, however, seems to indicate that the proportions were different from those evident in Cologne. We may believe the same to be the case for Copenhagen, but even there the evidence is feeble (2 attested immatriculations *ad iura*, some promotions at the faculty of law and theology - for which see below Appendix II).

Here the reformation of the university in 1537 effected changes. The faculty of law lost in importance and the faculty of theology gained and became more important for the education of vicars. But the faculty of Arts remained the dominant one for a long time.

VIII

DEGREES

Not all students persevered so long as to take a degree. Actually most of them came back without any. The main reason for this, besides laziness, which is so often mentioned in the statutes that it must have been a real factor, was that it was pretty expensive to get a university degree.

Putting aside the living costs and books which were certainly not cheap - though the majority of students could manage with very few books

1. Qui ambo religiosi venerunt ad istam universitatem causa audiendi iura ab excellentissimis Italis doctoribus.

since memorizing and oral delivery was central to medieval education - a student in Greifswald e.g. had to pay the following according to the statutes of 1454:

immatriculation fee	2m
fee for lectiones required for the bachelor's degree 54s.	
" " exercitia " " " " "	10m + 1fl.
" " lectiones " " " " "	116s.
" " exercitia " " " " "	5m + 4fl.
promotion fee for the bachelor's degree	1m + 3fl.
" " " " master's "	2m + 6fl.
gift for the prandium for a bachelor	3fl.
" " " " " " master	8fl.

Because of our fragmentary knowledge of the various and changing monetary systems of the late Middle Ages it is difficult to compare costs at various universities. But in any event the costs were not negligible. Even if there were more often dispensations given than not you had to think twice before embarking on the adventure of taking a degree. For this whole aspect I refer once more to Mornet.

The sources which enable us to find out who and how many students took a degree are the *Libri decanatum*. Unfortunately they are as unreliable as the *matricula*, which means that we certainly are not able to find all the persons there who took a degree at the university. A proof of this is that we often find bachelors and masters received at other universities, without being able to find a corresponding entry at their university of origin. Further, we find persons promoted to masters without finding proof of their promotion to bachelors. Still this is presumably the minority of cases.

The "graduation-rolls" of the Arts faculties of Rostock, Greifswald and Leipzig have been incorporated into the editions of the *matricula*. For Cologne (and Heidelberg - which is of no importance since we find only one Danish bachelor) the editors have gathered all relevant material in footnotes to the edition of the *matricula*; this makes the Cologne situation by far the best known. For Erfurt the list of masters is edited in *Kleineidam I*: 358-98; the list of bachelors is unedited, but I have been able to use a microfilm of the original.¹ For Wittenberg the graduation lists are edited by Köstlin 1887. For Louvain the lists are unedited and to be found in Mss. of the Royal library of Bruxelles (17569-17571), which I have not seen.

1. Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 1-1/X B XIII/46 (Band 6).

FACULTY OF ARTS

B.A.Ro B.A.Gr B.A.Kö B.A.Wi B.A.elsewhere B.A.Total										M.A.Ro M.A.Gr M.A.Kö M.A.Wi M.A.elsewhere M.A.Total												
1451-55	3	-	3	-	1He 1Er	8	1	-	3	-	1Pa 1Er	6	1456-60	2	6	20	3	3	8	-	2Er	16
1461-65	7	3	11	-	6Er	27	3	3	7	-	2Er	15	1466-70	14	9	7	3	0	6	-	1Pa	10
1471-75	10	12	8	-	2Le 1Pa	33	2	7	0	-		9	1476-80	13	11	13	4	2	6	-		12
1451-1480	49	41	62	-	13	165	16	15	30	-	7	68	1481-85	9	4	13	0	4	9	-		13
1486-90	3	13	19	-	1Le 1Pr	36	1	5	13	-		19	1491-95	9	7	9	5	4	4	-		13
1496-1500	8	8	7	-		22	3	6	4	-		13	1501-05	8	1	21	2	3	15	0		20
1506-10	7	3	10	0		20	0	0	10	0		10	1511-1510	44	36	79	11	22	55	0	0	88
1511-15	10	0	14	0	2Pa	26	1	0	14	0	2Pa 1Lo	18	1516-20	8	0	0	1	0	19	1		21
1521-25	4	0	1	1	1Pa	7	0	0	1	1		2	1526-35	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1Le	6
1511-1535	22	0	15	8	4	49	2	0	34	7	4	47	TOTAL	115	77	156	29	37	119	7	11	203
% of imm.	13.9	23.5	56.3	9.6	13.9	22.8	3.5	11.6	42.9	8.4	8.0	12.3	% of bacc.	-	-	-	25.2	48.0	76.3	(87.8)	57.8	54.1

On the basis of these lists the above table of Danish university graduates from the Arts faculty can be drawn. The year indicated is the year of immatriculation of the student at the degree-giving university. Lists of masters of arts are given in Appendix I.

The figures for Rostock are surprisingly low; this can partly be explained by the lower quality of the Rostock graduation lists; a percentage closer to the Greifswald one should be expected. Several Rostock bachelors are received in Greifswald, without being mentioned in the Rostock graduation-lists. But the promotion-fees in Rostock appear to be rather expensive.

The figures for Cologne, on the other hand, are surprisingly high. These alone suggest that the university of Cologne had an improporionate impact on the standards of Danish learning. The connections were certainly reinforced because of the close ties between the universities of Cologne and Copenhagen.

I do not think that the manifest differences between the Cologne figures and the figures from other universities can only be explained by the high quality of the Cologne information. For one reason or another Cologne in general appears to have had a very high examination proportion. The figures are extraordinary as compared to any other German university. Erfurt e.g. shows a percentage of bachelors/immatriculees raising from 12-15 at the beginning of the 15th century to 36 in the period 1450-1520 and a percentage of Master/Bachelors about 10 (8-9 about 1450, 12-14 about 1510). In Greifswald the Bachelors of art make out 13.6% of the total number of immatriculations and the Masters of art about 4%.¹

One factor which might not be without importance is that the average time of study seems to be pretty low in Cologne (approximately 1 year for the bachelor's degree and 3 years for the Master's degree, whereas the figures for other universities are normally somewhat higher). Maybe it was also cheaper.

Bachelors and Masters were supposed to stay on at the university where they got their degree and assist in teaching for at least two years. It is hard to say to which extent this obligation was fulfilled. We know of some Danish Masters at least who made career at their universities. Greifswald has been discussed above. From Cologne we know that at least the following Danes acted as examiners: Johannes Brostorp de Roskildia and

1. For Erfurt see Kleineidam I p.218. - The figures for Greifswald are by 3376 immatriculations 459 Bachelors and 142 Masters.

Laurentius Andree, Lundensis around 1460; Mathias Johannis, Ottoniensis in 1467; and Petrus de Dacia (Peder Albertsen) in the years 1473-79.

Some masters were repected and functioned at other universities. Rostock and Greifswald e.g. often exchanged teachers in this way. How many of the Danish masters from foreign universities found their way to a teaching post at the university of Copenhagen is hard to say. But we know at least quite a few.

The figures for the higher faculties are harder to get, since the direct sources are few. From Rostock nothing is conserved; for Greifswald we possess the *Liber rectoratum* which normally lists promotions at the higher faculties, but only for the years 1456-87 (ed. in Kosegarten, Anhang pp. 159-97). For Cologne Keussen has again incorporated all relevant material into the footnotes of the *matricula*. The Erfurt material is edited in Kleineidam I: 348 - 58. For the rest we have to rely on indirect evidence, such as mentioning in other records or at other universities.

So I can only present the following meagre table:

HIGHER FACULTIES

	B.IUR.	DR.IUR.	BAC.MED.	LIC.MED.	BAC.THEOL.	DR.THEOL.
1451-80	1Kö 8Gr 1Er [of these 1 utriusque]	1Gr 1Bo	1Kö	1Kö	1Kö 1Gr 1?	
1481-1510	14Kö [of these 3 civ.]				1Lo ¹ 3?	1Gr 1?
1511-35	2Kö 1Ro [of these 1 civ.]		1Kö		1Gr 1? 1Wi	1Gr 1Up
	27 [of these 17Kö=68%]	2	2	1	10	4

To these figures must be added bachelors and doctors known from other sources, but not mentioned in any graduation list, and persons promoted in Copenhagen. Still the total number of higher degrees will hardly surmount 60, of which the majority will be bachelors of law.

As regards the university of Copenhagen the loss of almost all direct sources makes it impossible to make any statistics. The only direct evi-

1. Palle Jensen O. Carm. was immatriculated at the theological faculty of Louvain 1503. 1512 he is bacc.theol. and sent to Uppsala to obtain the doctorate [J.Oscar Andersen, Paulus Helie p.3]

dence is from the faculty of law (see Appendix II.1) and concerns the years 1479-1516. It is not known whether this list is complete or if there were further promotions between 1516 and 1535. The list mentions 3 doctors' promotions (plus one licentiate) and 6 promotions to bachelor. This is perhaps less than could be expected.

For the faculty of theology the only certain promotion is the doctoral promotion of Petrus Davidi de Scotia¹ in 1498. For other possible promotions see Appendix I.9.

For the faculty of Arts we know at least 14 bachelors and 7 masters from Copenhagen received at other universities (Appendix II.2-3. This can only be a minority of the actual promotions. The calculations regarding the size of the university of Copenhagen attempted in section VI would suggest a number of bachelors between 100 and 200 and perhaps 30 to 60 masters.² For the period 1540-65 which had as we saw as many students from Fyn as the period 1479-1540, Thura 1720 has counted 120 bachelors.

Even if the university of Copenhagen thus was a very modest local university it nevertheless seems to have achieved almost everything that could be hoped for. It helped in creating a greater number of academically trained Danes and it effected a concentration of qualified scholars easily accessible to the royal administration. In spite of the efforts of the kings, Hans and Christiern II, however, it never gained a monopoly. Many Danes still preferred to pursue their education abroad and close links continued to exist between Danish intellectuals and the universities of Northern Germany.

1. Petrus Davidi was educated at the university of Cologne and came to Copenhagen with Peder Albertsen in 1479 where he became the first dean of the faculty of Arts. He was known as a faithful Thomist (cf. Paulus Heliae, *Chronicon Skibyense* pp.81-2), but except for a short outline of a disputation from his Cologne period (see Appendix IV) no traces of his scholarly activities are left.

2. Presupposing roughly the same proportion as that of Greifswald which in the same period by 2033 immatriculations promoted 253 bachelors and 82 masters.

APPENDICES.

- I. Lists of Danish graduates at foreign universities 1450-1535.
- II. Promotions at the University of Copenhagen.
- III. Evidenced immatriculations at the University of Copenhagen.
- IV. A disputation of Petrus Davidi Scotus.

APPENDIX I

LISTS OF DANISH GRADUATES AT FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES 1450-1535.

1. Masters of Arts from the University of Rostock.

	IMM.	BACH.	MAST.	REC./COMM.
Laurentius Johannis de Vibergia	4.7.1451	1452/3	1455/6	Kö.1459
Detlevus Rantzowe de Dacia	2.11.1456	1462	1466	
Petrus Pauli Halmestadis			1461	
Johannes Urne de Feonia	1.7.1458	1459/60	1462	
Michael Johannis de Ottonia	24.11.1459		1462	Gr1467
Johannes Jacobi de Arusia	4.8.1462	1464/5	1467/8	see also II.1(?)
Jacobus Martini de Selandia	11.5.1463	1465/6	1470/1	
Ketillus Krabbe de Wybergia	25.5.1465	1466	1469/70	Gr.1473
Cristianus Petri de Wybergia	6.6.1466	1467	1469/70	
Kanutus Johannis de Havenis	4.10.1468	1469/70	1472/3	
Johannes Krabbe	17.10.1474	1475/6	1478/9	
Bertoldus Andree de Boghenes	1.6.1475	1476	1478/9	
Petrus Nicolai de Arusia	22.5.1478	1479	1484/5	
Aquinas Andree de Helmstede	17.10.1478	1480/1	1482/3	
Hartwicus Thoen de Iutzia	2.5.1480	1481/2	1483/4	
Magnus Paysen de Flensburg	12.6.1480	1480	1484/5	(Imm.Kö. theol.1490)
Petrus Andree de Vibergia	28.4.1486	Gr?	1486/7	
Lago Urne de Ottonia	13.10.1491	Gr.1490/1	1491/2	
Boetius Hoen (Hanne) de Eyderstede	1492	1495	1497	
Nicolaus Nicolai de Zwineborch	26.5.1492	1493	1495/6	
Nicolaus Nicolai de Alburgia	16.8.1493	1494/5	1496/7	
Johannes Petri de Swineborch	13.6.1493	1494	1495/6	
Ericus Johannis de Morosia	1496	1498/9	1500/1	
Johannes Henningi de Nestvedia	2.5.1498	Gr?	1507/8	
Johannes Szmyt de Haderslee	20.8.1500	1500/1	1502/3	
Boecius Valbo?			1505	
Petrus Johannis de Horsnesz	23.6.1506	1507/8	1509/10	
Thomas Riper de Horsnesz	13.4.1513	1514	1516/7	
Johannes Tausen de Selandia	6.11.1516	1517/8	1519/20	

2. Masters of Arts from the University of Greifswald

	IMM.	BACH.	MAST.	REC./COMM.
Eschillus Johannis de Hallandia	1456	1456/7	1460/1	
Henricus Davidi de Dacia	1457	1458	1462	
Jacobus Stake de Ripis	1457	1457	1459/60	
Johannes Petri de Haffnis	1465	1466	1467/8	
Birgerus Gunnari de Wardenbergh	1463	1465/6	1467/8	

	IMM.	BACC.	MAG.	REC./COMM.
Benedictus Guttormi de Dacia	1463	1466	1468/9	
Escherus Andree OSB	(1471)	Ro?	1473/4	
Palno Nicolai, Canonicus Arusiensis	(1471)	Ro?	1473/4	
Petrus Petri, cler.Viberg.	(Ro.1470)	Ro?	1473/4	see also I.7,9
Andreas Glob, militaris de Dacia		1473	1476	
Johannes Petri de Haffnis	(Ro.1474)	Ro??	1476	
Nicolaus Stigonis de Dacia, militaris	1473	1474/5	1477	
Nicolaus Michaelis de Lucia	1475	1475/6	1478/9	
Cristiernus Petri de Helsingor	1476	1477/8	1479/80	
Benekinus Petri de Alburgia		Cop.	1482/3	
Petrus Boecii de Dacia	1476/7	1477/8	1482/3	
Johannes Juul, Viberg.	1482	1482	?	imm.mag.Kö.1484
Johannes Nymann de Haffnis			1484	
Ako Jacobi de Dacia, Lund.	1483	1484	1489/90	imm.Kö.1495 ad iur.
Jacobus Joannis OSB, Otton.	1487	1488/9	1490/91	see also II.1
Petrus Martini, Otton.	1487	1487	1488	
Nicolaus Johannis, Arus.	1487	1487	1488	
Martinus Johannis, Arus.	(Ro.1484)	Ro.1485/6	1488	
Johannes Sommer de D.	?	?	1489/90	
Eschillus Thome, Rosk.	1491	Ro.1492/3	1496	
Johannes Biltzemann, Rosk.	(1495/6)	Ro.1494	1495/6	see also I.9
Andreas Valkendorph, Rosk.	(1495/6)	Ro?	1495/6	imm.Cop.1498
Nicolaus Theoderici, Rosk.	(1495/6)	Ro?	1495/6	
Olavus Hack, filius militis, Lund	(1496)		1497/8	
Ulricus Byld, nobilis, cler.Rosk.	(1496)	Ro?	1496/7	imm.Ro.1493/94 Cop.1492/93
Nicolaus Daae, cler.Otton, prior Ordinis S.Johannis	(1496)	Cop??	1496	imm.Cop.1493
Ericus Nicolai de Dacia, prb.	(1496/7)	?	1496/7	
Tycho Vincentii, nobilis, clericus Rosk.	(1497)	Cop.	1497/8	imm.Ro.1494 Cop.1495
Herwichus Lange, Rosk.	1500	1502/3	1504/5	
Ivarus de Monte Solis, Rosk.		Ro?	1507	
Stigo Krumpen	(1505)	Ro.1505/6	1507	imm.Cop.1502
Martinus Krabbe	(1506/7)	Ro.1504/5	1507	imm.Kö.1499 ad iura Frk.1506

3. Masters of Arts from the University of Cologne (Köln)

	IMM.	BACH.	MAST.	REC.
Kelderus Andree, Lund.	1452	1453	1455	
Laurentius Andree, Lund.	1452	1453	1455	
Nic.de Dacia, Rosk.	1454	1455	1458	
Olavus de Roschildia, prb.	1457	1458	1460	
Sweno Johannis de D., Lund.	1457	1458	1460	
Olavus Johannis de Dacia, Rosk.	1457	1458	1460	
Jonas Clementis, Lund.	1458	1460	1463	
Lago Johannis, Ripensis	1458	1459	1461	

Ro? means: Receptus from Rostock, but not found in the graduation list of Rostock

Ro?? means: possibly graduated at Rostock

	IMM.	BACC.	MAG.	REC.
Mathias Johannis, Otton.	1459	1460	1462	
Johannes Clementis, Otton.	1460	1461	1466	
Jud. Ostrati, Otton.	1460	1461	1463	
Petrus Johannis de civ.Hamnensi	1461	1462	1464	
Paul Vlensborch, Slesv.	1462	1463	1465	
Ewald.Sleswich.	1462	1463	1465	
Boetius de D., Lund.	1464	1465	1467	
Joh.Achonis, Lund.	1465	1466	1468	
Andr. Horn, Lund.	1465	1466	1468	
Otto Johannis de D.	1465	1467	1469	
Petrus Magni de D.	1467		1472	see also I.8(?)
Joh.Petri de D., Rip.	1468		1473	
Olavus Johannis, Otton.	1469	1470	1473	
Joh.Dryngenberch	1469	1473	1477	see also I.9
Jacobus Petri de D.	1470	1471	1474	
Olavus Johannis de D.	1470		1474	
Wilhelmus Andree de D., Rip.	1476	1477	1479	
Johannes Petri de D., Aros.	1476	1477	1479	
Johannes Heynonis de D.	1476	1477	1480	
Olavus Johannis de D.	1470	1478	1480	
Georgius de D.	?	?	1478	
Turo de D., Lund	1480	1481	1483	
Johannes Nicolai de D.	(1481)	Cop.	1482	
d.Andr.de D.	1482	1483	1485	
Joh.Jacobi de D.	1482	1483	1485	
Martinus Olavi de D.	1482	1484	1487	
Nic.Martini de Holbech de D.	1483	1484	1486	
Nic.Marquardi de D.	1484	1485	1487	
Esgerus Broc de D.	1484	1485	1488	Imm.Ro.1482/3
Georgius Petri de D.	1484	1484	1486	
Johannes Jucie de D.	1485	1486	1488	
Nic.Petri de D.	1486	1488	1493	
Petrus de Schanea	1486	1487	1489	
Thomas de Holsatia de D.	1486	1487	1489	
Mart. Ollawdi de D.	1487	1487	1489	
Joh.Andree de D.	1487	1487	1489	
Laur.de D.	1487	1488	1491	Anders Friis? rec- tor. Cop.1500,04, 1511-12,15;syn- dicus Cop.1505 (-26)
d.Petrus de D.	1488	1489	1491	
Andr.de D.	1488	1489	1492	
Ericus de D.	1488	1489	1491	
Joh.de D.	1488	1488	1490	
Joh.Berwoet de D.	1489	1490	1492	Imm.Ro.1483
Joh.Clementis	1489	Ro?	1490	(lic)
Matheus Hermannii de Landeskrone	1489	1491	1494	
Johannes Vlasii de D.	1492	1494	1497	see also I.7
Torbernus Bylden de D.	1492	1494	1497	
d.Joh.Olavi de D.	1493	1494	1499	
Laur.Speyldrop de D.	1493	1494	1496	

	IMM.	BACC.	MAG.	REC.
Joh.Severini de D.	1497	1498	1500	
Sev.de D.	1497	1500	1503	
Petr.de D.	1500	1501	1503	
Joh.Scholgart de D.	1500	?	1502	
d.Mathias Andree de D.	1501	?	1504	
Thomas Ludich de Swecia de D.	1501	?	1504	
Gundo Lyden de D.	(1503)	Cop.	1505	
Petrus Erici Bockendael de D.	1503	1503	1505	
Mart.Henrici de D.	1503	1503	1504	
Math. Petri de D. (Rosk.)	Ro.1500	Ro?	1505	rector.Cop.1510/11
		rec. Kö.1502		bacc.theol.before 1520
Andr.Nicolai de D.	1503	1504	1506	(lic.)
Petr.Laurentii de D.	1503	1504	1506	
Joh.Wenick de D.	1503	1504	1511	
Georg.de D.	1503	1505	1511	
Olgerus Schalder de D.	1504	1505	1507	
Steph.Dringenbach de D.	1504	1505	1510	
Nic.de D.,prb.	1504	1505	1507	
Jaspar Brochmar de Haffnia	1505	1506	1509	
Mathias Nicolai de D.	1505	1506	1508	imm.Gr.1509
Andr.de D.	1506	1507	1510	
d.Ingemarus de D.	1506	1507	1508	bacc.iur.before 1512
				see app.II.1
Petr.de D.	1506	1507	1509	
Cristopherus de D.	1507	1508	1510	
Gotsc.de D.	1507	?	1510	
Joh.Andree de D.,Otton.	1508	1508	1511	
Joh.Theoderici de D.	1509	?	1511	
fr.Mathias Erici, conv.Vite Scolae	1509	?	1511	
d.Georg.Petri de D., O.Joh.	1510	1511	1513	
Iwarus Johannis de Roskilde, sacerdos				before rec.Ro.1512
				1512
Kanutus Walkendoerp, Dacus	(1511)	Gr.1496	1512	see also I.7
Jac.Cristiani ex D.	1511	1511	1514	
Mathius Nicolai de Vetlee, Rip.	(1511)	Cop.	1512	
d.Joh.Petri de D.	1511	1512	1514	
Jac.Nicolai de Hadersliff de D.	1511	1512	1514	
Petrus Bernardi de D.	1512		1515	
Benedictus Nicolai de D.	1512	1513	1515	
Canutus de D.	1512		1513	
Joh.Mule de D.	(1513)	Cop.??	1513	imm.Cop.1509
Joh.Gerbo de D.	1513	1514	1517	imm.Cop.1520 ad ius
d.Jacobus Suenonis de D.	1513	1514	1516	
d.Laur.Andree de D.	1513	1514	1516	
d.Joh.Byrne de D.	1513	1514	1517	
Michael Nicolai de D.	1515	1515	1518	
Joh.Gerardi de D.	(1516)	Ro	1519	
Georg.Fries de D.	(1516)	Cop.	1517	
Yvarus Julius Dacus	1516	1516	1518	imm.Cop.1514

	IMM.	BACC.	MAG.	REC.
d.Petrus Severini de Dacia	1516	1517	1519	
Sev.Olavi de D.	1516	1516	1520	
d. Adrianus de D.	1516	Cop.??	1516(lic.)	Notarius Cop.1520
Joh.Petri de D.	(1518)	Cop.	1518	
Joh.Fries de D.	(1517)	Cop.	1518	
d.Michael Michaelis de D.	1517	1519	1520	
d.Johannes Sconinck de D.	(1517)	Cop.	1520	
d.Nic.Michaelis de D.	1517	1519	1520	
Christ.Lymborch de D. prb.	1518	1519	1520	
Georg.Jacobi de D.	(1518)	Cop.	1519	
d.Laur.prb. de Suecia (D.)	1518	1519	1521	
d.Christ.Wijt de D.	1519	1520	1522	
Olavus Magni (Munch) de D.	1519	1520	1522	
Magnus Kaas de D.	1519	1519	1521	
Udo Burglanensis de D.	1520	1521	1523	
Nic.Lymcloester de D.	1520	1522	1524	see also I.8
Math.Benedicti de D.	1521	1522	1524	

4. Bachelors and Masters of Arts from the University of Erfurt.

	IMM.	BACC.	MAG.	REC.
Laurentius Becker de Alburgia in D.		1455	1456/7	1459
Andreas (Wilhelmi) de Vibergia ¹	1457/8		1466	
Andreas Thome de Rippis, prb. ¹	1458	1459		
Nicolaus Andreae de Rippis	1459/60	1463/4	1469	
Georgius Rudh de Roskildia	1462	1463/4		
Clemens Olavi de Roskildia	1462	1464	1468	
fr.Johannes Andreae de Selandia	1462	1464/5		
fr.Mathias Jacobi de Selandia	1462	1464/5		
Ericus Nicolai de Vibergia	1465	1466/7	1470	see also I.7
Nicolaus Petri de Roskildia	1465	1467		

5. Bachelors and Masters of Arts from the University of Wittenberg.

	IMM.	BACC. ²	MAG
Laurencius Helias Ulmann de Roscillia	1517	1518	
Martinus Ihone de Roscillia	1517	1518	
Petrus Pauli de Hussen, Slesw.	1518	1519	
Johannes Lass de Schlesewich	1519	1520	
Mauritius Alber:(Goss) Vitescolensis	1519	Cop.	1520
Paulus Hoekel Husenensis	1529	1533	
Johannes Swaningius	1529/30	?	1533
Petrus Palladius Cimber	1531	?	1533
Petrus Pauli Arusiensis	1533	rec.1534?	1537
Georgius Samsingk	1533	1534	1537
Canutus Acheleius, Ottoniensis	?	1534	
Johannes Sinningius	1533/4	?	1537 bacc.theol.?
Johannes Vibergius	1535	1536	1537

1. The two men seem confused in the graduation list.

2. The bachelors' promotion-lists for 1524-32 appear to be very deficient.

9. Degrees of theology

	IMM.	BACC.	DR.
fr. Jacobus Laurentii de Dacia OFM	Gr.1457	Gr.1457	
Petrus Nicolai de D.	?	before 1482	(mentioned as stud. iur. in Bo.1482)
Johannes Dryngenborch de D.	Kö.1469?	Kö.1481	(mag.art.Kö.1477)
Johannes Biltzemann	Gr.1495/6	?	Gr.1498 (mag.art.Gr.1495/6)
Andreas Christierni O.Carm.		before 1497	before 1519
Petrus Petri		before 1498	(mag.art.Gr.1473)
Mathias Petri		Cop.? before 1520	(mag.art.Kö.1505)
Paulus Helie O.Carm	Cop.?	Cop.? before 1517	
Guilhelmus de Bueren OP. Slesw.	Gr.1519/20	Gr.1520	Gr.1523
Palno Johannis O.Carm.	Lo.1503	Lo.be-fore 1512	Up.

APPENDIX II: PROMOTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

1. Registrum promotorum facultatis utriusque iuris¹

Petrus Alberti, artium et decretorum doctor, medicinarum licentiatus, alme universitatis generalis studii Haffnensis vicecancellarius et utriusque iuris facultatis decanus, consul eiusdem civitatis, fuit² primus doctor promotus in universitate Haffnensi in iure canonico.

Secundus doctor Tilemannus de Roremunda, qui ibidem factus est baccalarius iuris canonici et licentiatus.

Tertius doctor Cristiernus Petri, qui fuit baccalarius et ibidem factus licentiatus, ordinis sancti Johannis Jherusolomitani.

Item magister Jacobus, prior ordinis sancti Benedicti in Otonia promotum est in baccalarium et licentiatum.

Item dominus Laurentius de Vestervigh, canonicus regularis, promotus est in baccalarium.

Item magister Johannes de Novo Castro, promotus est in baccalarium tempore quo fuit decanus facultatis artium.

Item magister Johannes Martini, ordinis sancti Benedicti Sorensis, fuit promotus in baccalarium.

Item magister Ingemar, baccalarius Rostokcensis, receptus est ad legendum in iure canonico, ut temptaretur, quia ignarus erat, sed presumptuosus.³

Item doctor Ditlevus, baccalarius promotus Lovanii et in doctorem promotus Bononiae, receptus est pro doctore ad facultatem utriusque iuris anno MDXII.

Item doctor Anthonius, ordinis premonstratensis, receptus est ad universitatem, pro parvo tempore legit et factus est prepositus Burglanensis.

Item magister Nicolaus de Vorbergh, baccalarius utriusque iuris promotus, in utroque jure receptus ad facultatem anno domini MDXVI.⁴

1. Gl.Kgl.saml.3199, 4^o f.13r. See also Scriptores Rerum Danicarum VIII, 355-6. 2-4. *verba* fuit (2), quia-presumptuosus (3) et Item magister N.de Vorbergh-MDXVI (4) *atramento nigro postea per manum poster.addita*.

2. Bachelors of Arts at the University of Copenhagen

	IMM.	REC.	COMM.
Benekinus Petri de Alburgia		Gr.1482	mag.Gr.1482/3
Johannes Nicolai de D.		Kö.1482	mag.Kö.1482
Tycho Vincentii, nobilis, cler. Rosk.1495		Gr.1497	mag.Gr.1497/8
Gerardus Bungher		Gr.1498	
Gundo Lydon de D.		Kö.1503	mag.Kö.1505
Mathias Nicolai de Vetle, Ripensis		Kö.1511	mag.Kö.1512
Georgius Fries de D.		Kö.1516	mag.Kö.1517
fr.Mauritius Alborch, Vitescolensis		Ro.1516	mag.Wit.1520
Laurentius Esbernii de Naskopia(!), Roskild.		Wit.1516	
Johannes Petri de D.		Kö.1517	mag.Kö.1518
Johannes Fries de D.		Kö.1517	mag.Kö.1518
d.Johannes Sconinck de D.		Kö.1517	mag.Kö.1520
Georgius Jacobi de D.		Kö.1518	mag.Kö.1519
d.Andreas de Norvegia		Kö.1518	
<i>Possibly:</i>			
Johannes Muil (Mule)	1509	Kö.1513	imm.Ro.1513 Kö.1513 mag.Kö.1513
Martinus de D. (M.Børup?)		Kö.1490	
Nicolaus Daae, cler. Otton., prior ordinis S.Johannis	1493	Gr.1496	mag.Gr.1496/7

3. Masters of Arts at the University of Copenhagen

	IMM/Cop.	BACC.	REC.
Johannes Wust de Linghe	1479	Kö.1477	Gr.1480
Nicolaus Christierni de Iutzia		Ro.1477/8	Ro.1484
Morten Børup ¹	ca.1480		
Gerbandus Stenwyck de civ. Slesw. cler.Traiectensis			Gr.1499
Johannes Helie			Gr.1517 (imm.Ro.1517)
Anthוניus Ethlerus Brysche	1513		Wi.1519
Ivo Ethlerus Brysche			Wi.1519
Franciscus Chinicander			Ro.1536, Frkf.1540
<i>Possibly:</i>			
Paulus Luder, can.Haffn., vic.pertuus eccl.colleg.Haffn.			Gr.1501

4. Theological promotions in Copenhagen

Petrus Davidi de Scotia	Dr.1498
Cf.I.9	

1. Cf.Erasmus Laetus De nato baptisatoque primo Friderici II filio [in Rørdam: Monumenta Historiae Daniae II, 1875: 668-9]

APPENDIX III

EVIDENCED IMMATRICULATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN.

in italics: Thura
 normal type: Bircherod
 < >: other sources

1479:

Petrus David de Scotia, mag.art.&sacr.theol.bacc.
Tilemannus Schlecht de Ruremunda, leg.bacc. see App.II.1
Petrus Petri, bacc.decret.Gr. see App.I.2
Birgerus Gunneri, mag.art. see App.I.2 see also
Ericus Nicolai, mag.art. et doct.decret. see App.I.4&6 above p.85
Georgius Hvid, mag.Kö.1478?
Johannes Bruun imm.Ro.1478/9

1480:

Bero Eri
Cristiernus Friis also in Thurah
Ditlevus Schenkel imm.Ro.1478 - also in Thurah
Folmarus Jacobi de Alderup also in Thurah but in 1481
Henricus Jacobi imm.Gr.1478, bacc.Gr.1479/80
Johannes Andree
Laurentius Johannis de Taarpe
Marquardus Skenkel imm.Ro.1478 - also in Thurah
Nicolaus Andree also in Thurah
Georgius Johannis
Sigvard Grubbe, Roskildensis
Wilhelmus Rud imm.Ro.1478/9, imm.Kö.1482 (ad iur.)
Matthias Krabbe
Nicolaus Petri de Lindholm
Michael Stryghe
Nicolaus Stragonis imm.Gr.1473, bacc.Gr.1474/5, mag.Gr.1477
Nicolaus Lykke, ad iura
Johannes Juul sen. imm.Gr.1482
Johannes Juul iun. imm.Gr.1482, bacc.Gr.1482, imm.mag.Kö.1484
Nicolaus Friis imm.Gr.1482, bacc.Gr.1482
Petrus Absalonis

1481:

Petrus Olai also in Thurah
Nicolaus Johannis bacc.Ro.1479/80 - also in Thurah
Petrus Urne bacc.Ro.1478 - also in Thurah
Henricus Kruus

1482:

Andreas Jacobi Swineburgensis also in Thurah
Canutus Mathie

1483:

Johannes Weghe also in Thurah
Christiernus Torchilli, Prior S.Spiritus Hafn

1484:

Johannes Nicolai also in Thurah
Paulus Petri OP sacr.pag.bacc.formatus
Jacobus Johannis
Petrus Diderici
Petrus Nicolai
Nicolaus Erixi
Gerhardus Brysche de Fionia imm.Ro.1486

1485:

Johannes Bilde

1486:

Andreas Ebbonis also in Thurah
 Mathias Henneckini

1487:

Johannes Nicolai
 Mathias Nicolai
 Paulus Canuti
Laurentius Brostorp imm.Ro.1485/6

1488:

Canutus Helgonis de Melfaer also in Thurah
 Canutus Matthiae
 Johannes Christierni
 Michael Petri Cartemund. (*ad artes*) - also in Thurah

1489:

Nicolaus Caroli
Johannes Marquardi imm.Kö.1494

1490:

Ericus Absalonis

1492:

Johannes Johannis imm.Ro.1494/5, Kö.1494?
Sigvardus Mund
Johannes Kaas de Jutia
*<Ulricus Bild>*¹ imm.Ro.1494, Gr.1496 - also in Thurah
 but in 1493

1493:

Andreas Olai
 Canutus Brysche imm.Gr.1496 - also in Thurah
 Ericus Olai
 Nicolaus Daa imm.Gr. 1496 - also in Thurah
 Detlevus Andreae
Severinus prope Arhusium imm.Ro. 1492?

1494:

Canutus Erixi also in Thurah
 Canutus Vernerii
 Matthias Marquardi
Otto Nicolai imm.Ro.1486/7, Gr.1488 - also in Thurah
 1. Programskrift v.rektorskiftet, Kbh.Univ.1692 mentions: Sigvardus Mund,
 Johannes Kaas, Ulricus Bild, aliique plures generosa maiorum stemmata equi-
 dem digna rati.

1495:

Nicolaus Friis
 Petrus Simonis
 Simon Laurentii
 Tycho Vincentii

also in Thurah

imm.Ro.1494, imm.Gr.1497, Lou.1514 - also in
 Thurah

1496:

Haco Stygge, Lundensis dioc.

1497:

Canutus Valckendorph
 Johannes Valckendorph
 Michael Petri
 Nicolaus Pauli
Ericus Daae

imm.Gr.1495/6 Ro.1493/4 Kö.1511 - also in Thurah
 imm.Gr.1495/6, Kö.1514? - also in Thurah
 also in Thurah

imm.Gr.1498

1498:

Johannes Bruun
 Nicolaus Severini
Ericus Neb
Canutus Petri de Thim
Andreas Valkendorph

imm.Gr.1496?

imm.Gr.1495/6

1499:

Nicolaus Pauli
Johannes Petri Brokkenhuus

imm.Ro.1502

1500:

Nicolaus Johannis

1501:

Andreas Nicolai
 Ericus Stigoti
 Matthias Petri
 Petrus Tychonis

1502:

Johannes Esberni Foburg
 Michael Petri
Sveno Munch
Stycho Krumpen
Laurentius Scheel
Nicolaus Scheel
 <Tidechinus Johannis>

imm.Ro.1505, imm.Gr.1507

imm.Ro.1506

imm.Kö.1503

1504:

Erichinus Jacobi
 Varnerus Nielssen

1506:

Johannes Nicolai
 Nicolaus Friis
 Severinus Magni

imm.Ro.1505, Lou.1514?

1507:

Georgius Caroli	imm.Gr.1508, Kö.1509
Georgius Laurentii	imm.Gr.1508
Johannes Andreae	imm.Gr.1508?
Johannes Olavi	
Laurentius Matthiae	

1508:

Canutus Andreae	imm.Ro.1507/8, Gr.1508
Cristianus Thomae	
Georgius Nicolai	
Johannes Henrici	
Nicolaus Petri	

1509:

Canutus Petri	
Johannes Canuti	
Johannes Jaspari	
Johannes Muijl	imm.Ro.1513, Kö.1513
<i>Canutus Laurentii Bilde</i>	

1510:

Georgius Johannis	
Jacobus Suenonis	
Laurentius Petri	imm.Ro.1513
Nicolaus Friis	
Olaus Petri	
Petrus Bernhardi	
Nicolaus Johannis	

1511:

Johannes Matthiae	imm.Ro.1513
Johannes Nicolai	imm.Lou.1514?
Laurentius Johannis	
Nicolaus Petri	

1512:

Andreas Esberni	
Johannes Pauli	
Varnerus Johannis	

1513:

Anthonium Brysche	imm.Wit.1520
Canutus Nicolai	

1514:

Johannes Andreae	
Johannes Friis	imm.Kö.1517
Nicolaus Petri	
<Ivar Juul> (see Werlauff p.34 note d)	imm.Kö.1516

1515:

Andreas Johannis	
Varnerus Helghe	
Jacobus (=Joachim) Rønnow? [but Bircherod forgot to indicate the year of of immatriculation]	imm.Wit.1516

1516:

Petrus Martini

1517:

Marcus Nicolai

1518:

Erasmus Johannis

Petrus Martini

*Joachimus Laurentii Beck**Absolon Severini Aarhusiensis*

1519:

Cristiernus Johannis

Erasmus Johannis

imm.Wit.1520

Jacobus Brockenhuus

imm.Ro.1521 - also in Thurah

Johannes Christierni

Johannes Georgii

Stico Pors

Nicolaus Johannis (art.bacc.Werlauff p.77 note c)

*Dns. Johannes Samsinus, Årh., Ro.bacc.**Thorchillus Abildgaard*

1520:

Jodocus Andreae

also in Thurah

Johannes Gaas

imm.Wit.1521

Matthias Johannis

also in Thurah

Mathias Petri

also in Thurah

Nicolaus Petri

also in Thurah

*Johannes Gelbo mag.art.ad ius canon. imm.Kö.1513 (mag.1517)**Petrus Laurentii**Johannes Petri*

imm.Ro.1523?

*Petrus Matthiae**Petrus Iohannis**Nicolaus Johannis**Olavus Othoniensis**Laurentius Petri**Simon Rogerii**Thomas Alame de Scotia**Adrianus*

imm.Kö.1516

*Jacobus Jacobi**Johannes Michaelis**Johannes Johannis*

1521:

Canutus Johannis

Canutus Magni

Johannes Thomae

Michael Nicolai

Nicolaus Laurentii

1522:

Andreas Ivari

Georgius Canuti

Georgius Laurentii
 Johannes Michaelis
 Laurentius Bertoldi
 Laurentius Erci
 Laurentius Jacobi
 Laurentius Nicolai Cotte imm.Ro.1523

1523:

Georgius Urne
 Johannes Storm
 Laurentius Johannis
 Matthias Johannis

1524:

Johannes Petri Mule
 Petrus Nicolai
Johannes Cusanus

1526:

Johannes Matthiae
 Martinus Matthiae
 Nicolaus Blak
 Petrus Andreae

1527:

Olavus Bartholomaei

1528:

Balthasar Johannis

1529:

Cristiernus Johannis
 Jaspar Johannis
 Johannes Eschilli
 Petrus Jacobi
 Petrus Palaemonis
 Petrus Johannis
 <Absalon Urne> (Werlauff p.34 note e)

1532:

Ericus Petri

APPENDIX IV

A DISPUTATIO OF PETRUS (DAVIDI) DE SCOTIA
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE 1477.

Magister Petrus de Scotia.

Utrum nove legis sacramenta effectum duplicem interius causent quem visibiliter ad extra ex similitudine representant.

Sacramentum est sacre rei signum sensibile ad rationalis sanctificationem finaliter ordinatum.

Pro omni statu nature lapse aliquod remedium contra morbum congruum et quodammodo necessarium fuit habere, in lege igitur ewangelii que perfectior est et posterior congruit institui sacramenta nove legis quibus singula peccatorum curantur genera.

Hec nove legis sacramenta in virtute operis operati in non ponentibus obicem effectum salutarem operantur, quae in gratiam et characterem consequenter dividuntur.

Characterem instrumentalis virtus divina hiis inherens effective operatur, quamquam ad gratiam effectivam causalitas ab eisdem tollitur. Igitur huiusmodi sacramenta sunt causa gratie dispositive, quibus est aptitudo coniuncta ad gratiam representandi.

Quoniam tria sunt sacramenta initerabilia characteris indelibilis impressiva, hic character potentia existens spirituali appropriate a filio in animis imprimitur et in intellectu subiectatur. Septem igitur sunt nove legis sacramenta quorum bene tria sunt characteris impressiva.

For the context of this disputation and the Ms. in which it is found see G.Löhr OP: Die theologischen Disputationen und Promotionen an der Universität Köln im ausgehenden XV. Jahrhundert nach den Angaben des P. Servatius Fanckel OP, Leipzig 1926.

Frankfurt a/M, Stadt und Univ.Bibl. Praed.102 f.35r:
Disputatio 1477

potest nunc fieri & dicitur aut quoniam respicitur

Q^uid nunc legi sac^{ta} effectus dicitur inter & causet ¶ Ingr^o petri & fona
que visibilem adae ex pte me respiciunt

ut h^{ic} est factum di^{vi}ni p^{er} se ad r^{ati}oⁿis p^{er}sonas finaliter ordinatum.

Id^eo potest ut lapsus ad quod immed^{iat}e q^{ui} multum agunt & quod d^{icitur} n^{on} fuit h^{ic}
n^{on} legi & etiam q^{ui} p^{er}fectior est & p^{er}sona agunt istius sac^{ta} n^{on} l^{ic}et q^{ui} singul^{is} p^{er}sonis
¶ n^{on} d^{icitur} quod

In nunc legi sac^{ta} iⁿ d^{icitur} opus op^{er}is iⁿ n^{on} p^{er}sonis ob^{er}at effectus salutis op^{er}is q^{ui} m^{ag}n^{is}
¶ n^{on} d^{icitur} q^{ui} d^{icitur} d^{icitur} ¶ ab eisdem tollitur
aracter^{is} m^{ag}n^{is} l^{ic}et d^{icitur} h^{ic} m^{ag}n^{is} effectus op^{er}is q^{ui} ad g^{ra}ti^{as} effectus m^{ag}n^{is}
¶ q^{ui} sac^{ta} fuit c^{um} g^{ra}ti^{as} d^{icitur} q^{ui} est aptitudo g^{ra}ti^{as} ad g^{ra}ti^{as} iⁿ p^{er}sonis

¶ q^{ui} h^{ic} fuit sac^{ta} iⁿ d^{icitur} l^{ic}et m^{ag}n^{is} m^{ag}n^{is} iⁿ p^{er}sonis
¶ n^{on} d^{icitur} pot^{est} d^{icitur} p^{er}sonis q^{ui} a p^{er}sonis d^{icitur} p^{er}sonis & d^{icitur} p^{er}sonis
¶ q^{ui} fuit nunc legi sac^{ta} q^{ui} t^{ri}u^m fuit m^{ag}n^{is} d^{icitur}

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