

# *Humanism at the Council of Constance. Diego de Anaya, Classical Manuscripts and Education in Salamanca*

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Councils have long embodied the Church's communal nature while reflecting the complexities of their time. Beyond resolving specific ecclesiastical issues, their large, multicultural gatherings functioned as spaces for intellectual exchange, diplomacy and public discourse often anticipating broader cultural trends.<sup>1</sup> Among them, the Council of Constance stood out, held amid major European transformations to end the Western Schism (1378–1417). However, due to its unique *ex nationibus* structure and the vast attendance it attracted, the Council also functioned as a grand assembly of nations – an early precursor to an international congress.<sup>2</sup> In this capacity, it facilitated an exceptionally rich cultural exchange, unmatched by most institutions of its time.<sup>3</sup>

## HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON HUMANISM AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

The Council of Constance (1414–1418) focused on the most urgent issues that had led to its convocation: resolving the Western Schism (*causa unionis*), reforming the Church (*causa reformationis*) and addressing matters of faith (*causa fidei*). However, for Emperor Sigismund, the primary political objective was to unite Latin Europe against the advancing Muslim forces from the East. As King of Hungary, he had experienced this threat firsthand, suffering a crushing defeat at Nicopolis in 1396. The Ottoman expansion made a strong and unified political authority in Central Europe imperative, yet the ongoing Schism within the Church undermined any effort toward unity. Beyond religious and political disputes, Sigismund also sought to resolve the Hussite conflict to strengthen the eastern frontier, end the war between France and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Johannes Helmuth, *Wege des Humanismus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 122.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Finke, *Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1889), 1–3.

<sup>3</sup> Federico Tavelli, *Las naciones en el Concilio de Constanza. Castilla en el camino a la unidad* (Buenos Aires: Agape, 2018).

England and establish diplomatic ties – or even a potential union – with the Greeks. An ecumenical council seemed the most effective means to address these challenges collectively.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, the Council of Constance was more than a theological and political battleground; it also became a meeting point for some of the most influential figures of the era. This grand assembly on German soil served as the stage where the most pressing debates of the time unfolded. The fifteenth century witnessed, with remarkable intensity, the transformations set in motion during the previous century. Beyond these political and religious concerns, another major development also shaped the council. The rise of Italian humanism stood out, reshaping conceptions of humanity and the world and leaving an enduring influence for at least the next two centuries.

This literary, cultural, artistic, intellectual and educational movement, which had begun to take shape in Italy in the late fourteenth century, gained significant momentum in the early *Quattrocento*.<sup>5</sup> Characterized by a systematic revival of classical antiquity, it stood in contrast to the scholastic philosophy, logic and theology that had dominated the Middle Ages. This renewal led to a profound transformation of the intellectual class and its role in society, fostering an unprecedented collaboration between scholars and political leaders.<sup>6</sup> Cities such as Florence, Venice and Rome had become key centres of this movement, attracting scholars, artists and patrons who fuelled the cultural flourishing of the Renaissance. Many prominent humanists travelled to Constance as part of papal delegations or in the service of influential political figures. Indeed, nearly all the leading figures of early humanism were contemporaries of the Council of Constance, and many attended, including Francesco Zabarella, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Paolo Vergerio, Agapito Cenci, Bartolomeo Aragazzi di Montepulciano, Antonio Loschi, Benedetto da Piglio and Manuel Chrysoloras, among others.

This article aims to examine how the Council of Constance functioned as a hub for the exchange and dissemination of humanist ideas. To illustrate this dynamic, it focuses on the case of the Castilian bishop Diego de Anaya, who participated in the Council as president of the Castilian delegation and interacted with many intellectuals and political leaders. I will analyse

<sup>4</sup> Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, *El Cisma de occidente* (Madrid: Rialp, 1982), 247–8.

<sup>5</sup> Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021); Jeremy N. H. Lawrance, “Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula,” in: Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London: Routledge, 1990), 133–51; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> Guido M. Cappelli, *El humanismo italiano* (Madrid: Alianza, 2007).

the connections he established, the manuscripts he may have acquired or exchanged and the impact these had in Castile, particularly in Salamanca.

The study of this Council has long attracted considerable scholarly interest. Since the late nineteenth century, it has undergone significant development and has been examined from a range of perspectives, including historical, theological, social, legal and cultural approaches, among others.<sup>7</sup>

However, its role as a key moment in the early circulation and expansion of humanism has received comparatively little attention. Only a handful of brief studies have addressed this particular aspect. This is partly because other, more pressing concerns – such as conciliarism and the resolution of the Western Schism commanded greater scholarly attention and partly because the subsequent Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1431–1445) emerged as a

<sup>7</sup> For a historiographical overview: Tavelli, *Las naciones en el Concilio de Constanza* and the extensive literature: 509–28, or Ansgar Frenken, “Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren” *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* (1993) as it provides an overview of the current state of research on the subject up to 1993. Among the most relevant and recent works: Phillip H. Stump, *Conciliar Diplomacy at the Council of Constance (1414–1418): Unity and Peacemaking in a World Historical Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2024); Sebastián Providente, *Política y eclesiología en el pensamiento conciliar de los siglos XIV–XV. Jan Hus en el concilio de Constanza* (Buenos Aires: 2022); Federico Tavelli, “Die Schritte zur Einführung des Stimmrechts per Nationes auf dem Konzil von Konstanz (1414–1418)”, *Revue d’histoire Ecclésiastique*, 116 (2021) 687–728. Malte Prielzel, *The Sermons at the Council of Constance, 1414–1418* (DFG, 2020–2024); Norman Housley, “Gathering and Using Information at the Fifteenth-Century Church Councils: The Example of Crusade,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 46, 2 (2020) 195–216; *Badisches Landesmuseum, Das Konstanzer Konzil. Weltereignis des Mittelalters (1414–1418). Katalog* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2014); Thomas M. Buck and Herbert Kraumer, *Das Konstanzer Konzil, Kirchenpolitik, Weltgeschehen, Alltagsleben* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Jan, 2014); Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte (ed.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis: Begegnungen, Medien, Ritualen* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2014); Monika Küble and Henry Gerlach, *Augenzeuge des Konstanzer Konzils. Die Chronik des Ulrich Richental* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2014); Federico Tavelli, “El Concilio de Constanza y el fin del Cisma. El rol del Reino de Castilla en el camino hacia la unidad,” *Teología* 112 (2013) 73–102; Jan Keupp and Jörg Schwarz, *Konstanz 1414–1418: Eine Stadt und ihr Konzil* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2013); Karl-Heinz Braun, Mathias Herweg, Hans Hubert, Joachim Schneider, and Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil. Essays* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Theiss, 2013); Philipp Stump, “The Council of Constance (1414–18) and the End of the Schism,” in: Rollo Koster and T. M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 431–2; Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz (1414–1418)*, vol. I: *Bis zur Abreise Sigismunds nach Narbonne*, vol. II: *Bis zum Konzilsende* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1998); Philipp Stump, *The “Reforms” of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

major centre of humanist activity, further eclipsing the role of humanism in Constance.<sup>8</sup>

In the early twentieth century, some authors addressed the subject. In 1913, Ernst Walser provided a brief – and already outdated – discussion in his article on the Councils of Constance and Basel, viewing them as two stages in the history of reform and humanism.<sup>9</sup> Heinrich Finke had already noted in his renowned *Acta* the presence of Petrarch in many of the sermons delivered at the Council.<sup>10</sup> Paul Lehmann addressed one aspect of this topic more tangentially in 1921 when discussing the exchange of ideas and books at the Council.<sup>11</sup> Many years later, in 1993, Ansgar Frenken stated that ‘a comprehensive study addressing the significance of the humanists and humanism at the *Constantiense* does not yet exist’.<sup>12</sup> In 1999, the German historian Alexander Patschovsky, a member of the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für*

<sup>8</sup> Ruiz Arzalluz, “Diego de Moxena, el *Liber sine nomine* de Petrarca y el Concilio de Constanza,” *Quaderns d’Italià* 20 (2015) 58–87; Concetta Bianca, “Il Concilio di Costanza come centro di produzione manoscritta degli umanisti,” in: Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte (ed.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis: Begegnungen, Medien, Ritualen*, (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2014), 379–89; Dieter Mertens, “Das Konzil und der Humanismus. Handschriftensuche und die Präsenz der Italiener,” in: Karl-Heinz Braun, Mathias Herweg, Hans Hubert, Joachim Schneider, and Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil, 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters*, (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2014), 33–8; Johannes Helmuth, *Wege des Humanismus* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2014) 122; Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Johannes Helmuth, “Diffusion des Humanismus und Antikerezeption auf den Konzilien von Konstanz, Basel und Ferrara-Florenz,” in: Ludger Grenzmann and Klaus Grubmüller (eds.), *Die Präsenz der Antike im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); P. Gilli, “L’humanisme français au temps du concile de Constance,” in: Didier Marcotte (ed.), *Humanisme et culture géographique à l’époque du concile de Constance. Autour de Guillaume Fillastre. Actes du colloque de l’Université de Reims, 18–19 novembre 1999* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Johannes Helmuth, Ulrich Muhlack, and Gerrit Walther (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus: Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002); Alexander Patschovsky, *Der italienische Humanismus auf dem Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418)* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1999); 315–17; Johannes Helmuth, “Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien,” in: Hans Pohl (ed.), *Die Bedeutung der Kommunikation für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 116–72; Jürgen Miethke, “Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentlichen Meinung im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981) 736–73; Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV. Edizione anastatica con nuove aggiunte e correzioni dell’autore a cura di Eugenio Garin* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1967); Gianni Zippel, “Gli inizi dell’Umanesimo tedesco e l’Umanesimo italiano nel XV secolo,” *Bollettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo* 75 (1963) 345–89; Paul Lehmann, “Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte der großen Kirchenversammlungen,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum* 4 (1921) 6–11, 17–27; Ernst Walser, “Die Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel. Zwei Etappen in der Geschichte der Kirchenreform und des Humanismus,” *Wissen und Leben* 6 (1913) 424–43. Petrarch’s epistolary enjoyed significant circulation among the intellectuals in Constance, see: Agostino Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale* (Padua: Antenore, 1971–1978) vol. 2, 643–50; S. Hartmann, “Von Petrarca bis Pisanello: Zur Rezeption italienischer Kultur im Werk Oswalds von Wolkenstein (1376/77–1445)” *Aevum* 75 (2001) 577–99; E. Rauner, *Petrarcha-Handschriften in Tschechien und in der Slowakischen Republik* (Padua: Antenore, 1999) 315–17.

<sup>9</sup> Walser, Die Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel, 424–43.

<sup>10</sup> Heinrich Finke, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, in 4 vols. (Münster-Regensburg: 1898–1928) (hereafter ACC) vol. 4, 378, see note: 44.

<sup>11</sup> Lehmann, “Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte” 6–11, Miethke, “Die Konzilien” 736–73; Helmuth, “Kommunikation” 116–72.

<sup>12</sup> Ansgar Frenken, “Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418)” the author states: “Eine Gesamtuntersuchung, die sich mit der Bedeutung der Humanisten und des Humanismus auf dem Constantiense beschäftigte, existiert meines Wissens bislang nicht” 6 note: 4.

*mittelalterliche Geschichte*, published a brief yet insightful account of Italian humanism at the Council of Constance, highlighting the key figures of this movement within the conciliar assembly.<sup>13</sup> Recently, others have studied specific aspects or individual figures and their relationship with humanism at the Council, thus contributing to a deeper understanding of this topic.<sup>14</sup> In 2014, Concetta Bianca studied the presence of humanists in the city of Constance during the time of the Council, focusing on the circulation of their works and manuscripts.<sup>15</sup>

Despite being a paradigmatic figure in Castilian medieval history – a cultured man and patron invested in education – Bishop Diego de Anaya y Maldonado has received little attention in historiography, especially regarding his role at the Council of Constance. Even less focus has been placed on the humanist influences following his return from the synod. Monsalvo Antón's 2014 study on Diego de Anaya and his era is notable, though it does not centre on the Council. Recently, I have explored the Spanish prelate's role at the Council, thereby opening new avenues for research.<sup>16</sup> This article contributes to the historiography by examining the Council of Constance as a platform for cultural and humanist diffusion, focusing on its influence toward the Iberian Peninsula. This complements traditional studies centred on Central, Northern Europe and Italy, while also suggesting alternative perspectives on the Renaissance's later impact in Latin America, which lie beyond this article's scope.

#### DIEGO DE ANAYA'S INTEREST IN EDUCATION AND HUMANISM IN LATE MEDIEVAL CASTILE

Diego de Anaya (1357–1437) is an essential figure in the political and cultural landscape of early fifteenth-century Castile. He was a learned man and a patron of education who not only carried out various functions in support of the Castilian monarchy's interests but also led multiple missions abroad. Despite being one of the most prominent Castilian figures, the study of his life and

<sup>13</sup> See: Patschovsky, *Der italienische Humanismus*.

<sup>14</sup> Gilli, 'L'humanisme français au temps du concile de Constance' 41–62. Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Diego de Moxena' 58–87.

<sup>15</sup> Bianca, 'El Concilio', 379–89.

<sup>16</sup> José María Monsalvo Antón, 'Diego de Anaya (1357–1437) y su tiempo. Aristócrata, obispo, diplomático y humanista', in Miguel Anxo Pena González, Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares (eds.), *La Universidad de Salamanca y el Pontificado en la Edad Media* (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2014), 217–54; Federico Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario de Diego de Anaya. Su valor en la formación del humanismo español*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, Obras de Referencia 45, 2020), Federico Tavelli, 'Un obispo fiel a dos papas, Don Diego de Anaya y Maldonado', in Tavelli, *Las naciones en el Concilio de Constanza*, 287–315.

influence has been largely overlooked in academic research, primarily due to the scarcity of sources.<sup>17</sup>

Diego de Anaya was born in Salamanca in 1357 into one of the city's most noble families. He met Doña María de Orozco, with whom he had two children. Thus, he began his academic path at the University of Salamanca, specializing in 'canons and laws'.<sup>18</sup> Juan I of Castile (1379–1390) entrusted him with the education of his two sons, Enrique and Fernando – the former the future King of Castile and the latter of Aragón.<sup>19</sup> The king appointed him bishop of Tuy (1384) and then Orense (1390). Following Juan I's death and the accession of Enrique III, Anaya's political career gained momentum. He was appointed bishop of Salamanca (1392–1407). He was one of the most influential figures in the kingdom, alongside the Archbishop of Toledo, Sancho Rojas and the Archbishop of Seville, Alfonso de Ejea. All three played key roles in the monarchs' policy of establishing strong foreign relations and developing more modern diplomatic instruments within the context of an increasingly centralized monarchy.<sup>20</sup>

He also had strong ties with Benedict XIII (1328–1423), who appointed him to the important see of Cuenca (1407). He led the Castilian delegation at the Council of Constance and took part in the election of the new Pope, Martin V (1369–1431) from whom he obtained the Archbishopric of Seville.

One of Diego de Anaya's most significant legacies was the founding of the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca. In 1401, he gathered a group of talented but underprivileged students, whom he housed in quarters within the episcopal palace of Salamanca in 1413. Benedict XIII confirmed the foundation, which already housed fifteen students pursuing studies in *Theologiae et Iuris Canonici facultatibus*, and the institution's first statutes

<sup>17</sup> The first references in: Gil González Dávila, *Historia de las antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*, ed. Baltasar Cuart Moner (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1994) [facsimile edition of 1606], 319–39; Francisco Ruiz de Vergara y Álava, *Vida del ilustrísimo señor don Diego de Anaya Maldonado*; as well as: Francisco Ruiz de Vergara y Álava; José de Rojas y Contreras, *Historia del Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé, Mayor de la célebre Universidad de Salamanca. Vida del excelentísimo y reverendísimo don Diego de Anaya Maldonado, Arzobispo de Sevilla, su fundador; y noticia de sus ilustres hijos*, in 3 vols., (Madrid: A. Ortega, 1766–1770) (Hereafter HVC); Antonio Vidal y Díaz, *Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca*, (Salamanca: Oliva y Hermano, 1869); José Goñi Gaztambide, 'Anaya y Maldonado, Diego de' in Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Martín Martínez, José Vivés Gatell (dirs.), *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1972–1975) Vol. 1, 62; Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, 'Don Diego de Anaya y Maldonado, founder of the Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca, 1357–1437', *Derecho, Historia y Universidades*, 2 (2007) 557–67; Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 31–50; Jorge Jiménez López, *Diego de Anaya y Maldonado: Cultura visual y libraria de un arzobispo castellano en los albores del humanismo* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2022).

<sup>18</sup> González Dávila, *Historia de las antigüedades*, 321.

<sup>19</sup> Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, *Burocracia y cancellería en la corte de Juan II de Castilla (1406–1454): estudio institucional y prosopográfico*, (Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: orígenes de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1989).

were drafted.<sup>21</sup> Thanks to Anaya's foundation, 'any poor student of good reputation and scholarly dedication could apply for one of the scholarships, which allowed them to reside in the college for eight years, living in a community and attending university lectures regularly'.<sup>22</sup> The Colegio was officially established and likely inaugurated upon Diego de Anaya's return from the Council of Constance in late 1418. The most direct precedent that seems to have inspired him was the Colegio de San Clemente in Bologna, founded by Cardinal Gil de Albornoz in 1364. The Colegio de San Bartolomé became a model for other classical colleges in Spain and America.

This initiative gave rise to a new intellectual model – the university scholar – bringing about changes in Spain's socio-cultural structure and providing a new pathway for social mobility beyond the constraints of the nobility. The Colegio de San Bartolomé and the University of Salamanca formed part of the same educational network, designed to supply the kingdom with learned professionals, theologians, jurists, mathematicians and astronomers, preparing them for key bureaucratic positions within the Castilian monarchy. Their relationship was one of academic and social dependence: the College provided preparation and support for the students, while the University offered their formal education.<sup>23</sup>

We know that some contacts between Spaniards and Italian humanists already existed by the late fourteenth century, particularly through Benedict XIII, whose functions and interests led him to establish ties with certain humanists, especially during his stay in Avignon. This city, which served as the residence of the popes for much of the fourteenth century, had become not only a major cultural centre but also a key hub for the exchange of new intellectual currents of the time. Even Petrarch spent some time in the service of the Avignonese popes, residing near the city on the Rhône. The connections between the Avignon papacy and humanists were fluid. For instance, it is known that Coluccio Salutati requested a copy of *Plutarch's Lives* from Benedict XIII, who sent it to him in exchange for a Latin version of *The Odyssey* provided by the Florentine humanist.<sup>24</sup>

In his later years, Pedro de Luna relocated his residence to the Castle of Peñíscola, bringing with him an extensive library. A catalog of Benedict XIII's books, compiled between 1413 and 1414, recorded a total of 1,090

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ana M. Carabias Torres, *Colegios mayores: centros de poder*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la universidad de Salamanca, 1986) vol. 2, 403.

<sup>22</sup> Ana M. Carabias Torres, *Colegios mayores*, 405.

<sup>23</sup> Vidal y Díaz, *Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca*, (Salamanca: Oliva y Hermano, 1869); Luis González Nieto, *Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé (apuntes históricos)*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1963); María Nieves Rupérez Almajano, *El Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé o de Anaya*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2003) 504–36. Cuart Moner, B., "Un grupo singular y privilegiado: los Colegios Mayores", in: L. E. Rodríguez San Pedro Bezares (coord.), *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, I, 504–36.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Antonio Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los humanistas, primeros ecos*, (Madrid: Gredos, 1994) 95.

volumes, at least half of which originated from the papal library in Avignon. This collection grew in subsequent years, and by the pope's death in 1423, it comprised approximately 2,050 volumes.<sup>25</sup> Given the numerous meetings and personal exchanges between Diego de Anaya and the pontiff, it is likely that their discussions included topics such as emerging intellectual trends, centres of manuscript production and the circulation of texts. This connection appears to have been one of the channels through which Diego de Anaya was introduced to the early humanist movement and gained access to some of its initial works.

Furthermore, it should be noted that Diego de Anaya also served as an ambassador of the Kingdom of Castile to the Kingdom of France. As early as 1395, he traveled to inform Charles VI of Castile's growing discontent over the kingdom's gradual separation from Benedict XIII's obedience.<sup>26</sup> Later, on 2 June 1419 – following the conclusion of the Schism and in a newly reconfigured political landscape – he was once again appointed ambassador to the French king, alongside Rodrigo Bernal, to reaffirm the renewed alliance between Castile and France. This alliance, though temporarily abandoned, remained, as we have seen, a cornerstone of Castilian foreign policy. Paris was at the time a major centre of book production and scholarship. Some of his legal codices bear witness to these missions. Among these, one may mention several chancery manuals or guides on rhetoric and letter composition, generally compiled from classical texts and papal records, such as the *Summa dictaminis* by Richardus de Pophis,<sup>27</sup> the *Graecismus*,<sup>28</sup> or the *Doctrinale* by Alexander Villadei.<sup>29</sup> Yet it is above all the codices related to the Schism and to the councils of Pisa and Constance that attest to his missions abroad. Notable examples include the *Memoria fratris Bernardi*,<sup>30</sup> the *Tractatus cismatis Pisanus*,<sup>31</sup> the *Alegaciones archiepiscopi ispalensis*,<sup>32</sup> the *Tratatus Roberti De electione Clementis*,<sup>33</sup> and the *Doctrina philosophorum in uulgari*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Josefina Planas Badenas, "El Scriptorium de Benedicto XIII y el Cisma de la Iglesia: Códices iluminados en Peñíscola" in: Rainer Berndt, (ed.), *Der Papst und das Buch im Spätmittelalter (1350–1500): Bildungsvoraussetzung, Handschriftenherstellung, Bibliotheksgebrauch* (Aschendorff: 2018) 112–34; Teresa Laguna Paúl, 'La Biblioteca de Benedicto XIII', in *Benedicto XIII, el Papa Luna. Muestra de documentación histórica aragonesa en conmemoración del sexto centenario de la elección papal del Pedro Martínez de Luna (Aviñón, 28 de septiembre de 1394)*, (Zaragoza: Octavio y Félez, 1994) 75–90, 82–4.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Oscar Villarroel González, 'Eclesiásticos en la diplomacia castellana en el siglo XV', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 40 (2010) 795.

<sup>27</sup> Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca (Hereafter BGH) MS. 1874. For the manuscripts preserved in this library, Óscar Lila Franca, Carmen Castrillo González (eds.), *Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Universidad de Salamanca*, (Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, Obras de Referencia 13, 1997–2002), 2 vols. (hereafter CAT) 206–7 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 85, 197, 225.

<sup>28</sup> BGH MS. 2633, CAT vol. 2, 999 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 82 and 248.

<sup>29</sup> BGH MS. 1967 and 2240, CAT vol. 2, 298 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 248 and 249.

<sup>30</sup> BGH MS. 2275, CAT vol. 2, 634–6 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 78 and 219.

<sup>31</sup> BGH MS. 2172, CAT vol. 2, 531–3 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 78 and 220.

<sup>32</sup> BGH MS. 2599, CAT vol. 2, 948–52 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 78, 80, 100, 117, 139, 140, 221 and 261.

<sup>33</sup> BGH MS. 1946, CAT vol. 2, 275–6 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 78, 231, 232 and 426.

*e papiro*,<sup>34</sup> which contains a *Decretum constanciense*. The *Decretum Constanciense* was a preliminary draft preceding the *Ad laudem* bull issued at the Council of Constance in May 1417, which established the procedures for the papal election. Diego de Anaya, president of the Castilian delegation, had insisted on certain conditions for his participation in the Council, one of the most significant being clarity on the method of the forthcoming papal election. Before the *Ad laudem* bull received formal approval from all national delegations and cardinals, an initial draft circulated to gauge their positions. It is possible that Diego de Anaya himself authored the *Decretum Constanciense*, which he likely kept among his papers during the Council. Notably, the manuscript also contains medical prescriptions at its conclusion, which make reference to the archbishop: '*este libro fue acabado el miércoles quatro días de febrero año de mil quatroçientos e treinta e tres años, estando mi señor D. Diego de Anaya, arçobispo de Sevilla, en la muy noble çibdat de Cordova, e yo, Fernando de Salmeron, lo escrevi por su mandado*' [This book was completed on Wednesday, the fourth day of February in the year 1433, while my lord Don Diego de Anaya, Archbishop of Seville, was in the very noble city of Córdoba, and I, Fernando de Salmerón, wrote it by his command].<sup>35</sup>

Also noteworthy is the *Facta yn consilio pisano e constanciensis*,<sup>36</sup> remarkable for its marginal annotations, which include medical prescriptions and which contains the *Concilium Pisanum* as well as the Council of Constance's diary of Cerretano. Both the diary of Cerretano and the conciliar records mentioned in the preceding manuscript unquestionably belong to the earliest extant copies of these works and may even have been copied in Constance. Further manuscripts include the *Alius liber de facis cismatis*,<sup>37</sup> a *Tractatus çismatis, qui habebad Dominus*<sup>38</sup> – whose inventory note directly references the archbishop – and the *Liber de propheta pape angelicus*,<sup>39</sup> which also contains explicit references to the archbishop: '*mense julii anno a nativitate domini m<sup>o</sup>434 scripsit Resualio opus istud reverendi domini Didaci archiepiscopi Yspalensis preceptu, in civitate Cordubense. Deo gratias, amen*'.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> BGH MS. 2146, CAT vol. 2, 509–13 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 80, 100, 140, 146, 176, 228, 252 and 261.

<sup>35</sup> BGH, MS. 1866, fol. 112r. CAT vol. 2, 199–200 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 43–5, 83, 93, 110, 111, 137, 139, 140, 143, 251, 252 and 261.

<sup>36</sup> BGH MS. 1755, CAT vol. 2, 94 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 83 and 253.

<sup>37</sup> BGH MS. 1858, CAT vol. 2, 185–7 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 83 and 254.

<sup>38</sup> BGH MS. 1810 CAT vol. 2, 141–2 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 254, 255 and 426.

<sup>39</sup> BGH MS. 2667, fol. 60v., CAT vol. 2, 1063–4 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 226, 257, 258 and 425.

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed examination of Diego de Anaya's library based on documentary sources which provides an identification of his book collection along with a critical study: Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*.

## HUMANIST EXCHANGE AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

Diego de Anaya arrived at the Constance as president of the Castilian delegation on 30 March 1417, in the Council's final and decisive phase. Though the Council began in late 1414, many participants and their entourages had been present since early 1415. There is strong evidence of Italian humanists' active presence, the spread of their ideas and classical influences in Council interventions and informal discussions. Additionally, there was significant exchange of Latin and Greek antiquarian codices and an active book trade. Several sermons of the period drew on classical oratory, with traces of Petrarch's epistolary style.<sup>41</sup>

On April 3, following the Council's thirty-second session, Diego de Anaya presented his credentials and preached *Unum est necessarium*.<sup>42</sup> He reported to Cardinal Pedro de Fonseca that the ambassadors were received with great solemnity and joy by all nations present.<sup>43</sup> Anaya then negotiated conditions for Castile's official incorporation, notably the suppression of the Aragonese voting privilege, securing admission after both public and private talks with Emperor Sigismund, including a personal meeting on 13 April 1417. A seasoned royal official, Anaya established connections with key figures at the Council, engaging extensively with other nations presidents and the College of Cardinals within the *per nationes* voting framework. He notably aligned with the cardinals advocating for a papal election prior to reform, in opposition to Sigismund's priorities.<sup>44</sup>

While these negotiations took place alongside the main Council proceedings, in July 1417, Diego de Anaya assumed the presidency of the Hispanic *natio*, which encompassed not only Castile but also Aragon, Portugal and Navarre. The presidency rotated monthly among the Iberian kingdoms.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, there is evidence of other significant contacts, such as his discussions with Cardinal Cramaud, particularly regarding the negotiations

<sup>41</sup> Henrich Finke, ACC, Vol. 4, 378, refers to the presence of Petrarch in many sermons during the time of the Council: *Sen.*, XII, 1, 27 (277, in a sermon by Jacobus de Camplo – Bishop of Penne and Auditor of the Rota – recorded in Cerretano's chronicle); *Fam.*, II, 13, 2 (409, in a sermon by Gérard de Puy, Bishop of Carcassonne); *De rem.*, I, 96 and 107 (500 and 523 respectively, in a sermon by Johannes Zacharie the former and in an anonymous one the latter); and *SN*, pref. (508, also in an anonymous sermon). Beyond the above, Finke notes a possible echo of the *Africa* (VI, 350 and VII, 422) in a sermon by Johannes de Wallenrode (392). Agostino Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*, 643–50; S. Hartmann, "Von Petrarca bis Pisanello: Zur Rezeption italienischer Kultur," 577–99; E. Rauner, *Petrarca-Handschriften in Tschechien und in der Slowakischen Republik*, 315–17; Chris L. Nighman and Phillip H. Stump, *A bibliographical register of the sermons and other orations delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)*: <https://bibsite.org/Detail/objects/9>.

<sup>42</sup> Giovanni Domencio Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, (Paris: H. Welter, 1903) Vol. 27, 1075–6; Hermann Von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, (Frankfurt-Leipzig: Schnorrius, 1697–1700) vol. 4, 1216–19; ACC, vol. 2, 96.

<sup>43</sup> ACC, vol. 2, 97 and vol. 4, 71–4.

<sup>44</sup> Federico Tavelli, "Die Schritte zur Einführung des Stimmrechts per Nationes auf dem Konzil von Konstanz (1414–1418)" *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 116 (2021) 687–728.

<sup>45</sup> ACC, vol. 4, 79.

surrounding the *Ad laudem* decree. A valuable testimony to this can be found in manuscript 1866, currently housed in the General Historical Library of the University of Salamanca, which belonged to Diego de Anaya. This manuscript contains a draft of the decree under the heading *Decretum constantiensis*.<sup>46</sup> The *Ad laudem* decree, proposed by the cardinals, established the procedure for the papal election. Initially, Diego de Anaya found it unacceptable that the three cardinal colleges could participate legitimately in the election. During those days, he openly opposed the decree, perhaps as a stance against Aragonese demands.<sup>47</sup>

After discussions with Cardinal Cramaud, Diego de Anaya accepted that the proposed electoral structure ensured legitimacy, as both John XXIII's cardinals and Gregory XII's convocation validated the Council's authority. The Capitulation of Narbonne further confirmed its ecumenical status. On 20 October 1417, Anaya endorsed the decree, also supporting limited participation of *nationes* delegates in the conclave.

From the outset, the presence and influence of humanists had shaped the Council's distinctive intellectual tone. Diego de Anaya was undoubtedly well aware of the new ideas circulating from various parts of the world. His bibliophilic interests led him to establish contacts and exchanges with some of the era's most notable figures, including Italian humanists still present in Constance, either directly or through intermediaries – a network that is unmistakably demonstrated by the manuscripts in his collection.<sup>48</sup>

Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) arrived in Constance serving John XXIII, bringing the *Vetus Cluniacensis*, a codex containing several recently discovered Ciceronian orations. Following the flight of the Pisan pope, the Florentine humanist seized the opportunity of his journey beyond the Alps to conduct another manuscript-hunting expedition. Between June and July 1416, accompanied by humanists Cencio de' Rustici and Bartolomeo Aragazzi di Montepulciano, he visited the library of the Abbey of Saint Gall, where he discovered a complete manuscript of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, along with other codices by Gaius Valerius Flaccus, Quintus Asconius, Cicero and others. His account of this episode offers valuable insight into the intellectual climate

<sup>46</sup> BGH MS. 1866, see note 37.

<sup>47</sup> ACC, vol. 4, 122–34.

<sup>48</sup> While I diverge from Ottavio Di Camillo's assessment regarding the absence of awareness of early *Quattrocento* Italian humanists in Iberia prior to the Council of Basel: "there is no evidence that Spanish scholars were aware of the Italian humanists of the early *Quattrocento* prior to the Council of Basel (1432), when the names of Bruni, Poggio, Pier Candido Decembrio, and a few others first appeared in Spain. (During the pontificate of Benedict XIII, the only Italians known in Spain were Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio). Coluccio Salutati might have been an exception. (...) We know that in 1396, Salutati sent his *De fato, fortuna et casu* to Benedict XII", Ottavio Di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976) 21. More recent scholarship has nuanced this view: Ana Rodríguez Laiz; Inmaculada Delgado Jara (eds.), *Del Humanismo a las Humanidades en el Renacimiento: Alegorías y representaciones, textos y contextos* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2024) or Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, have shown that channels of intellectual exchange existed earlier than traditionally assumed.

of the period and exemplifies nearly all defining characteristics of the emerging Italian humanist movement.<sup>49</sup>

News of these discoveries spread rapidly in Constance, and scribes transcribed the texts with equal speed. Bartolomeo Aragazzi di Montepulciano himself had the opportunity to see *De fato et fortuna* by Coluccio Salutati in Constance and had copies made of several classical works, including passages from Cicero's *De oratore*, as well as various Greek works such as three letters by Manuel Chrysoloras, the great Greek scholar who had died in the conciliar city in April 1415. Among the transcribed texts were also certain *Dialogues* of Plato, including the *Protagoras*, and even Poggio Bracciolini's own letter regarding his visit to Baden, in present-day Switzerland, among others.<sup>50</sup> Other codices copied in Constance in 1415 include Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*<sup>51</sup> and at least two manuscripts of Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*.<sup>52</sup>

By the time Diego de Anaya arrived at the Council of Constance, some of these humanists had already left the city, making it unlikely that the Bishop of Cuenca had met them personally. In 1417, Poggio Bracciolini made new discoveries in Saint Gall, and Leonardo Bruni had already returned to Italy. However, other humanists still remained in Constance, such as Leonardo Dati, the Dominican prior of Santa Maria Novella; Benedetto de Piro; Antonio Loschi, who had served in the Visconti Chancellery in Milan; and Pier Paolo Vergerio, who attended the Council as papal secretary and would later become secretary to Emperor Sigismund, among many others. It is evident that the echoes of these figures and their discoveries continued to resonate in the conciliar city, and that Diego de Anaya, a cultured man with a keen interest in books, would not have remained indifferent to such developments.

Indeed, Poggio Bracciolini's letter concerning Jerome of Prague was still circulating in Constance,<sup>53</sup> as were the *Litterae cancellarii florentini de schismate* by Coluccio Salutati, advocating for the election of Urban VI, among other texts. Furthermore, the transcription of codices continued at a significant pace. For example, Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre, a key figure in the Council, was particularly interested in acquiring manuscripts of classical Latin works or Greek texts in Latin translation. In 1416, he commissioned

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Guarino Veronese, Constance, December 16, 1416, in: Hermann von der Harth, *Magnum*, vol. 4, 153–6.

<sup>50</sup> Bianca, 'Il Concilio', 384.

<sup>51</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Ross. 957, Bianca, 'Il Concilio', 384.

<sup>52</sup> Biblioteca Comunale di Arezzo, MS 129, fol. 44v, colophon: "*Scriptis Constanciae pridie idus februarii 1418*"; Österreichischer Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), MS 419 fol. 228v, colophon: "*Expliciunt epistole Leonardi Aretini sub annis Domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo in die beati Galli abbatis Concilio Constanciense adhuc durante*", Cf. 'Il Concilio di Costanza', 384.

<sup>53</sup> Hermann Von der Harth, *Magnum*, 128–35.

the copying of a codex containing Cicero's *Philippics* in Constance,<sup>54</sup> as well as another manuscript with various extracts from classical Christian Antiquity authors.<sup>55</sup> In 1417, he also had several *Orationes* by Cicero transcribed, along with other codices containing ancient works translated from Greek, as well as contemporary treatises copied in Constance between 1415 and 1416.<sup>56</sup> These included Cicero's *De senectute* and *Paradoxa in Brutum*, alongside Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*, the first book of Leonardo Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum*,<sup>57</sup> and another codex containing Quintilian's *Declamationes maiores*, Zanobi da Strada's *Oratio de fama*,<sup>58</sup> Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*,<sup>59</sup> Pomponius Mela's *Introductio*, Saint Jerome's *De viris illustribus*,<sup>60</sup> various *Vitae* by Plutarch, and the *Cicero novus* in a translation by Leonardo Bruni and Guarino.<sup>61</sup>

Diego de Anaya engaged in close negotiations within the conclave with prominent figures such as Bartolomeo della Capra, Archbishop of Milan (1414–1433), himself a humanist, a seeker of ancient texts and a friend of Leonardo Bruni.<sup>62</sup> A letter from della Capra to Uberto Decembrio dated 18 May 1416, requesting a copy of *Omnia Gesta Caii Julii Caesaris* on behalf of Emperor Sigismund,<sup>63</sup> demonstrates that, beyond the Council's political negotiations, there was active communication among attendees concerning the new humanist movement and an intense exchange of codices – a growing trend from which few wished to be excluded. Diego de Anaya prepared for his journey to northern Italy following the Council, a trip that would enable him to enrich his personal library with new codices.

Diego de Anaya likely also met the renowned Italian canonist Francesco Zabarella, an influential figure at the Council and a keen supporter of humanism. Pier Paolo Vergerio is known to have consulted a codex of Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria* in Zabarella's residence.<sup>64</sup> The Italian cardinal died in Constance on 26 September 1417. After the Council, Diego de Anaya's personal collection included numerous canonical texts by Zabarella, as well as

<sup>54</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7831. Cf. Colette Jeudy, 'La bibliothèque de Guillaume Fillastre in Didier Marcotte' (ed.), *Humanisme et culture géographique*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002) 245–90.

<sup>55</sup> Bibliothèque municipale de Reims (hereafter: BMR) MS 381.

<sup>56</sup> BMR, MS 1110.

<sup>57</sup> BMR, MS 1111.

<sup>58</sup> BMR, MS 1112.

<sup>59</sup> BMR, MS 1321.

<sup>60</sup> BMR, MS 1337.

<sup>61</sup> BMR, MS 1338.

<sup>62</sup> Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, in 3 vols. (Münster, 1898–1901) vol. 1, 333. On July 15, 1423, Bartolomeo della Capra wrote to his friend Leonardo Bruni, to whom he had already dedicated the translation of Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte*, telling him about the discoveries he had made in some monasteries in Lombardy of works such as Frontinus' *Strategemata*, Macrobius' *Saturmalia* and Martial, Augustine of Hippo's *Rhetoric* and *Dialectic*, Dionysius' *Periegesis*, among others. Cf. Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coverto: gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento*, (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002) 274–5.

<sup>63</sup> Bianca, 'Il Concilio', 379.

<sup>64</sup> Bianca, 'Il Concilio', 384.

other works related to the Schism, such as Zabarella's *De schismate*, Pietro Ancarani's *De schismate*, and a treatise on the Council of Pisa by Carlo Malatesta – who had attended the Council as a representative of Gregory XII – all contained in manuscript 1878. It is likely that these texts were copied in Constance under Anaya's directive, along with others that either remain extant today or have been lost, making it difficult to determine their precise origin.<sup>65</sup>

The Castilian bishop could not have been unaware of Poggio Bracciolini's funeral oration for Cardinal Zabarella,<sup>66</sup> a novelty in that it entrusted a curial figure with the commemoration of a *litteratus*, thus bringing a new intellectual dimension to the genre of funeral orations.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, he must have been familiar with Bracciolini's *Oratio ad patres reverendissimos*, which, rather than drawing inspiration from the wisdom of the Church Fathers, was modelled on the Roman ideal of the *vir priscus et gravis*, bearing notable parallels with Apuleius' *Florida*.<sup>68</sup>

The Council ultimately resolved the Schism with the election of Oddone Colonna as pope, who took the name Martin V on 11 November 1417. Initially hesitant to cast his vote for Colonna, Diego de Anaya eventually conceded.<sup>69</sup> The Council was officially closed on 22 April 1418. However, the newly elected pope and many of the attendees remained in Constance for several weeks to finalize their departures and settle outstanding matters.<sup>70</sup> Martin V himself did not leave the city until 16 May 1418, taking advantage of the approaching summer and its favourable travel conditions.<sup>71</sup>

During this period, the delegation led by the Bishop of Cuenca secured various privileges from the newly elected pope. Some pertained to the Kingdom of Castile as a whole, such as the establishment of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Valladolid on 6 February 1418 – previously denied by Clement VI.<sup>72</sup> Others were personal privileges granted to Diego de Anaya, including his promotion to the archbishopric of Seville on 16 March

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 78–80 and 85.

<sup>66</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, 'Oratio in funere cardinalis florentini habita Constantiae' in Riccardo Fubini, *Poggio Bracciolini, Opera omnia*, (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1964–1969) vol. 1, 252–61.

<sup>67</sup> Bianca, 'Il Concilio', 383. Cf. Germano Gualdo, 'Umanesimo e segreteria apostolici all'inizio del Quattrocento. Alcuni casi esemplari', in *Cancellaria e cultura nel Medioevo. Atti del XVI Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* (Stuttgart, 29–30 agosto 1985) ed. Germano Gualdo, (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1990) 307–18.

<sup>68</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, 'Orationes ad patres reverendissimos', in: Riccardo Fubini, *Poggio Bracciolini*, 329.

<sup>69</sup> ACC, vol. 2, 159; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS, *Vat. Lat.*, 8502, fol. 2r. in: José Goñi Gaztambide, *Los españoles en el Concilio de Constanza*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1966) 124.

<sup>70</sup> For example, on April 30, 1418, the pope issued the decree *Hoc sacro Constantiensi approbante Concilio*, which condemned a custom – allegedly based on a decree of Urban V – according to which the acts of the Holy See could not be published in the various dioceses without the *visa* or *placet* of the ordinaries. Cf. Karl Hefele, Henri Leclerq, *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1916) vol. 7, 569.

<sup>71</sup> Klaus Hefele, Henri Leclerq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 7, 570.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. José Goñi Gaztambide, 'Recompensas de Martín V a sus electores españoles', *Hispania Sacra* 21 (1959) 259–97, 261.

1418,<sup>73</sup> and, even more notably, the confirmation of the foundation of the College of San Bartolomé, which had been previously approved by Benedict XIII – an approval confirmed less than twenty days after Colonna's election as pope, as recorded in manuscript 2599 of the General Historical Library of the University of Salamanca.

Although the exact date of Diego de Anaya's departure from Constance is unknown, it is reasonable to assume that he remained in the city while these significant concessions were being granted. This hypothesis is supported by the documents themselves: '*Beatissime Pater: exponit s. v. devota factura vestra, Didacus, episcopus Conchenensis ...*'.<sup>74</sup> If we follow the account of Vergara y Álava, Anaya was last recorded in Peñíscola at some point in 1418, likely attempting to persuade the aging Benedict XIII to submit to Martin V.<sup>75</sup> Given these considerations, it is likely that Anaya departed Constance sometime after Martin V's departure and the granting of privileges for the College of San Bartolomé, but before the end of 1418 – probably between mid-May and June of that year. The summer months provided a favorable period for travel, particularly as most major matters had been successfully resolved.<sup>76</sup> It can thus be estimated that Diego de Anaya remained in Constance for approximately 14–16 months, from 30 March 1417, at least until Martin V's departure on 16 May 1418, and probably no later than June 1418 – a period sufficient to establish numerous connections and exchanges, as previously discussed.

#### HUMANIST ECHOES FROM CONSTANCE TO SALAMANCA

After the Council, Diego de Anaya embarked on a journey to northern Italy. Although his biographer indicated that he travelled to Lombardy, we also know that he visited other cities, including Bologna, due to his interest in the Colegio Albornoz, whose constitutions he would largely adopt for the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca. Could he have acquired some illuminated Italian manuscripts there, such as the *Johannes Super Decretales*<sup>77</sup> featuring Bolognese illuminations?<sup>78</sup> This is a possibility. Beyond this reference, we lack clear information on the details of his journey through northern Italy. However, based on the provenance of certain manuscripts, it is reasonable to infer that he visited other cities, and among them, the active and culturally

<sup>73</sup> Archivo de la Catedral de Cuenca, I, box 33, 13; box 34, 1 and 2. No records of the appointment as Archbishop of Seville are preserved in the Archivo Capitular de Sevilla.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Bulario*, doc. 532.

<sup>75</sup> Francisco Ruíz de Vergara y Álava; Joseph de Rojas y Contreras, *Historia del Colegio Viejo*, vol. 1, 33.

<sup>76</sup> Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Bulario*, 108.

<sup>77</sup> BGH, MS 1876, CAT vol. 2, 208–9 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 118, 144, 145.

<sup>78</sup> Francisco Ruíz de Vergara y Álava, Joseph de Rojas y Contreras, *Historia del Colegio Viejo*, vol. 1, 32–3.

vibrant city of Milan would not have escaped his attention, given the flourishing of humanism there.<sup>79</sup>

As noted earlier, in Constance, Anaya had already established contact with Bartolomeo della Capra, the powerful Archbishop of Milan, who was connected with leading humanists of the time. Even Pope Martin V stopped in Milan during his long return journey to Rome. The Archbishop of Milan had close ties with Uberto Decembrio, a renowned copyist, father of the great humanist Pier Candido Decembrio, and secretary to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. Uberto Decembrio had also served as secretary to Pietro Filargo, who was elected pope at the Council of Pisa (1409) under the name Alexander V. During Manuel Chrysoloras' stay in Milan (1400–1403), Decembrio collaborated with him in translating Greek texts into Latin, including *Plato's Republic*, which also circulated in Constance thanks to Gerardo Landriani. It is plausible that della Capra might have shared news of this with Anaya during the Council.<sup>80</sup>

Among Diego de Anaya's books, we find a codex containing the works of Virgil, copied by Uberto Decembrio and featuring historiated initials by Vicemercate, dated Milan, 1418.<sup>81</sup> This manuscript not only serves as evidence of his stay in the city but also suggests that one of the motivations for his journey to northern Italy was the acquisition of codices and the establishment of connections with humanists – an endeavour he had already pursued in Constance. While we lack precise information regarding other acquisitions he may have made during this time, it is plausible that some of his classical Greek and Latin works originated from this period, such as those of Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Dante and Petrarch, although this cannot be confirmed with certainty.

It is a parchment codex of 184 folios, written in Gothic script, with a colophon in both Greek and Latin, and containing 17 historiated initials.<sup>82</sup> This work was not incorporated early into the library of San Bartolomé, and no

<sup>79</sup> Eugenio Garin, 'La cultura milanese nella prima metà del XV secolo' in Cognasso Francesco (ed.), *Storia di Milano*, in 16 vols., vol. 6: *Il ducato visconteo e la repubblica ambrosiana (1392–1450)* (Milan: Martello, 1953–1966) vol. 6, 547–608.

<sup>80</sup> Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, B, 123 sup.; D, epistolario.

<sup>81</sup> Anthony Hobson, 'Manuscripts capture at Victoria' in Cecil H. Clough (ed.), *Cultural aspects of the Italian renaissance. Essays in honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 1976) 485–97, 490; Margarita Becedas, *Tesoros manuscritos de la Universidad de Salamanca*, (Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2017) 50.

<sup>82</sup> The historiated initials include one at the beginning of the *Bucolics*, four heading each of the four books of the *Georgics*, and twelve heading each of the twelve books of the *Aeneid*: (1) The flight from burning Troy (fol. 44r); (2) Aeneas recounting his story to Dido (fol. 54v); (3) The departure of Aeneas (fol. 65v); (4) The suicide of Dido (fol. 76r); (5) The games commemorating the anniversary of Anchises' death (fol. 86r); (6) The descent into the underworld (fol. 98r); (7) The funeral of Caieta (fol. 111r); (8) Turnus assembling his troops (fol. 122v); (9) Turnus' troops attacking the Trojan camp (fol. 133r); (10) The war between Trojans and Rutulians (fol. 144v); (11) The death of Camilla (fol. 157v); and (12) The mortal duel between Aeneas and Turnus (fol. 170v). On fol. 1r, in the upper margin, there appears an ownership inscription of the Colegio de San Bartolomé: *Ex libris Collegii Divii Bartolomei Salmantiensis*, as in other manuscripts from the same College. Also visible are three signatures of notaries, likely added during an inventory review prior to the manuscript's transfer to Madrid. In: Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, I published a recent image of the first folio of this manuscript (119), as well as further information on it, especially 229–30.

references to it appear in the fifteenth-century inventories preserved.<sup>83</sup> The first reference to the codex in the College's inventories appears in 1550, and it was later Roxas y Contreras who mentioned the manuscript in his 1677 inventory: *Virgilio, Opera, volum. I. Vital en fol.*<sup>84</sup> Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Tavira assigned it the shelfmark *San Bartolomé 194, Virgil Maroni, Opera, cod. membr. optima notae*, prior to the transfer of the volumes to Madrid.<sup>85</sup> At the Royal Palace in Madrid, it received the shelfmark Madrid B.N. MS. 18037. Subsequently, the book passed through several hands: José Bonaparte, the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House, and the collection of Annalisa Feltrinelli. The manuscript collection of this owner was auctioned in England by Christie's on 3 December 1997. On that occasion, the *Virgil* was acquired by a private collector, in whose library it remains to this day.<sup>86</sup>

Upon his return from this extensive journey, sometime after the summer of 1418, Diego de Anaya reappears in the Iberian Peninsula. For nearly the next two decades, his efforts focused on promoting the Colegio de San Bartolomé, which gained significant momentum, particularly following his extended stay outside Castile. Although Benedict XIII had confirmed its foundation in 1414 and a small group of students had already begun their studies there, the College was firmly consolidated upon Anaya's return from the Council of Constance, having secured significant benefits from Martin V, including his appointment as Archbishop of Seville and privileges granted to the institution. The first recorded donation of books by Diego de Anaya dates to 1426, marking the beginning of a continuous promotion of the College's library and educational missions as evidenced by the first inventory of the Colegio de San Bartolomé from the fifteenth century: 'Yo, Guillén, rector del Collegio conosco auer recebido en [C]uenca los libros super escriptos'<sup>87</sup> ['I, Guillén, rector of the College, acknowledge having received in Cuenca the aforementioned books']. While minor additions of books prior to this date cannot be ruled out, this record highlights the momentum Anaya provided to scholarly and bibliophilic endeavours following his experience abroad.

A seventeenth-century inventory provides some interesting information. For example, in its section 'Memoria de las escrituras y privilegios de la casa

<sup>83</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Espag. 524, *Inventario del Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca*, fols. 5v, 14v, 16v, 33r y 35v.

<sup>84</sup> HCV, III, 340.

<sup>85</sup> Juan Carlos Galende Díaz, "La biblioteca del Colegio mayor salmantino de San Bartolomé en el siglo XVIII" in: *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 10, 2 (2000) 33–69.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Anthony Hobson, "Manuscripts Capture at Victoria," in: Cecil H. Clough (ed.), *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1976), 485–97. See also the twelve black-and-white images of the historiated initials in: Pierre Courcelle, Jeanne Courcelle, *Lectures païennes et lectures chrétiennes de l'Énéide*, vol. 2: *Les manuscrits de l'Énéide du Ve et XVIe siècle* (Paris: Institut de France, Gauthier-Villars, 1984) 129–33 and figs. 291–302.

<sup>87</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Espag. 524, fol. 5v, lín. 16–17.

fechos por sus envoltorios y numeros. Anno 1571' ['Record of the deeds and privileges of the house made by their wrappings and numbers. Year 1571'],<sup>88</sup> under the 'cuarto emboltorio en el cual están las escrituras que tocan al arçobispo Ntro. Señor' ['fourth wrapping in which are the writings pertaining to our Lord Archbishop'], it refers to the existence of: 'El recibo de unos libros que hizo el Arçob. Ntro. Sr. al colegio (1426)'. ['The receipt of some books made by our Lord Archbishop to the college (1426)']<sup>89</sup>

San Bartolomé soon became a centre for intellectual training, significantly influencing one or two generations of students in the fifteenth century, who benefited from the books acquired by Diego de Anaya. While the purpose of this study is not to assess the Colegio de San Bartolomé's role after Anaya's death, a brief mention of some of its notable alumni helps to contextualize its impact.<sup>90</sup>

First among them is Alfonso de Madrigal (1410–1455), who benefited from the College's library first as a student and later as rector in 1437. His intellectual influence extended to several distinguished figures, including Fray Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), the first bishop of Mexico. Zumárraga, inspired by the model of San Bartolomé, promoted the establishment of a similar institution in the newly conquered Aztec empire: the renowned Colegio de Tlatelolco, which played a crucial role in fostering culture and education in a vastly different context from Spain.<sup>91</sup>

Pedro Martínez de Osma (1427–1480), who entered the College in 1444, became known for revitalising Aristotelianism at the University of Salamanca. He was a precursor to the great sixteenth-century Peripatetics and a mentor to Antonio de Nebrija. He was also, in a certain way, an early precursor of the Protestant Reformation in matters of sacraments.<sup>92</sup> His work reflected a new approach to reading, translating, and interpreting the classics, particularly through the Latin versions of Leonardo Bruni. His preserved works in Salamanca – *Ethica, Oeconomica et Política* by Aristotle<sup>93</sup> and *Commentaria in*

<sup>88</sup> Buenaventura Delgado, *El colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca, privilegios, bienes, pleitos, deuda y catálogo biográfico de los colegiales, según un manuscrito de principios del XVII*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca 1986) 117.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 123–4.

<sup>90</sup> Guillermo Alvar Nuño; Elisa Borsari, "La Educación para los niños cortesanos en los dos primeros tratados pedagógicos del Humanismo Castellano (ss. XV–XVI)" in: *Libros de la corte* 22 (2021) 141–82.

<sup>91</sup> Nuria Belloso Martín, *Política y humanismo en el siglo XV. El maestro Alfonso de Madrigal, el Tostado*, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1989); Emiliano Fernández Vallina, 'Autores clásicos, mitología y siglo XV español: el ejemplo del Tostado', in *Estudios de Tradición Clásica y Humanística VII Jornadas de Filología Clásica de la Universidad de Castilla y León*, coord. Manuel Antonio Marcos Casquero (León: Universidad de León, 1993) 17–28.

<sup>92</sup> José Labajos Alonso, 'Pedro de Osma: impulsor del humanismo y del conocimiento de Aristóteles en Salamanca', *Cuadernos Salamantinos de Filosofía*, 22 (1995), 135–58; José Labajos Alonso, 'Pedro de Osma y Fernando de Roa. Significación histórica', in: Miguel Cirilo Flórez, Maximiliano Hernández Marcos, Roberto Albares (eds.), *La primera escuela de Salamanca (1406–1516)*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2012).

<sup>93</sup> BGH, MS 2603, CAT vol. 2, 954–5 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 121, 122, 128, 267, 268, 272 and 425.

*Ethicorum Aristotelis*<sup>94</sup> – symbolically connect Diego de Anaya with the humanist movement in Castile. The richly adorned heraldic emblems within these manuscripts, appearing in the old College shortly after Anaya's death, copied by a young Antonio de Nebrija, stand as a testament to his enduring influence.

Other distinguished alumni of San Bartolomé include Juan de Sahagún (1430–1479) and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517). Cisneros studied at the College before travelling to Rome; he later became a major patron of book production in Spain, the mastermind behind the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*, the confessor and advisor to Queen Isabella I, and the founder of one of Spain's most influential cultural institutions, the University of Alcalá.

Juan de Salaya, a student between 1459 and 1467, later held chairs in astrology and logic at the University of Salamanca. Diego Ortiz de Calzadilla, who entered the College in 1457, succeeded him in the same chair, served as a cosmographer at the court of John II of Portugal, and played a role in evaluating Christopher Columbus' proposal (which the king ultimately rejected) as well as in designing Pedro de Covilhã's expedition, a precursor to significant Portuguese discoveries. He was later appointed bishop.

In this context, Alonso de Cartagena could also be mentioned, who played a significant role in the development of Castilian humanism and, although he did not study at the Colegio de San Bartolomé, was nonetheless actively involved in the Council of Basel.<sup>95</sup>

Other notable alumni include Diego Ramírez de Fuenleal (1459–1537), founder of the Colegio de Cuenca in Salamanca; Íñigo López de Mendoza y Zúñiga (1489–1535), who served as Charles V's ambassador to Henry VIII of England and was created cardinal by Clement VII; and Juan Martínez Guijarro (1486–1557), who held the chair of nominalist logic at the University of Salamanca, later became Archbishop of Toledo, and was eventually made cardinal. Perhaps one of the most famous alumni was Rodrigo de Basurto, who entered the College in 1495, among many others.

As this brief overview demonstrates, the foundation of the Colegio de San Bartolomé and Diego de Anaya's patronage of books constituted a significant development – although limited in scope, it played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for Spain's intellectual expansion in the following century, both in Europe and America.

<sup>94</sup> BGH, MS 2604, CAT vol. 2, 955–6 and Tavelli, *El patrimonio librario*, 121, 123, 128, 138, 267, 268, 272 and 425.

<sup>95</sup> Luis Fernández Gallardo, "Una nueva carta de Alonso de Cartagena" in: *Iberia Judaica* 15 (2023) 95–104 and *Alonso de Cartagena, 1385–1456: Una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo XV*, (Junta de Castilla y León, 2002) 155–7.

The Council of Constance was not only a pivotal religious and political event but also an important moment in the early spread of humanism beyond Italy. While chiefly remembered for resolving the Western Schism, it served as a forum for intellectual exchange, where figures like Diego de Anaya engaged with emerging humanist ideas. His participation reflects the intersection of ecclesiastical politics and cultural currents, linking the Council's debates to the broader diffusion of classical learning. By acquiring manuscripts and supporting educational initiatives, Anaya helped introduce humanism to Castile, notably through the founding of the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca. This institution became a centre for intellectual renewal, offering new opportunities for scholarship and promoting the transformative potential of knowledge. Though medieval studies persisted, humanism gradually reshaped Salamanca's academic culture, its influence carried forward by figures such as Alfonso de Madrigal, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, and Antonio de Nebrija. Early Spanish humanism, fostered by these networks, played a key role in consolidating cultural identity under John II and laid the groundwork for Spain's Siglo de Oro. As the fifteenth century advanced, connections between Spanish and Italian humanists deepened, contributing to the intellectual realignment of Europe and shaping educational and cultural developments on both sides of the Atlantic.

### Data Availability Statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in Repositorio Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina at <https://repositorio.uca.edu.ar>.

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### Abstract

Due to their prolonged and multicultural nature, councils functioned historically as hubs for the exchange of ideas, discourse, diplomacy and rhetoric, reflecting broader cultural trends. In the Middle Ages, no international forums were comparable to ecumenical councils, where diverse and influential groups from various regions convened to address shared concerns. This article examines the diffusion of Italian humanism during the Council of Constance (1414–1418). Many prominent humanists participated in Constance, either as part of papal delegations or as representatives of political figures. Diego de Anaya (1357–1437), president of the Castilian delegation, established contact with figures such as Bartolomeo della Capra, Archbishop of Milan and Uberto Decembrio, a renowned copyist, and father of the humanist Pier Candido Decembrio. These interactions enabled him to exchange ideas and manuscripts, playing a crucial role in introducing new texts and pedagogical approaches in Salamanca, which fostered, in the following decades, a shift from medieval scholasticism toward an education aligned with Renaissance ideals.