Cuadernos de Investigación de Fondos del Archivo UCA

ISSN: 2659-4951

URL de la revista: https://revistas.uca.es/index.php/cifa

N.° 3 (2021) pp. 107-133

Travels for study and perfection of professors and students of the *Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz*

Louis Verschoor MD PhD

Curator Internal Medicine

Dutch Center for the study of Medical History

www.tmgn.nl

Dutch Association of Medical History

www.nvmg.nl

e-mail: louis.verschoor@xs4all.nl

ABSTRACT: Lacomba and Virgili, the founders of the Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz, had a common goal: a College based on a modern academic and clinical education in surgery *and* medicine. The College should meet state of the art international standards. Based on this view early in the existence of the College faculty and students were send abroad for study and perfection. In line with the ideas of Virgili travels were organized to centers of excellence in surgery as well as medicine. Described are the travels to the Universities of Leiden and Bologna (1752-1757) of four students, who expanded their knowledge and practical skills in surgery and medicine and obtained a doctorate. All four made a career at the College and became Maestros.

Keywords: Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz, Travels, José de Nájera, José Bejar, José Selvarresa, Bernardus Beau, Leiden University, Bologna University.

Los viajes de estudio y perfeccionamiento de Maestros y Colegiales del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz

RESUMEN: Lacomba y Virgili, fundadores del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz, tuvieron un objetivo mutuo: un Colegio fundado en una educación académica y clínica moderna en cirugía y medicina. El Colegio debe cumplir con los estándares internacionales más avanzados y, debido a que deseaban la mejor formación para sus miembros, muchos de los estudiantes fueron enviados al extranjero para estudiar y perfeccionarse. Siguiendo las ideas de Virgili, los viajes fueron organizados a centros de excelencia en cirugía y medicina. Se han descrito los realizados a la Universidad de Leiden y Bolonia (1752-1757) por cuatro estudiantes, los cuales ampliaron sus conocimientos teóricos y sus habilidades prácticas en cirugía y medicina y adquirieron un doctorado. Hicieron carrera en el Colegio y se convirtieron en Maestros.

Palabras clave: Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz, Viajes, José de Nájera, José Bejar, José Selvarresa, Bernardus Beau, Universidad de Leiden, Universidad de Bolonia.

Introduction

Surgery in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, was carried out by barber-surgeons. Their education was mainly by apprenticeship. A small minority of surgeons was university trained and worked at the university, for royals or the higher clergy as cirujanos latinos. The barbersurgeons or cirujanos romancistas were responsible for the majority of the surgical treatment in the society. Their work was subject to increasing criticism in the 17th and 18th century by laymen, royals and doctors themselves. Examples of the latter two are a Spanish royal decree in 1703 on the medical service of the Navy to substitute barber-surgeons with educated surgeons ("cirujanos debidamente formados") and the plea of Feijoo and Martinez for a modernized academic education for surgeons based on the principles of the Enlightenment (observation and experimentation). Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764) describes in his Discurso XIV "De lo que sobra, y falta en la enseñanza de la medicina" (what remains and fails in the education of medicine) first a critical overview of the surgical education of the barber-surgeons as well as that of the university trained surgeons to continue with his view on a modern academic curriculum for surgery (1). The criticism of Martín Martinez (1684-1734) on the academic curriculum and surgery professors is razor sharp: "without anatomy, chemistry and botany doctors only dispute about imaginary silogisms and hypotheses, while they have to observe nature" and "professors only carry their title, not having knowledge" (2).

1. LACOMBA AND VIRGILI, THE FOUNDERS OF THE REAL COLEGIO DE CIRUGÍA DE CÁDIZ

In the Gulf of Cádiz (Bahia de Cádiz), the birthplace of the Royal Navy (*Real Armada*), started the preliminary work for a new curriculum in the academic education for (naval) surgeons. With the appointment of Juan de Lacomba as chief of the medical service of the Royal Navy (Cirujano Mayor de la Armada) on February 21, 1718 not only started a reorganization of the naval medical service, but also the beginning of the development of a clinical and academic education of naval surgeons ultimately leading to the birth of the Royal College of Surgery of Cádiz (*Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz*) in 1748.

Institutional education started in 1728 with the "Escuela de Practicantes de Cirugía" and later on in the Royal Hospital (*Real Hospital*) of Cádiz. Lacomba wrote the first outline of a curriculum for naval surgeons "Instrucciones para los Ayudantes Cirujanos Primeros, destinados en el Real Hospital de la Armada" followed by instructions when they practiced in the hospital "Instrucciones para los Practicantes de este Real Hospital" approved by King Fernando V on May 25, 1728 (3). The instructions were formalized on the same date in "La ordenanza y reglamento para los Ayudantes Primero y Segundo de la Armada" (4). Regulation number 7 states that all students (practicantes) have to take exams before they are allowed to work as naval surgeons. Regulation Number 25 dictates the presence of a "Maestro anatómico". A year later education in anatomy started in the "Escuela de Anatomía" in the

Royal Hospital after an Anfiteatro was build adjacent to the hospital. The same year Gregorio Condomina (Bachiller of Montpellier and Doctor of Valencia) was appointed Demostrador Anatómico, in fact the first chair in medicine in Cádiz, and obliged to carry out twenty anatomical demonstrations each course (5).

When the twenty years younger army surgeon Pedro Virgili (Cirujano Mayor del Ejército, Hospital de Algeciras) joined Lacomba in the Royal Navy, they formed a strong team with a common view on the education of surgeons. It was their conviction that teaching academic surgery should also consist of training in medicine which meant teaching in surgical as well as medical diseases, chemistry, botany and pharmacy. Both men had received an international and modern training. Juan de Lacomba, a native from France (Jean Lecomb 1680-1748), studied medicine and surgery in Montpellier, Paris and Bologna and worked as surgeon in the Spanish Navy before being appointed in Cádiz. Petro Virgili (1699-1776), a native from Catalonia, started his studies with an apprenticeship with a barber-surgeon and worked as barber-surgeon in Tarragona. Later on, he studied anatomy, surgery and medicine in Montpellier, after which in 1724 he joined the Royal Army (Real Ejército). In 1728, he was asked by Lacomba to join the Royal Navy as surgeon and became his assistant (Ayudante de Cirujano Mayor). As a naval surgeon, he was send to Paris (1743-1744) for further studies in surgery. Thus, no wonder that the final goal for these men was an academy for surgeons based on the principles of the Enlightenment (observation and experimentation) with a sound theoretical and clinical background and build upon the international state of the art. Examples for them were the surgical training in Montpellier and Paris and the clinical teaching of Boerhaave in Leiden. This was reflected in the way they organized the future surgical college of Cádiz: clinical training on the wards (surgical and medical) of the Royal Hospital, anatomy in the Escuela de Anatomía and Anfiteatro, theoretical training (lessons with afterwards discussions) in medicine, pharmacy and botany and theoretical and practical training in surgery. A comprehensive overview of the curriculum is given by Cabrera-Afonso (6). A botanical garden and a library with many international books completed their ideas on a surgical College. Given the good relation between Virgili and the marquis de la Ensenada, the Minister of King Fernando VI, and the desire of the Bourbon dynasty to centralize the control on higher education, the goal of Lacomba and Virgili was reached rapidly. On November 11, 1748 by Order of the King, the new College was established (7). Fernando VI signed the Statutes of the new College on November 29, 1748. One month later Lacomba deceased.

2. Travels for study and perfection

Modern education also meant to Lacomba and Virgili, as experienced by themselves, the incorporation of educational reforms practiced elsewhere. Therefore, it is no surprise to see that already in the beginning of the Royal College of Surgery of Cádiz the idea arose to send faculty and students abroad to extend their studies and increase their experience in theory and practice in medicine and surgery. The marquis de la Ensenada agreed on the idea and set the conditions in a letter to Virgili dated April 26, 1751 (8): one *maestro* (teacher) and two students should be send to the center of excellence of medicine at that time, the University of Leiden.

José de Nájera should be the *Maestro*, so after his return to Cádiz he could take responsibility for the treatment of medical patients in order to ensure that those with surgical and medical disorders can be treated in the Royal Hospital of Cádiz. Secondly, the *maestro* should be able to supervise the students during their stay in Leiden. The students must be the best of the College ("hombres de primera clase en nuestro arte"). Other students should be send to the center of excellence of surgery (the Surgical College in Paris). The second idea of Virgili behind the travels was to create a pool of bright young doctors who should be able to function as future *maestros* for the College. In a letter by Virgili dated June 1, 1751 (Figure 1), the names of all three travelers to Leiden and all six to Paris are mentioned. Between April and August 1751 Virgili corresponded to arrange practical matters like funding and the opportunity to buy books and instruments abroad.

José de Nájera and two students were send to Leiden (1751-1754). In August 1754, Virgili decided to extend their travels to the University of Bologna for further study in medicine (9). Ultimately, their travel lasted from 1751 to 1757. Juan Manresa and five other students were send to the College of Surgeons in Paris (1751-1755). In this article, the travels to Leiden and Bologna are described.

3. The travelers

In the early correspondence of Virgili, three travelers are mentioned (see Figure 1), one professor (Maestro) José de Nájera and two students, José Bejar and José Selvarresa. In fact, four men went to Leiden and Bologna, which is memorized in later correspondence. In a letter of March 27, 1756 from the Intendencia General de la Marina to Virgili Bernardo Beau is mentioned as the fourth person (Figure 2).

José Placido de Nájera (or Naxera) was the professor who went to Leiden. Born in 1711 he joined the Royal Navy as surgeon in 1732 but had to give up life at sea due to physical problems and became surgeon in Toledo (Regimiento de Infantería). Attracted by an academic career he applied for the Chair of Surgery at the University of Salamanca, which was vacant due to the death of José Viciola (Processo de provision de la cátedra de Cirugía vacante por fallecimiento del licenciado Jose Viciola, October 13, 1741 – January 30, 1742). As Bachiller he won the opposition for the Chair and on January 29, 1742 the University and Claustro of Salamanca appointed him as professor of Surgery, which was approved by the Protomedicato (Figure 3).

Virgili, aware of his talents, asked him to come to Cádiz. By orders of king Fernando VI written in a letter by the Marquis de Ensenada dated October 15, 1748, José de Nájera, among others, is appointed Ayudante de Cirujano Major (Virgili) and professor of the first Claustro of Maestros of the Surgical College of Cádiz (Figure 4). The procedure for his successor in Salamanca started on February 11, 1749. He was released of his duties as a teacher at the College of Cádiz in 1751 to travel to Leiden. An exact date of his departure to and arrival at Leiden is unknown.

The two students who went to Leiden are José Antonio Bejar (or Begar, Vegar, Vegar, Vejar) and José Selvarresa (or Salvarreza, Silvaresa, Selvarresa). In the Libros de Matrículas,

Tomo 1, 1749-1785 the inscription of Bejar is found on folio 1 dated January 4, 1749 (Figure 5), however in Tomo 4, 1749-1754, folio 2 and Tomo 11, 1750-1758, folio 2 January 24, 1749 (Figure 6) is written as the date of inscription. The date of inscription of Selvarresa is found in Tomo 4 on folio 10 dated February 26, 1749 (Figure 7). In the same entries, their departure date for Leiden is mentioned. Bejar departs on August 19, 1751. The departure date of Selvarresa is July 18, 1751. However, in Tomo 6, 1753-1772, folio 143 is written that Selvarresa departed for Leiden on August 19, 1751 (Figure 8) and in Tomo 11, folio 10 again July 18, 1751 is mentioned. Thus, it is unclear if both students traveled together to Leiden on August 19, 1751 or that Selvarresa left earlier on the 18th of July. There is no documentation on their date of arrival at Leiden.

The fourth traveler is Bernardo Beau y Roland (see Figure 2). There is no inscription of Beau in the "Libros de Matrículas" so he has not been a student at the College of Cádiz. Remón Rodríguez (10) mentions family ties of Beau with Pedro Virgili and Lorenzo Roland (the second Maestro anatómico appointed in 1748) and his knowledge of languages (French and Italian) and almost certainly Latin too. It is not clear if this relationship brought him to the College. Since the Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz did not keep records of previous studies of Colegios who did not study at the College we do not know if and where Beau studied. There are no documents on the dates of travel of Beau to Leiden.

4. Leiden

On the travel itself, the duration, the route they took, over land or by vessel are no documents. The first documentation of their stay at Leiden is in the Catalogus Octavus 1727-1755 (8 Vol inscript) folio 412. At the same date January 4, 1752, all four men are inscripted: numbers 204 – 207. Their names are more or less phonetically spelled Josephus Naxera, Josephus Silvaresa, Josephus Begar and Bernardus Beau (Figure 9). After each name, except Beau, the age is written down followed by "Medicinae stud". Since Naxera's age is recorded as "A. 40" he must be born in 1711. Selvarresa is 21 year old and the age of Bejar is 27 year. Under each name is added "living at the Rapenburg". The Rapenburg is the well-known canal in the city center of Leiden at which the university stands. At that time, usually foreign students of the same country lived together in Leiden in a rented house or hostel (pension). Under these circumstances is was easy for Nájera to supervise the other three students analogous to the fourteen rules written down on August 20, 1751 by Virgili for Juan Manresa and the other students in Paris (11). The rules are about practical points like daily attendance at the hospital, attendance at the courses in anatomy and surgery, assistance in the botanical garden and carrying out experiments in physics and chemistry.

In the "Recensie lijst" of 1752, 1753 and 1754 (a list in which every student was reinscripted each year of study at the University of Leiden), the names of all four Spaniards are found which is prove of their studies at the University of Leiden from 1752 to 1754. After the names of the students in the "Resencie lijst" of 1752 is added by "Naxera" which means that also by the university, he was actually seen as the supervisor of the students. After Nájera's name is added also "at Rapenburg" (12). In the "Resencie lijst" of 1754 after each name is

added "at the Rapenburg", thus they lived at the Rapenburg during their whole stay in Leiden (Figure 10). The reason for their studies at the University of Leiden is given in the two letters, both dated August 20, 1751 of Virgili and already mentioned: in general for further studies and for perfection. However, in the rules for supervision by the *Maestro* of the students specific targets are named also (see above). The specific goal for Leiden is to study medicine and her theoretical concepts ("estudiar la Medicina" and "la theorica", see Figure 6).

The travels abroad of *Maestros* and students of the College was an opportunity for Virgili to ask them to buy books for building up a modern and international library at the College and instruments for surgery and experimentation. José de Nájera as well as Juan Manresa was asked to do so. The first amount of books from Leiden was send on November 8, 1752 (Figure 11). The second sending was in 1753, the third in October 1754. The total list of books from the Netherlands is documented in the *Libros de cuentas* accounting to Hfl 10.027 (Dutch florins) and is signed on January 23, 1755 by the Claustro of Maestros (13).

In August 1754, Virgili decided that de Nájera and the two colegios should extent their education in medicine abroad at the University of Bologna. Since the last sending of books from Leiden was done by de Nájera in October 1754 the Spaniards must have left Leiden in October 1754 or soon thereafter. They were already in Bologna before mid-December 1754, thus it seems plausible that they traveled together.

5. Bologna

Again, there are no documents on their journey from Leiden to Bologna. We do not know the way they traveled nor when they arrived at Bologna. The first documentation of their stay in Bologna is found in the "Studio, Università degli Artisti, Matricole, 1742-1769". All four had to swear the oath on the Pope, since Bologna at that time belonged to Vatican State, and let their study documents be visited. This was done on December 13, 1754 as is written down as "fides matriculandorum, signed by lector Giacomo Bartolomeo Beccari". Only after this formal statement they could be inscripted which was done on January 14, 1755 as is found in the "Assunteria di Studio, Registri alfabetici degli scolari Artisti". In the Libros de Matrículas del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz, Tomo 11, años 1750-1758 the achievements to be reached when studying at the University of Bologna is written down: "to study and in particular execute the practice of the theory learned at the Faculty in Leiden" (á estudiar, y en particular á executar la practíca de la theorica precedente en Fac. Leyden, see Figure 6). A second goal must have been studies to win their doctorate at the University of Bologna. In the "Notitia doctorum sive catalogus doctorum qui in Collegiis philosophiae et medicinae Bononiae laureati fuerunt ab anno 1480 usque ad annum 1800" for each of them is documented the date they became a laureate. The first to win his doctorate in Philosophiae et Medicina by "approbatio per acclamationem et decreta laurea" is José de Nájera on June 10, 1755 (Figure 12). Given a letter dated July 1755 Virgili rapidly knew that de Nájera had won his doctorate with "grande aplauso" and that the others would become doctors in October 1755 (9). The other three won their doctorate by "approbatio". José de Bejar and José Selvarreza became

laureates on the same date September 25, 1755 (Figure 13). Finally, Bernardo Beau became laureate on March 23, 1756 (Figure 14).

Four days after Beau won his doctorate, on March 27, 1756 the Intendente General de la Marina wrote to Virgili about the progress of the Spaniards in Bologna, mentioned that they obtained their doctorate ("pasado doctores") and suggests that they should pass by the Corte to revalidate their capacities when traveling back to Spain (see Figure 2). The question is if this is coincidence or that the Intendente General already had been informed at such short notice about the last student having obtained his doctorate. Another peculiar detail in the letter of the Intendente General is his statement that the Spaniards studied four years at the University of Leiden and two years at the University of Bologna. In fact, they studied in Leiden a little less than 3 years: January 1752 until October/November 1754 and longer than two years in Bologna (see below) although at the time of writing they were two years in Bologna.

In a letter send by de Nájera from Bologna to the Cirujano Mayor de la Armada in Cádiz (Virgili) on January 8, 1757, he describes the achievements made in Bologna by the students and himself. He writes about the doctorates, the development of the skills of the students and their praxis based on the theoretical lessons in Leiden. After being laureate, they still practiced medicine and surgery at the University of Bologna (14). Shortly after writing the letter to Virgili, de Nájera received a letter from Virgili dated February 8, 1757 in which de Nájera and the three students are ordered to return to Spain (15). As already mentioned by the Intendente General de la Marina in March 1756, also Virgili orders them first to go to Madrid for examination by the Real Protomedicato, the Licensing Authority.

Although written in the letter mentioned above of the Intendente General de la Marina that they studied two years at the university of Bologna (true at the time of his writing), they extended their studies and praxis at the University of Bologna to more than two years, from December 1754 until somewhere in the first half of 1757 (14). Also in 1757 during his stay in Bologna José de Nájera got the funds to buy books for the library in Cádiz (16).

We do not know the details of their travel from Bologna via Madrid to Cádiz. At least they departed from Bologna after February 8, 1757, which is the date of the letter from Virgili in which he ordered them to return to Spain. Their examinations at the Protomedicato in Madrid took place before July 15, 1757 since in a letter of that date Virgili commented on the event (17). The revalidation at the Protomedicato in Madrid went very well. All three were acknowledged with double qualifications as doctors and surgeons (Médicos y Cirujanos) and as such, they could treat surgical as well as medical patients at the Royal Hospital in Cádiz (18). However Diego Porcel, the Protomédico de la Armada saw problems to recognize the double titles. Intervention by Virgili re-confirmed the verdict of the Protomedicato that they were entitled to name themselves cirujanos-médicos and carry out their profession as such (9). Thus, the original goal of Lacombe and Virgili was achieved.

6. RETURN TO THE REAL COLEGIO DE CIRUGÍA DE CÁDIZ

There are no documents on their exact date of arrival in Cádiz. A letter by Virgili dated July 18, 1757 documented that all four worked again at the Royal Hospital in Cádiz, thus they

arrived at Cádiz before that date (18). All four travelers made a career at the College in Cádiz after their return to Spain. José de Nájera was asked specifically to run a medical unit in the Royal Hospital to practice and demonstrate his skills as a Maestro for Física (17). After Nuevo Iglesias, the successor of Virgili as Director of the College in 1758, became ill, de Nájera functioned as interim Director from 1765 to 1768 (Figure 15). After the death of Nuevo Iglesias in 1768, de Nájera did not succeed in becoming Cirujano Major and the new Director of the College. Francisco Canivelli (the former librarian and at the present time professor of Orthopedics) became the new Cirujano Major de la Armada and in 1769 the new Director of the College. Disappointed de Nájera retreats and leaves the College on February 2, 1769 and died in 1772.

The appointment of Bernardus Beau as Librarian (Bibliotecario) is already documented in a letter from Virgili dated August 2, 1755 (19). Since at that time Beau was studying at the University of Bologna Canivelli stayed interim librarian until Beau's return to Cádiz in 1757 as documented in a letter by Virgili dated September 8, 1755. Beau was appointed Maestro in 1766 (Physiologia, Pathologia y Therapeutica) and worked as such at the Royal Hospital. He stepped down as Librarian in 1782. José Selvarreza is appointed Maestro de Chimia in 1757 (18). In 1782, he is appointed Protomédico de la Armada followed by his appointment as Director of the College of Cádiz in 1792. Selvarreza wrote several publications amongst others a "Recetario manual" and the "Compendio de Medicina Practica" (20). José Bejar is appointed Maestro de Botánica in 1759.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, the travels brought extended studies and perfection for the travelers. Many books were bought abroad and send to Cádiz, which greatly helped the building of an extensive, up to date library of the College. In_addition, instruments for experimentations and surgical practice were send to Cádiz. Finally, the target to educate the future maestros of the College was totally fulfilled. Thanks to all these features, the Royal College of Surgery of Cádiz played a primary and decisive role in the development of the education of surgeons in the eighteenth century in Spain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my pleasure to thank the following persons: Prof Mart van Lieburg for the lively discussions and his advices; Dr Ana Rémon-Rodriguez for her interest in my work and the hospitality in the library of the University of Cádiz and her co-workers; Clemencia de la Cruz-Rodriguez and co-workers of the Archivo of the University of Cádiz; Prof Willem Frijhoff for his advice, Jaap de Vreugd of Special Collections of the Universiteits Bibliotheek Leiden, Andrea Dalti of the Biblioteca Universitaria - Archivio Storico, Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna for her great help and the road she paved for me at the Archivo di Stato di Bologna, Dr. Giorgia Muratori of the Archivo di Stato Bologna, Victoria Barcina Cuevas

and María Soledad Tejedor Montero of the Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, Sección del Archivo Histórico.

REFERENCES

- 1. Feijoo, B. J. Textos sobre cuestiones de medicina. Teatro Crítico Universal. Tomo séptimo, discurso XIV. Projecto: Filosofia en Espagñol. www.filosofia.org, Oviedo 1998.
- 2. FERRER, D. Historía del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz. Cádiz: 1961, p. 22.
- 3. "Instrucciones para los Ayudantes, Cirujanos Primeros estimados en el Real Hospital", "Instrucciones para los Practicantes de esta Hospital". Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 3-12.
- 4. "La ordenanza y reglamento para los Ayudantes primero y secundo de la Armada". Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 13-19.
- 5. FERRER, D. Historía del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz. Cádiz: 1961, p. 11.
- CABRERA-AFONSO, J.R. La Medicina española del siglo XVIII: el Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz. Anales de la Real Academia Nacional de Medicina, vol 125 (2008): 581-606.
- 7. "Orden dada en este año para el establezimiento del real Colegio de Cirugía". Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 85-93.
- 8. Letter of the marquis de la Ensenada dated April 26, 1751. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 195-196
- 9. FERRER, D. De la union del studio de la Medicina y la Cirugía. Medicina & Historia, vol XXIV (1966): 4-14.
- 10. REMÓN RODRÍGUEZ, A. El libro medico-científico en la biblioteca del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz (1748-1844). Cádiz: 2017, p 103
- 11. Letter of Pedro Virgili to Juan Manrese dated August 20, 1751. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 204-207
- 12. Archief Senaat en Faculteiten, Universiteit Leiden, UBL SC. Recensie lijsten no 123 125, 1752-1754
- 13. Sending of books by de Nájera from Leiden to Cádiz 1752-1754. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro relaciones de los intereses del Real Colegio de

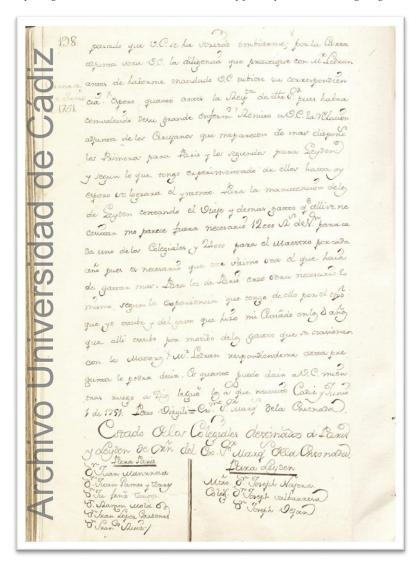
- Cirugía en el que se expresa el haber del uno por ciento de los individuos que lo componen, L-52 RC, folio 14-16
- 14. Letter from de Nájera to Virgili dated Januari 8, 1757. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 473-478.
- 15. Letter from Virgili to de Nájera February 8, 1757. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 480-481.
- 16. REMÓN RODRÍGUEZ, A. El libro medico-científico en la biblioteca del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz (1748-1844). Cádiz: 2017, p 70
- 17. Letter by Virgili dated July 15, 1757. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 493-494.
- 18. Letter written by Virgili dated July 18, 1757. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 494-497.
- 19. Letter from Virgili dated August 2, 1755 with the appointment of Beau as Librarian. Archivo de la Universidad de la Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen. Tomo I, L-54 RC, folio 358-360
- 20. OROZCO ACUAVIVA, A. El "Compendio de Medicina Practica" de Joseph Salvaresa del Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz. Actas de XXVII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Medicina. Barcelona: 1981, p 387-393.

PRIMARY SOURCES OF DOCUMENTATION

- Archivio di stato di Bologna (ASBO), Archivio di Università degli Artisti di Bologna. Studio, busta 373-377: Rotulus DD Scholarium a die 1 Aprilis 1742 usque ad 1769.
- Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro undécimo de lista de colegiales del Real Colegio de Cirugía, sus notas y destino. Tomo 11. L-10 RC.
- Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, sección del Archivo Histórico (ES.AU.AUSAH). Processo de provision de la catedra Cirugia vacante por fallecimiento del licenciado Jose Viciola, 13/10/1741 30/1/1742, AUSAH.1.1.2. 1.2/00063//AUSA,1008/26.

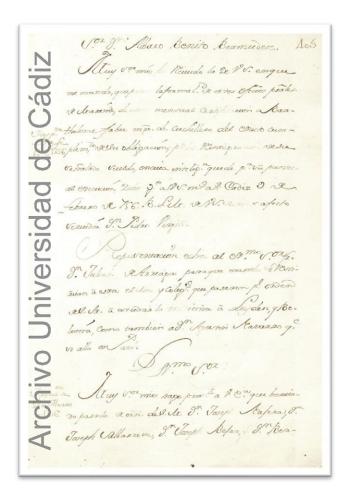
FIGURES

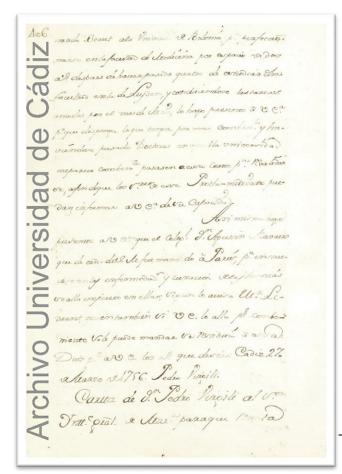
Figure 1. Letter by Virgili, June 1, 1751 with the names of faculty and students going to Leiden and Paris



Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen, L-54 RC, folio 198

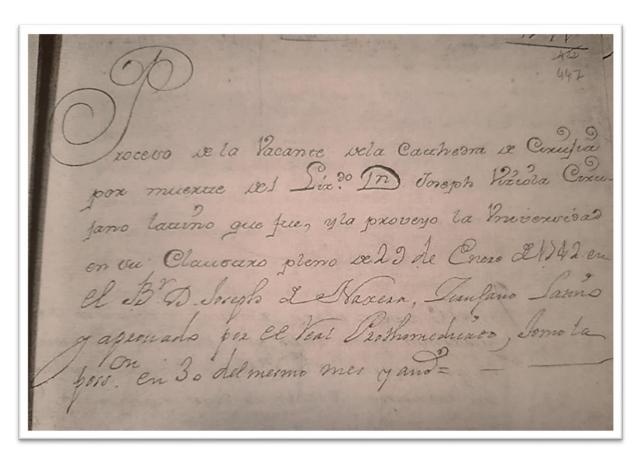
Figure 2. Letter by the Intendente General de la Marina, March 27, 1756 with all four names of the travelers to Leiden and Bologna





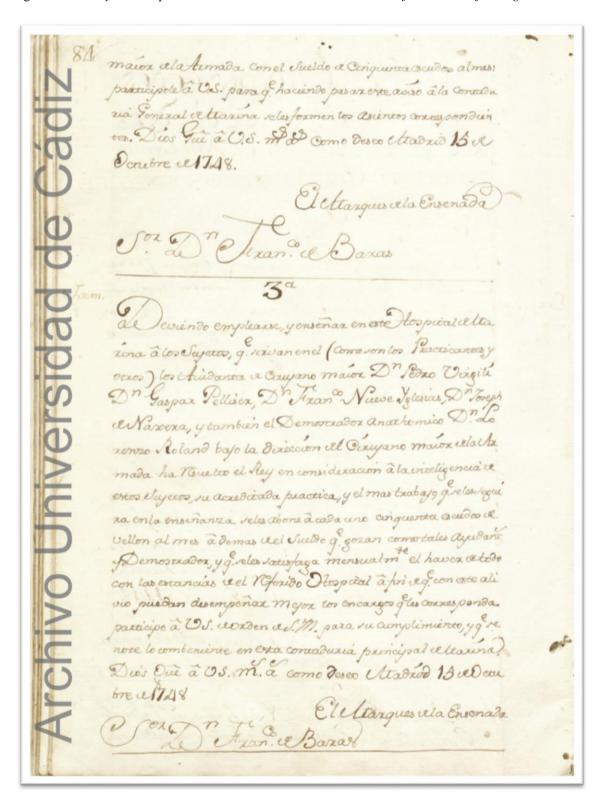
Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen, L-54 RC, folio 405-406

Figure 3. Appointment of José de Nájera as professor of Surgery at the University of Salamanca



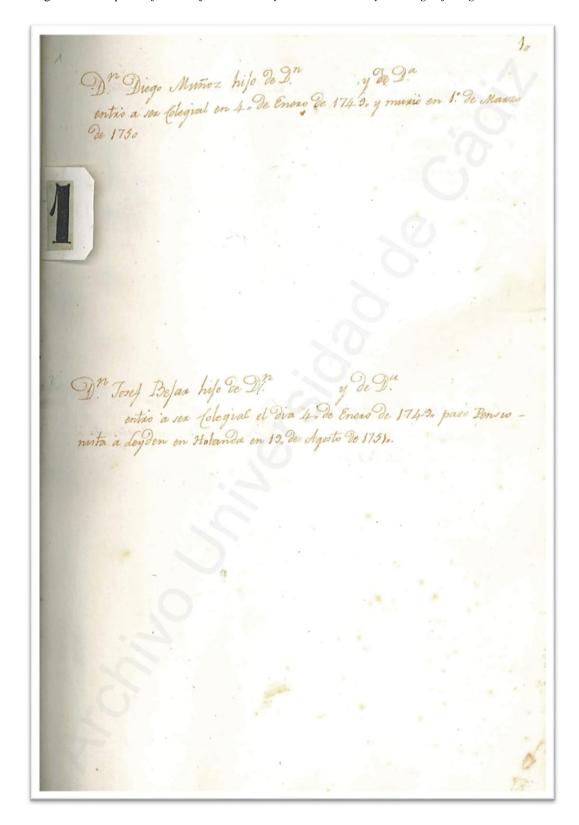
Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca. Proceso de provisión de la cátedra Cirugía LATINA que dejó vacante el bachiller José NÁJERA, 11/2/1749 – 12/8/1749, ES.AU.AUSAH.1/AUSAH.1.1.2. 1.2/00063//AUSA,1008/26

Figure 4. Letter by the marquis de la Ensenada, October 15, 1748 on the first teachers for surgeons in Cádiz



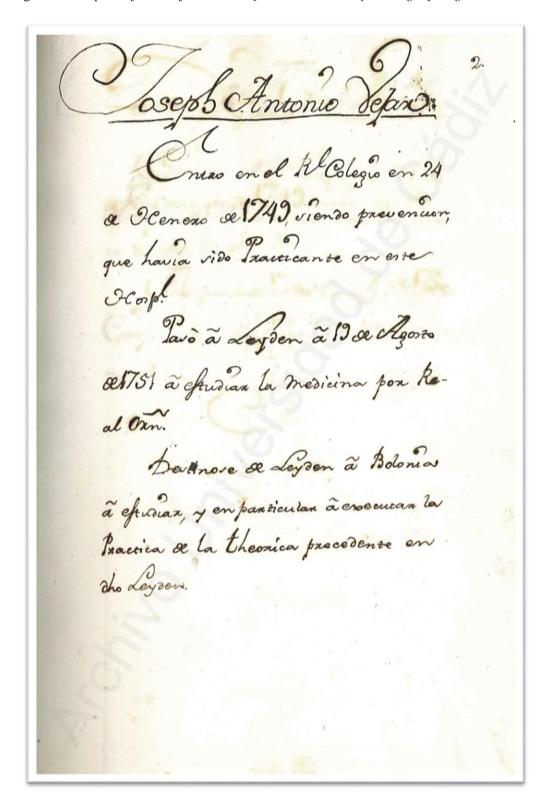
Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y decretos[...] en favor del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen, L-54 RC, folio 83-85

Figure 5. Inscription of José Bejar on January 4, 1749 at the Royal college of Surgeons in Cádiz



Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro primero de asientos de alumnos del Real Colegio de Cirugía, L-1 RC, folio 1

Figure 6. Inscription of José Bejar on January 24, 1749 at the Royal college of Surgeons in Cádiz



Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro cuarto de colegiales del Real Colegio de Cirugía, sus notas durante su existencia en él y el destino de cada uno, L-4 RC, folio 2

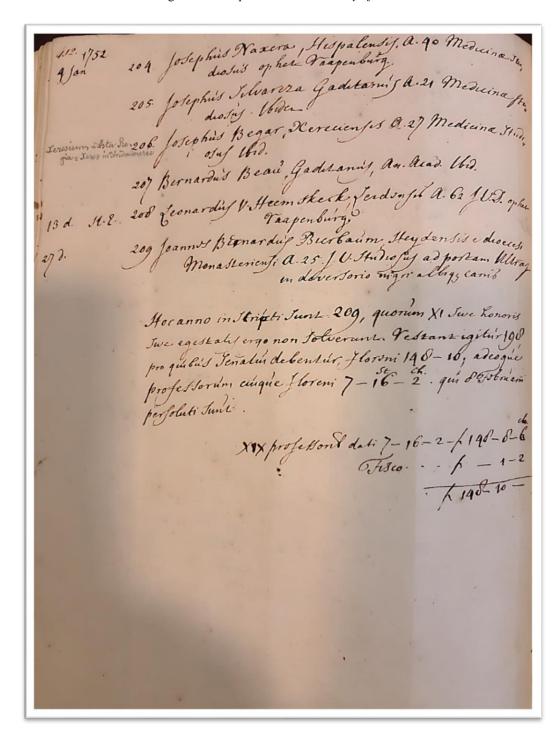
Figure 7. Inscription of José Selvarresa at the Royal college of Surgeons in Cádiz

Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro cuarto de colegiales del Real Colegio de Cirugía, sus notas durante su existencia en él y el destino de cada uno, L-4 RC, folio 10

Figure 8. Date of departure for Leiden of Selvarresa

Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro sexto de Processus Colegiarum que contiene los méritos y deméritos de colegiales del Real Colegio de Cirugía, L-5 RC, folio 143

Figure 9. Inscription at the University of Leiden

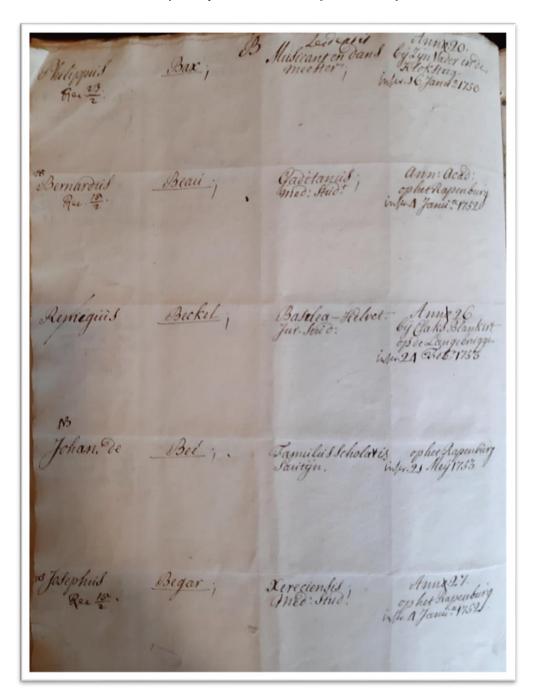


UBL- SC, Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten der Leidsche Universiteit No 14, Catalogus Octavus 1727-1755, folio 412.

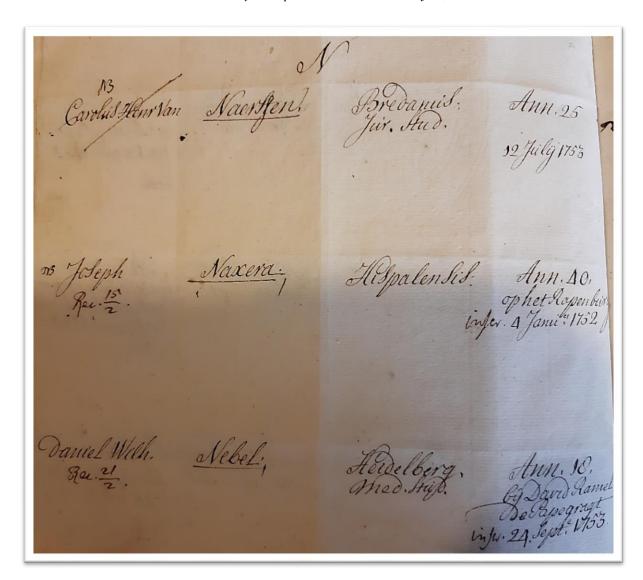
Figure 10

A. Yearly inscription with domicile of Beau and Bejar, 1754

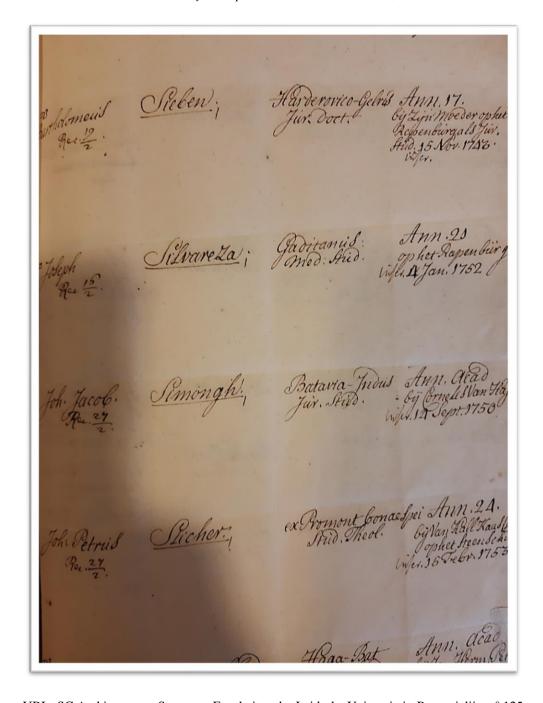
Travels for study and perfection of professors and students of the Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz



B. Yearly inscription with domicile de Nájera, 1754



C. Yearly inscription with domicile Silvaresa, 1754



UBL- SC Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten der Leidsche Universiteit, Recensielijst n° 125

Figure 11. Sending of books by José de Nájera from Leiden to Cádiz 1752-1754

d1 . 0 . 10 0	14
Memoria a Libror, y otros diveistos fen : pexe	enegenter
Historia matural, que entir en Divintas Pome	reaction of the Carlos
Historia matural, get ente en vivante de	var, verse neiven
a ere & Collegio Thoseph Parido se Obanene	device Sia 8.
si Nov 20 se 1752 havea hoy occubic se 1754.	que su viv ouen-
20000-2000	54
tav wine ve vigue	Morine Placar
10, 22	deconce. Trende
himera Rineva	3. 3.
60	- 0 h
hono la rivinos Arboles que que dan en el	13.
poro 121 monnies concered	0178 1.12
Jaining Vanna	A STANKING
of D marger brown be tarty	0.01
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1	Do21 H
lillare 6	Doot
on Pomoi y num para marias.	Dag 15
lineo Ameneases Academie.	2003 - 10
dines Bibliothers Bocarnia	
dineo wieto theca Both	.= 2002
Lineo Fauna Uneria	1 10 16
R. Horn Mella	2001
11 a Medial	2001
Lineo Puloso phia Bothamia	noto los
aineo bundam - R	0.00
rineo inilosophia doctrame	200x
1 or more trans de la	Deo 2
O. O. Invallence.	Doct 15.
- Amylanica	0001. 10.
11 1 the second of the second	
O AVEAS COMOL DILLE VE	-
on haven enqueldernan extor tomor que ve compranon venana dor enpaper core	1 0005 8
compranon verana dol elle	7 33 34 39
of a down.	2002 8
nova gev Bareseri Murum Anarhomium-	0301 8.
sta min waterest water	200110
Jacopen Carnoven . 20 20 min fore degrenois.	lood
	0004
Da enel Cannoien no momente de un Cajon, mandadou;	2
Montar lon Ca Corre	0008.
Lano se la valida, enbascadeso, y Alminas	0 7 5
700200 70000	1. 000 Z /
8 - (1)	2000
Total	8236

Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro relaciones de los intereses del Real Colegio de Cirugía en el que se expresa el haber del uno por ciento de los individuos que lo componen, L-52 RC, folio 14-16

atzenfextractef inter nom extractes item Egometur er site formit.

Gier g. Junij 1358.

A. Meshi Place R. Congregario existentitus Illmir et Exinis P. serinis, Pr. Maxera Sollegis en Nata corp. lefortentid expresion But sir Romeistio cul Himis et Extro Otto, a kning. Collegis respuid Principal Principal Controst.

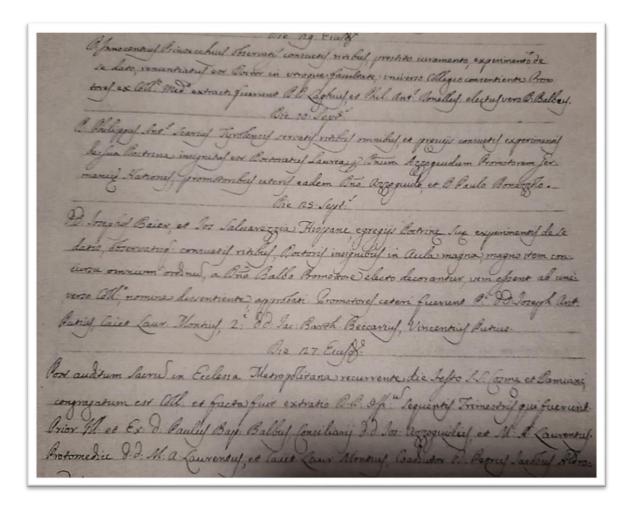
Persone Legistra Luftrisoimu Baus A. Do sechu Placeta Maxeratis.

Spann Viva Covegia Ver in celebri Universitate de.

Figure 12. Promotion of José de Nájera at the University of Bologna

Archivio di Stato di Bologna, ASBo, ASBo, Studio, 300: Acta illmi et exc mi Collegii Phil. Et Med. Bononie a die 11 octobris 1751 ad 3 julii 1755

Figure 13. Promotion of José Bejar and José Selvarreza at the university of Bologna



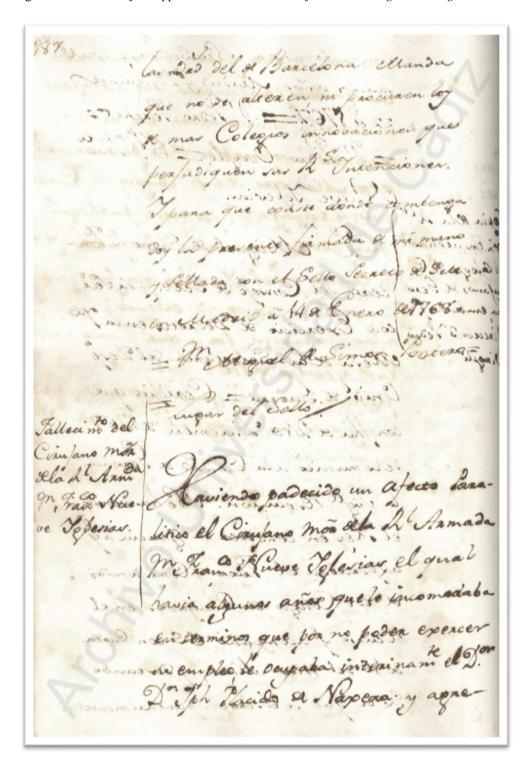
Archivio di Stato Bologna, ASBo, Studio, 301: Acta Coll. Phil. et Med. a die 3 Julii 1755 ad diem 27 januarii 1759

abiguado funt Proposar efe do franco de como de Aguardo Bomondo de Aquento meno laborar esta de de dos francos de como de fermando de como de como de fermando de como de como

Figure 14. Promotion of Bernardus Beau at the University of Bologna

Archivio di Stato Bologna, ASBo, Studio, 301: Acta Coll. Phil. et Med. a die 3 Julii 1755 ad diem 27 januarii 1759

Figure 15. José de Nájera appointed interim director of the Real Colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz



Archivo de la Universidad de Cádiz (AUCA). Libro [Copiador] de Reales órdenes y [Reglamentaciones] del Real Hospital Cirugía, Real Colegio Seminario de Cádiz e individuos que lo componen, L-37 RC, folio 187-188