

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS • xvi

INTRODUCTION • xvii

PART I. *MEDICINA*: HEALERS AND HEALING IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE (500–1100) • 1

CHAPTER ONE: THE FRAGMENTED HERITAGE OF ANCIENT MEDICINE • 3

I. THE ALEXANDRIAN CURRICULUM IN LATIN DRESS • 5

1. Isidore of Seville: The Canon of Medicine • 5
2. The Old Latin Commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates • 10
3. Teaching the Alexandrian Curriculum in Sixth-Century Italy: Agnel-
lus of Ravenna's Commentary on Galen's *On Sects* • 14
4. An Early Medieval Summary of Medical Theory: *The Wisdom of the
Art of Medicine* • 17

II. MEDICAL PRACTICES IN A CHANGING WORLD • 23

5. An Encyclopedia of Practical Medicine from the Age of Justinian:
Alexander of Tralles • 23
6. Galen Enlarged for Practice: Pseudo-Galen, *Liber tertius* on Pneumonia
and Pleurisy • 26
7. Echoes of Methodism: "Aurelius" on Rabies • 28
8. Medical Self-Help for the Gentleman Traveler: The *Medicine* and
Natural Remedies of "Pliny" • 31
 - a. Prologue to the *Medicine of Pliny* • 31
 - b. Cures for the Common Cold from the *Natural Remedies of
Pliny* • 33
9. A Late Antique Estate-Holder's Manual of Home Remedies • 34
10. The Doctor as Connoisseur of Pulses and Urines • 38
11. Prognosis and Prophecy • 43
 - a. *The Ivory Casket* • 43
 - b. Pseudo-Galenic *Signs of Impending Death* • 45

CHAPTER TWO: CHRISTIANITY, DISEASE, AND
 MEDICINE • 47

I. SAINTS AS HEALERS • 49

12. A Sixth-Century Byzantine Saint Dispenses Medical Advice: Theodore of Sykeon • 49
13. The Medical World of Gregory of Tours: Plagues, Doctors, and Saints • 54
 - a. Plague in Marseilles • 55
 - b. Healers Secular and Spiritual • 56
14. A Reluctant Bishop-Healer: John of Beverley • 59
15. A Carolingian Therapeutic Passion of Saints Cosmas and Damian • 62

II. RITUALS OF HEALING • 67

16. St Sigismund, Patron of Sufferers from Fever • 67
 - a. The Mass of St Sigismund • 67
 - b. The Sigismund Fever Charm • 69
17. "Prayers to the Earth and All Herbs" • 70
 - a. A Prayer to the Earth • 70
 - b. A Prayer to All Herbs • 71

CHAPTER THREE: MEDICINE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL
 COURTS AND CLOISTERS • 73

I. THE DOCTOR AT COURT • 75

18. The Court Physician in Ostrogothic Italy • 75
19. Dietary Advice for a Merovingian King • 77
20. Alcuin on the Doctors at Charlemagne's Court • 80

II. MONASTIC MEDICINE IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL
 WEST • 81

21. The Care of the Sick at the Monastery of Vivarium • 81
22. Medical Injunctions in the *Rule of St Benedict* • 82
23. A Monastic Defense of Medicine against Rigorist Critics: The *Lorsch Leechbook* • 84
24. *The Plan of St Gall*: Medical Facilities within an Ideal Monastery • 94
25. Medicine, Morality, and Meditation in a Monastic Herb-Garden: Walahfrid Strabo's *The Little Garden* • 98

- III. THE MEDICAL NETWORKS OF MISSIONARIES AND BISHOPS • 110
26. The Medical Networks of Eighth-Century Anglo-Saxon Missionaries • 110
- a. Bishop Cynehard of Winchester Asks Lull for Drugs and Medical Books • 110
 - b. Willibald Smuggles Balsam Out of the Holy Land • 111
27. Bishop Pardulus of Laon Dispenses Medical Advice • 111
28. Elias of Jerusalem Sends a Prescription to King Alfred of Wessex • 112
29. Letters of Medical Advice from Bishop Fulbert of Chartres and His Circle • 114

CHAPTER FOUR: A REGIONAL CASE STUDY: MEDICINE IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND • 119

30. *Bald's Leechbook* and *Leechbook III* • 120

PART II. *PHYSICA*: THE ADVENT AND IMPACT OF ACADEMIC MEDICINE (1100–1500) • 129

CHAPTER FIVE: SALERNO: MEDICINE'S "THEORETICAL TURN" AND THE RATIONALIZATION OF PRACTICE • 131

31. Tenth-Century Medicine: The Testimony of Richer of Rheims • 133
- a. Richer's Study of Medicine • 133
 - b. Bishop Derold and the Doctor from Salerno • 134
32. Constantine the African: The Romance of Translating Arabic Medicine • 135
- a. Peter the Deacon: Constantine the Oriental Sage • 136
 - b. Master Matthaëus's Notice: Constantine the Autodidact • 138
33. Medical Theory and the Formation of the *Articella* (1): The *Isagoge* of Joannitius • 139
34. Medical Theory and the Formation of the *Articella* (2): Bartholomæus of Salerno Comments on the *Isagoge* • 156
35. Salernitan Anatomy: The *Second Salernitan Demonstration* • 159
36. The Practice of Pharmacy Rationalized • 174
- a. Extracts from *Circa instans* • 175
 - b. The *Antidotarium Nicolai* on Theriac • 176

- c. The Commentary on the *Antidotarium Nicolai* Ascribed to Matthaeus Platearius: Why Compound Medicines Are Superior • 177
- 37. The Practice of Therapeutics Rationalized: The *Practice of Medicine* by Bartholomaeus of Salerno • 179
- 38. The Practice of Surgery Rationalized: The *Surgery* of Roger Frugard • 181
- 39. The Salernitan Tradition of Gynecology: *The Trotula* • 185
 - a. The Learned Tradition • 186
 - b. The Empirical Tradition • 189

CHAPTER SIX: VIA SCOLARIS: MEDICINE IN THE UNIVERSITY • 191

I. FACULTIES AND CURRICULA • 193

- 40. From Philosophy to Physic: Paris from the Late Twelfth Century to the Late Thirteenth Century • 193
 - a. Alexander Nequam: Adam of the Petit-Pont's Reading List in *Physica* • 193
 - b. The Curriculum of the Paris Medical Faculty in 1270-74 • 194
- 41. Montpellier and the "New Galen" • 195
- 42. The "University of Arts and Medicine" at Bologna • 197

II. MEDICAL SCHOLASTICISM IN ACTION: AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS AND ACADEMIC COMMENTARIES • 205

- 43. Is Medicine a Science? (1): Avicenna and His Commentator Gentile of Foligno • 205
- 44. Is Medicine a Science? (2): Arnau of Vilanova Argues That Medicine Transcends Theory • 211
- 45. Is Medicine a Science? (3): Henri of Mondeville on Progress in Medicine • 220
- 46. The Scholastic *Quaestio*: Aristotle vs. Galen on the Generation of the Embryo • 222
 - a. The Aristotelian Position Defended: Giles of Rome on Conception • 223
 - b. The Galenic Response: Jacopo da Forlì • 228
- 47. Academic Dissection as "Material Commentary" (1): Mondino de'Liuzzi • 231

- 48. Academic Dissection as “Material Commentary” (2): Anatomical Illustration • 237
 - a. The “Five Picture Series” • 237
 - b. The *Anatomy* of Guido of Vigevano • 238
- 49. Scholastic Medicine Popularized: Bartholomaeus Anglicus on Diseases of the Head and of the Mind • 248

CHAPTER SEVEN: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN SCHOLASTIC MEDICINE • 255

- 50. Signs and Diagnosis (1): Gilles of Corbeil on Urines • 256
- 51. Signs and Diagnosis (2): *Epitome on Pulses* • 258
- 52. Causes: The Case of Epilepsy • 263
 - a. Arnau of Vilanova, *Breviary of the Practice of Medicine* • 264
 - b. Bernard of Gordon, *Lily of Medicine* • 265
- 53. Scholastic Therapeutics (1): Rhazes, *Book for Almansor* • 267
- 54. Scholastic Therapeutics (2): John of Gaddesden on Smallpox • 269
- 55. Scholastic Pharmacology: Bernard of Gordon • 275
 - a. Pharmacy in Theory: *The Preservation of Human Life* • 276
 - b. Pharmacy in Practice: *The Lily of Medicine* • 280
- 56. A Primer on Bloodletting (1): Lanfranc of Milan’s Scholastic Phlebotomy • 281
- 57. A Primer on Bloodletting (2): The “Sign Man”: An Astrological Guide to Phlebotomy • 286
- 58. Is Surgery a Science? (1): Lanfranc of Milan Defends the Intellectual Dignity of Surgery • 288
- 59. Is Surgery a Science? (2): Henri of Mondeville Defends the Scientific Credentials of Surgery • 292
- 60. Is Surgery a Science? (3): Guy of Chauliac’s History of Surgery • 296
- 61. A Surgical Sampler (1): Guy of Chauliac on the Treatment of Wounds • 300
- 62. A Surgical Sampler (2): Teodorico Borgognoni and the New Surgical Diseases • 306
- 63. A Surgical Sampler (3): Ophthalmic Surgery • 313
- 64. A Surgical Sampler (4): Surgical Anesthesia? • 315

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONTESTED FRONTIERS OF
SCHOLASTIC MEDICINE: MEDICAL ASTROLOGY AND
MEDICAL ALCHEMY • 317

- 65. Panacea or Problem? (1): The Case for Medical Astrology • 318
- 66. Panacea or Problem? (2): Jacques Despars's Reservations about Medical Astrology • 323
- 67. Roger Bacon: Alchemy and the Medical Payoff of "Experimental Science" • 326
 - a. Medicine and "Experimental Science": The *Opus maius* • 326
 - b. In Alchemy Lies the Salvation of Medicine: Bacon's *On the Errors of the Doctors* • 330
- 68. Bisticcius: A Florentine Goldsmith and Medical Alchemist • 331

PART III. MEDICINE AND SOCIETY (1100–1500) • 335

CHAPTER NINE: WHAT IS DISEASE? WHAT IS ILLNESS?
DOCTORS' DILEMMAS AND THE MEANING OF
SUFFERING • 337

- 69. Interpreting Symptoms: The Difficult Case of Leprosy • 339
 - a. Gilbert the Englishman: The Symptoms of Leprosy • 340
 - b. Jordanus de Turre: Diagnostic Protocol for Leprosy • 342
- 70. Metaphor and Malignancy – The Difficult Case of Cancer (1): Jean of Tournemire Diagnoses His Daughter's Breast Cancer and Receives Divine Medical Aid • 344
- 71. Metaphor and Malignancy – The Difficult Case of Cancer (2): Guillaume Boucher Treats a Parisian Lady with Breast Cancer • 348
- 72. The Enigma of Mental Illness • 351
 - a. Gaspar Ofhuys's Account of Hugo van der Goes's Mental Illness • 352
 - b. The *Portinari Altarpiece* and the Detail of the Flowers • 355
- 73. Prophecy and Healing: The Meaning of Illness According to Hildegard of Bingen • 357
 - a. Hildegard's *Causes and Cures* • 357
 - b. Hildegard Advises the Afflicted • 359

CHAPTER TEN: WHO CAN HELP? PHYSICIANS,
 “EMPIRICS,” AND THE SPECTRUM OF
 PRACTITIONERS • 361

- 74. Should Clergy and Monks Practice Medicine? • 363
 - a. The Decree of the Second Lateran Council of 1139 • 363
 - b. Canon 8 of Pope Alexander III Enacted at the Council of Tours, 1163 • 364
 - c. Rescript *Tua nos* of Innocent III (1212) • 365
- 75. The Faculty of Medicine of Paris *vs.* Jacoba Felicie • 366
- 76. The Faculty of Medicine of Paris *vs.* Jean Domrémi • 369
- 77. Jewish Doctors: The Case of Provence • 380
 - a. A Jewish Doctor Is Accused of Abortion and Malpractice • 381
 - b. Contract between a Jewish Doctor and His Christian Patient • 384
 - c. A Jewish Surgeon Provides Expert Testimony in a Murder Case • 384

CHAPTER ELEVEN: WHAT CAN THEY DO? CLINICAL
 ENCOUNTERS IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE • 387

- 78. The Doctor at the Bedside (1): Precept According to Archimatthaeus • 389
- 79. The Doctor at the Bedside (2): Precept According to Arnau of Vilanova • 393
- 80. The Doctor at the Bedside (3): Practice Illustrated by Guillaume Boucher • 396
- 81. Tried and True: Medical *Experimenta* (“Proven Remedies”) by Arnau of Vilanova • 401
- 82. Customized Therapeutics: The Medieval Medical *Consilium* (1) • 405
 - a. Peter the Venerable of Cluny Writes to Master Bartholomaeus of Salerno • 406
 - b. Reply of Master Bartholomaeus • 408
- 83. Customized Therapeutics: The Medieval Medical *Consilium* (2): Gentile of Foligno • 410
- 84. The Special Challenges of Plague (1): The Report of the Paris Medical Faculty, October 1348 • 414
- 85. The Special Challenges of Plague (2): Guy of Chauliac on the Black Death • 419

86. The Special Challenges of Plague (3): John of Burgundy's *Treatise on the Epidemic* • 422

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE ETHICS OF MEDICAL CARE (1):
CONSCIENCE AND THE LAW • 431

87. Professional Character in the Early Middle Ages: Variations on Hippocratic Themes • 432
- a. The *Letter of Arsenius to Nepotian* • 432
 - b. The *Art of Medicine* • 433
 - c. The *Pantegni* Paraphrase of the Hippocratic Oath • 434
88. Ethics of Care in the Early Middle Ages: Christian Reflections • 435
89. Professional Conduct in the Late Middle Ages: From Character to Code • 436
90. Licensing and Accountability (1): Malpractice in Crusader Palestine • 445
91. Licensing and Accountability (2): Legislation Governing Doctors in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Sicily • 449
92. Licensing and Accountability (3): Examining and Supervising Practitioners in Fourteenth-Century Valencia • 452
- a. The *Furs de València* of 1329 • 453
 - b. Bernat Giner Receives His License (1383) • 454
93. John Arderne's Advice on How to Determine the Fee, and Other Matters of Medical Etiquette • 455

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE ETHICS OF MEDICAL CARE (2):
HOSPITALS AND THE PROVISION OF CHARITY • 461

94. The Organization and Ethos of a Medieval Hospital (1): The Jerusalem Hospital • 462
- a. The Rule of Blessed Raymond du Puy (1120-60) • 463
 - b. Statutes of Roger of Moulins (Master of the Order 1177-87) • 463
95. The Organization and Ethos of a Medieval Hospital (2): The Hôtel-Dieu in Paris • 466
96. The Organization and Ethos of a Medieval Hospital (3): A Twelfth-Century English Leper Hospital • 471
97. Medical Care in a Medieval Hospital (1): The Jerusalem Hospital • 473

CONTENTS

98. Medical Care in a Medieval Hospital (2): John of Mirfeld at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London • 478

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE CULTIVATION OF HEALTH: LIFESTYLE, REGIMEN, AND THE MEDICAL SELF • 485

99. Lifestyle Advice for All (1): The *Salerno Regimen of Health* • 487
100. Lifestyle Advice for All (2): Aldobrandino of Siena on Health throughout the Life Cycle • 493
101. Lifestyle Advice, Customized (1): The Army on Campaign • 501
102. Lifestyle Advice, Customized (2): A Physician of Valencia Advises His Sons, Who Are Studying in Toulouse • 503
103. Medicalizing the Table and the Home: The *Tacuinum sanitatis* • 507
104. Medicalizing Sex: Constantine the African • 511

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: SATIRES AND CRITIQUES OF MEDICINE • 525

105. Dr Galen and Burnel the Ass • 526
106. Petrarch Lashes Out against the Doctors • 531
107. The Doctor as Comic Relief in the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament* • 537

GLOSSARY • 543

INDEX OF TOPICS • 553

SOURCES • 560