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THE MEDIEVAL MEDICAL UNIVERSITY AT PARIS

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Paris was the home of the great theological school of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and as such was the dominant university in Europe.¹ Any medical faculty at Paris was likely to be overshadowed but despite this the medical school at Paris was probably along with Mont-

¹ Unlike Montpellier and Salerno the medical university at Paris has had little attention in the standard English histories of medicine. The monograph material on the medical school is also considerably less. The basic source for any study of Paris is the four volume *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* edited and annotated by H. Denifle and A. Chatelain (Paris: Delalain, 1889-1897). This will be referred to as *Chartularium*. Another valuable collection is the *Commentaires de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Paris (1395-1516)*, edited and annotated with an introduction by Ernest Wickersheimer (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1915), to be abbreviated as *Commentaires*. As the title implies the commentaries do not begin until 1395 but the essay by Wickersheimer is extremely valuable. Also helpful at times is the *Ordonnances des rois de France*, edited by Eusèbe Jacob de Laurière, Denis François Secousse, et al. (21 volumes, Paris: 1723-1849).

The starting point for any work on the University of Paris or any other university is Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (new ed., F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936). Also valuable is Theodor Puschmann, *A History of Medical Education*, translated by Evan H. Hare (London: H. K. Lewis, 1896). Puschmann pays little attention to Paris but he does have some valuable insights. Other books and monographs that I found helpful include: [Jean-Bapt. Louis Chomel], *Essai historique sur la médecine en France* (Paris: Lottin l'ainé, 1762). This contains the medical statutes for the year 1350 unavailable elsewhere. Stephen d'Irsay, "Teachers and Textbooks of Medicine in the Mediaeval University of

pellier, and Bologna, one of the three most important in Europe. The university at Paris deserves study for another reason. It, along with Bologna, was what Hastings Rashdall called the archetypal university.² By this he meant that nearly all the *studia generalia*³ in Europe were (1) either established by secessions of students or masters from Bologna or Paris, or (2) their development was due more or less to direct and conscious imitation of the scholastic guilds of these two great schools.⁴ In any case Paris or Bologna served as the model, and as a result the Parisian medical organization was widely imitated.

Medical teaching at Paris cannot be traced back as far as it can at Salerno or Montpellier, but by the beginning of the thirteenth century it was evidently well established. Alexander of Neckam who studied at Paris between 1175 and 1195 recorded that:

Hic florent artes, coelestis pagina regnat,
Stant leges, lucet ius: medicina viget.⁵

William of Armorica (or le Breton) stated that in 1210

... letters flourished at Paris. Never before in any time or in any part of the world, whether in Athens or in Egypt, had there been such a multitude of students. The reason for this must be sought not only in the admirable beauty of Paris, but

Paris," *Annals of Medical History*, 8 (1926), 234-39, and the same author's, "The Teaching and Practice of Medicine in the Medieval University of Paris," *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History of Chicago*, 4, no. 1 (1928), 41-53. Harold Wellington Jones, "The Faculty of Medicine at Paris," *Annals of Medical History*, 3d s., 1 (1939), 1-23, is a general article but does include some helpful bibliographical hints. Pearl Kibre, "The Faculty of Medicine at Paris, Charlatanism and Unlicensed Medical Practices in the Later Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 27 (1953), 1-20, covers an aspect of the university which I have not delved into here but which emphasizes the importance of a university on the medical scene. Alfred Franklin, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine de Paris* (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1864), describes MSS dealing with the school but the bulk of his work covers the period after 1495. A[uguste] Corlieu, *L'ancienne Faculté de médecine de Paris* (Paris: V. Adrien Delhay et ce., 1877), also deals mainly with the period after 1400.

² Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 16.

³ By *studium generale* Rashdall meant a school that (a) attracted or at least invited students from all parts of Europe; (b) offered higher education in one or more of the specialized fields of law, theology, or medicine, and (c) had a teaching staff of masters in the specialized faculty or faculties (*ibid.*, I, 6-7.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 16. This secession was a common thing in the Middle Ages. Through it the students and masters could retain some control over the townspeople or make better agreements for future sites. The students could also hold this threat over the masters and vice versa. Oxford, for example, was probably founded by such a secession.

⁵ Alexander of Neckam, *De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. Thomas Wright (Rolls Series; London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), p. 453, vss. 569-70.

also in the special privileges which King Philip and his father before him conferred upon the scholars. In that great city the study of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* [the basic arts course], of canon and civil law, as also of the science which empowers one to preserve the health of the body and cure its ills were held in high esteem. But the crowd pressed with a special zeal about the chairs where Holy Scripture was taught, or where the problems of theology were solved.⁶

The first official record of medical teaching by the university comes from an episcopal mandate for the year 1213. In that year Pope Innocent III gave a decision in a quarrel between the masters and students on one part and Johannes, chancellor of Paris, on the other. The pope referred to *de phisicis* and gave the chancellor the right to license lectures in that subject.⁷ The word *phisica* in this connection seems to indicate medicine but it is not until 1251 that the word medicine appears in the language of the university.⁸

In 1231 Pope Gregory IX referred in a letter to *magistri artium et phisice facultatis*, indicating perhaps that organized teaching of medicine existed.⁹ From this reference to masters in art and medicine some authorities believe that the faculties of art and medicine were one instead of two bodies.¹⁰ Even though both faculties were combined at Bologna, it is rather doubtful that they were at Paris. Evidence for a separate existence comes from a distinction of 1213 in the licensing procedures between the scholars and masters *de phisicis* and those in arts.¹¹ The statutes for that year required the chancellor to grant licenses to all candidates in theology, law, and medicine (*de phisicis*), recommended by the majority of masters teaching in those subjects. However, in the arts faculty, the recommendation was to be given by six selected masters chosen by the other masters and the chancellor. In their recommendations the masters of theology and law spoke *in verbo veritatis*, the physician *dabunt fidem*, while the masters of arts had to swear *fide corporaliter prestita*. The two faculties of art and medicine apparently had separate regulations, indicating, I feel, separate entities.

⁶ William le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. François Delaborde (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), I, 230.

⁷ *Chartularium*, I, No. 16, 75-76.

⁸ Later the term *phisica* is used to denote subjects in the liberal arts but this particular reference seems to be synonymous with medicine. For a different use of the word see *ibid.*, II, No. 1040, 504, where there is reference to "grammatica, logica, phisica et cetera inferiores sciencie."

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, No. 89, 144-45.

¹⁰ Guy de Chauliac, *La grande chirurgie*, ed. and trans. into modern French by E. Nicaise (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1890), p. liv. The Roman numerals refer to the introduction by Nicaise.

¹¹ *Chartularium*, I, No. 16, 75-76.

Further evidence that the two faculties were independent of each other is derived from the statutes for the arts faculty issued by Robert de Courçon in 1215.¹² No mention is made of medicine or medical works in these statutes nor in the arts statutes from 1255.¹³ In any case there can be no doubt as to the independence of the medical faculty in 1255 when there is a reference, in 1253, to four separate faculties at the university including medicine, theology, law, and the arts.¹⁴

Regulations for the faculty of medicine, however, are not known before 1270-74.¹⁵ In these statutes the terms scholar, bachelor, licentiate, and master have appeared indicating a full hierarchical development for the medical school. Since these terms are important to understanding medical education it might be well to investigate the meaning of each in the light of these and subsequent regulations. The sources at Paris allow this to be done in greater detail than at any other medical faculty during this time.

The term scholar, as used around 1200, seemed to mean both masters and students¹⁶ but later usage gave it a definite connotation of students who were not yet bachelors. No information as to the age of the scholars is available from any of the statutes during the period under study. From this silence, imposed both at Paris and Montpellier, it might be assumed that there was no definite age for students in medicine as long as they had met certain other requirements. A Paris document from the year 1385, however, does give the age of three medical students all of whom were also masters of arts. The students gave testimony in the struggle of the university with the chancellor. As part of their testimony they gave their age.¹⁷ The two eldest of the witnesses were twenty-two while the youngest was twenty,¹⁸ an indication that the medieval medical student was slightly younger than his modern counterpart. From later accounts at the university it is evident that the youngest student witness was a beginning student in medicine since two years later he was listed as a third year student.¹⁹ By 1393 he was a master in medicine.²⁰ This accidental testimony as to the age of the medical scholars would correspond

¹² *Ibid.*, I, No. 20, 78-80.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, No. 246, 277-79.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, No. 230, 252.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, Nos. 433-34, 444, 451-56, pp. 88-90, 502, 515-18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, No. 1, 59-61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, No. 1513, 368-89.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, No. 1513, 382, 384, 385.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, No. 1541, 459.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, No. 1603, 551.

to what is known about the general age of the arts students. Rashdall estimated that despite a considerable variation in the age of admission, the freshman in arts, as a general rule, would be between thirteen and sixteen years of age.²¹ Twenty was the minimum age for the mastership of arts at Paris and the full course lasted seven years. Thus twenty would appear to be almost the minimal age for medical students.

Not all students in medicine during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were masters of art but it became more and more advantageous to the students to have received their master's degree and apparently the majority of them did so. In the statutes for 1270-74 the candidate with a license in arts was required to have studied medicine for five and a half years before he could be licensed in medicine, while those without the licentiate were required to spend six years.²² Apparently more stress was later put on the arts degree, for in 1350 the master of arts was only required to have thirty-six months of course work for a bachelor's degree but the non-master spent twelve additional months.²³ By the end of the fourteenth century most medical students and masters were also masters of arts. In 1362 the masters of the faculty of medicine were included on a roll to be sent to the pope (*de beneficiis inferius annotatis . . . dignemini misericorditer providere cum acceptatione*) and the statement *omnes magistri in artibus* is included.²⁴ In 1365 another roll of masters appears and all save one master have after their names such designations as *in art. Paris. et in medicina mag.* The lone exception was the beadle of the faculty of medicine.²⁵ In another list of twenty-six masters from 1379 all but two were masters in both arts and medicine. One of the exceptions was the beadle of the earlier list. The other was a certain Theobaldus de Chymereyo who was listed just as *mag. in med.*²⁶ By the fifteenth century the degree of master or licentiate in arts was required before one could become a master in medicine.²⁷ However, even before this all medical students, whether or not they were masters of arts, had had previous training in the arts. Under what circumstances the student could be admitted without the degree of A. M. is unknown but perhaps it was possible in the case of older students.

When the scholar had completed certain requirements he could be-

²¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, III, 352-53.

²² *Chartularium*, I, No. 453, 517. In 1331 the licentiate in arts could give a medical course after thirty-four months of study while the non-licentiate had to spend thirty-six months. *Ibid.*, II, No. 933, 379.

²³ Chomel, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-49.

²⁴ *Chartularium*, III, No. 1264, 81.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, No. 1306, 128-29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, No. 1432, 250-51.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 2274, 454.

come a bachelor and give cursory lectures. In 1270-74 these requirements included at least thirty-two months of actual study, not including vacations. During his studies the scholar was required to have responded²⁸ twice concerning a question in formal disputation in the classes of two masters, or at least once in general disputation. If he passed this successfully he then swore to observe the ordinances, statutes, honors, and customs of the faculty. He also swore that every book on which he would give cursory lectures he himself had heard in ordinary lectures.²⁹

The actual steps in the promotion to bachelor are not listed in any of the documents from this period. One authority, Ernest Wickersheimer, has shown that later three stages were required before the degree was conferred: the *examen general*, *probatio temporis*, and *examen particulare*.³⁰ Evidence for all three of these stages is found in the statutes of 1270-74 but they are not so listed. The *examen generale* took place before the regent masters; it probably was an outgrowth of the general disputation mentioned above. In some documents this phase is called the *examen in communibus*.³¹ For the second step the student gave evidence that he had studied the required period at Paris. A number of such documents are extant from the fourteenth century.³² The last stage, the *examen particulare*, was defined in the statutes of 1350. In this phase the candidate was examined by four masters. Two of the examiners were chosen from the older masters and two from the younger ones at three different times during the year, near Easter, Holy Cross (Sept. 14), and Christmas. The frequency of election might indicate that the examinations were given at least three times a year. No scholar was admitted to the *examen particulare* unless he had been approved by the faculty, probably in the *examen generale*. During the examination, questions on both the theory and practice of medicine were asked and the scholar was required to take part in a dispute before the examiners. Results of the examination were given to

²⁸ In this type of dispute a teacher put a problem and the student or *respondens* gave a preliminary solution of the question and then had to answer the objections raised by the other participants in the dispute. See A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians* (Oxford Historical Society Publications, XCVI, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 31-33.

²⁹ *Chartularium*, I, No. 452, 516-17.

³⁰ *Commentaires*, p. xx. The Roman numerals refer to the introduction by Wickersheimer.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³² See for example *Chartularium*, II, No. 804, 250, which states: "Johannes de Jotro in festo S. Marci probavit [tempus auditionis] ordinarie sub magistro Remigio de Mariniaco, cursorie anno MCCCXXII sub magistro Johanne Bostol et Stephano de Nogento; item sub magistro Egidio de Raveriis; item a Johanne de Monasterio."

the dean who in turn reported them to the faculty. The faculty then voted to admit or refuse the candidate. In order to protect the examiners from the aggressions of unsuccessful candidates, all candidates had to swear not to harm their examiners in case of failure.³³ The successful candidate took an oath to observe the statutes, etc., and paid his fees: four purses to the faculty, and twenty *solidi* Parisian to the servant (*servienti*), i. e., the beadle.³⁴

After receiving the bachelor's degree the student then undertook work for his license. To receive this he had to have attended medical lectures for a total of five and a half years (including his days as a scholar). If he was not a licentiate in art, six years attendance was required.³⁵ He had to prove that he had met the resident requirements with the testimony of at least two witnesses. He was to have given four courses (cursory)³⁶ on books which he had previously had training in from a master.³⁷ Two of the books on which he had given lectures were to be with commentary and two without. At least one was to deal with practice.³⁸ According to the statutes of 1350 his courses were to cover a full book and not just part of a book.³⁹ The bachelors were to stick to medical books and authors for their lectures except for two non-medical books, namely Aristotle's *De animalibus* and *Meteorologica*.⁴⁰ The bachelors were allowed little freedom in their courses. Even the number of lectures or sessions devoted to any one book was defined. For example they could expound on some of the Hippocratic works for fifty lessons and on others only ten.⁴¹

Before the licentiate was conferred on the bachelor an assembly of masters was held with each master examining the candidate on a question *sollempnelment*. The chancellor then called on the masters for their verdict⁴² which was probably based on the decision of the majority.⁴³ The

³³ Chomel, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-48.

³⁴ *Chartularium*, I, No. 454, 517-18. Another statute of the same period (*ibid.*, I, No. 452, 516) has much the same wording but uses the word beadle instead of *servienti*. In the second statute the beadle receives at least one purse instead of the twenty *solidi*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, No. 453, 517.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, No. 934, 382-83. See also *Ordonnances des rois de France*, II, 70-71.

³⁷ *Chartularium*, I, No. 452, 546.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, No. 933, 379.

³⁹ Chomel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54. The statutes added that if two books by different authors were bound together it was necessary to separate these for lecture purposes.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-26.

⁴² *Chartularium*, II, No. 934, 382-83. Also *Ordonnances*, II, 70-71. This ordinance was approved by the king because it was good, just, reasonable, and profitable for the *santé* of the human body. It is one of the few statutes at Paris given by the king rather than by the pope or bishop.

⁴³ *Chartularium*, I, No. 16, 76.

degree of licentiate was only given in alternate years, called jubilee years, at Paris.⁴⁴ These jubilee years were the odd numbered years.⁴⁵

The chancellor's right to confer the license had been recognized as early as the year 1213⁴⁶ but his power over this degree was weakened during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁷ The statutes of 1270-74 required the master under whom the candidate had studied to testify as to his fitness in the presence of the chancellor and the other masters, before the chancellor could award the degree.⁴⁸ This practice was continued with modifications. To prevent any one master from monopolizing the eligible bachelors in 1335 it was stipulated that no master could present more than two bachelors for the license at any one time.⁴⁹

On the day before the ceremony of licensing was held, messengers of the chancellor presented certificates to the successful candidates who received them in their rooms or houses and served them cakes and wine. Through the messengers the chancellor received two *denarios aureos* from each successful candidate.⁵⁰ The ceremony of licensing was probably similar to that in the other faculties. In these ceremonies the successful candidates went to the place where the ceremony was to be held in full academic dress accompanied by the rectors and proctors, preceded by the beadles of the faculty. The candidate was then presented to the chancellor. Then kneeling before him he received his license in the name of the Holy Trinity and was given an apostolic benediction.⁵¹

A license normally gave the candidate the right to teach and practice medicine.⁵² Even though the licentiate had been given the chancellor's

⁴⁴ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 480.

⁴⁵ In the spring of 1442 some bachelors demanded to be admitted to examination for the licentiate even though it was not a jubilee year but their request was refused by the masters. *Commentaires*, pp. 170-71. See also *Chartularium*, II, No. 934, 382; *Ordonnances*, II, 70-71.

⁴⁶ *Chartularium*, I, No. 16, 75-76.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, Nos. 918-43, 349-99. In this series of documents the litigation between the chancellor and the faculty in the period 1330-32 is recorded. It was brought about by the chancellor's attempt to license a bachelor not presented by the faculty, and as a result the chancellor's powers were curtailed.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, No. 453, 517.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, No. 996, 455. It was the custom for the master who acted in such a capacity to receive a fee. See *Commentaires*, p. 48.

⁵⁰ *Chartularium*, III, No. 1520, 404-05. For a slightly earlier period see *ibid.*, II, No. 1185, 683-85. This dealt with theology but the two ceremonies were probably similar.

⁵¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 461.

⁵² *Chartularium*, II, No. 943, 398. In this case a certain Guido de Navarra received the license *ad practicam solum*. Since this license was given during the struggle between the chancellor and faculty it may not be typical.

blessing he was not yet a full master (or doctor) ⁵³ of medicine. This he became only after being enlisted into the society of his colleagues, usually after a specified length of time. In 1350 an interval of six months was required between the licentiate and mastership. ⁵⁴ The prospective master had to have practiced medicine outside of Paris for two summers or in Paris for two years before he was eligible to receive his master's degree. ⁵⁵ Probably most of the students had filled this requirement during the summers they were not lecturing or attending classes. Since the vacation at Paris in 1350 lasted from the eve of the Feast of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul (June 29) to the day after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14), ⁵⁶ the student might practice about five months. The official academic year did not begin until November 1 ⁵⁷ so that perhaps advanced students might be able to practice until then. This is similar to a provision at Montpellier ⁵⁸ indicating that internship might be older than is generally thought. It is possible that the period between licensing and receiving the master's degree could also be spent in practice.

Before he could be initiated into the guild of masters, the licentiate had to take part in two solemn disputations known as *vesperiae* and *inceptio*. The vespers, so called because they were held in the afternoon, took place on any reading or dispute day. All masters and scholars were supposed to attend. At these gatherings the candidate presented and defended a thesis and later acted as a respondent for a second thesis. ⁵⁹ At inception the master-to-be gave an introductory lecture before all the faculty which then debated various phases of the presentation. When the disputes had been completed the candidate gave a summing up, then received the magisterial biretta, the kiss of fellowship, and a book from the presiding regent. He then took his seat with the masters. ⁶⁰

All masters of medicine at Paris were required to be unmarried, and apparently so were the students. ⁶¹ However, none of the students or

⁵³ The term doctor was used in 1271 (*ibid.*, I, No. 434, 489) "doctores in facultate medicine Parisius regentes" but the term master was most often used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

⁵⁴ Chomel, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵⁵ *Chartularium*, II, No. 996, 454-55.

⁵⁶ Chomel, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁵⁷ *Chartularium*, II, No. 1017, 480.

⁵⁸ *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, published under the auspices of the Conseil Général des Facultés de Montpellier (Montpellier: Richard Frères, 1890), I (period 1181-1400), No. 5, 186-90.

⁵⁹ Little and Pelster, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50. See also Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 462.

⁶¹ It was not until 1452 that the requirement for celibacy in the Paris medical faculty

masters at Paris or elsewhere was a member of the regular clergy (monks) although many were probably secular clerics.⁶² The regular clergy had been prohibited from practicing medicine by several councils including Rheims in 1131,⁶³ the second Lateran in 1139,⁶⁴ and Tours in 1163.⁶⁵ The regent masters at Paris, those who taught or were willing to teach, made up the medical faculty.⁶⁶ In the roll of the faculty of medicine for the year 1387, however, both regent and non-regent masters are listed.⁶⁷ Apparently the ordinary business of the faculty was carried out by the masters regent, but at times the non-regent masters were called in.⁶⁸ This is because the medical university not only included the teachers and students but the whole body of legally qualified physicians in Paris. Every physician who was a licentiate and master was able to teach but not all did at any one time.⁶⁹ In 1403 a third classification appears, that of the absentees.⁷⁰ These were masters who did not reside in Paris though their position with regard to the faculty is not quite clear.

At the head of the faculty was the dean, a position which dated from at least the year 1267 if not earlier.⁷¹ His duties were defined in 1350 as the observation and conservation of the statutes of the medical school. He was to note the decisions of the masters in assembly and see to it that the right courses were given. The seal and chest of the faculty were in his care and he was to keep an account of the expenses and receipts.⁷² The dean was elected by the other masters for a one-year term but was eligible for re-election. Election for the deanship took place on the Saturday following All Saints' Day⁷³ (Nov. 1), the beginning of the academic year.

was abolished. See *Chartularium*, IV, No. 2690, 723. Previous to this, if a master was married he lost his regency.

⁶² They were, however, usually in the minor orders.

⁶³ Joannes Dominicus Mansi *et al.*, *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio* (new edition; Florence and Venice, 1759-98), XXI, 459.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 528.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1179.

⁶⁶ *Chartularium*, I, No. 461, 531. Apparently it was possible for a regent who had become non-regent to teach again. To do this he had to take part in a dispute known as *resumptio*. See Little and Pelster, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁷ *Chartularium*, III, No. 1540, 448. It is possible that some of the regent masters had married and through this had become non-regent.

⁶⁸ In 1393 the masters regent and non-regent met together. *Ibid.*, III, No. 1603, 550-51.

⁶⁹ Puschmann, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁷⁰ *Chartularium*, IV, No. 1795, 78-80.

⁷¹ In that year Petrus Lemovicensis was dean. *Ibid.*, I, No. 416, 468.

⁷² Chomel, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-46.

⁷³ *Chartularium*, II, No. 1017, 480.

The beadle (*bidellus* or *serviens*) was to assist the dean. The term and office appear in a statute of the late thirteenth century but the position was probably older.⁷⁴ The beadle was required to take an oath to the dean before taking office.⁷⁵ He was to convoke the assemblies of the masters,⁷⁶ assist in examinations, disputes, masses, vigils, and in general make himself useful. He announced the courses of the regents and of the bachelors at the beginning of the year.⁷⁷ An assistant, the under beadle or sub-beadle, aided him in carrying out his activities.⁷⁸

The dean of the faculty was under the rector of the university. Technically, the rector had originally been the head of the artists' university only but through acting as agent for the whole university in the collection of money, the conduct of litigation, and the execution of decrees, the office had come to exercise a great deal more control. In effect the rector was the head of the whole university,⁷⁹ though still elected only by the faculty of arts.

Most of the early universities, including Paris, had developed from cathedral schools which were supervised by a representative of the bishop. This official was known as a chancellor and his early power came from the fact that as a representative of the bishop he could choose whom he would allow to teach. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, the powers of the chancellor had been limited to the conferring of the license. Such limitation had come only after a long struggle. At first the chancellor had granted or refused the license to teach on his own discretion. He had claimed the right to be the judge of the activities in the various schools as well as their head. His judgments had been enforced by his power of excommunication and imprisonment, even though he technically was not a member of the university. In order to counteract the chancellor's powers the masters had refused to recognize a new master unless he met with their approval. To gain this recognition a new master or teacher swore to follow the rules and regulations the teachers' guild had drawn up.⁸⁰ This association of masters had originally been formed as a weapon against the chancellor but its powers continued to grow. The masters' guild could not prevent a licentiate of whom they disapproved

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, No. 452, 516.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, No. 697, 157.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, II, No. 923, 358.

⁷⁷ Chomel, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59.

⁷⁸ *Chartularium*, III, No. 1603, 551.

⁷⁹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 325.

⁸⁰ *Chartularium*, I, No. 433, 488.

from teaching but they could refuse to dispute with him and also they could refuse to recognize his scholars.⁸¹ The final result was the loss of independence by the chancellor in the issuing of the license. It also led to the appearance of the two degrees discussed in this paper, the license signifying the approval of the chancellor; the master's degree indicating acceptance by the masters.

Little is known about the subject matter in medicine at Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. What knowledge we have comes from the lists of textbooks known to have been in use. The first record of books that might have been in the hands of Parisian medical students is derived from a list of books in a Gonville and Caius College (Cambridge) manuscript of the thirteenth century. Charles Homer Haskins attributed the manuscript to Alexander of Neckam who was at Paris between 1175 and 1195.⁸² If this surmise is correct, and there appears to be little reason for doubting it, the medical works listed would give a picture of the books available in medicine at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁸³ The authors and works mentioned included: Johannitius,⁸⁴ the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates, Galen's *Tegni* and *Pantegni*,⁸⁵ Isaac (spelled Ysaac) *On Universal Diets*, *On Particular Diets*, and *On Urines*,⁸⁶ the *Viaticum* of Constantinus,⁸⁷ with his books on *Urines* and *Pulses*,⁸⁸ as well as books by Dioscorides, Macer,⁸⁹ and Alexander.⁹⁰ This list shows familiarity with the early translations from the Arabic made mainly at Salerno. The omission of the *Versus Egidii*, composed by Gilles de Corbeil, between 1190 and 1220, probably indicates that the list was composed before his writing. The exclusion of Avicenna, who became extremely prominent in the thirteenth century, also dates the list as around 1200.⁹¹

⁸¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 305-06.

⁸² Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 357-71.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 374-75.

⁸⁴ Johannitius, i. e. Honein ben Ishak, the author of the *Isagoge*.

⁸⁵ The real author of the *Pantegni* was not Galen but Ali ibn el-Abbas, an Arab physician who died in 994. He was also known as al-Majusi or Magus.

⁸⁶ Abu Jakub Ishak ben Soleiman el-Israeli (Isaac Judeaus was an Egyptian Jew who lived in the ninth and tenth centuries).

⁸⁷ Probably a translation by Constantine from the work of Ibn al-Jazzar.

⁸⁸ Probably refers to the works of Theophilus and Philaretus.

⁸⁹ Macer, the second title of *De naturis herbarum*, now attributed to Odo of Meung-sur-Loire who wrote in the eleventh century.

⁹⁰ I. e., Alexander of Tralles.

⁹¹ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

The first official list of texts at Paris dates from 1270-74.⁹² This list was given in connection with the requirements for the license in medicine. It included the *Viaticum* (incorrectly attributed to Isaac), the works of Isaac, specifically the book *On Particular Diets*, the *Antidotarium* of Nicholas,⁹³ and the *Ars medicinae*.⁹⁴ Also included in the list as supplemental reading were the *Versus Egidii*.⁹⁵ There is not a great deal of difference in the two lists since the *Ars medicinae* probably included works of Hippocrates, Galen, Johannitus, and Ibn al-Jazzar. The *Antidotarium* had much the same information as Dioscorides and Alexander.⁹⁶ From the list of texts it appears that the basis of medical education at Paris was much the same at the beginning and end of the thirteenth century although the influence of the Salernitan translations is much more evident at the end.

A third list of books dates from 1395. This list is given in an accounting of the books which Peter de Vallibus (Pierre de Vaulx), the new dean, received from his predecessor.⁹⁷ In this list the following works were included: Simon Januensis, *Clavis sanationis*;⁹⁸ Averroes, *Colliget*;⁹⁹ Avicenna's *Canon* with commentary; Johannes de Sancto Amando, *Concordantiae*;¹⁰⁰ Mesue the Younger, *De simplicibus medicinis* and *De practica*; Nicholas Myrepsus, *Antidotarium clarificatum*;¹⁰¹ Petrus

⁹² *Chartularium*, I, No. 45, 517.

⁹³ One of the chief pharmacopeias of the middle ages.

⁹⁴ The *Ars medica* was probably a group of texts which included the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates, the *Tegni* of Galen, the treatises of Philaretus and Theophilus, and the introduction to Galen by Honein ben Ishak. Translation of the *Ars medica* is attributed to Constantine the African. See Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁹⁵ These were the didactic poems of Gilles de Corbeil written between 1190 and 1220 and included *De pulsibus*, *De urinis*, *De laudibus et virtutibus compositorum medicaminum* and *De signis et sinthomatibus egritudinum*.

⁹⁶ This list is very similar to one at Salerno for the year 1280 and for this reason there is some feeling that the Salernitan list might have been copied from the Paris list. See Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852-59), I, 361-62, and Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 369. De Renzi dated the Salerno statute as 1276 but Haskins used 1280 and I have followed him.

⁹⁷ *Chartularium*, IV, No. 1723, 10.

⁹⁸ Simon Januensis was a Genoese physician of the thirteenth century. He translated many Arabic treatises and wrote the *Clavis sanationis*, a popular pharmacological treatise.

⁹⁹ Stephen d'Irsay, "Teachers and Textbooks of Medicine in the Medieval University of Paris," *op. cit.*, p. 237, called this and Avicenna's *Canon* a rationalized system of Galenism.

¹⁰⁰ Johannes de Sancto Amando was a canon of Tournai who wrote in the last half of the thirteenth century. His "Concordances" are based on Galen.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Myrepsus was a Byzantine physician of the thirteenth century. His *Antidotarium clarificatum* was, as the name implies, a pharmaceutical treatise.

de Sancto Floro, *Concordanciae*; ¹⁰² Albucasis, *Antidotarium*; ¹⁰³ Rhazes, *Continens*, and one volume "in quo continentur plures libri Galieni." Dominance of Avicenna and the later Moslems is apparent in this list which might show that Paris was no longer dependent on the original Salernitan translations but rather that new translations were being made and new works were entering the medical curriculum.

Surgery was apparently not taught at the university during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries although there were several surgeons in the city.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps one of the reasons why it was not taught was that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had forbidden subdeacons, deacons, and priests to practice any surgery which involved cutting or burning.¹⁰⁵ Though the interpretations of the prohibition might vary it seems to have been enforced at Paris, and a Paris statute itself forbade all bachelors from practicing manual surgery.¹⁰⁶ In 1408 a surgeon who wished to become a physician was not allowed to do so until he swore that he would no longer practice manual surgery.¹⁰⁷ As a result the teaching of surgery was carried on outside of the university. Much the same prohibitions applied to surgery were also applied to dissections since none are recorded for the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Paris was well behind Montpellier and Bologna on this count. The first record of a dissection at the university goes back to 1407. This was an autopsy performed on the bishop of Arras in order to determine the cause of his death since a councillor of the Duke of Burgundy was suffering from a similar disease. The faculty hoped to determine the location of the disease so that they could cure it in future patients.¹⁰⁸ Evidently they had had enough experience to perform the task which might indicate that autopsies had been made before. Anatomy was not a formal part of the university curriculum at this time, however. Soon after this dissection, others were performed. Perhaps this was an attempt by the physicians to counteract the influence of the surgeons. The physicians even gave some formal training to the barbers

¹⁰² He was a professor in medicine at Paris. See *Chartularium*, IV, No. 1723, 10, n. 9.

¹⁰³ The *Antidotarium* was probably part of his larger work, the *Tesrif*.

¹⁰⁴ [François Quesnay], *Recherches critiques et historiques sur l'origine sur les divers états et sur les progrès de la chirurgie en France* (Paris: Charles Osmont, 1744).

¹⁰⁵ Mansi, *op. cit.*, XXII, 1007.

¹⁰⁶ Chomel, *op. cit.*, p. 150. In the same sentence the bachelor had to promise he would not marry. See also Chauliac, *op. cit.*, p. lvi.

¹⁰⁷ *Commentaires*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Niven Alston, "The Attitude of the Church Towards Dissection before 1500," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 16 (1944), 230-31.

including lessons in anatomy. However, it was not until 1494 that dissections were performed openly by the medical faculty.¹⁰⁹

Paris by the end of the fourteenth century had reached a place of eminence in medical education. It had been moving with the new scientific trends of the time by changing its texts and curricula. But it had closed its doors to surgery and by the end of the fourteenth century its medical program seems to have been set. It was not so set that it could not admit dissections, but after 1400 little additional changes are made. The rigid exclusion of surgeons can be understood only in the light of medical politics in Paris.¹¹⁰ To counteract this the physicians did train the barbers, but the resulting separation did irreparable harm to both medicine and surgery. Paris is important in the history of medical education for the development of the university organization which was diffused throughout Europe. Unhappily the exclusion of surgery often followed even though conditions in the new locations might differ. One wishes perhaps that Paris had not been quite so influential.

¹⁰⁹ *Commentaires*, p. xxv.

¹¹⁰ I hope to develop this subject further in the future.