

## Byzantine Medicine and medical Practitioners in the West : the Case of Michael Dishypatos

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## Résumé

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J. Harris, Byzantine Medicine and medical Practitioners in the West : the Case of Michael Dishypatos. — On suppose habituellement qu'après 1204 Byzance a perdu son ancienne prééminence dans le domaine médical. La preuve que de nombreux médecins grecs exerçaient en Occident va à rencontre de ce point de vue. Beaucoup de documents contemporains parlent en termes favorables de ces médecins émigrés qui ont souvent obtenu la protection de patrons riches et influents. Cet article s'intéresse spécialement à l'un d'eux, Michel Dishypatos, qui fut jugé pour sorcellerie en 1417. Quoique les actes du procès attribuent à Dishypatos des pratiques difficilement compatibles avec une saine activité de médecin, on défend l'hypothèse que sa condamnation résulta davantage d'une intrigue politique que d'un désaveu de sa conduite professionnelle. Au contraire sa présence dans le duché de Savoie au service du Duc et d'un riche bourgeois, Jean Lageret, constitue une preuve supplémentaire que la médecine byzantine inspirait encore un grand respect en Occident quelques années avant la chute de Constantinople.

## Abstract

It seems to be generally assumed that, after about 1200, Byzantium lost its former ascendancy in the field of medical practice. The abundant evidence for Greek physicians practising in the West during the fifteenth century, however, challenges this view. Many contemporary documents speak of these émigré physicians in most complimentary terms and they often obtained the patronage of the wealthy and influential. This article concentrates on one of them, Michael Dishypatos, who was tried for sorcery at Chambéry in 1417. Although the trial document attributes to Dishypatos practices which are hardly compatible with good medical practice, it is argued that his condemnation was the result of political intrigue rather than dissatisfaction with his professional conduct. On the contrary, his very presence in the Duchy of Savoy, in the service of the Duke and of a wealthy bourgeois, Jean Lageret, is further evidence that Byzantine medicine still commanded high respect in the West in the last years before the fall of Constantinople.

# BYZANTINE MEDICINE AND MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS IN THE WEST : THE CASE OF MICHAEL DISHYPATOS

Jonathan HARRIS

*Summary* : It seems to be generally assumed that, after about 1200, Byzantium lost its former ascendancy in the field of medical practice. The abundant evidence for Greek physicians practising in the West during the fifteenth century, however, challenges this view. Many contemporary documents speak of these émigré physicians in most complimentary terms and they often obtained the patronage of the wealthy and influential. This article concentrates on one of them, Michael Dishypatos, who was tried for sorcery at Chambéry in 1417. Although the trial document attributes to Dishypatos practices which are hardly compatible with good medical practice, it is argued that his condemnation was the result of political intrigue rather than dissatisfaction with his professional conduct. On the contrary, his very presence in the Duchy of Savoy, in the service of the Duke and of a wealthy bourgeois, Jean Lageret, is further evidence that Byzantine medicine still commanded high respect in the West in the last years before the fall of Constantinople.

Byzantine medicine has attracted considerable attention from scholars in recent years but it is fair to say that this interest has generally been focused on the period before 1200. It often appears to be assumed that thereafter medical practice was in decline, just as the empire was in political decline, and that the Byzantine medical tradition was equalled and excelled by that of the West <sup>1</sup>.

This article seeks to modify this picture by examining a body of evidence which suggests that Byzantine medicine was still flourishing in the decades before and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and that it

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1. O. TEMKIN, Byzantine medicine, *DOP* 16, 1962, p. 97-115, esp. p. 114. See also the articles published in *DOP* 38, 1988.

was still highly respected in the West. It concerns the many Greek physicians who practised in Western Europe in that period and, in particular, one called Michael «de Dicipatis», the subject of a lengthy parchment document in the Archives Nationales in Paris the text of which is given as an appendix below<sup>2</sup>.

The manuscript concerns one of the darkest episodes in the long reign of Amedeo VIII, first Duke of Savoy (1391—1434): the disgrace and downfall of his one-time counsellor, the wealthy bourgeois and Doctor of Laws, Jean Lageret of Chambéry. These events are well-known from several extant documents, published by François Mugnier and Francesco Cognasso<sup>3</sup>, which record Lageret's trial and condemnation in September 1417 on charges of *lèse majesté* and sorcery. The Archives Nationales document, however, was apparently unknown to either of these authors. It records the trial of the physician Michael by the commissary of the Bishop of Grenoble as Lageret's accomplice in his alleged necromancy.

Mugnier, the first to make a study of Lageret's trial, speculated as to Michael's nationality, as his surname was clearly not a local one. In the absence of any specific clue, he concluded, not unreasonably, that he was Jewish as were most of the other physicians in Savoy during that period<sup>4</sup>. From the additional documents later cited by Cognasso, however, it emerges that Michael «de Dicipatis» was originally from Constantinople<sup>5</sup>. Given that information, it seems much more likely that the physician was a Greek, for his surname, as given in the documents, is clearly an attempt to reproduce the common Byzantine patronymic of «Dishypatos»<sup>6</sup>. This assumption, namely that he was of Greek origin, is confirmed by the document from the Archives Nationales.

At first sight it may seem strange for a Byzantine physician to have found his way to the town of Chambéry. His presence was, however, part of a wider trend for his compatriots to be found in the West in the later Middle Ages, first as ambassadors seeking allies against the Ottoman

2. Archives Nationales, Paris, P1359/2, n° 769 (100). Calendared in J.L.A. HUIILLARD-BREHOLLES, *Titres de la maison ducale de Bourbon*, I, Paris 1867, n° 5083, p. 209-210. See below p. 215-220.

3. F. MUGNIER, Procès et supplice de Jean Lageret et de maître Michel de Dissipatis, *Mémoires et documents de la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 36, 1897, p. x-xxii; F. COGNASSO, Un processo per sortilegio alla corte di Amedeo VIII, *Bollettino storico bibliografico subalpino* 26, 1924, p. 165-172. Further material, from Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or, Dijon is cited by Queen MARIE-JOSE, Un capitaliste du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jean Lageret, conseiller d'Amédée VIII, duc de Savoie, *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1, 1960, p. 461-469.

4. MUGNIER, *Procès*, p. xii.

5. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 166, citing Archivio di Stato, Turin, Sezione Camerale, Tesorieri di Savoia, Reg. LXI, f. 597, where he is described as «Michael de Discipatis alias de Gasolua de Costantinopoli».

6. *Dishypatos* was originally a title meaning «one who has served twice as consul» (ὑπάτος). From the twelfth century, however, it came to be used as a surname: N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 295.

Turks and later as refugees, escaping from the hopeless situation in the East.

The policy of seeking Western aid against the Turks had been embarked upon by the Byzantine government during the fourteenth century as they found themselves incapable of stemming the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans. Increasing numbers of imperial embassies were despatched to persuade Western rulers to send help to their fellow-Christians<sup>7</sup>. By 1399 the situation had become so critical, with Constantinople isolated and under siege, that the Emperor Manuel II himself left his capital and toured Northern Italy, France and England to solicit aid in person<sup>8</sup>.

Many, however, had little hope that this policy, or anything else, could ultimately save Constantinople and they preferred to plan their own escape. Manuel II's nephew, John VII Palaeologus, secretly negotiated with the French King in 1397, offering to hand over Constantinople in return for a pension and a castle in France. The scholar and courtier, Demetrius Cydones, took Venetian citizenship and spent his last years in Italy, in spite of being urged by Manuel II to return to Constantinople<sup>9</sup>. Some went still further afield. A nobleman called Paul, from Vlachia in Thessaly, visited Amiens and Bruges in 1426 claiming that he had been ruined by the depredations of the Turks and soliciting alms<sup>10</sup>. He later settled in England where the King provided him with an annual pension<sup>11</sup>. Such people can hardly be blamed for their readiness to desert their country. By 1400 it must have been obvious that it was only a matter of time before Constantinople fell to the Turks. Moreover, the fact

7. See, for example: *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton (Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI)*: G. WILLIAMS, *Rolls Series*, II, London 1872, n° CCII, p. 285-287; *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*: A.R. MYERS, London 1969, n° 75, p. 174-175; C. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1682, p. 238, 241, 244.

8. M. JUGIE, *Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident (1399-1403)*, *EO* 15, 1912, p. 322-332; M.A. ANDREEVA, *Zur Reise Manuel II Palaiologos nach West-Europa*, *BZ* 34, 1934, p. 37-47, 351; D.M. NICOL, *A Byzantine Emperor in England*, *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 2, 1970, p. 205-225; J.W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus — a Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick, NJ 1969, p. 163ff.

9. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, G.T. DENNIS, *CFHB* 8, Washington DC 1977, n° 62, p. 172; R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Démétrius Cydones, citoyen de Venise*, *EO* 37, 1938, p. 125-126; S.P. LAMPROS, 'Ιωάννου Ζ' Παλαιολόγου ἐκχώρησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντιακῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δικαιωμάτων εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαλλίας Κάρολον ς', *NE* 10, 1913, p. 248-257.

10. L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section première — inventaire des chartes*, V, Bruges 1876, p. 492; C. DURAND, *Inventaire-sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790 (Amiens)*, IV, Amiens 1901, p. 105.

11. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI (1422-1429)*, London 1901, p. 411; T. RYMER, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae etc.*, IV, The Hague 1740, pt. 4, p. 128; V, The Hague 1741, pt. 1, p. 7-8 (= X, p. 375, 583 in 1<sup>st</sup> ed.); F. DEVON, *Issues of the Exchequer from King Henry III to King Henry VI Inclusive*, London 1837, p. 401-402; N.H. NICOLAS, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, IV, London 1835, p. 216; N. IORGA, *Un «comte de Valachie» en Occident*, *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale* 10, 1923, p. 112-113.

that the city had already declined into a state of virtual ruin must also have impelled many to abandon it for ever<sup>12</sup>.

Among these refugees and ambassadors were several members of the Dishypatos family. In 1406 an Alexius «Bissipatus» or Dishypatos was in Paris trying to raise money for the beleaguered Byzantine capital<sup>13</sup>. The brothers John, George and Manuel Dishypatos represented the Byzantine Emperor at the Council of Basle in 1434-7 and George was later present in Florence Cathedral on 6 July 1439 when the union of the Eastern and Western churches was proclaimed<sup>14</sup>. Later, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a number of individuals of the same name settled permanently in the West. Another George Dishypatos took his family to live in Italy and George Palaeologus Dishypatos took service with the French King, Louis XI, as captain of the castle of Touques<sup>15</sup>. In all probability Michael Dishypatos the physician had left his native country for the same reason: to seek security and a better life elsewhere.

The Duchy of Savoy was an obvious choice as a place of refuge. In 1326 its ruling house had formed a marriage alliance with the Byzantine Palaeologi when the daughter of Count Amedeo V had become the wife of the Emperor Andronicus III<sup>16</sup>. The dynastic link was reinforced when Iolanda, daughter of Theodore, Marquis of Monferrat, married into the House of Savoy for Theodore was also a Palaeologus and had inherited Monferrat from his mother<sup>17</sup>.

These family connections inclined the rulers of Savoy favourably towards Byzantium. In 1366 Amedeo VI, the so-called «Green count», led a fleet to the aid of his cousin, the Emperor John V, recapturing Gallipoli from the Turks and delivering John from the clutches of the Hungarians. Later, in 1462, the Duke of Savoy offered hospitality and support to his daughter-in-law Charlotte Palaeologina, Queen of Cyprus,

12. Contemporary accounts describe Constantinople as being in a state of decay: GEORGE SCHOLARIOS, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, Paris 1928, p. 287; DEMETRIUS CYDONES, *Correspondance*, ed. and trans. G. CAMMELLI, Paris 1930, n° 49, p. 125-129; RUY GONZALEZ CLAVIJO, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. G. LE STRANGE, London 1928, p. 87-88; A.A. VASILIEV, Pero Tafur — a Spanish traveller of the fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond and Italy, *Byz* 7, 1932, p. 75-122, esp. p. 113.

13. *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, IX, Paris 1755, p. 434.

14. SILVESTER SYROPOULOS, *Mémoires*, trans. V. LAURENT, *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores* 9, Rome 1971, p. 168, 500; F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, V, Munich and Berlin 1965, n° 3437-46, 3451, 3465-71; J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, p. 54-60.

15. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Armario 34, tom. 6, f. 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>; DU CANGE, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 256; M. RENET, Les Bissipat du Beauvaisis, *Mémoires de la Société académique d'archéologie, sciences et arts du département de l'Oise* 14, 1889, p. 31-98.

16. D. MURATORE, Una principessa sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie*, 4th series, 11, 1909, p. 221-475; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, III, p. 333-335.

17. A.E. LAIOU, A Byzantine prince latinized: Theodore Palaeologus, Marquis of Monferrat, *Byz* 38, 1968, p. 386-410; E.L. COX, *The Green Count of Savoy*, Princeton 1967, p. 12-13.

who had been ejected from her kingdom by a usurper<sup>18</sup>. Michael Dishypatos may well, therefore, have hoped for patronage at the court of Amedeo VIII.

There is another factor to be borne in mind when accounting for the presence of Dishypatos at Chambéry in 1417. Not only were Greeks in general to be found in increasing numbers in Western Europe, but physicians in particular were frequently to be encountered there. They obtained positions in cities as far apart as Florence, Ragusa, Venice and Coventry<sup>19</sup> and, significantly, they were often to be found in attendance on the wealthy and powerful who could chose to whom they wished to entrust their health. Thomas Frank or Le Franc, a native of Corone in the Peloponnese, lived and worked in London and Tours between 1436 and 1456 and numbered among his patients the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, a prosperous Genoese merchant and, finally, the King of France, Charles VII<sup>20</sup>. Nor was his an isolated case. The Milanese courtier, Francesco Filelfo, had a physician and scribe called Demetrius Xanthopoulos in his service and another called Demetrius «de Cerno» seems to have attended on Lucia Visconti, Countess of Kent in 1424<sup>21</sup>. Serapion, who worked in a similar capacity for the King of Scotland between 1455 and 1462, sounds from his name also to have been of Greek extraction<sup>22</sup>.

18. F.E. BOLLATI DE SAINT PIERRE, *Illustrazioni della spedizione in oriente di Amedeo VI*, Biblioteca Storica Italiana 5, Turin 1900; O. HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warsaw 1930, p. 138-162; COX, *Green Count*, p. 204-230; G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, III, Cambridge 1948, p. 584-587, 603.

19. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 125<sup>r</sup> (orig. 95<sup>r</sup>), reg. 27, f. 123<sup>v</sup> (orig. 81<sup>v</sup>); R. JEREMI and J. TADI, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, III, Belgrade 1940, p. 141-142; A.D. PARDOS, 'Αλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας κατὰ τὸ κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530) - Α'. "Ανδρες, *Θησαυρίσματα* 16, 1979, p. 341; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Henry VII (1494-1509)*, London 1916, p. 396, 403.

20. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*: J.A. TWEMLOW and W.H. BLISS, IX, London 1912, p. 112, 186 and 10, London 1915, p. 110-111; A. THOMAS, Nouveaux documents sur Thomas le Franc, médecin de Charles VII, protecteur de l'humanisme, *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Comptes rendus*, Paris 1911, p. 671-676; É. LEGRAND, *Cent dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris 1892, p. 73-77; E.T. HAMY, Thomas de Coron, dit le Franc, *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médecine* 7, 1908, p. 193-205. Thomas is mentioned in the will of the merchant Francesco Doria as being the attending physician at the time of Doria's last illness: Guildhall Library, London MS 9171/4, f. 168<sup>v</sup>.

21. NICOLAS, *Proceedings*, III, p. 160-161; *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*: E.F. JACOB, Canterbury and York Society, II, Oxford 1937, p. 281; M. VÖGEL and V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p. 104; C.H. TALBOT and E.A. HAMMOND, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England*, London 1965, p. 34-35.

22. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*: John Stuart and George Burnett, VI, Edinburgh 1883, p. 3, 12, 580, 625, 641; VII, Edinburgh 1884, p. 34, 144, 150. One could perhaps add the grimly named Armenian surgeon, Jehan «Sans Pitié», who was in Bruges in 1462: Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B2045, f. 267<sup>r</sup>.

As a physician, therefore, Michael Dishypatos was not an isolated instance but an example of a much wider trend. Moreover, that trend was not restricted to fifteenth century. Greek physicians had, in fact, been found practising outside their own country for centuries. During the Roman period they had penetrated all over the Empire and beyond its borders and, just as in the fifteenth century, they were often employed by the wealthy and powerful, by Roman emperors and Persian kings<sup>23</sup>.

The success with which these people established themselves on foreign soil and obtained the patronage of kings and nobles, both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages would suggest that they offered, or were believed to offer, a higher standard of medical practice than was available locally.

This is confirmed by further evidence for a widespread respect for Greek medical practice in the West in the centuries after the disappearance of imperial rule there. Theodore of Tarsus, a Byzantine monk who was Archbishop of Canterbury between 668 and 690, was apparently regarded as an expert in the field of medicine by his English flock. His *Poenitentiale* contains advice on how to combat dysentery and, even after his death, his opinion on the best time to bleed a patient was quoted as authoritative<sup>24</sup>. In the same way, a tenth century Old English book of medical lore cites certain medicinal recipes which, it says, were sent to Alfred, King of Wessex (871-99), by the Patriarch of Jerusalem<sup>25</sup>. As a result, many western medical texts of this early period contain recognisably Greek elements and numerous medical loan words passed from Greek into western vernacular languages<sup>26</sup>.

Byzantine expertise had always been based on the wealth of ancient Greek medical literature, composed of the writings of such authors as Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen and those of the fifth and sixth century physicians, Paul of Aegina and Alexander of Tralles. These works had been preserved in Constantinople long after all knowledge of it had been lost in the West. Their value was clearly recognised and succeeding

23. R.G. COLLINGWOOD and R.P. WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Oxford 1965, n° 461, p. 153; CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*, trans. E. CARY, Loeb Classical Library, VIII, London 1925, p. 462; PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, trans. H.B. DEWING, Loeb Classical Library, I, London 1914, p. 497.

24. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*: A. HADDAN and W. STUBBS, III, Oxford 1878, p. 198; BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*: B. COLGRAVE and R.A.B. MYNORS, Oxford 1969, p. 461.

25. *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*: O. COCKAYNE, Rolls Series, II, London 1865, p. 288-291. This is not as far-fetched as may be thought, since we know from Alfred's contemporary biographer that the King received letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem: ASSER, *Life of King Alfred*: W.H. STEVENSON, London 1904, p. 77, 328.

26. J.H.G. GRATAN and C.J. SINGER, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, Oxford 1952, p. 38-44; H.R. KAHANE, R. KAHANE and A. PIETRANGELI, Cultural criteria for western borrowings from Byzantine Greek, *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar*, Madrid 1972, p. 213; G. BAADER, Early medieval Latin adaptations of Byzantine medicine in Western Europe, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 251-259.

generations took care to ensure that these texts were regularly copied. This was even a matter of imperial policy: the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959) ordered that the works of the medical authors be compiled into a complete synopsis and the resulting epitomes, the work of Theophanes Nonnos or Chrysobalantes, survive as a textbook of Byzantine medicine<sup>27</sup>.

These texts were not merely preserved in Byzantium but also widely studied and read, being taught, along with Plato, Homer and Thucydides, to students in higher education<sup>28</sup>. Any educated Byzantine would, therefore, have been expected to know something of medicine and the authors of literary histories clearly enjoyed airing their erudition in this field. Nicephorus Blemmydes recorded in his autobiography that he had studied medicine for seven years. Michael Psellos wrote in minute detail on the symptoms attending the last illness of the Emperor Romanus III and Anna Comnena faithfully reported the debate among the physicians as to the nature of the malady afflicting her father, Alexius I<sup>29</sup>.

The knowledge of medicine thus preserved and taught in Byzantium was not used only to garnish the scholarly writings of the literati but also practised in everyday life. The Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, the nephew of Anna Comnena, was competent enough to act as a surgeon on the battlefield if specialists were in short supply<sup>30</sup>. Some holy men, like St. Theodore of Syceon, are recorded by their hagiographers to have effected cures not by miracles but by means of wise prescriptions, in much the same way as Theodore of Tarsus and the Patriarch of Jerusalem counselled the Anglo-Saxons<sup>31</sup>.

Though Byzantine medicine was in no way innovative and, for the most part, merely followed the wisdom of the ancients, nonetheless in comparison with the situation in the early medieval West, it was, at least, based on an established body of written knowledge as opposed to oral tradition and superstition and was therefore practised along relatively scientific lines.

This is clear from the evidence that the Byzantines were enlightened enough to practise human dissection to further their knowledge of the

27. THEOPHANES NONNOS, *Epitome de Curatione Morborum* J.S. BERNARD, 2 vol., Gotha-Amsterdam 1794; J. SONDERKAMP, Theophanes Nonnus: medicine in the circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 29-41; J.M. RIDDLE, Byzantine commentaries on Dioscorides, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 95-102.

28. C.N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204-c.1310*, Nicosia 1982, p. 81.

29. NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae*: J.A. MUNITIZ, Leuven-Turnhout 1984, p. 4; MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Chronographie*: É. RENAULD, I, Paris 1926, p. 49-50; ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*: Bonn, II, p. 367-383.

30. JOHN CINNAMOS, *Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio (sic) Comnenis Gestarum*: Bonn, p. 190; WILLIAM OF TYRE, *History of Deeds done beyond the Sea*, trans. E. BABCOCK and A.C. KREY, New York 1943, p. 280.

31. E. DAWES and N. BAYNES, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford 1948, p. 182; P. BROWN, The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity, *Journal of Roman Studies* 61, 1971, p. 80-101, esp. p. 98.

body<sup>32</sup> as well as from the organisation of the public hospitals in Constantinople. These hospitals were not mere hostels where untrained monks nursed the sick but medical centres where courses of treatment were administered. The twelfth century typicon or foundation charter of the hospital attached to the monastery of the Pantocrator stipulated that although it was to be the monks who maintained the hospital of fifty beds, treatment was entrusted to professional, secular physicians, brought in from outside and including at least one woman doctor to care for the female patients and a resident teacher to give instruction in the medical art. The same document gives us some idea of the type of treatment given, laying down rules for the diet of the patients and the baths which they were to take<sup>33</sup>.

It might be objected, however, that the superiority of Byzantine medicine over that of the West belongs to the period of the heyday of the Empire and cannot be taken to account for the presence of Michael Dishypatos at Chambéry in 1417. By that time Byzantium had been overshadowed by the West not only in terms of political power but also in many aspects of technology too, as the Byzantines were themselves aware. Indeed, Cardinal Bessarion went so far as to claim the only hope for the Empire lay in its young men being sent to the West for education<sup>34</sup>.

As far as medicine was concerned, the West had gone a long way towards catching up by 1400. Most of the works of the classical Greek medical authors, once the exclusive preserve of the Byzantine and Islamic worlds, were now available in Latin translation, having been rediscovered after the Norman conquest of Byzantine South Italy in the eleventh century<sup>35</sup>. In Italy, at least, public hospitals, similar to those in Constantinople, existed by 1400 and human dissection was used to teach anatomy in the universities of Florence and Bologna<sup>36</sup>. Further afield, the English poet Chaucer could portray the physician in his *Canterbury*

32. L.J. BLIQUEZ and A. KAZHDAN, Four testimonia to human dissection in Byzantine times, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58, 1984, p. 554-557; R. BROWNING, A further testimony to human dissection in the Byzantine world, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50, 1985, p. 518-520.

33. P. GAUTIER, Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator, *REB* 32, 1974, p. 1-145, esp. p. 85-87, 91-93, 99-105, 107. In general on the hospitals, see: T.S. MILLER, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, Baltimore 1985.

34. I. ŠEVČENKO, The decline of Byzantium as seen by its intellectuals, *DOP* 15, 1961, p. 169-186; A.G. KELLER, A Byzantine admirer of «western» progress: Cardinal Bessarion, *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11, 1953-5, p. 343-348.

35. L. THORNDIKE, Translations of works of Galen from the Greek by Niccolò da Reggio, *Byzantina Metabyzantina* 1, 1946, p. 213-235; R. BROWNING, Greek influence on the Salerno school of medicine, *Byzantium and Europe. First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi 1985*, Athens 1987, p. 187-194; C.H. HASKINS, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA 1927, p. 287.

36. K. PARK, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, Princeton, NJ 1985, p. 60-61, 101-109; V.L. BULLOUGH, *The Development of Medicine as a Profession*, Basle and New York 1966, p. 62-65.

*Tales* as a man well versed in the writings of Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen<sup>37</sup>.

Even so, despite the fact that the West was no longer the «poor relation» in this field, Constantinople retained something of its pre-eminence in medical matters right up to its capture by the Turks in 1453. Byzantine scholars remained assiduous in preserving and copying the texts which underlay their medical tradition<sup>38</sup>. The hospitals carried on functioning as centres of treatment. Although they tended to shrink in size during the Palaeologan period, this was due more to lack of money than of medical skill, and foundations like the hospital for women attached to the monastery of Lips, continued to be established or re-established<sup>39</sup>.

Constantinople continued to be regarded as a medical centre by outsiders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attracting both students and patients. The Italian Peter of Abano, for example, who later wrote widely on medicine, philosophy and astronomy, completed his education there<sup>40</sup>. That people were prepared to travel from far afield to the Byzantine capital for treatment emerges from the report of the captain of a Venetian galley on a voyage from Trebizond in 1413. Among the passengers was a Turk who was making the journey in order to have his eyes attended to in Constantinople<sup>41</sup>.

Indeed, this renown seems to have lingered on for centuries, long after the fall of Byzantium. Under Turkish rule, the physicians of Chios were so highly regarded by their overlords that the islanders were given special privileges<sup>42</sup>. This reputation extended to the West where Greek physicians continued to be employed. Demetrius Rhodocanacis of Chios became one of the medical advisers of the English King, Charles II (1660-85) and a Demetrius of Smyrna practised for nine years at the

37. GEOFFREY CHAUCER, *Works*: F.N. ROBINSON, 2nd ed., Oxford 1957, p. 21.

38. In 1323 a hospital physician wrote a book on internal medicine, drawn from the works of the ancients and in 1406 John Chortasmenos had a copy of the works of Dioscorides rebound for presentation to the Krales Xenon, one of the «guest houses» which also offered medical treatment: C.O. ZURETTI, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, XI, Brussels 1953, p. 38-41; H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, II, Vienna 1969, p. 40. On the xenons, see D.J. CONSTANTELOS, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, New Brunswick, NJ 1969, p. 150-154.

39. H. DELEHAYE, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, Brussels 1921, p. 106-136; MILLER, *Birth of the Hospital*, p. 200.

40. L. THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, New York 1923, p. 877.

41. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Senato, Secreta 6, f. 31<sup>v</sup>: «... quendam Turchum qui dixit velle venire Constantinopolim pro faciendo sibi mederi pro egritudine oculorum quam patiebatur». On the treatment of eye disorders in Byzantium see: J. HIRSCHBERG, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde*, Leipzig 1899, p. 361-367; E. SAVAGE-SMITH, Hellenistic and Byzantine ophthalmology: trachma and sequelae, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 169-186.

42. P. ARGENTI and S.P. KYRIAKIDIS, *Ἡ Χίος παρὰ τοῖς γεωγράφοις καὶ περιηγηταῖς*, II, Athens 1946, p. 725.

Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome<sup>43</sup>. As late as the seventeenth century, the work of a thirteenth century Byzantine writer was still used in the medical faculty of the University of Paris<sup>44</sup>.

Considering the high reputation of Byzantine medicine, it is not surprising that those who could afford it preferred Greeks to native practitioners. The quality of western medical practice was by no means uniform and, especially outside Italy, there were still plenty of examples of physicians like Roger Clerk of London who, in 1382, attempted to cure a sick woman by hanging strips of parchment around her neck<sup>45</sup>. By contrast, the surviving documents concerning the émigré Greek physicians of the fifteenth century are often extraordinarily positive in tone. In 1487 the Venetian Council of Ten described George Gavriopoulos as a «most skilful surgeon» (*cirurgicus solertissimus*) and the Florentine government praised Christodoulos of Thessalonica for his successful treatments of eye disorders<sup>46</sup>. This continuing respect for the Byzantine medical tradition would, therefore, account for the patronage enjoyed by Michael Dishypatos and others in Western Europe at this time.

Yet that does not necessarily mean that Dishypatos was a worthy representative of that tradition. On the contrary, the account of his trial contained in the manuscript from the Archives Nationales referred to earlier, presents him as a charlatan who practised on the credulity both of his patron, Jean Lageret, and of a large number of other people. He was not, it was claimed, a professional physician at all but a runaway Dominican monk<sup>47</sup> who had put it about that he was skilled in medical matters when he arrived in Chambéry in around 1415.

His activities in Savoy, as described at his trial, were not so much those of a physician as of an astrologer. He claimed that he could tell the fortune of anyone who supplied him with their date of birth and predicted a number of disasters which would soon befall the town. He carried around a Greek book which no one else could read from which he drew

43. *Calendar of the State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II. Addenda, 1660-1685*, London 1939, p. 496; É. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, Paris 1894, p. 148, 188-189, 260-261; C. AMANTOS, *Κωνσταντινός Ῥοδοξανάκης*, Athens 1937; ARGENTI and KYRIAKIDIS, *Ἡ Χίος*, II, p. 732.

44. J. THEODORIDES, *La science byzantine*, *Histoire générale des sciences*, ed. R. TATON, I, Paris 1957, p. 555.

45. H.T. RILEY, *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries*, London 1868, p. 464-466; C. RAWCLIFFE, *Medicine and medical practice in later medieval London*, *Guildhall Studies in London History* 5, 1981, p. 13-23.

46. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 125<sup>r</sup> (orig. 95<sup>r</sup>); N. IORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* II, Paris 1899, p. 411.

47. Below, p. 215. Several Byzantine converts to Catholicism became Dominicans, including Manuel Calecas and the Chrysoberges brothers: MANUEL CALÉCAS, *Correspondance*: R.J. LOENERTZ, *Studi e Testi* 152, Vatican City 1950, p. 23-31; MANUEL II, *Letters*, n° 30, esp. p. 78, n. 1; R.J. LOENERTZ, *Les dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des églises grecque et latine*, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 9, 1939, p. 5-61.

his prophecies and led groups of people up into to the mountains at night to observe the stars <sup>48</sup>.

Dishypatos' motive in all this, according to the trial document, was simply the extortion of money. A certain Antonio Morelli was relieved of four gold scudi for a copper paten upon which was stamped the image of a man and a woman, the man having his arms around the woman's neck and holding a two-edged sword and an arrow. This article was guaranteed to ensure that Morelli would marry a wealthy lady called Roseta, regardless of any reluctance on her part <sup>49</sup>.

Dishypatos' relationship with Lageret was presented in much the same light. He was said to have, on one occasion, stolen a book from Lageret's house, carried it off to Grenoble and sold it. When the book was missed and Lageret's servants were searching high and low for it, Dishypatos announced that he knew who had the book and that he would disclose all on payment of a certain sum. Lageret's mother promptly gave him three florins and the Greek then told her the name of the man to whom he had sold the book in Grenoble, having, of course, taken the precaution of giving a false name at the time of the transaction <sup>50</sup>.

However, it was not merely for petty extortion that Dishypatos was indicted in 1417 but also for the more serious charge of sorcery in collaboration with Lageret. At the heart of the accusation lay a series of metal images, similar to that which he had produced for Morelli. They were commissioned by Dishypatos for Lageret from a local goldsmith, Henri de Collognia ; items which the trial document carefully lists <sup>51</sup>.

These included a statuette of an armless, crowned man which Dishypatos had made by the goldsmith Henri and which he presented to Lageret at Christmas 1416. It was allegedly used to conjure up demons in Lageret's house <sup>52</sup>. A whole group of such figurines were designed to increase Lageret's influence over the Duke of Savoy and, when carried into Amedeo's presence, were supposed to make him well disposed towards his secretary. One took the form of a statuette of a young man which was held to cause the Duke to grant any request that Lageret might make <sup>53</sup>. Another figurine permitted Lageret to alter the personal

48. Below, p. 216.

49. Below, p. 216.

50. Below, p. 218.

51. Below, p. 216-218. The goldsmith Henri later admitted to having made some of these articles : A. DUFOUR and F. RABUT, *Les orfèvres et les produits de l'orfèvrerie en Savoie, Mémoires et documents de la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 24, 1886, p. 384-385.

52. Below, p. 217. DUFOUR and RABUT, *Orfèvres*, p. 385-386. Cf. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 171-172, in his edition of the account of Lageret's trial from Archivio di Stato, Turin, Sezione Camerale, Processi ed Informazioni Criminali.

53. Below, p. 216-217. Cf. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 171 : «... ipsam imaginem super se portaret in presencia domini nostri Sabaudie (Ducis), ipse dominus noster Sabaudie Dux eundem dominum Johannem in sua gratia haberet, diligeretque et amaret et flaterentur et inclinarentur cor et animus dicti domini nostri Sabaudie Ducis ad concedendum dicto domino Johanni omnes suas supplicationes, postulationes et requestas...».

health of the Duke according to his own advantage<sup>54</sup>. Another enabled him to guard his property against any damage the Duke might plan against it and a fourth to protect his own person from such designs<sup>55</sup>. Lageret's political power was to be further enhanced by another figure, designed to make him universally popular among rich and poor alike<sup>56</sup>.

There is little sign of Dishypatos practising as a physician in all this. However, one set of images, which seem to have been related to the signs of the Zodiac, did have a medical purpose. They included effigies of a crab and a scorpion, a two-headed man and a lion on a ducat<sup>57</sup>. According to the account of Lageret's trial, published by Cognasso, the lion protected the bearer against diseases of the kidney and the scorpion guarded pregnant women against miscarriage<sup>58</sup>. Yet all this is a far cry from the advanced Byzantine medical tradition with its rational courses of treatment.

The picture given of Dishypatos at his trial, therefore, is hardly one either of a responsible or of a skilled medical practitioner. It should, however, be treated with great caution. It is, after all, the case for the prosecution and therefore bound to present the defendant in the worse possible light.

Moreover, by its own admission all the details contained in it were derived from Dishypatos' own confession<sup>59</sup>. There can be no doubt as to how that confession was obtained. The contemporary account of expenses incurred in connection with the trial, published by Mugnier, include a payment of twenty six florins to Pierre Varambon and his clerk for their attendance at the castle of Le Bourget between 21 August and 28 September 1417 for the examination and torture of both Lageret and Dishypatos. Some indication of the methods used can also be found in these accounts. Among the items purchased for the examination were long ropes, a set of heavy irons and some «boots» (calige), all probably instruments of torture<sup>60</sup>. Lageret suffered so badly that physicians had to be called to attend on him<sup>61</sup>. The damning case contained in the trial

54. Below, p. 217, 218. Cf. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 171: «... Aliam figuram tenentem ensem in manu, ad effectum quod quociens ipse dominus Johannes ipsam super se portaret in presentia inimicorum suorum, dicti eius inimici non haberent velle seu voluntatem ipsum dominum Johannem delatum offendi... unam rem seu figuram ad effectum et finem quod quociens dominus Johannes delatus eam portaret in presentia dicti domini nostri Sabaudie Ducis... mutaretur ad sanitatem vel infirmitatem, rigoremque vel dulcedinem, ad arbitrium et voluntatem dicti domini Johannis...».

55. Below, p. 217, 218. Cf. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 170-171.

56. Below, p. 217.

57. Below, p. 217. The crab, which was one of those which Henri de Collognia later admitted to having made, was probably that given by the Duke of Savoy to Pierre Galliard, after the trial: M. BRUCHET, *Inventaire partiel du trésor des chartes de Chambéry à l'époque d'Amédée VIII, Mémoires et documents de la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 39, 1900, n° 678, p. 387; DUFOUR and RABUT, *Orfèvres*, p. 385-386.

58. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 170.

59. Below p. 218: «... predictaque confessus fuit predictus magister Michael fore vera».

60. MUGNIER, *Procès*, p. XX-XXI.

61. J. GARNIER, *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790 (Côte d'Or), series B, II, Dijon 1873, B7164, p. 82.*

document was apparently based solely on these confessions with no witness statements being even referred to.

Furthermore, one cannot help but be struck by the contrast between the way Dishypatos was represented at his trial and the warm welcome he received when he first arrived in Chambéry in 1415. At that time he was so highly thought of as to be engaged by the city council as physician to all the citizens. The arrangement was that he was to treat the wealthy for a moderate fee and the poor for the love of God. In return he was to receive twelve florins a year to cover his board and lodging<sup>62</sup>. The hiring of a Greek physician by a city council in this way was by no means unique. The government of Ragusa engaged Andreas Spata of Constantinople on similar terms a few years later, the only difference being that in Ragusa the physician's entire salary was paid by the commune<sup>63</sup>. That Dishypatos was entrusted with such a position can only mean that he had made a favourable impression and this point is reinforced by the fact that he was later permitted, in September 1416, to attend on the Duke himself and was paid twenty florins for his services<sup>64</sup>.

If Dishypatos was not the swindler described in the trial, what was the motive behind his condemnation? One likely explanation is that he was an unfortunate victim of the internal politics of Savoy. One author has suggested that the charges against Lageret were motivated by jealousy of his wealth and success<sup>65</sup>. He certainly had built up an extensive property base both in Chambéry and in the land around, including houses, vineyards and mills<sup>66</sup> and he was also involved in the textile trade<sup>67</sup>. After his condemnation in September 1417 all his property and moveable wealth passed to Amedeo VIII who then proceeded to redistribute it as he wished. Some went to the church, some to trusted friends and counsellors<sup>68</sup>. The main

62. Document published by MUGNIER, *Procès*, p. XXI-XXII, original in Archives Municipales, Chambéry, Comptes des Syndics.

63. B. KREKIC, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge*, Paris 1961, n° 1365, p. 398 n° 1368, p. 399; C.N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, V, Paris 1884, p. 221.

64. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 166, citing Archivio di Stato, Turin, Sez. Camerale, Tesorieri di Savoia, reg. LXI, f. 597: «Magistro Michaeli de Discipatis alias Gasolua de Costantinopoli, medico habitatori Chamberiaci, dono sibi facto per dominum suis exigentibus serviciis».

65. MARIE-JOSÉ, *Capitaliste*, p. 467: «... on est en droit de se demander si, en fait, Lageret n'a pas été davantage la victime de sa fortune et des jalousies qu'elle faisait naître, que de sa propre crédulité».

66. A. PERRET et al., *Archives de l'ancien duché de Savoie. Inventaire — archives du cour*, I, Annecy 1966, p. 9, 13; T. CHAPPERON *Chambéry à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1863, p. 29-30, 287; A. DUFOUR, *Documents inédits relatifs à la Savoie: 4 — Histoire féodale de Chambéry, Mémoires et documents de la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 5, 1861, n° XXIX, p. 392-395; MARIE-JOSÉ, *Capitaliste*, p. 462-463, 467-469.

67. CHAPPERON, *Chambéry*, p. 244.

68. A. DUFOUR, *Documents inédits relatifs à la Savoie: 10 — Topographie de Chambéry au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Mémoires et documents de la Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 15, 1875-6, n° XCV, p. 93-95; L.M.P. COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, *Familles historiques de Savoie: les seigneurs de Compey*, Chambéry 1844, n° 3, p. 88-92.

beneficiary of the episode was, therefore, the Duke himself. It would not be the last time that the prosperity of a subject aroused the jealousy of a ruler.

Seen in this light, Dishypatos was not so much a sinister and unscrupulous trickster as a victim of circumstances. His condemnation may well have been prompted merely to provide a case against the principal victim, Lageret. As it was, he escaped relatively lightly. While the unfortunate Lageret was paraded through the streets in a cart, beheaded and his head impaled on a stake<sup>69</sup>, Dishypatos at least escaped with his life. He was deprived of all clerical privileges, obliged to perform public penance in the church of St. Léger in Chambéry as well as in Grenoble and sentenced to life imprisonment in the castle of Le Bourget<sup>70</sup>. Yet one may well speculate that had it not been for his association with Jean Lageret, Dishypatos might have prospered like his co-professionals and compatriots<sup>71</sup>.

From the point of view of the historian, therefore, the important point about the account of Dishypatos' trial contained in the document from the Archives Nationales, is not the farcical antics which it attributes to Dishypatos but the fact that it attests another individual trained in the medical tradition of the Byzantine world finding his services in demand in the West. Even on the eve of its downfall, Byzantium still had something of its legacy to pass on.

69. COGNASSO, *Processo*, p. 172 ; MUGNIER, *Procès*, p. XV, n. 2 ; L. MENABREA, *Histoire municipale et politique de Chambéry*, Paris and Chambéry 1847, p. 140, n. 2 citing Archives Municipales, Chambéry, Comptes des Syndics, 1417-1418 : «Libravit pro precio unius equi cadrige ad traynandum dominum Johannem Lagereti super quadam cadriga a domo hereticorum usque ad plotum et furcas per villam Chamberiaci».

70. Below, p. 218.

71. Thomas le Franc, for example, died a natural death in 1456 and was buried with great honour at Lyons : P.M. KENDALL and V. ILARDI, *Dispatches and Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-1483*, I, Athens OH 1970, p. 246-248.

## ARCHIVES NATIONALES P1359/2, NO. 769 (100)

In nomine Domini, Amen. Nos Michael Esmenois, licentiatuſ in legibus et bacallariuſ in decretis, iudex et commiſſariuſ in hac parte deputatuſ tam a reverendo in Chriſto patre et domino, domino Aymone, Dei et Apoſtolice Sedis gratia episcopo Gracianopolis<sup>72</sup> quam a reverendo fratre Poncio Fangeronis, ſacre theologie magiſtro ordinis -----<sup>73</sup> inquisitore heretice pravitateſ notum ſcire preſentibus facimus univerſis etc. Anno nativitateſ eiuſdem Domini milieſimo quatercentieſimo decimo ſeptimo et die mercuri quindecima menſis Septembris. Comparantibus coram nobis iudicaliter provido viro Johanne Berthallerii, notario procuratore ſubſtituto dicti domini noſtri episcopi Gracianopolis petente et  
 10 requiente in quadam inquisitionali cauſa formata et aliquemodo ventilata coram nobis iſtante dicto viceprocurante contra dominum Michaelem de Diſcipatiſ delatum diffiniri iuſque dici et dictum delatum puniri ſecundum exigenciam ſuorum demeritorum; necnon dicto magiſtro Michaele de Diſcipatiſ petente eciam in ipſa cauſa diffiniri et ratum ſuum confitente ſibi miſericordiam fieri;  
 15 tandem noſ, iudex et commiſſariuſ prefatuſ, habito pio renunciato et concluſo in dicta cauſa ad noſtram ſentenciam diffinitivam proceſſimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum. Ad hec, noſ, Michael Esmenois licentiatuſ in legibus, iudex et commiſſariuſ prefatuſ, viſis in primis titulis inquisicionalibus contra dictum delatum formatiſ, qui ſunt taliſ tenoriſ; contra magiſtrum Michaelem de Diſcipatiſ preſbiterum proponuntur articula et eaque ſequentur.

In primuſ quod dictuſ magiſter Michael eſt et fuit de partibus Grecie oriunduſ. Item quod prefatuſ magiſter Michael fuit religioſuſ in religione Fratrum Predicatorum ordinis beati Dominici et habitum dicte religioniſ pluribus annis portavit et in dicta religione cum aliis religioſiſ in pluribus conventibus dicti  
 25 ordinis permansiſt profeſſionem dicte religioniſ faciendū. Item quod ex poſt et poſt profeſſionem predictam per eum factam, habitu dicte religioniſ diſmiſſo per plureſ et diverſaſ religioneſ vagavit, in ſtatu ſeculari incedendo et apoſtatando. Item quod prenominatuſ magiſter Michael a duobuſ annis citra apud Chamberiacum venit moraturuſ et in dicto loco per duoſ annoſ vel circa moram  
 30 traxit. Item quod dum dictuſ magiſter Michael fuit in dicto loco Chamberiaci volens pecuniaſ per cavillationeſ et decepcioneſ a gentibuſ extorquere, dixit et publice predicavit et ſignificavit ſe fore et eſſe medicum et in medicina expertum. Item et publice ſignificavit et publicavit ſeque iactavit ſcire et poſſe indicare de futuris et ad quem et qualem finem homineſ de quorum nativitate noti-  
 35 ciam haberet venirent, et quomodo ſuoſ dieſ finirent de fortunisque et infortunis eorundem. Item et ſuper eo quod idem magiſter Michael delatuſ Deum pro oculiſ non habent ſed potiuſ arte diabolica imbutuſ contra Deumque et iuſticiam ac iura canonica et civiliaque ipſe delatuſ non ignorat cum in ipſiſ licet male uſuſ fuerit, ſit expertuſ in dampnationem ſue anime ac Fidei Catholice non  
 40 modicum detrimentum fraudeſ ſuaſ ut ſupra exequendo et ut populuſ ad ſuaſ diabolicas arteſ magiſ inclinaret, dixit pluribuſ perſoniſ et in pluribuſ lociſ aſſerendo ſe eſſe expertum ad pronoscicandum et indicandum de futuris de quibuſ nemo indicare poſteſt, niſi ſoluſ Deus, videlicet quod iſto anno debebat eſſe magna peſtiſ in villa Chamberiaci etiam quod in dicta villa Chamberiaci debebat  
 45 eſſe magnum ſcandalum de incendio vel alio ſiniſtro. Item et quod muliereſ

72. Aymon de Chissé, Bishop of Grenoble (1388-1427): C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, I, Münster 1913, p. 268.

73. This word is illegible.

sequerentur viros ad comerquandum cum ipsis et multa alia apud eum impossi-  
 bilia verba scire protulit ut gentes ad suas fatuitates magis inclinarentur. Item  
 quod per verba dicti magistri Michaelis deceptorica et eis mediantibus plures per-  
 50 sonae infirmitatem patentes ad eundem magistrum Michaellem recurrerunt pro  
 sanitate obtinenda, ac a quibus idem magister Michael plures pecunias indebite  
 et iniuste exegit et habuit. Quomodo erat et est idem magister Michael absque eo  
 in sciencia medecine esset vel fuerit expertus. Item et plures persone ad eum  
 55 recurrerunt pro indiciis de suis fortunis et infortunis habendis ipseque magister  
 Michael quod plurima indicia pluribus personis tradidit, scripsit et scribi fecit  
 mediantibus peccuniis per eum habitis ac receptis indebite et iniuste quin divina-  
 torie et methameticie deceptorieque procedebat et processit in predictis idem  
 magister Michael. Item quod prefatus magister Michael -----  
 -----<sup>74</sup> quam habebat sub verbis et licteris Grecis scriptum  
 dicebat et false asserebat, dixitque et asseruit pluribus personis et clericis, noti-  
 60 ciam verborum Grecorum non habentibus, eundem librum fore librum astrologie  
 et legendo in eodem dicebat se studere in astrologia, gentes decipiando et falsum  
 commutando. Item et prelibatus magister Michael in astrologia non expertus ad  
 maiorem deceptionem et cavillationem plures personas de nocte secum fecit ire  
 65 ad montes ac ibidem vigillare ad videndum astra, dicendo quod noticiam astro-  
 rum habebat, et ibidem scribi fecit et faciebat numerum horarum ut fama sua  
 magis exaltaretur. Item prefatus magister Michael predictis falsitatibus, decep-  
 tionibus, tromperiis et cavillationibus non contentus cupiens pecunias a genti-  
 bus diversi modo extorquere, dixit pluribus personis se scire et posse facere  
 70 quod una mulier et unus homo adinvicem matrimoniam contraherant, vellent aut  
 nollent, et de facto convenit et pactum fecit cum quodam bastardo de Conte nun-  
 cupato seu Anthonio Morelli pro ipse tractante quod idem bastardus haberet in  
 uxorem quandam mulierem que Rosseta appellatur et quam dictus bastardus in  
 uxorem habere affectabat quia dives, ipsa que bastardus propter hoc promisit  
 dicto magistro Michaeli solve et dare decem scuta auri et de quibus baliter tra-  
 75 didit ipse bastardus quatuor scuta auri. Item quod dictus magister Michael ad  
 complendum promissa per eundem et ad complendum matrimonium predictum,  
 fieri et fabricari fecit unam patenam seu rotonditatem de cupro et in eadem  
 impressari et fieri fecit duas ymagine seu figuras, videlicet unam ad similitudi-  
 nem hominis et aliam ad similitudinem mulieris et que figura hominis tenebat  
 80 figuram mulieris amplexatam per collum cum brachio destro tenens in eadem  
 unum ensem et cum alio brachio tenebat unam sagitam econtra cor figure mulie-  
 ris.

Item quod prelibatus magister Michael mala malis cumulando et ad peiora  
 procedendo convenit pactaque et convenciones fecit cum domino Johanne  
 85 Lagereti, legum doctore, mediantibus peccuniis dicti domini Johannis quod ipse  
 magister Michael faceret et fabricaret figuras et ymagine, virtutes et potestates  
 que sequuntur habentes seu habere debentes. Et primo unam figuram auream que  
 figura talem efficaciam ac virtutem haberet quod quandocumque dominus  
 Johannes Lagereti super se portaret in presencia domini nostri, Ducis Sabaudie,  
 90 dictus dominus noster Sabaudie Dux haberet dictum dominum Johannem mul-  
 tum in gracia sua et quandocumque videret eum in tanta alacritate et iocunditate  
 esset, ac si videret Deum. Item unam aliam figuram cuius efficax virtus talis  
 esset quod quandocumque dictus dominus Johannes super se portaret in presen-  
 cia prefati domini nostri de omnibus supplicationibus, postulacionibus et requisi-

74. A fold in the manuscript occurs here, completely erasing the text.

95 tionibus per ipsum factis dicto domino nostro, Sabaudie Duci, ipso volente aut  
 nolente obediret et acceptaret omnes postulaciones dignas et indignas quorum-  
 cumque et qualitercumque essent requeste. Item unam aliam figuram habentem  
 100 virtutem quod quodcumque dictam figuram super se portaret dictus dominus  
 noster Dux in presencia dicti domini Johannis deduceretur tamquam agnus man-  
 suetus et mitis, et mutando dictam figuram ab uno loco ad alium locum dictus  
 dominus noster iuxta mutacionem dicte figure ad arbitrium dicti domini  
 105 Johannis corpus illustre dicti domini nostri mutaretur tunc ad sanitatem tunc ad  
 infirmitatem ita et taliter quod dictus dominus non posset contradicere dicto  
 domino Johanni aliquo modo. Item unam aliam figuram cuius virtus esset custo-  
 110 dire castrum et domum dicti domini Johannis ita et taliter quod quodcumque  
 dominus noster Dux vel alius alter vellet facere aliquod sinistrum adversus dic-  
 tum dominum Johannem, non posset facere. Item unam aliam figuram que cus-  
 todiret dictum dominum Johannem ab omni periculo itinerum et a manibus  
 inimicorum suorum ita et taliter quod introitus et exitus suus esset tutus et tutis-  
 115 simus ab omni lesione. Item unam aliam figuram habentem virtutem quod  
 omnes homines ipsum diligerent et ad suam postulacionem et requisitionem  
 corda populorum, nobilium et innobilium inclinarent. Item unam aliam figuram  
 cuius virtus esset talis quod quodcumque tractaretur de aliquo matrimonio de  
 120 innobili muliere ad nobilem virum de divite ad pauperem, de diffamato ad bene-  
 famatum disponderentur tales effectus quod corda virorum et mulierum non pos-  
 sint contradicere in contractacione matrimonii qualitercumque et quando-  
 cumque. Item quod pro premissis, paccionibus et conventionibus adimplendis et  
 perficiendis prefatus magister Michael mediantibus pecuniis dicti domini  
 Johannis auri et argenti ipsi magistro Michaeli traditis, ipse magister Michael  
 125 fabricari et fieri fecit ymagine seu figuras sequentes : primo unam figuram leo-  
 nis super uno ducato ; item unam figuram de cupro deauratam super uno collo  
 habens duo capita et vultus ad similitudinem duorum hominum respicientium  
 alter alterum ; item super uno ducato laniato unam figuram seu ymaginem ad  
 similitudinem unius scorpionis ; item de uno lingoto auri ponderante tres ducatos  
 130 unum capud ad similitudinem unius iuvenis hominis et fuit dictum capud esma-  
 liatum de vorrazino. Item fecit fieri et fabricari idem magister Michael pro dicto  
 domino Johanne Lagereti circa Festum Nativitatis Domini ultimo lapsum, unam  
 aliam figuram ad similitudinem unius hominis a vombilico in super et que figura  
 habebat cor de supra ombilatum habebatque etiam capud et unam coronam  
 135 argenti de super que corona erat deaurata et tota figura et erat dicta figura sine  
 brachis et manibus. Item et fieri fecit dictus magister Michael unum anullum  
 cupri in quo fecit impressari unum capud ad similitudinem unius hominis. Item  
 et fieri fecit prefatus magister Michael quandam aliam figuram ad similitudinem  
 unius hominis ab ombilico in super de cupro et in brachio sinistro, quod erat de  
 140 cupro, tenebat unum ensem argenti et brachium dextrum eciam erat argenti et  
 erat dicta figura tota deaurata. Item fecit fieri dictus magister Michael unam  
 rotunditatem de cupro ad modum unius patene et in eadem impressari et fieri  
 duas ymagine seu figuras, unam ad similitudinem hominis, aliam ad similitudi-  
 nem mulieris et tenebat figura hominis figuram mulieris amplexatam per collum  
 145 cum brachio destro tenens unum ensem et in alio brachio tenebat unam sagitam  
 econtra cor mulieris. Item fecit fieri dictus magister Michael aliam figuram ad  
 similitudinem unius cancri de rubio esmaliam. Item fecit fieri idem magister  
 Michael pro dicto domino Johanne Lagereti unam figuram ad formam unius tar-  
 tuge que habere deberet talem virtutem quod quodcumque ipse dominus  
 Johannes ipsam figuram super se portaret, dominus noster Dux in presencia dicti

domini Johannis deduceretur tamquam agnus mansuetus et mitis et mutando dictam figuram de uno loco ad alium locum dictus dominus noster Dux iuxta mutationem dicte figure ad arbitrium dicti domini Johannis corpus illustre dicti domini mutaretur tunc ad sanitatem tunc ad infirmitatem ita et taliter quod dictus dominus Dux non posset contradicere voluntati dicti domini Johannis Lagereti. Item fecit ipse delatus seu fieri fecit pro dicto domino Johanni Lagereti unam figuram seu ymaginem ligneam de cypresso, oliva, ficu et ulmo cuius virtus esse debet custodire castrum et domum dicti domini Johannis ita et taliter quod quandoque dictus dominus noster Dux vel alius alter vellet facere aliquod sinistrum adversus dictum dominum Johannem hoc facere non posset. Item et prefatus magister Michael mediantibus peccuniis et aliis per dictum dominum Johannem Lagereti sibi traditis figuras predictas in villa Chamberiaci et diocesi Gracianopolis fieri et fabricari fecit ut supra, et eas dicto domino Johanni tradidit, dicendo et asserendo ac jurando quod dicte figure seu ymagine virtutes, efficacias et potestates suprascriptas habebant. Item quod predictus magister Michael in predictis figuris faciendis processit per sortiligia demonum invocationes et per nigromanciam ac mathematicam seu divinacionem et alias contra fidem catholicam non solum magistratam humanam, verum etiam divinam offendendo et in crimina, heresis et lese magestatis incidendo. Item quod prenomiatus magister Michael talia et similia ac peiora delicta et crimina facere est assuetus et non solum in Ducatu Sabaudie, verum etiam per plures alias patrias et regiones per eas vagando et potissime in partibus Provincie. Item quod prefatus magister Michael nuper quendam librum qui vocatur Innocencius in domo et studio dicti domini Johannis Lagereti capit et secum deportavit apud Gracianopolem ubi eum vendidit certo precio per eum habito dicto domino Johanne Lagereti inscio et invito et propter hoc furtum renuttendo. Item cum dictus liber peteretur per gentes dicti domini Johannis Lagereti, dictus magister Michael dixit quod bene sciret dicere et vatecinare qui dictum librum habebat si ipsi, magistro Michaeli, darentur peccunie. Quibus verbis auditis mater dicti domini Johannis Lagereti dicto magistro Michaeli tres florenos misit et quos recepit idem magister Michael, quibus per eum receptis nominavit illum cui vendiderat dictum librum in Gracianopoli vendendo enim dictum librum non suo proprio nomine sed sub nomine alieno vendidit eius nomen proprium mutando et in hoc falsum et crimen falsi comittendo. Item quod prefatus magister Michael predictis delictis et criminibus nefandissimis per eum ut supra perpetratis venit et est ab omni privilegio cleri tonsura et omnibus sacerdotalibus ordinibus deponendus, privandus, destituendus et degradandus curieque seculari renuctendus et tradendus pro iusticia subeundo de predictis. Item quod predicta omnia et singula sunt vera, notoria et manifesta et de ipsis et eorum quolibet est vox publica et fama tam apud Chamberiacum quam alia loca circumvicina, predictaque confessus fuit predictus magister Michael fore vera.

Quare petit et requiret prefatus procurator substitutus episcopalis prefatum Michaellem delatum causantibus predictis nefandissimis delictis per eundem delatum commissis ab omni privilegio cleri tonsura et sacerdotalibus ordinibus deponi, privari, destitui et degradari ipsumque alias puniri, corrigi et condemnari iuxta exigenciam suorum demeritorum et sit et taliter quod ceteris cedat in exemplum et alias super predictis debitam iusticiam ministrari vestri domini commissarii officium implorando. Visis in super responsionibus super ipsis articulis repetitis vicibus et perseveranter factis in dicto processu contentis et descriptis; visis in super commissionibus nobis factis per dictos dominos episcopum et inquisitorem in dicto processu etiam descriptis; visis in super omnibus

aliis in dicto processu inquisicionali contentis et descriptis et auditis omnibusque ipse delatus dicere voluit et proponere ad eius deffensionem habitoque pro renunciato et concluso in ipsa causa ex nostro incumbenti officio canonicatoque  
 200 consilio plurium in talibus expertorum sedendo pro tribunali more maiorem nos-  
 trorum ad iura reddendum in loco subscripto ad hoc per nos electo sacrosanctis  
 scripturis coram nobis et in nostro conspectu positis ut de vultu Dei nostrum rec-  
 tum prodeat iudicium et oculi nostri in hiis et aliis semper videant equitatem  
 205 et equalante iudicantes Dei nomine invocato et venerabile signo crucis premissis  
 dicentes : In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

Presidente rationis imperio in animo iudicantis sedet in examine veritatis pro tribunali iusticia et quasi rex in solio iudicii retitudo de cuius ore procedit gla-  
 210 dius bisacutus cuius etiam aspectu terribili proprie voluntatis discipatur arbi-  
 trium reproborum. Hec enim fuit eterni providencia iudicis de cuius vultu recta  
 iudicia prodeunt ut recti iudices eligantur in orbe, qui terram iudicent, iusticiam  
 diligant et eorum oculi respiciant equitatem. Unde cum per confessionem spon-  
 taneam dicti magistri Michaelis delati coram nobis iudicaliter, legitime et perse-  
 215 veranter repetitis vicibus factam nobis commissario et iudici prefato sufficienter  
 et clare constet ipsum delatum a tempore sue adolescentie virum utique quam  
 plurimum fallacem varium et mendacem malorumque morum ac detestabilis  
 conversacionis et vice principalia et detestabilia crimina de quibus intitulus  
 fuit, potissime apostasie nedum a religione sed a fide furti periurii falcitatis et  
 220 sortilegii comisisse ulterius per expressam invocationem demonem potissime  
 Belzabur, principis demonum, Sathane et Aquarem, quasdam ymagines et figu-  
 ras quarum in processu fit mentio cum candelis cere nove thure, mura et ligno  
 aloe, ad malos et dampnatos effectus thurefficasse et exortisasse et ipsis mali-  
 gnis spiritibus contra fidem catholicam sacrissimam dampnabiliter offerendo pro  
 ut premissa in primo, secundo, tertio, sexto, septimo, nono, decimo, undecimo,  
 225 duodecimo, decimotertio et in aliis sequentibus articulis inquisitionalibus et res-  
 pansionibus per ipsum delatum eisdem titulis factis plenius continetur per hanc  
 nostram in hiis scriptis diffinitivam sententiam ipsum delatum qui propter dicta  
 eius facinora ipso iure maioris excommunicacionis incurrit laqueum et omni  
 honore et beneficio se reddidit crudenter indignum pronunciamus et declaramus  
 230 fuisse et esse excommunicatum tociusque ordinis ecclesiastici prerogativa  
 omnique officio et beneficio ecclesiastico fore privandum, quem propterea ab  
 eisdem deponimus et mandamus et licet exigentibus dictis eius facinoribus dic-  
 tante iusticia videretur ipse delatus actualis sive solempnis degradacionis pene  
 plectendus et potestati secularis brachii relinquendus animaversione debita  
 235 puniendus. Quia tamen semota pertinacia eius errores agnoscens et agnoscendo  
 revocans unitati fidei catholice recurrendo determinacioni sancte Dei eccle-  
 sieque ad se redeuntibus non claudit gremium se submittit. Nos premissis et aliis  
 apparentibus ex processu cum matura deliberacione pensatis, ipsum delatum ad  
 peragendum salutem penitentiam admittentes eadem nostra diffinitiva senten-  
 240 cia condempnamus ad instalandum presoribus parrochialis ecclesie Sancti  
 Leodegarii, Chamberiaci cum mitra in capite eius graviora facinora designante  
 una die sabati dum missarum agentur solempnia sine pallio seu clamide, calcia-  
 mentis et zona et pariforma una alia die sabati in civitate Gracianopolis ante  
 dominum episcopalem, et post hec ipsum perpetuis carceribus detenendum fore  
 245 decernimus et ad perpetuorum carcerum penam comedendumque panem doloris  
 et hibendum aquam tristicie, eadem nostra sentencie condempnamus exequcio-  
 nem vero huiusmodi sentencie nostre coureario Gracianopolis seu eius locunte-

nenti, necnon Stephano Rosseti, sigillifero curie officialatus Chamberiarci et  
 ipsorum cuilibet insolidum committimus precipientes eisdem et cuilibet ipsorum  
 250 quatenus per se seu alium vel alios huiusmodi sententiam nostram executioni  
 debite demandarum non postponant. De quibus omnibus premissis dictus pro-  
 curator episcopalis petiit et nos eidem fieri concessimus publicum instrumentum.  
 Lata lecta et publicata fuit huiusmodi nostra sententia apud Burgetum in castro  
 dicti loci, videlicet in stupa dicti castris presentibus testibus nobiles viris et  
 255 circumspecto domino Johanne Tarditi, in legibus licenciato, Petro de  
 Varambone, Andrea de Submonte, domicello, Petro Maceti, notario, Petro de  
 Combis, clerico, ad hec vocatis et rogatis.

Verum cum Bartholomeus Girardi quondam notarius morte preventus senten-  
 tiam superscriptam grossare et in formam publicare reddigere requierit. Id circo  
 260 ego, Guilielmus de Baus de Gracianopoli, secretarius dalphinianus, publicus  
 apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius et commissarius ad papirus et pro-  
 thocollo dicti quondam Bartholomei Girardi notarii levandum, grossandum et in  
 formam publicam reddigendum auctoritate iudicaria specialiter deputatus dictam  
 265 sententiam per dictum quondam notarium receptam et sua propria manu scrip-  
 tam et improthocollatam sit et prout in suis prothocollis ipsam reperi nichil  
 addito, remoto vel mutato, extrahi, levare, scribi et in hanc formam publicam  
 reddigi per alium notarium fidelem coadiutorem meum feci ad instanciam et  
 requisicionem procuratoris episcopalis supranominati. Deinde facta collacione  
 de instrumento huiusdem cum originali prothocollo dicte sentencie hic mie  
 270 manu propria subscripsi et signo meo solito signavi in fidem et testimonium  
 omnia premissorum.

Et ad maiorem premissorum roboris firmitatem sigillum maius curie officiala-  
 tus Gracianopolis hinc instrumentum est appensum.

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