

Michael MCVAUGH

BERNAT DE BERRIACHO (FL. 1301-43)  
AND THE *ORDINACIO* OF BISHOP PONÇ DE GUALBA

In a penetrating article published in 1977, Josep Perarnau called attention to a document in the *Arxiu del Bisbat de Barcelona* dated 8 November 1309, in which Bishop Ponç de Gualba attempted to establish a «studium» in Barcelona «in quo septem liberales artes et quelibet alie permissis sciencie et facultates... legi valeant et doceri». Perarnau presented strong arguments for believing that the bishop's letter was intended to bring together administratively the diverse schools of arts in the city, taking advantage of the inactivity since 1305 of the «studium generale» founded at Lleida in 1300 by King Jaume II.<sup>1</sup>

The principal problem left by Perarnau for subsequent scholars was the identity and personality of the person to whom the bishop's letter was addressed —«magistro Bernardo de Barriacho magistro in medicina»— whose «requisitio consilium et instantia» had given rise to the plan for a new «studium» and whom the bishop had designated as its first rector. Bernat de Berriacho was unknown —«sembla ésser un perfecte desconegut»— who had not previously figured in the cultural history of Catalunya: he did not appear, for example, in the indices of Antoni Rubió or Heinrich Finke. All that Perarnau then could do was to speculate cautiously on Bernat's possible origins and academic formation. Since 1977, however, a substantial amount of information about Bernat has turned up in various archives in Catalunya,<sup>2</sup> making it now possible to present a reasonably firm outline of his background, ambitions, and eventual career. With the aid of this material it is also possible to add a few further touches to our understanding of the circumstances in which Bishop Ponç framed his plan for a Barcelonan «studium».

\* \* \*

---

1. Josep PERARNAU, *L'«Ordinacio Studii Barchinone et rectoris ejusdem» del bisbe Ponç de Gualba*, «Revista Catalana de Teologia», II (1977), 151-188.

2. This has arisen in the course of the systematic archival investigations that Luis García Ballester and I have carried on since 1977, at first independently and then jointly, into medicine and society in the fourteenth-century Corona de Catalunya-Aragó.

Bernat de Berriacho (Borriacho, Barriacho) appears in Catalan records first in November 1301, when establishing a procurator to collect a debt in Castelló d'Empúries.<sup>3</sup> The document describes him as «of the diocese of Elna,» in the Rosselló; he was thus presumably a subject of the Mallorcan king, Jaume II (d. 1311). Bernat seems soon to have decided that Catalunya would be more rewarding territory for a physician, for by October 1303 he had come to Castelló himself to live, and from his new home he carried on dealings more widely in the diocese of Girona.<sup>4</sup> In 1304 he was given a «violarium» of 200 sous yearly by Count Ponç V d'Empúries, probably with the understanding that he would provide medical care to the count's household, and he is still to be found in Castelló in November 1305.<sup>5</sup> Yet by September 1306 he had left the town to become physician to the bishop and cathedral chapter at Vic. Here his practice was not limited to the chapter, for he treated successfully the viscount of Cardona, Ramon Folc VI, for a promised fee of 300 sous.<sup>6</sup>

The citizens of Castelló, however, were unhappy at the loss of their physician, and made arrangements to buy him back. In December 1307 they promised to pay Bernat 300 sous yearly for agreeing to act as town physician: he was required to counsel any citizens who came to him with urines asking for a prognosis, but visits to patients in their homes were not covered by his salary.<sup>7</sup> This sum, together with the count's «violarium», gave him in principle an annual income of 500 sous from Castelló. Bernat was enabled to supplement these payments by the willingness of a dozen inhabitants of the town to enter into private contracts with him, apparently as part of the same arrangement that had brought him back to Castelló: for fees of ten or twenty sous annually, he agreed to provide all medical care needed by their families.<sup>8</sup> Six months later,

3. Arxiu Històric Provincial de Girona, manuals de Castelló d'Empúries (hereafter AHPG/CE) 75, 12 kls. Dec. 1301.

4. AHPG/CE 73bis, f. 22, 8 kls. Nov. 1303.

5. AHPG/CE 125, ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10, 2 non. Aug. 1327, acknowledges receipt of money due on promise, dated Riumorts, 8 id. Jun. 1304; AHPG/CE 79, 15 kls. Dec. 1305.

6. «P. Mayani, civis Vicensis, gratis instituo me debere vobis, magistro Bn. de Barriacho, sedis Vicensis fisicho, .CCC. solidos ratione cure, quam fecistis de persona nobilis Raimundi Fulconis, vicecomitis Cardone, in infirmitate sua...», Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, Vic (hereafter ACFV), man. 46, non. Sep. 1306.

7. AHPG/CE 142, f. 24<sup>v</sup>, 3 kls. Dec. 1307. Published below, document 1.

8. AHPG/CE 142, f. 25<sup>v</sup>, 3 kls. Dec. 1307; f. 30<sup>v</sup>, 8 id. Dec. 1307. The fact that the private contracts were almost all with men who had endorsed the town's contract as consuls or «proceres» suggests a connection between the two arrangements. See below, documents 1 and 2.

another twelve individuals entered into similar contracts with him.<sup>9</sup> By now, Bernat had the expectation of nearly 800 sous yearly from his practice in Castelló d'Empúries.

It was only eighteen months later, in November 1309, that the bishop of Barcelona wrote to Bernat appointing him as rector of the proposed «studium» there. Whether Bernat had already moved to Barcelona by this time is undecidable; he is not probably in the city before July 1312.<sup>10</sup> But we have the bishop's own statement that the first impulse for the «studium» came from Bernat, and we can now recognize this as an expression of the latter's formation in, and continuing commitment to, an academic environment. For under the terms of the agreement of November 1307 by which Bernat had returned to Castelló, he was allowed to spend three winters (from All Saints to Lent) in Montpellier «*causa recipiendi suum magisterium*». This implies that he had begun medical studies at Montpellier in the 1290s (he thus cannot have been born much after 1270) and then left school temporarily to begin his practice, c. 1300. Montpellier would have been the obvious place for Bernat to pursue his medical education, not only for its geographical proximity to the Rosselló but also for its political situation —it, like Elna and Perpinyà, was then subject to the kings of Mallorca. In the decade when Bernat began his professional training there, it was entering on its most illustrious period as a faculty of medicine —to some extent due to the teaching of Arnau de Vilanova, who was there throughout the 1290s and could well have been Bernat's master. Now in 1307 Bernat evidently took full advantage of the town's concession and completed his Montpellier training in less time than he expected. Before 1309, documents concerning Bernat merely give him the title «magister Bernardus», «magister» being the label routinely applied to virtually anyone in the fourteenth century who made his living from medicine or surgery. The bishop's letter of November 1309 adds to this the academic title «magister in medicina», and proves that Bernat had by now taken his final medical degree, somehow ma-

9. AHPG/CE 83, ff. 16', 19', 22', 28'-29, 30'-31, 32; below, documents 1-3.

10. Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona, Manual of Bernat de Vilarrúbia 1307-12, f. 144, where Bernat appears as a witness on prid. non. Jul. 1312. As Perarnau has pointed out (*L'Ordinació...*, 153, n. 5), another document in the Arxiu del Bisbat de Barcelona referring to Bernat, dated June 1312, shows him acting through a procurator and thus by itself cannot prove his physical presence in Barcelona.

naging to pack an anticipated three winters' study into two years.

To an ambitious young physician with a recent degree, anxious himself to begin to teach, the moment would have seemed opportune to look to Catalunya. Jaume II had given the «studium» at Lleida the monopoly on all but arts teaching in his domains; but that «studium» had been closed since 1305, and Guillem de Besers, its first and only medical master, had returned to Montpellier. In suggesting the idea of a Barcelonan «studium» to Bishop Ponç, Bernat must have looked forward to the prospect of teaching medicine there along the lines in which he had been trained. But if so, his plans were spoiled by the reopening of Lleida in 1310. Furthermore, the arrival of Pere Gavet in 1311 as Lleida's medical master meant that Bernat could no longer hope for an academic position anywhere in the Crown of Aragon.<sup>11</sup> Between 1312 and 1313, therefore, he left Catalunya to enter the service of the new king of Mallorca, Sanç (d. 1324),<sup>12</sup> and to return to «the Mallorcan university» at Montpellier: it was, in fact, «ad preces nostri phisici magistri Bernardi de Berriacho» that Sanç confirmed the privileges of the faculty of medicine at Montpellier in 1316.<sup>13</sup>

For the next ten years Bernat is hidden from sight.<sup>14</sup> He reappears

11. Jorge RUBIÓ BALAGUER, in Antonio de la TORRE Y DEL CERRO, *Documentos para la Historia de la Universidad de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1971, 13, offers some material on the career of Pere Gavet, but much more remains unnoticed in various archives which I hope at some point to draw together systematically. See below, n. 31.

12. «Blasius, nuncius magistri Bn. de Barriacho, fisici illustrissimi domini regis Maioricarum, confiteor et recognosco vobis, domino Berengario, Dei gratia Dei gratia [sic], Vicensi episcopo, quod per manum A. de Lercio, clerici Vicensis, et ab eodem solvi et tradi mihi fecistis ipsos .C. solidos Barchinone de terno, quos dicto magistro Bernardo debebatis et solvere tenebamini pro aliquibus curis per eundem in vobis factis», ACFV, manual 57: fascicle for Aug.-Sep., 4 kls. Sep. 1313. The «aliquibus curis» presumably date back to Bernat's tenure 1306-07 as cathedral physician. The language of Bernat's contract with the town of Castelló (below, document 1) suggests that his contacts with the king of Mallorca might have begun before 1307.

13. *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier. Tome I (1181-1400)*, Montpellier 1890, 235, n. 7.

14. In view of Bernat's practice in Vic in 1306-07 it is impossible not to wonder whether the «magister Bernardus de Bonacho fisicus» who was practicing in that city 1318-24 and then (before 1328) moved to Barcelona may not be the same person as our Bernardus de Berriacho/Borriacho (ACFV, man. 74, 3 kls. Jan. 1319; man. 80, 8 kls. Dec. 1321; man. 85, 4 kls. Jun. 1322; man. 87, 10 kls. Dec. 1322; man. 3509, 5 id. Nov. 1323; man. 205, 2 kls. Nov. 1324; man. 104, 7 kls. Sep. 1328). I believe, however, that this is merely a coincidental similarity of names: in these documents of 1318-28, «Bonacho» is always so spelled, never «Borriacho» or «Borriaco», and the

only in May 1326, as «professor in medicina [et] phisicus regis Maioricarum [now Jaume III, d. 1349]», establishing two procurators to act for him in Castelló d'Empúries in collecting the «violarium», never yet paid, due him from the estates of Count Ponç V of Empúries (d. 1313) and his son Count Ponç VI Malgaulí (d. 1322).<sup>15</sup> Bernat's name is nowhere to be found in the extensive notarial records surviving from these years in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca or the Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca, and we should therefore probably imagine him to have been on the continent during this decade, teaching at Montpellier while attending first Sanç and then Jaume III as necessary in Perpinyà or Montpellier.<sup>16</sup>

One of the two procurators appointed in that document of 1326 was «magister Mauratus Vitalis professor in medicina», and we can use Maurat's career to shed a little more light on Bernat's. Bernat and Maurat seem to have been closely associated before 1326, presumably at Montpellier and quite plausibly as master and student respectively in the medical faculty there, although our evidence on these points is indirect. To approach their relationship, our best starting point is the letter of recommendation for Maurat that Felip of Mallorca wrote to Jaume II from Perpinyà late in March 1326, announcing the physician's desire to move to the Crown of Catalunya-Aragon.<sup>17</sup> Whether Maurat himself carried the letter is immaterial; the fact remains that his arrangements to come to

---

man is never given any sort of academic title, neither «professor» nor «magister in medicina».

15. AHPG/CE 119, f. 83<sup>v</sup>, prid. id. May 1326.

16. A clue as to where Bernat had established himself lies in the fact that Jaume III of Mallorca granted him «la chute d'eau du ruisseau de Thuir [a town 15 km. southwest of Perpinyà], au lieu dit d'Estany de Gaveylla» in Pyrénées-Orientales; Ernest WICKERSHEIMER, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Âge*, Geneva 1936; rpt., 1979, 72.

17. «Serenissimo principi ac domino suo carissimo, illustrissimo domino Jacobo, Dei gratia Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie ac Corcice Regi ac Comiti Barchinone ac sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie vexillario, amirato et capitaneo generali, Philippus de Maiorica, ecclesie sancti Martini Turonensis thesaurarius, eius humilis consanguineus, salutem et plenitudinem gratie in presenti et excellentiam glorie in futuro. Cum Marathus Vitalis, magister in medicina, nobis fuerit comendatus per quosdam amicos nostros, nos attente deprecantes ut pro eo vestre altitudini scribere dignaremur, idcirco vestre Regie magestati tenore presentium supplicamus ut eundem Marathum contemplatione nostri habere dignemini in vestri gratia comendatum et ipsum prosequi vestre magnificentie favoribus generosis. Datum Perpiniani tertio kls. Aprilis anno Domini M.CCC.XX.VI.» Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (hereafter ACA), *Canc.*, *Cartes Reials*, Jaume II 8644.

Catalunya were still tentative in March, only six weeks before he was acknowledged as Bernat's procurator in Castelló, an act that must therefore have been among his first in what would prove to be his new home. We must recognize, I think, that Bernat was in close touch with Maurat and was being kept aware of his plans in early 1326.

We may suspect, indeed, that Bernat was one of the «quosdam amicos nostros» at whose behest Felip of Mallorca had drawn up his letter of introduction for Maurat: as brother and uncle, respectively, to Bernat's two royal clients, Sanç and Jaume III, Felip would undoubtedly have known Bernat and accepted his judgment on medical matters. It may not be stretching the probabilities too much, therefore, to suggest that Maurat (born c. 1290 in Occitània, perhaps in Carcassona), had studied at Montpellier in the late 'teens or early 'twenties, where he had received his degree («professor in medicina»), and that Bernat had met and perhaps taught him there.<sup>18</sup> It is even conceivable that Bernat might have recommended Castelló to Maurat as a likely place to launch into practice. This gains some further support from the fact that by the summer of 1326 Maurat had not only agreed on a contract with Castelló as its town physician for 500 sous annually<sup>19</sup> —two hundred a year more than Bernat had been given twenty years before —he had also entered into the same series of individual contracts to provide medical care that Bernat had proposed.<sup>20</sup> Contracts of this kind are extremely rare in Catalan records, and that both Bernat and Maurat were party to them must be more than coincidence. It may even indicate the importation of a Montpellier practice into Catalunya.

Unlike Bernat, Maurat was content to stay in Castelló. His medical care almost immediately won him the favor of Jaume II's son Pere, count

---

18. Maurat's origins in Carcassona are suggested by a few incidental data. In 1322-23 he owned a house in that city; see *Comptes royaux (1314-1328) publiés par M. François Maillard sous la direction de M. Robert Fawtier...*, Paris 1961; *Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers*, t. IV (I), 506, no. 8543. In 1346 Maurat's brother Guillem was a priest in the diocese of Narbona, while his brother-in-law Joan Merçsella lived in Carcassona (AHPG/CE 220, f. 88<sup>v</sup>, prid. id. Jan. 1345/6).

It may be significant as an indication of the progress of his studies that while in 1326 Maurat was referred to as both «professor in medicina» and «magister in medicina», the French text of 1323 just referred to calls him simply «magistro Maurato Vitalis, phisico Carcassone»; perhaps therefore his degree is to be dated 1323-26.

19. AHPG/CE 121, ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>, 6 kls. Aug. 1326.

20. AHPG/CE 121, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17.

of Empúries from 1325 to 1341.<sup>21</sup> The town raised his salary to 800 sous annually in 1335,<sup>22</sup> and his income was of course considerably increased by payment for actual medical treatments.<sup>23</sup> He died in 1346, leaving «omnes libros meos tam medicinales quam naturales quam etiam gramaticales quam alios quoscumque habeo» —twenty-two of them, a considerable library— to his son Pere.<sup>24</sup>

Up to a point, Bernat de Berriacho and Maurat Vitalis lived remarkably similar lives: both came from just north of the Pirineus, both studied medicine at Montpellier and took the highest possible medical degree, both even started out in practice in the same small Catalan town. Their personal ties —whether as friends, colleagues, or teacher/student— imply a further commonality of interests. Yet eventually their careers diverged radically: Maurat stayed happily practicing in Castelló, while Bernat returned to a «studium» to teach as soon as he could. Here Maurat's choice was much more typical of early fourteenth-century careers in medicine. Physicians with academic training were scarce, and commanded markedly higher fees than their empiric counterparts; academic opportu-

21. «Jacobus, etc., dilectis et fidelibus suis universis et singulis officialibus nostris presentes litteras inspecturis, etc. Cum nos propter servicium per Mauratum Vitalis, in medicina magistrum, latorem presentium, inclito infanti Petro, nato nostro karissimo, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum comiti, de sua arte impensum, ipsum favore benevollo prosequamur, eapropter vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus memoratum Mauratum cum Bertrando eius scutifero, familia et bonis suis in iure manuteneatis et etiam defendatis eosque ab iniuriis, violentiis et illicitis gravaminibus faciatis prorsus esse quietos ac in suis agendis exhibeatis eis expedite et favorabilis iustitie complementa. Dat. Barchinone, 3 kls. Nov. 1326», ACA, *Canc.*, reg. 188, f. 49<sup>v</sup>. Maurat subsequently became physician to Pere's successor as Count of Empúries, his brother Ramon Berenguer (AHPG/CE 220, f. 88<sup>v</sup>).

22. AHPG/CE 136, f. 20<sup>v</sup>, kls. Jun. 1335.

23. Arxiu Diocesà de Girona, processos in fol., old 13, 3 id. Aug. 1328 (for treatment of «Marquesa comitisse Impuriarum quondam»); AHPG/CE 55, f. 128, 4 id. Dec. 1331 (for treatment of «Bernardus Quereti quondam» of Castelló); *ibid.*, 136, f. 28, 6 id. Jun. 1335 (for treatment of dropsy in «Blancha, uxor Galterandi de Begeorio, militis»); *ibid.*, 140, f. 9<sup>v</sup>, 16 kls. Oct. 1338 (for treatment of «Dalmacio de Furtiano, milite condam»).

24. Maurat's will is in AHPG/CE 215, f. 9, 12 kls. Feb. 1345/6, with a codicil on f. 9<sup>v</sup> (dated 11 kls. Feb.); the inventory of his belongings is at fols. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>, 8 id. Feb., but unfortunately it gives only the number, not the titles, of the books he owned. Further documents concerning the settlement of Maurat's estate and its transmission to his wife Sclarmonda and their son Pere (a second son, Maurat, was under age) are in AHPG/CE 177, ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-92, 97<sup>v</sup>, 102<sup>v</sup>, 103, 103<sup>v</sup>-104, 105<sup>v</sup>, covering the period from 5 kls. Mar. to 13 kls. Apr., when Sclarmonda was preparing to leave Castelló.

nities were rare, for medical students were few and medical faculties small. At Montpellier, for example, there were just seventeen «bacallarii in medicina» and twelve «scolares in dictis [sic] sciencia medicine» present to sign an agreement of 1332; a mere ten medical masters are identified in a Montpellier declaration of 1313, and only thirteen in a statute of 1335.<sup>25</sup> Bernat's obvious desire to leave routine practice and go back to an academic setting suggests an intellectual engagement that marks him off not only from Maurat but from almost all his contemporaries.

Bernat's appointment as physician to the kings of Mallorca of course sets him apart from Maurat, too, but the title was probably not unrelated to his academic interests. The kings of Catalunya-Aragó often made use of academic physicians called away from a «studium» to care for them and their families — Arnau de Vilanova, Guillem de Besers, Jordan de Turre are all examples — and their Mallorcan cousins, proud of their university at Montpellier, can have felt no differently. Bernat's role as royal physician would have conveyed some additional prestige, certainly, and might have supplemented his income from other sources, but he would not have viewed it as a career in itself.<sup>26</sup>

Maurat seems to have been successful in his role as coprocurator in 1326, for fifteen months later Bernat was duly paid forty-two pounds (for twenty-one years of unpaid «violarium») by the counts' executors.<sup>27</sup> Bernat turned to other agents in 1340 when, still proudly styled «professor in medicina, medicus domini regis Maioricarum», he tried to collect for a further thirteen unpaid years from their estates.<sup>28</sup> The connection with the Mallorcan dynasty, however, would not be prestigious much longer.

---

25. *Cartulaire...*, 287-88, 232, 292; it should be noted that Bernat de Berriacho is not among the masters present at the latter two acts.

26. For Guillem's career, fusing university teaching and medical service to powerful patrons, see the forthcoming study by Michael McVAUGH, José M. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ and Luis GARCÍA BALLESTER. For Jordan de Turre, see Michael McVAUGH, *The Two Faces of a Medical Career: Jordanus de Turre of Montpellier*, in Edward GRANT and John E. MURDOCH, eds., *Mathematics and Its Applications to Science and Natural Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1987, 302-24. Michael McVAUGH, *Royal Surgeons and the Value of Medical Learning: The Crown of Aragon, 1300-1350* (paper delivered at conference on *Practitioners and Medical Practice in the Latin Mediterranean, 1100-1350*, Barcelona, 11-15 April 1989; in course of publication), suggests how chancy it might be for a medical practitioner to depend on a royal patron for financial rewards.

27. AHPG/CE 125, ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-10, prid. non. Aug. 1327.

28. AHPG/CE 167, f. 24<sup>v</sup>, 5 id. Feb. 1339/40.



In 1341 Pere III of Catalunya-Aragó began the process that would lead to war with Jaume III of Mallorca, and to the reincorporation of the Balears and the Rosselló into the Crown of Aragon. Early in 1343 Bernat was asked to come from Montpellier to Barcelona to treat Arnau Roger II, Count of Pallars, in what proved to be the count's final illness, and King Pere granted him a safe-conduct to come to Catalunya despite the existing state of war.<sup>29</sup> With this —so far as we know, Bernat's first trip back to Catalunya in thirty years— our knowledge of his career comes to an end.

\* \* \*

It is plausible that studies based on the archives of Perpinyà or Montpellier may some day furnish additional information about the career of Bernat de Berriacho, but even these few pieces of information shed light on his role in the drawing-up of Bishop Ponç's *Ordinacio* in 1309. Scattered as they are, the data lead to two inescapable conclusions.

First, as we have seen, that Bernat was intellectually committed, not merely to the academic world, but to medical teaching in particular, and to an unusual extent.

Second, as reflection will show, that Bernat could scarcely have had an intimate knowledge of the academic context in Barcelona at the time he suggested the idea of a «studium» to the bishop. From 1301 until at least 1308 he had been practicing medicine in the dioceses of Girona and Vic; between December 1307 and November 1309 he must also have completed the equivalent of a year's study at Montpellier. There is no proof that he had even arrived in Barcelona by November 1309, and there is scant opportunity for him to have done so.

Hence the original stimulus behind the *Ordinacio* of 1309 may indeed, as Bishop Ponç wrote, have been a proposal by Bernat; but Bernat must have hoped that Lleida's cessation would allow a new «studium generale» to be established at Barcelona, a university where (on the model of the one he knew at Montpellier) other subjects besides the liberal arts —medicine in particular— could be taught. He could have anticipated with pleasure acting as rector in such a school. However, the bishop decided not to challenge outright the monopoly of Lleida on higher educa-

---

29. ACA, *Canc.*, reg. 874, f. 71<sup>v</sup>, id. Mar. 1342/3.

tion. Instead, the episcopal *Ordinacio* as drawn up responded cautiously to local circumstances, about which Bernat would have known—and cared—little or nothing; it surely owes much to consultation («deliberatione habita») with advisors who understood the peculiarities of the educational setting at Barcelona, presumably (as Perarnau suggested) the cathedral chapter and perhaps municipal authorities.<sup>30</sup>

Most frustrating about this result, from Bernat's point of view, must have been the fact that the *Ordinacio* paid more attention to coordinating existing schools than to furthering the development of new ones. For all that it spoke of including «alie permissie sciencie et facultates» within the «studium», it gave little positive support to medical teaching in Barcelona. I know as yet of no evidence that would prove the existence of medical schools in Barcelona before 1309, schools which might have been encouraged by the bishop's pronouncement. Nor is there any evidence that the *Ordinacio* soon gave rise to such schools, even though one might expect Bernat, armed with episcopal authority, to have begun immediately to teach medicine in Barcelona. When, scarcely 35 years later, the «consellers» and «prohoms» of the city surveyed the history of higher education there, the only example of a medical teacher they could offer was Pere Gavet, who did not even move definitively from Lleida to Barcelona until the 1320s.<sup>31</sup> Probably we should conclude, therefore, that Bernat was disillusioned with the «studium» as actually structured by Bishop Ponç and chose not to involve himself in it further. Within a few years, as we know, he had decided to return to Montpellier, and in the interval the thought so little of his role in the new «studium» that he did not bother to claim his title: the documentation of 1312 that fixes his presence in the city speaks of him, not as «rector studii Barchinone», but simply «magister Bernardus de Borriacho phisicus».

---

30. PERARNAU, *L'«Ordinacio...»*, 155. Elsewhere Perarnau has pointed out the discrepancy between the city and the bishop at this time as regards educational objectives, which perhaps makes consultation with the cathedral chapter more likely: JOSEP PERARNAU I ESPELT, *Les primeres gestions per a l'erecció d'estudi universitari a Barcelona (1310) i a Girona (1446)*, «Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics», III (1984), 243-250, esp. 244.

31. De la TORRE Y DEL CERRO, *Documentos...*, 32. The documents discovered in our researches show that Pere taught at Lleida until at least 1318 and perhaps later, for he still had extensive commercial dealings there in 1322; however, his medical attentions had come under increasing demand by the royal family, and by 1325 or 1326

## DOCUMENTS

## 1

1307 November 29. Castelló d'Empúries

*The town of Castelló d'Empúries, through its consuls and proceres, contracts with master Bernat de Berriacho to give medical advice to its inhabitants at a salary of fifteen pounds yearly*

Girona, Arxiu Històric provincial. *Manuals of Castelló d'Empúries* 142, f. 24<sup>v</sup>

Tertio kalendas Decembris, die mercurii [1307]...

Cum esset summa indigencia medici seu medicorum in villa Castilionis fuit tractatum et ordinatum per consules et alios probos homines ville Castionis convocato consilio ut moris est habita plena deliberacione, et pleno consilio habito ordinaverunt inter se quod magister Bernardus de Berriacho phisicus staret et continuam residenciam faceret in dicta villa et quod pro pensione seu salario darent singulis annis in festo omnium sanctorum de comuni quindecim libras malgorenses eidem magistro Bernardo. [Item fuit] etiam conventum et ordinatum inter eos quod quando consules et quocienscumque crearentur in villa Castilionis quod ipsi consules in introitu sui regiminis scilicet quando ascendunt ad altare, Sancti Johannis pro prestando iurament, toti populo, quod tunc dicti consules habeant iurare quod dictos denarios solvent dicto magistro Bernardo in dicto termino in anno quo erunt consules, vel si non solverent dictos denarios in dicto termino

---

he had certainly established himself in Barcelona. Here for more than a decade he was the arbiter of medical standards for the city's nascent professional community, called on to examine the qualifications of would-be physicians; several such cases can be added to the two identified by Rubió (above, n. 11) —see Luis GARCÍA BALLESTER, Michael R. MCVAUGH and Agustín RUBIO-VELA, *Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth-Century Valencia*, Philadelphia 1989, 28 n. 40, and Michael MCVAUGH and Luis GARCÍA-BALLESTER, *The Medical Faculty at Early Fourteenth Century Lérida*, «History of Universities», 8 (1989), Pere Gavet's will (Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona, perg. *Divers. A 2545*) is dated 2 non. Jun. 1345; in his wife Miracula's will (preserved in the parish archive of Sts. Just i Pastor, Barcelona), dated 4 non. Dec. 1345, Pere is referred to as «quondam».

quod per dictum iuramentum haberent tenere omnes consules hostagia apud Rosas ad monicionem quinque denariorum; et non obstantibus dictis hostagiis et ipsis tenentibus vel non quod curia domini comitis posset et deberet eos distringere ad dictam solucionem faciendam, scilicet talliam dicte ville emparando per suum vicarium et faciendo ipsam levari per nuncium consulum et ipsum nuncium distringere ad dictam solucionem faciendam dicto magistro Bernardo, nec ipsi consules pro predictis possent proferimentum iuris facere et sine aliqua dilacione et spacio decem dierum ipsi possent et deberent dstringi ad ipsam solucionem faciendam per ipsam curiam sub forma antedicta. Fuit etiam conventum inter ipsos proceres et consules ville Castilionis et ordinatum quod predictum salarium detur ipsi magistro Bernardo quamdiu ipse vixerit et residenciam fecerit in villa Castilionis et sit sufficiens ad dandum consilium. Et pro predictis atendendis et complendis dicti consules et dicti proceres, scilicet P. Egidii et G. Tolsani et G. de Pomeriis et Brg. Filelli consules et Poncius Escarrerii et G. Font et C. Tolsani et Huguetus Bovis et Bn. Monerii et R. de Curtationibus et Joh. Escoti et G. Pascholli et G. de Clauso et Brg. Laqueti et Bn. de Ferrals et P. Mercerii et Bn. Modeliani et R. de Podio et Ar. de Pomeriis et G. Renardi et Poncius Oliveres et G. Naterii, obligaverunt bona dicte universitatis nomine tocius universitatis ville Castilionis dicto magistro Bernardo.

Et e converso dictus magister Bernardus promisit et obligavit se dictis consulibus et proceribus ville Castilionis quod ipse quamdiu vivet faciet continuam residenciam in villa Castilionis et quod bene et legaliter pro posse suo videbit et iudicabit omnes orinas que apportabuntur sibi per omnes habitatores dicte ville et dabit eis consilia tam super flebotomiis quam etiam dietis et generaliter regimina et consilia, excepto quod non teneatur eosdem infirmos visitare, et quod de hoc nichil accipiet ab eis nec ab alio ipsorum, immo libere et gratis predicta exhibebit pro posse suo.

Retinuit tamen sibi dictus magister Bernardus quod posset ire extra villam Castilionis, non obstantibus predictis, ad curandum infirmos et stare absens a dicta villa per quatuor dies tantum quantumcumque et quocienscumque ibit extra villam ad curandum infirmos; et si contingeret quod esset interim necessarius ad dictam villam pro aliquo infirmo curando, quod incontinenti visa litera habeat redire ad dictam villam Castilionis et solvere nuncium qui miteretur ad ipsum in illo casu ubi ipse curaret vel deberet curare infirmum pro quo ad ipsum miteretur, et quod maiori tempore non posset stare absens a dicta villa nisi hoc faceret de licencia consulum vel alterius ipsorum. Item retinuit sibi quod non obstantibus predictis quod ipse possit studere tribus hiemibus apud Mon-

tempessulanum causa recipiendi suum magisterium, quem hiemem intelligit de festo omnium sanctorum usque ad festum carnisprivii. Item retinuit sibi quod non obstantibus predictis si contingeret ipsum posse habere beneficium ecclesiasticum extra civitatem Impuriarum valens .L. libras malgorenses, vel quod dominus rex Maioricarum vellet ipsum habere in medicum pro se et domo sua et facere ipsum medicum suum vel domus sue, quod in illo casu omnia predicta sint nulla.

Promisit etiam dictus magister Bernardus quod non haberet partem nec comunionem cum aliquo ypothecario super lucro ipsius ypothecarie.

## 2

1307 November 29. Castelló d'Empúries

*Ponç Escarrer of Castelló d'Empúries promises to pay Bernat de Berriacho twenty sous yearly for medical care for himself, his wife, his family, and his household in all their illnesses.*

Girona, Arxiu Històric Provincial. *Manuals of Castelló d'Empúries* 142, f. 25<sup>r</sup>

Tertio kalendas Decembris, die veneris [1307]...

Poncius Escarrerii de Castilione promito vobis, magistro Bernardo de Berriacho, phisico, quod dabo et solvam vobis quamdiu domicilium fecerimus in villa Castilionis ego et vos simul singulis annis in festo omnium sanctorum viginti solidos malgorenses, ita tamen quod vos teneamini curare pro posse vestro pro ipsis .XX. solidis malgorensibus me et uxorem meam et omnes liberos meos et familiam meam ab omnibus infirmitatibus que requierunt atten medicine...

Et ego dictus magister Bernardus promito vobis dicto Poncio Escarrerii quod curabo pro posse meo vos et uxorem vestram et omnes liberos vestros et familiam vestram, quamdiu domicilium fecerimus in villa Castilionis ego et vos simul, ab omnibus infirmitatibus que requirunt artem medicine pro predictis .XX. solidis malgorensibus quod quolibet anno promittitis mihi dare ut superius est dictum...

Virtually identical contracts are as follows:

*Tertio kalendas Decembris 1307*

Huguetus Bovis, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 142, f. 25)

R. P[etri], notarius domini comitis, 20 sous

Castilio Tolsan, 10 sous

G. Tolsan, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 142, f. 25<sup>v</sup>)

Arnaldus de Pomeriis, 20 sous

Poncius Oliveres, 10 sous

G. de Pomeriis, 10 sous

P. Mercerii, 10 sous

*Octavo id. Decembris 1307*

C. Boschi, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 142, f. 30<sup>v</sup>)

Bn. de Armentariis, 10 sous

P. Bovis, 10 sous

*Pridie non. Maii 1308*

P. Alquerii, miles, 20 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 16<sup>v</sup>)

*Septimo id. Maii 1308*

Bn. de Lausa, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 19)

P. Burguesii, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 19<sup>v</sup>)

Raimundus Bovis, sacrista ecclesie Castilionis, 20 sous

*Tertio id. Maii 1308*

P. Escrutii, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 22<sup>v</sup>)

*Tertiodecimo kls. Junii 1308*

P. Egidii et G. de Curtationibus, 10 sous inter ambos (AHPG/CE 83, f. 28<sup>v</sup>)

Bg. Egidii, 10 sous

G. Terramala, ebdomadarius ecclesie Sancte Marie Castilionis, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29)

Ar. Malarcii, ebdomadarius ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castilione, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 29)

*Undecimo kls. Junii 1308*

G. de Areis, precentor ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castilione, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31)

Sexto kls. Junii 1308

Bng. Ballisterii, clericus de Castilione, 10 sous (AHPG/CE 83, f. 32).