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Didžioji Kunigaikštystė

Iššūkiai. Laimėjimai. Netektys

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Sudarytoja
RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

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TURINYS

SOCIOKULTŪRINĖ ERDVĖ: LAIMĖJIMAI IR PRARADIMAI

TEISĖS ISTORIJOS LAUKAS

FROM THE MONTPELLIER FACULTY OF MEDICINE TO THE GRODNO ROYAL SCHOOL OF MEDICINE: HOW DR. JEAN-EMMANUEL GILIBERT APPLIED MEDICAL VITALISM TO HEAL HIS LITHUANIAN PATIENTS[1]

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Abstract. In 1775, a French physician-botanist, Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, came to Grodno in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to found the first school of medicine in that country. He headed it until 1781, when the school had to close because of a lack of funds. During his stay in Grodno, he not only directed the medical school but also founded a hospital, which gave him an opportunity to observe the diseases prevalent in Lithuania at that time. Gilibert, a convinced proponent of vitalism, used the expectant medicine method he learned at the Montpellier Faculty of Medicine in France to treat his patients. In so doing, he left us an unequalled list of local diseases and a description of the ways he treated them.

Keywords: Medicine, vitalism, French physician, Grodno Royal School of Medicine.

Introduction

In the last quarter of the 18th century, a French physician from Lyon, Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, came to Lithuania to found a school of medicine in the town of Grodno (Today, *Гродна*, in Belarus), where he worked from 1775 to 1781. He then moved to Vilnius to teach natural history at the Principal School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (today Vilnius University), before going back to France in 1783.

During his stay in Grodno, Gilibert not only was in charge of the medical school, but he also headed the hospital which was associated with it and which he helped found. As a result, he had an excellent opportunity to study the diseases of the inhabitants.[2] When treating his patients in Lithuania, Gilibert always applied

1 I would like to thank Dr. Ramūnas Kondratas, director of the Vilnius University Museum (*Vilniaus universiteto muziejus*), for his insights, advice and comments, as well as Anaïs Dupuy-Olivier, deputy director of the Library of the National Academy of Medicine (*Bibliothèque de l'académie nationale de médecine*) in Paris, for her help in collecting information.

2 About Gilibert's work at the Grodno school of medicine, see Adam Wrzosek, Założenie Królewskiej Szkoły Lekarskiej w Grodnie za Stanisława Augusta, in: *Archiwum historji i filozofji medycyny oraz istorji nauk przyrodniczych*, tom II-GI, Poznan, 1925, p. 149–168; Witold Sławiński,

the "expectant treatment," as it was taught at the Montpellier University's medical faculty, where he had studied. While applying this healing method, he took note of its effects. In so doing, he left us an unequaled description of the diseases of the times and the way he treated them.

The goal of this article is to examine the role played by Gilibert in the founding of the Grodno Royal School of Medicine, reveal the most common diseases in Lithuania at that time, and show how expectant medicine was used to treat the sick. We will consider these topics: 1) medical vitalism in the 18th century; 2) Gilibert as a convinced proponent of vitalism; 3) the founding of the Royal School of Medicine in Grodno; 4) the diseases encountered and their treatment; and 5) the end of the Grodno Royal School of Medicine.

I. Medical vitalism in the 18th century

In the early 1730s, medical vitalism as a doctrine that posited that life processes arise from or contain a nonmaterial vital principle and cannot be explained entirely as physical and chemical phenomena began to gain ground at the Montpellier University's Faculty of Medicine, to a point that the term *vitalism* remains strongly associated with Montpellier and 18th century medicine.[3] In the 1740s, the physicians at Montpellier began to question Descartes's dualistic concept of the body-machine, which was taught by the *iatromechanist* physicians at the Paris Faculty of Medicine, who regarded the body as a machine, conforming in its functions to mechanical laws.

Vitalism[4] relies on the observation of the activities of the body and of the state of the patient. Nature itself, the *vital principle*, struggles against everything that may affect harmony in the body, illness resulting from a disharmony in it. Hence, unlike iatromechanism, which favors universal treatment, vitalism states that the

Dr. Jan Emmanuel Gilibert, profesor i założyciel Ogrodu Botanicznego w Wilnie, 1925, Wilno: Odbitka z *Ateneum Wileńskiego*, r. III, zesz. 9; Stanisław Koscialkowski, *Antoni Tyzenhauz*, London: Wydawnictwo Społeczności Akademickiej Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Londyne, 1970, p. 380–409; Stasys Biziulevičius, Pirmoji medicinos mokykla Lietuvoje, in: *Mokslų istorijos Lietuvoje*, t. 1, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1990, p. 85–86; Евгений Михайлович Тищенко, Профессор Ж. Э. Жилибер – первый организатор здравоохранения Беларуси, in: Е. М. Тищенко, Ф. И. Игнатович, *Медицинская профессура Российской империи: тез. науч. конф.*, 2005, p. 157–158; Ф. И. Игнатович, Ж. Э. Жилибер и Гродненская медицинская академия, in: *Журнал Гродненского государственного медицинского университета*, 2011, n. 2, p. 85–90.

3 Anne Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998, p. 43.

4 The adjective *vitalist* was coined by Charles-Louis Dumas (1765–1813) in 1800 to define this medical trend at Montpellier University, and more particularly the ideas of Paul-Joseph Barthez (1734–1806). See Anna Alfonso-Goldfarb, Maria-Thereza Amaral, Silvia Waisse, Roots of French Vitalism: Bordeu and Barthez, between Paris and Montpellier, in: *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, vol. 18, no. 3, July/Sept. 2011, p. 625–640.

1. Georg Ernst Stahl (1659–1734)
© Bibliothèque de l'Académie nationale de médecine.

remedy depends on each patient and that healing depends on the patient's natural limitations.[5] That is to say, that one has to wait, to "expect" that nature will do something to cure the patient. Ignace-Vincent Voullonne, in his *Dissertation on active medicine* (*Mémoire sur la médecine agissante*, 1776) provides an explanation of what expectant treatment is: "Medicine [is] expectant, not only when it absolutely abstains from giving any relief, but also when it solely uses means unable to produce somewhat notable change that may occur for the patient, change that would not happen without such relief."[6] On the contrary, "active medicine" is: "the use of whichever remedy able to produce in the body of the patient a remarkable change, compared to the situation of the patient if he had received no medicine."[7]

One of the forerunners of vitalism[8] in the modern age was Georg Ernst Stahl (1659–1734), a German professor from Halle University.[9] Stahl was a chemist, a practicing physician, and a philosopher. He opposed the dualism that was fun-

5 About vitalism's development in 18th century France, see Roselyne Rey, *Naissance et développement du vitalisme en France de la deuxième moitié du 18e siècle à la fin du premier empire*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000; Elizabeth Williams, *A Cultural History of Medical Vitalism in Enlightenment Montpellier*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, p. 3–4.

6 *Mémoire sur la médecine agissante*, presented at the Dijon Royal Academy in 1776: « la médecine [est] expectante, non seulement quand elle s'abstient absolument de l'application de tout secours, mais encore lorsqu'elle n'emploie que des secours incapables de produire un changement un peu notable dans la suite des modifications physiques que le malade éprouverait sans elle ». See François Mérat, *Dictionnaire universel de matière médicale et de thérapeutique générale*, t. 1, Paris: chez J.-B. Bailliere, Méquignon-Marvis, Gabon, 1829, p. 111.

7 « Application d'un secours quelconque, capable de produire dans l'état physique du malade un changement remarquable, relativement à la suite des modifications que le malade éprouverait sans l'application de ce remède ». See François Mérat, *Ibid.*, p. 111.

8 In ancient times, the Greek physician Hippocrates (p. 460–377/359 BC), known as the "father of medicine," showed that there was an interaction between the human body and nature, a kind of vitalism. See Emile Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, t. 1, Paris, 1839, p. 564; *Biographical Dictionary*, Edinburgh: Chambers, 2003, p. 730.

9 Stahl became Professor of Medicine in 1694 at Halle University and in 1715 became the personal physician and counselor to King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia. He expounded the phlogiston theory of combustion and fermentation as well as the theory of animism. See *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 1428.

damental to both Descartes and Leibniz, according to which there was a division between mind and body, that is, spiritual and material substance. To Stahl a soul (*anima*) was the source of all vital phenomena. It was able to do everything necessary to preserve the health of the body.[10]

Stahl had many enthusiastic followers at the Montpellier Faculty of Medicine,[11] which was well-renowned for many centuries.[12] One of Stahl's greatest proponents in the faculty was the prominent teacher François Boissier de Sauvages (1706–1767),[13] whose teaching was widely influential[14] in France, though to a greater extent abroad, where he was member of numerous scientific societies.[15] Sauvages was strongly opposed to iatromechanical ideas.[16] He considered Stahl's "soul" the cause of mechanical actions in the body and played a key role in introducing the german scientist's ideas at the Montpellier School of Medicine, thus contributing to the emergence and spread of vitalism in that school.[17]

From the 1750s onward, French physicians started turning away from iatromechanism and turning to the Hippocratic doctrine and trust in the healing power of nature. A neo-Hippocratic movement emerged. Physicians looked for more

10 Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 85–86, 95; Anne Vila, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 43.

11 Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

12 In 1181, the Lord of Montpellier, Guilhelm VIII, established the faculty of medicine, and it received its official statutes from the Pope in 1220. The Montpellier Faculty of Medicine is the oldest extant medical faculty in the world. Four medical departments were founded in 1498. Later on some others were added: anatomy and botany (1593), surgery and pharmacy (1597), chemistry (1676), and healing of the poor (clinical teaching, 1715). The first anatomical theater in France was established there in 1566. The Montpellier Medical School was one of the very first in Western Europe. From 1610 to 1752, six of the French kings' personal physicians were alumni. See Louis Dulieu, Le mouvement scientifique montpelliérain au XVIIIe siècle, in: *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1958, t. 11, n. 3, p. 227–228; Anna Alfonso-Goldfarb, Maria Thereza, Silvia Waisse, *op. cit.*, p. 625–640.

13 François Boissier de La Croix de Sauvages (1706–1767) studied at the University of Montpellier. He was an eminent physician member of the Royal Society of Sciences of Montpellier and published many works. Until his death, he worked on a classification of diseases (nosology): *Nouvelles classes des maladies dans un ordre semblable à celui des botanistes, comprenant les genres et les espèces* (1731); *Pathologia methodica seu de cognoscendis morbis* (Amsterdam, 1752); *Nosologia methodica sistens morborum classes, genera et species juxta Sydenham mentem et botanicorum ordinem* (Amsterdam, Genève, 1763). Sauvages was also interested in botany and taught it for 18 years. He wrote about it in *Methodus foliorum seu plantae florae Monspeliensis juxta foliorum ordinem ad juvendam speciaum cognitionem digeslae* (Montpellier, La Haye, 1751), which was a new classification of plants according to their leaves. Moreover, we may add that Sauvages studied the application of electricity to medicine and was one of the first to introduce Chinese medicine in France. On the whole he played a significant part in the development of physiology. See Louis Dulieu, François Boissier de Sauvages (1706–1767), in: *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1969, t. 22, n. 4, p. 303–304, 306, 311, 314–316; Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 80, 82, 104–105.

14 Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Anna Alfonso-Goldfarb, Maria Thereza Amaral, Silvia Waisse, *op. cit.*, p. 625–640.

15 Louis Dulieu, *op. cit.*, p. 307–308.

16 Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

17 Louis Dulieu L., *op. cit.*, p. 306.

natural treatments than blood-letting and purgatives.[18] In the 1760s and 1770s, vitalism became a more coherent doctrine and more entrenched at the medical school of Montpellier. The synthesis of vitalism presented in Paul Barthez's[19] *New Elements of the Science of Man* (*Nouveaux élémens de la science de l'homme*, Montpellier, 1778) greatly contributed to this effort. For Barthez, there could be no sound medicine without vitalism.[20] Other noted Montpellier physicians such as Gabriel Venel,[21] Charles La Roy,[22] and François-Bourguignon de Bussières de Lamure[23] also believed in the role of nature to heal diseases.[24]

II. Gilibert as a convinced proponent of vitalism

Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert was born on 21 June 1741 on the little estate that his parents owned in La Carette, above the hamlet of Saint-Clair on the plateau de la

18 Ramūnas Kondratas, *Joseph Frank (1771–1842) and the Development of Clinical Medicine: A Study of the Transformation of Medical Thought and Practice at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1977, p. 18; Anne Vila, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

19 Paul Joseph Barthez (1734–1806), physician, one of the vitalist trend leaders. In 1755, he worked as a physician in the military during the Seven Years' War, but after suffering a severe case of typhus had to leave that post and in 1757 came to Paris, where he began writing articles for the *Encyclopédie* and the *Journal des savants*. In 1760, he was appointed medical professor at the Montpellier University. In his *De principio vitali hominis* (1773), *Nova Doctrina de functionibus naturae humanae* (1774) and *Nouveaux éléments de la science de l'homme* (1778), he expounded his theory of the "vital principle." In 1780, he moved to Paris and in 1781 became the personal physician of Louis XVI and the Duke of Orleans, as well as head physician (*médecin-chef*) for all dragoon regiments. He was a member of the French and other scientific academies. See *Encyclopaedia universalis*, t. 1, p. 293–294.

20 Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 263–275.

21 Gabriel Venel (1723–1775), chemist and medical professor at Montpellier University. He is famous for having analyzed different mineral waters in France and for having elaborated a process to gasify water. Among other works he wrote: *Analyse chimique des eaux de Passy, avec M. Bayen* (Paris, 1757), *Instructions sur l'usage de la houille* (Avignon, 1775). See Jean-Eugène Dezeimeris, *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine ancienne et moderne*, t. 1, Paris: chez Bechet jeune et Labé, 1839, p. 316–317.

22 Charles Le Roy (1726–1779) began his studies in Paris, completed them in Montpellier in 1750, and received a doctorate in 1752. Le Roy was a follower of Hippocrates. Among other works, he published *Mélanges de physique et de médecine* (Paris, 1771), which includes *Mémoires sur les fièvres aiguës* (already published in 1766) and *Traité sur le pronostic dans les maladies aiguës*, his most significant work. He was a highly respected physician. See Louis Dulieu, Un parisien, professeur a l'Universite de medecine de Montpellier: Charles le Roy (1726–1779), in: *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1953, t. 6, n. 1, p. 50–51, 54–55; Elizabeth Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

23 François-Bourguignon de Bussières de Lamure (1717–1787), was a medical professor at Montpellier University and a follower of Stahl. He was admitted into the Montpellier Royal Society of Sciences in 1742. His contribution to medical science was in physiology. He wrote *Recherches sur la cause de la pulsation des artères, sur les mouvements du cerveau dans l'homme et les animaux trépanés, sur la coëne du sang* (Paris, 1768). See Louis Dulieu, François-Bourguignon de Bussières de Lamure (1717–1787), in: *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1968, t. 21, n. 3, p. 234, 237, 239.

24 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature, ou premier mémoire sur l'énergie du principe vital pour la guérison des maladies chirurgicales; lu dans la séance publique de l'Académie de Lyon, le 7 Décembre 1784*, Lyon, 1785, p. 35.

Croix-Rousse, on the outskirts of Lyon.[25] His parents were Claude Gilibert, a merchant, and Agathe Giminiani, of Italian descent.[26]

2. Paul Barthez (1734–1806) © Bibliothèque de l'Académie nationale de médecine.

His father wanted him to be a priest, but because he saw that his son was interested in medicine he let him study this discipline. Thus, from 1760–1764, Gilibert studied medicine at Montpellier, where he received his baccalaureate on 24 February 1763 and his degree on the 2 July.[27] On 5 August 1764, Gilibert successfully defended his thesis under the supervision of Professor Charles La Roy with the title *On the power of nature to heal diseases* (*Sur le pouvoir de la nature pour la guérison des maladies*),[28] which shows his very early and deep interest in vitalism. Still many years later in his *Second memoir on the autocracy of nature* (*Second mémoire sur l'autocratie de la nature*) enclosed in his book *The autocracy of nature* (*L'autocratie de la nature*), a work dedicated to the healing power of nature,[29] Gilibert remembered his thesis defense with great enthusiasm. Since this thesis played an important role in his career, namely in his practice of medicine in Lithuania, we will quote his reminiscences about it:

"I used a quite singular reasoning. I analyzed the medical observations published by the most famous practitioners of different trends. I demonstrated that a large number of people were cured by famous physicians who had used remedies that, by their effects, were definitely opposed to one another. I opposed the followers of J. B. Van Helmont[30] to those of Hippocrates; those who prescribed warming-up

25 Today, it is within the city limits of Lyon, at no. 38 Margnolles Street. See Jules Guiart, La vie extraordinaire d'Emmanuel Gilibert, médecin et botaniste Lyonnais, in: *Biologie médicale*, volume XXXIV, n. 10–11–12, octobre-novembre-décembre 1945, p. 165.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 166; Archives de la Faculté de médecine de Montpellier, S. 64. See Jean Rousset, J. E. Gilibert, docteur de Montpellier, homme politique à Lyon pendant la Révolution, in: *Monspeliensis Hippocrates*, 1962, n. 17, p. 11.

28 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 1–2.

29 *Second memoir on autocracy of nature, in which it is proved that nature heals internal diseases, such as fevers, inflammations, convulsions, pains, evacuations, etc.* (*Second mémoire sur l'autocratie de la nature, dans lequel on prouve que la nature guérit les maladies internes, comme fièvres, inflammations, convulsions, douleurs, évacuations, etc...*). See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 33–40.

30 Joan Baptista van Helmont (1577–1644), Belgian physician, founder of the Iatrochemical School. See Walter Pagel, *Joan Baptista van Helmont: Reformer of Science and Medicine*, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

treatments *(médicaments echauffans*) to those who ordered only refreshing ones (*raffraîchissants)*; those who practiced bloodletting to those who hate blood; those who often used purgatives to those who always refused evacuants (*évacuans*). Adducing healing from one part to another, I had to conclude that a third agent had given the cure. I called this agent nature, the vital principle. The matter, presented under this perspective, all had to agree that in every case their principles had not been applied, nature had had enough energy to heal the disease and to overcome the bad effects of the remedies already applied. Hence, I concluded that because the vital principle, the spontaneous reaction of the irritated organs where nature had had enough resources to heal in spite of hindrances caused by remedies contrary to the evil, it would be able to heal diseases that were completely left to it."[31]

From the very beginning of his career, Gilibert became a convinced proponent of Hippocratic and expectant medicine.[32] Even many years later, he thought that the power of nature was fundamental.[33] The "energy of nature" could cure not only internal diseases, but external diseases or ailments as well, even fractures.[34] For the physician this power of nature is so obvious that "A naturalist or expectant physician every day observes for himself, and on the most vigorous subjects, the work of an active, acting nature, which every hour moves away the causes of the most serious diseases."[35]

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31 « [...] je m'appuyais sur un raisonnement bien singulier; je fis l'analyse des observations de médecine, publiées par les praticiens les plus vantés des différentes sectes; je démontrai qu'une foule de malades avoient été guéris par des médecins célèbres qui avoient employé des remèdes absolument opposés par leurs effets; j'opposai les sectateurs de Van-Helmont aux sectateurs d'Hippocrate; ceux qui prescrivoient des médicamens échauffans, à ceux qui n'ordonnoient que des raffraîchissans, ceux qui saignoient à ceux qu'abhorroient le sang; ceux qui purgeoient souvent, à ceux qui omettoient toujours les évacuans: alléguant de part et d'autre une foule de guérisons, je dus conclure qu'un troisième agent avoit procuré la guérison; j'appelai cet agent la nature, le principe vital. La question présentée sous ce point de vue, tous furent contraints d'avouer que dans tous les cas où l'on n'avoit pas suivi leur doctrine, la nature avoit eu assez d'énergie pour guérir la maladie et pour surmonter les mauvais effets des remèdes mal administrés. D'où je conclus dès lors, que puisque le principe vital, la réaction spontanée des organes irrités où la nature avoit eu assez de ressources pour guérir malgré les empêchements causés par les remèdes contraires au mal, elle sauroit bien guérir des maladies qui lui seroient absolument abandonnées ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 34–35.

32 « [...] excellence de la médecine hippocratique et expectante ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

33 « J'ai fait voir que l'Autocratie de la nature pouvoit seule fournir à l'art de guérir des fondements inébranlables ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 8.

34 "If nature's energy strongly contributes to the healing of internal diseases, it also has resources for the healing of surgical or external diseases. In these diseases, the practitioner can't do much more than prepare the way to the cure and remove the obstacles; nature alone heals the injured parts." (« Si l'énergie de la nature concourt puissamment dans la guérison des maladies internes, elle n'a pas moins de ressources pour le traitement des maladies chirurgicales ou externes. Dans ces maladies, l'artiste ne peut presque autre chose que disposer les voies, éloigner les obstacles ; la nature seule opère la réintégration des parties lésées [...] »). See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

35 « [...] un Médecin naturaliste ou expectant, voit tous les jours sur lui-même, et sur les sujets les plus vigoureux, le travail d'une nature active, agissante, qui éloigne à chaque heure les causes des maladies éminentes les plus graves ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 9–10.

Once he completed his studies at Montpellier, he came back to Lyon, where he began practicing medicine. In 1768, he assumed the chair of anatomy, surgery, and natural history at the Collège de Médecine of Lyon. Gilibert was also a passionate botanist. He collected various medicinal plants, especially in the surroundings of the village of Chazay d'Azergues.

3. Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert (1741–1814)
Medallion made by Joseph Chinard (1756–1813)
Courtesy of Musée d'histoire de la Médecine et de la Pharmacie (Lyon).

For the treatment of his patients in Lyon, Gilibert used the vital principle, as he would do later in Lithuania: "I dared without regrets to treat my patients with the methods of Hippocrates and Sydenham,[36] and got the joy of seeing them cured as well as by the ancients. At the same time, I observed the cures made by one of my colleagues, who also relied on nature. From this time on I have always followed this method. I had the occasion to further check it in the hospitals that were entrusted to me in Lithuania."[37]

We may add that a personal event in the life of Gilibert confirmed his belief in expectant medicine. In his *L'autocratie de la nature*, he cites the example of his mother, who, traumatized by the death of her husband, began suffering from apoplexy, which led to paralysis. Even though still a young doctor, Gilibert knew that recovery from such a condition was impossible and said so to the treating physician. Nonetheless, that physician used many harmful treatments. After a month, his mother died, saying that she suffered much for nothing. For Gilibert it was proof that a too active treatment is pointless.[38] In fact, Gilibert was dissatisfied with much of the medical teaching and practice of his day, and denounced the abuses in his work *L'Anarchie médicinale*.[39]

36 Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689), English physician. See Kenneth Dewhurst, *Dr. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689): His Life and Original Writings*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

37 « [...] j'osai sans remords traiter mes malades par la méthode d'Hippocrate et de Sydenham, et j'eus le plaisir de les voir guérir tout aussi bien au moins que nos anciens. Dans le même temps je fus témoin des guérisons opérées par un de mes confrères qui étoit aussi soumis à la nature. Depuis ce temps j'ai constamment suivi cette méthode ; j'ai eu l'occasion d'en vérifier plus en grand l'avantage dans les hôpitaux qui m'ont été confiés en Lithuanie ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 37.

38 « J'étois jeune médecin, j'avois beaucoup lu, Rivière m'avoit appris que ce symptôme étoit mortel, j'osois l'avancer au vieux médecin qui étoit chargé du traitement, il me sourit en disant qu'il répondoit de l'événement [...] on cause des douleurs affreuses qui fatiguent sans interruption ma pauvre mère pendant un mois, après lequel elle mourut en disant qu'on l'avoit bien inutilement tourmentée. Que ces exemples et cent autres qui se montrent chaque jour, servent au moins à modérer l'énergie de nos médecins trop agissans ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 101.

39 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'anarchie médicinale ou la médecine considérée comme nuisible à la société*, Neuchâtel, 1772.

III. The founding of the Royal School of Medicine in Grodno

Gilibert gave in to his passion for plants, and in order to interest his students in their study decided to establish a botanical garden in Lyon. But despite promises from the local authorities, he was not refunded for its expenses. As a result, Gilibert ran into debt and had to look for a new position.

Nevertheless, events unfolding on the other side of Europe would have far-reaching consequences for the life of this Lyon physician. In 1773, the Jesuit Order, which had played a significant role in education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was suppressed. This provided an opportunity to reassess and reorganize the entire educational system in the Commonwealth. Count Antoni Tyzenhauz (1733–1785), treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and administrator of the royal economies,[40] with the support of the country's sovereign, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1732–1798), considered setting up a school for human and veterinary medicine in Grodno. Towards that end, in 1774, the king wrote a letter to the famous Swiss physician and naturalist Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777)[41] to ask if he could recommend a physician who could found such an institution and create a botanical garden as well. Haller recommended Gilibert.[42] Gilibert readily accepted Count Tyzenhaus's proposal to come to Grodno. He committed himself to giving lectures on medicine, agronomy, Lithuanian nature, and the natural sciences and to creating a botanical garden. On 15 August 1775, he left Lyon to go to Poland-Lithuania through Switzerland and Austria. In Geneva, the famous naturalist and philosopher Charles Bonnet (1720–1793) welcomed him. In Bern, he met with Haller, who was dying. During August and September, Gilibert stayed in Vienna, where he became acquainted with Anton De Haen.[43] On his way to Grodno,

40 "Estates used for the maintenance of the King's household" (« On appelle en Pologne *Economies royales*, les biens affectés pour l'entretien de la Maison du Roi »). See *Dictionnaire universel françois et latin; vulgairement appelé Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, nouvelle édition, tome troisième, Paris, 1771, p. 556.

41 Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), famous Swiss physician and naturalist. See Eugenio Frixione, Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), in: *Journal of Neurology*, February 2006, volume 253, issue 2, p. 265–266. Here we should note that Gilibert dedicated to him his *L'anarchie médicinale*.

42 There exists another version of the decision of Gilibert to go to Lithuania: In 1775, in Lyon, he met an envoy (Tadeusz Downarowicz) sent by Count Tyzenhaus to Western Europe in order to find medical specialists for his planned school in Grodno. The envoy proposed to Gilibert to found the school. At that time, Gilibert had just been appointed head of the Department of Anatomy, Surgery, and Natural History at the Collège de Médecine of Lyon, but he was interested in the project to set up a medical school in Grodno, so he accepted. He left for Lithuania that same year. See Juozas Meškauskas, *Lietuvos medicinos istorija*, Chicago: Draugo spaustuvė, 1987, p. 21–27; Witold Sławiński, Gilibert Jan Emanuel (1741–1814), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. VII/5, zeszyt 35, p. 465–466.

43 Jules Guiart, *op. cit*., p. 167. Anton de Hean (1704–1776), Austrian physician, one of the famous scientists in the eighteenth century. He wrote *Ratio medendi in nosocomio practico.* [2nd ed.]. 15 vols. in 9. Vienna: Typis Joannis Thomae Trattner, 1760–1773. De Haen and Gilibert

Gilibert met with King Stanislaw Poniatowski in Warsaw and was pleasantly surprised by his knowledge and interest in the natural sciences. No doubt this common interest in science helped them to build a rapport.[44]

In October 1775, Gilibert arrived in Grodno, where the Royal School of Medicine and a hospital were founded. The school's aim was to prepare physicians, surgeons, and midwives. Gilibert noticed that "the Royal Economies were established in Horodnica, on a plain north of Grodno. 1500 workers worked there, not including peasants. All of these workers were fed, dressed and accommodated at the king's expense. Nearly all of them were young peasants, male and female. They were taken from the economies or the domains of the king when they were at least 12 years old. The oldest were no more than 25 years old."[45]

In Grodno, Gilibert defined two objectives: to determine which diseases could be cured spontaneously and the efficacy of simple medicines (*médicaments simples*), that is, medicines prepared without mixing different ingredients (*donnés sans mélange*).[46] Actually, such questions were very topical then in the medical community, as revealed by a contest, which was announced the following year (1776) by the Dijon Academy: "What are the diseases for which active medicine is preferable to the expectant one, and the latter to the active one? Which signs allow the physician to determine if he must act or stay inactive, waiting for the favorable time to give medication?"[47]

In order to achieve his objectives, Gilibert insisted that the hospital be well-run.[48] There were 12 students assigned to the hospital, all of them financed by the sovereign of Poland-Lithuania. There were 60 beds and each patient had his own bed. The rooms were sufficiently spacious to be easily purified by very simple

knew each other personally. See *Biographie universelle*, Paris: chez madame C. Desplaces, 1857, t. 18, p. 324–326.

44 Copy of a letter (whose original is in the Pustawy archives) from Gilibert to his friend Dr. Louis Vitet, written on 6 September (or October?) 1776 in Warsaw. Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius (Vilnius University Library, Department of Manuscripts), F 26–2765.

45 « Au nord, dans une plaine, est l'endroit appelé Horodnisa, seconde ville ou sont établies les manufactures royales; ceux qui y travailloient étaient au nombre de 1500, non compris les paysans adultes; ils étaient nourris, habillés et logés aux frais du Roi: c'étoient presque tous de jeunes paysans ou paysannes tirés des économies ou domaines du roi; on ne les recevait qu'à douze ans; les plus âgés dans ce temps n'avaient pas plus de vingt-cinq ans [...] ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 42–43.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 40–41.

47 Ignace-Vincent Voulonne, *Mémoire qui a remporté le prix au jugement de l'académie de Dijon le 18 août 1776, sur la question posée en ces termes: Déterminer quelles sont les maladies dans lesquelles la médecine agissante est préférable à l'expectante, et celle-ci à l'agissante; et a quels signes le médecin reconnoît qu'il doit agir, ou rester dans l'inaction, en attendant le moment favorable pour placer les remèdes?*, Avignon: Chez Jean-Joseph Niel, 1776.

48 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 41.

ventilators.[49] The hospital seldom had more than 60 patients.[50] Each student was in charge of five of them and had to report every day about the effects of medications and the evolution of the illness.

Gilibert headed and organized the hospital, the pharmacy, and the school, in which he gave his lectures on medicine, surgery, and the natural sciences in Latin. He himself checked on the quality of the food in the kitchen. The herbal teas and most of the drugs were prepared at the hospital under the surveillance of an "active and vigilant" inspector.[51] Not only was Gilibert the head physician of this hospital, he was also appointed the director and inspector of all the hospitals in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[52]

Gilibert was ably assisted by an *adjutor* (assistant), Dr. Hinselman, who had studied with Johann Junker.[53] Hinselman was a good chemist and medical practitioner, but unfortunately died during Gilibert's first year in Grodno.[54] At the hospital, the French surgeon Charles Virion[55] taught anatomy. According to Gilibert, he was a "very well-learned young man."[56]

Moreover, in the surroundings of Grodno, Gilibert created a botanical garden (*Hortus Grodnensis*), whose herbs were useful for healing. We know that in 1778 there were 1,200 different species of exotic plants in the garden.[57]

49 About ventilator technology in the eighteenth century, see Stephen Hales, *A description of ventilators*, London: W. Innys, 1743; Claude Gennete, *Purification de l'air croupissant dans les hôpitaux, les prisons, et les vaisseaux de mer*, Nancy: chez J. B. Hyacinthe Leclerc, 1767.

50 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 41–42.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 41–42.

52 See Etienne Sainte-Marie, *op. cit.*, p. 1. It is noteworthy to mention that Gilibert was also court counsellor (*conseiller aulique*) and physician to the king of Poland. See Stanislas Gilibert, *Essai sur le système lymphatique*, Paris: chez Méquignon l'aîné, 1804 (dedicace).

53 The surgeon Johann Junker (1679–1759), like Gilibert, was an avowed follower of Stahl: *Conspectus chirurgiae tam medicae, methodo Stahliana conscriplae*, Halle, 1721; Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 9.

54 « La mort du docteur Hinselman, qui arriva malheureusement la première année de mon arrivée, ne changea rien à notre plan ; je me chargeai de son ouvrage en augmentant le nombre des chirurgiens », *Ibid.*, p. 42.

55 Once he completed his studies in Strasburg where he got a doctorate in medicine, Charles Virion began teaching anatomy at the Nancy faculty of medicine. Later on he came to work as a private physician to the Radziwiłł family in their palace of Nesvizh (today *Нясвіж*, in Belarus). In 1785, he received the first doctorate in medicine awarded by the newly founded medical faculty (1781) at the University of Vilnius. See Juozas Meškauskas, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

56 « [...] jeune homme très instruit ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 41–42.

57 Gilibert prepared a list of the plants growing in the surroundings of Grodno and noted the time of their flowering during the year. See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Le calendrier de Flore, pour l'année 1778, autour de Grodno, et pour l'année 1808, autour de Lyon*, Lyon: chez Amable Leroy, 1809.

This garden was enjoyed by visitors[58] and became one of the prettiest in Poland-Lithuania.[59]

The Royal School of Medicine started its courses in 1776, and in 1777 the official opening of the school took place. Though we have no sources about the way the teaching was done at the hospital, two works may give us an indication of what the hospital must have looked like. The first one is *Report concerning the medical administration of the grand hospital in Lyon* (*Mémoire sur l'administration médicinale du grand hôpital de Lyon*),[60] signed and published in 1768 by Gilibert with doctors Vitet and Joly, which stresses the need of a modern hospital to have a sufficient number of practitioners in order to provide quality care to patients. There is more to learn in Gilibert's *Letter to Mister Tissot* (*Envoi à Monsieur Tissot*)[61] included in his book *Adversaria medico-practica prima*,[62] which may provide an idea of the way medicine was taught in Grodno. This letter was written during the French Revolution, eight years after Gilibert's return to France in 1783. At this time, debates about reforming medical education were taking place in France.[63] In this letter Gilibert presents his ideal vision for the teaching of medicine. First of all, the students have to dwell in and be fed at the hospital. On the whole, the teaching should not be too erudite. Anatomy, taught in the local language, should be taught as far as it is useful for the practice of medicine and surgery. It is very important that students observe everything that they are being taught. Once all this medical knowledge is acquired, they can then be taught about specific medications, which could easily be found in the hospital pharmacy or garden. Gilibert insisted that the students constantly "touch, feel, and chew" the medications which they were to prepare themselves. Basically, for Gilibert, the sensations were important for

58 As British traveller William Coxe had noticed: "The physic garden, which did not exist in 1776, made, when I passed through the town in 1778, a very respectable appearance, which was owing to Mr. Gillibert's attention and care. It contained 1,500 exotics, particularly several delicate American plants sown in the open air, which thrived remarkably well in this climate. Mr. Gillibert told me that he had discovered 200 species of plants in Lithuania which were only thought indigenous in Siberia, Tartary, and Sweden, and that in the whole duchy he had observed 980 species, exclusive of those common to most countries in Europe." See William Coxe, *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark*, vol. I, London, 1802 (5th edition), p. 226; Witold Sławiński, *Dr. Jan Emmanuel Gilibert, profesor i założyciel Ogrodu Botanicznego w Wilnie*, Wilno: Odbitka z *Ateneum Wileńskiego*, r. III, zesz. 9, p. 1925.

59 Etienne Sainte-Marie, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

60 *Mémoire sur l'administration médicinale du grand hôpital de Lyon*, Genève, 1768.

61 Samuel Tissot (1721–1797) famous Swiss physician, who had studied medicine at Montpellier. See Anne Vila, *op. cit.*, p. 95, Antoinette Emch-Dériaz, *Tissot: Physician of the Enlightenment*, New York: P. Lang, 1992.

62 *Envoi à Monsieur Tissot, célèbre médecin de Lausanne*, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Adversaria medico-practica prima, seu annotationes clinicae*, Lyon: chez J. B. Delamollière, 1791.

63 Among other authors who wrote projects to reform medicine and its teaching, we can name du Laurens, *Moyens de rendre les hopitaux utiles et de perfectionner la médecine* (Paris, 1787); Jean Cabanis, *Observations sur les hôpitaux* (Paris, 1789–1790); Félix Vicq-d'Azyr, *Nouveau plan de constitution pour la médecine en France*, Paris: Société royale de médecine, 1790.

4. Théophile de Bordeu (1722–1776)
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acquiring knowledge: he talks about the "knowledge of sensation" (*connoissances de sensation*).[64]

By standing close to the patients, and led by experienced practitioners, the students became acquainted with diseases. Here again, it was important for the students to use their senses in order to learn how to recognize diseases ("it is with the senses they must acquire them").[65] Only after three or four years of such observation, and once the students were familiar with various diseases, should the teacher present them with all the diseases in a methodical way, according to the symptoms. In this regard, Gilibert recommended Sauvages's *Nosologie méthodique*.[66] Overall, it was very important to observe repeatedly which diseases cured themselves and which did not. If intervention by a physician was necessary, then what kind should it be? Finally, Gilibert concluded that a physician should be allowed to practice medicine in a hospital or clinic only if he has studied for at least six years.[67]

Thus we see that for Gilibert learning should be concrete, using the senses. In that way, he definitely was a man of his time, the Age of Enlightenment. Sensationalism, a theory of knowledge put forth by the French philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714–1780), was very popular during this period. For Condillac, nothing was innate and all knowledge came from the senses. For teaching to be efficient, it must appeal to the senses (*idées sensibles*) of the one who learns.[68] We should note that for the followers of vitalism in Montpellier, sensations were essential for knowledge acquisition. For example, the physician

64 « [...] toucher, sentir et mâcher ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Adversaria medico-practica prima*, p. 368–369.

65 « [...] c'est par les sens qu'ils doivent les acquérir ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 370.

66 Gilibert thought very highly of the physician Sauvages and his works, such as the *Nosologie méthodique* (Paris, 1771), which offers a classification of diseases. In his *Les chefs-d'oeuvre de Monsieur de Sauvages* (t. 2, Lausanne, 1770), he even made a translation of one of Sauvages's works from Latin into French: *Dissertation sur les animaux venimeux* (*Dissertation on venomous animals*), adding numerous commentaries. See Louis Dulieu, François Boissier de Sauvages (1706–1767), in: *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1969, t. 22, n. 4, p. 314.

67 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Adversaria medico-practica prima*, p. 369–370.

68 See Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, Amsterdam: chez Pierre Mortier, 1746; Jean de Viguerie, *Histoire et dictionnaire du temps des lumières*, Paris: Robert Laffont Bouquins, 2007, p. 1376.

Théophile de Bordeu (1722–1776) in his *Researches on the History of Medicine* (*Recherches sur l'histoire de la médecine*, Paris, 1767) observed that sensibility provided the physician with a global perspective on everything that occurs in the human being, and that he should understand this sensibility in order to cure successfully.[69]

IV. The diseases encountered and their treatment

During his six years at Grodno hospital, Gilibert applied the principles of expectant medicine to treat his patients and drew up a list of the diseases he encountered. He noted all his observations in his *Collection of observations related to expectant medicine, made in the royal hospital of Grodno, from 1774 until 1781* (*Recueil d'observations relatives à la médecine expectante faîtes dans l'hôpital royal de Grodno, depuis 1774 jusques 1781*).[70] In so doing he wished "to present the facts that may shed light on the history of the diseases of Lithuanians in Grodno."[71] This was all the more important because Lithuanians were then "a little known people."[72] Some of his most important findings follow.

Let us begin with fevers. Gilibert noticed that short fevers and inflammatory fevers (*fièvres sinoches*), either simple or putrid (typhus), were quite common at the hospital.[73] In six years, more than two hundred patients were cured of these fevers at the hospital,[74] and only one patient died from putrid fever (on the eighth day of the disease he had drunk some kind of brandy or spirits, which brought

69 Anne Vila, *op. cit.*, p. 2, 38–39, 45.

70 Recueil d'observations relatives à la médecine expectante faîtes dans l'hôpital royal de Grodno, depuis 1774 jusques 1781, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 40. We should note that Gilibert's observations about the diseases and their treatments in Lithuania also appear in his book *Le médecin naturaliste*. See Annotations relatives aux maladies observées à Grodno en Lithuanie, depuis 1775 jusqu'en 1781, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Le médecin naturaliste*, ou *Observations de médecine et d'histoire naturelle,* Paris-Lyon: chez Croullebois, 1800, p. 98–147.

71 « [...] présenter les faits qui peuvent éclairer l'histoire des maladies des Lithuaniens à Grodno ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 42.

72 « [...] un peuple aussi peu connu pour le moral que pour le physique », Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 37. About Lithuanian daily life in those days, Gilibert's very interesting and unique report can be read: Tableau de l'économie rurale en Lithuanie, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Histoire des plantes d'Europe et étrangères, les plus communes, les plus utiles et les plus curieuses, ou Elémens de botanique pratique*, tome troisième, Lyon, 1806, p. XVIII–XXXI. For a translation into Lithuanian language see Arnaud Parent, Gydytojo botaniko Žano Emanuelio Žilibero pastėbėjimai apie XVIII a. pabaigos lietuvių valstiečių gyvenimą, in: *Liaudies kultūra*, 2014, Nr. 3.

73 « Les fièvres éphémères, sinoches simples et putrides. Ces trois espèces de fièvres étoient très fréquentes, dans mon hôpital de Grodno, elles ne sont pas plus essentiellement distinguées que les différentes espèces de petites véroles et de fièvres intermittentes ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 42.

74 « J'ai cependant eu pendant six ans plus de deux cents sujets attaqués de ces trois espèces de fièvres », *Ibid*., p. 45.

on delirium and a lethal lethargy).[75] Gilibert recalled that Anton de Haen, like Hippocrates and Stahl, had emphasized the importance of nature to cure fevers and irritations, and he himself observed that those who were cured using expectant treatment were better off than those cured with active treatment. The latter were cured with evacuant medications, which often produced serious side effects which then also had to be treated.[76] In this regard, in a letter to his friend Louis Vitet,[77] Gilibert noted that *Arnica Montana* was a quite common plant in Lithuania and made "miracles" in Vilnius, especially curing tertian and putrid fevers.[78]

Gilibert also mentioned catarrhal fevers (*fièvres catharrales*).[79] Today, catarrhal fever is associated with animals. But in Gilibert's time, catarrhal fever was a kind of fever that went along with a cold.[80] Because of temperature changes, it was quite common in Lithuania, especially in winter. On this subject he wrote that no matter what the change in temperature, Lithuanians heated their homes the same, with the result that when they went out they easily caught a cold – a simple nasal discharge (*catarrhe*) or fever.[81]

These catarrhal fevers were benign and usually sporadic, but cold epidemics occurred, as happened in Vilnius in the winter of 1781–1782 when many students and teachers suffered. From among the one hundred patients suffering from this disease whom Gilibert treated, only one, a sanguine one, became delirious during the second day of treatment.[82] Usually the patients laid in bed, ate a prescribed

75 « Je n'ai perdu qu'un seul sujet qui s'enivra avec de l'eau de vie au huitième jour d'une fièvre putride: le délire survînt qui fut terminé par une léthargie mortelle ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

76 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 45–46.

77 First wanting to retire and become a Carthusian monk, Louis Vitet (1736–1809) finally decided to study medicine at Montpellier, where he got his doctorate. Vitet was very interested in bettering hospitals, and we know that he played an important role in the creation of a school of midwifery. During the French Revolution, he was mayor of Lyon. He was quite respected for his probity. Vitet and Gilibert were close friends. Vitet even dedicated his *Médecine expectante* (Lyon, 1803) to two doctors, one of them being Gilibert. Among other works, he wrote *Observations sur les maladies régnantes à Lyon, accompagnées d'observations météorologiques, faites en commun avec M. Petetin, journal commencé en novembre 1768* (Lyon, 1768–1784); *Traité de la sangsue médicinale* (Paris, 1809). See *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales, biographie médicale*, tome septième, Paris: chez C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1825, p. 441–443.

78 Copy of a letter (whose original is in the Pustawy archives) from Gilibert to his friend Dr. Louis Vitet, written on 6 September (or October ?) 1776 in Warsaw. Vilnius University Library, Department of Manuscripts, F 26–2765.

79 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 46.

80 See Elie Col de Vilars, *Dictionnaire françois-latin, des termes de médecine, et de chirurgie, avec leur définition, leur division, et leur éthymologie*, Paris: chez Le Mercier, 1753, p. 359–360.

81 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 47.

82 « Sanguine: the one in whom the blood is prevalent » (« Sanguin: celui en qui le sang prédomine ». See *Dictionnaire de l'académie françoise*, tome second, 4th edition, Paris, 1762, p. 682. In the eighteenth century, the ancient humoral medicine was still commonly practiced. According this theory, health depended upon the balance of the four humors of the body: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. See François Clarac, Jean-Pierre Ternaux, *Encyclopédie historique des neurosciences*, Bruxelles: De Boek, 2008, p. 459–460.

diet and drank infusions made of veronica with honey.[83] Gilibert noted that the best way to treat inflammatory fever was found in Lithuania by a follower of Stahl, without mentioning his name.[84] We only know that this healer "admired with reason the views of the Providence, in seeing the forest covered with acid berries, real remedies for raging fevers (*fièvres ardentes*), and scurvy, so common in these lands."[85]

From June 1778 until March 1779, smallpox epidemics broke out in Grodno. This disease was common then throughout Europe. For example, in 1774, the King of France Louis XV died from it. Forty patients were treated at the hospital in Grodno. Gilibert used a kind of temperate medicine (*méthode tempérante*): only one of his patients died. He noticed that Jewish physicians used a heating or stimulating method (*méthode échauffante*)[86] with the result that more than a third of Jewish children died (62 out of 150).[87]

Gilibert's three children also suffered from smallpox from December 1782 to January 1783, when he was not at home. He paid tribute to his wife who "had the courage to abandon them to nature,"[88] just letting the children breathe fresh air, with the result that all three survived. He concluded that "Those who doubt the power of nature just have to reflect on this crowd of little children, who every day present very serious diseases and are healed by the lone effects of the vital principle. Possibly they are very happy to take no medication."[89] Gilibert also noted that, in spite of a commonly held idea, harsh winters do not stop epidemics. In this respect, he mentioned the fact

83 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 48–49.

84 Throughout his career Gilibert admired Stahl: "[...] this great genius, the second one among the physicians" (note: that is, after Hippocrates) « [...] ce grand génie, le second des médecins ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.,* p. 38.

85 « La vraie méthode de traiter cette fièvre avoit été trouvée en Lituanie par un disciple de Stahl qui admiroit avec raison les vues de la Providence en voyant les forêts couvertes de baies acides, vrais spécifiques des fièvres ardentes et du scorbut si commun dans ces contrées », *Ibid.*, p. 52.

86 "The heating method involved the internal use of spirits (s*pirituеux*) and volatile remedies, which would strengthen the force of the heart, and force the humors out through the skin, as well as keeping the body well covered, in a warm atmosphere, in order to keep the pores open. This method has always been found to be very pernicious and experience has established the opposite" (« [...] méthode échauffante, laquelle consiste dans l'usage intérieur de remèdes spiritueux et volatils, qui augmentent la force du Cœur, et disposent les humeurs à se porter vers la peau, ainsi qu'à tenir le corps bien couvert, et dans un air chaud, pour que les pores restent ouverts. Cette méthode toutefois s'est trouvée très pernicieuse, et l'expérience en a établi une tout à fait opposée »). See Noël Retz, *Nouvelles ou annales de médecine, chirurgie et pharmacie: Recueil raisonné de tout ce qu'il importe d'apprendre pour être au courant des connoissances et à l'abri des erreurs, relatives à l'art de guérir*, tome 5, Paris: chez Méquignon, 1789, p. 153.

87 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 61.

88 *Ibid*., p. 61.

89 « Ceux qui seront tentés de douter du pouvoir de la nature n'ont qu'à réfléchir sur cette foule de petits enfans qui chaque jour présentent des maladies très graves et sont guéris par les seuls efforts du principe vital. Peut-être sont-ils très heureux de ne vouloir prendre aucun remède ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

that in Grodno and in Vilnius, "one hundred times [he has] seen children, covered with variola pustules, playing merrily on the ice, without being inconvenienced."[90]

Gilibert mentioned plague, though he himself never saw a plague victim in Grodno. He knew that plague had broken out in Poland-Lithuania a short time before his arrival. He met several people who had suffered from this disease, as well as surgeons who had treated victims. They all told him that those who had been simply left to the will of nature had better outcomes.[91] Besides, contrary to popular opinion, not all who came down with the plague, necessarily suffered: "... I have seen several Jewish Tartars[92] and Lithuanians cured of the plague, who assured me they were not very ill."[93]

Further on, Gilibert wrote about erysipelas, which he said was very common in Lithuania: it was called "the rose" (*On l'appelle la rose*). Common people, whatever their age, caught it easily, especially in July and August. In his opinion, it was due to the fact that textile workers enjoyed sleeping outside during summertime. One hundred patients in the hospital suffered from this disease and were usually cured naturally. They just ate a light diet of cream of rice (*crème de riz*), were washed in lukewarm water, and drank herbal tea with potassium nitrate (*tisane nitrée*). A bloodletting was done only if the fever was very high. Gilibert mentioned that he cured a 70-year-old man whose erysipelas and inflammation in the head was so bad that he ordered two blood lettings.[94]

Erysipelas was never topical (located at a specific place on the body),[95] except in the case of blisters with itching (*phlyctènes*, Gilibert writes *phlictaines*). If it occurred, the physician would make a liniment (liquid preparation applied on skin by unction or friction, intended to soothe the pain) which consisted of a juice of liquorice and a decoction of seeds of flax. Gilibert noted that the illness could last from three to twenty-one days, and in case of delirium, some leeches had to be put in the surroundings of the "tumor".[96] After the recovery, if the patient still had a lack of appetite, the physician had to proceed to a purge with a half-ounce of

90 « [...] j'ai vu cent fois des enfants couverts de pustules varioliques, jouer gaiment sur la glace sans éprouver aucun accident ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

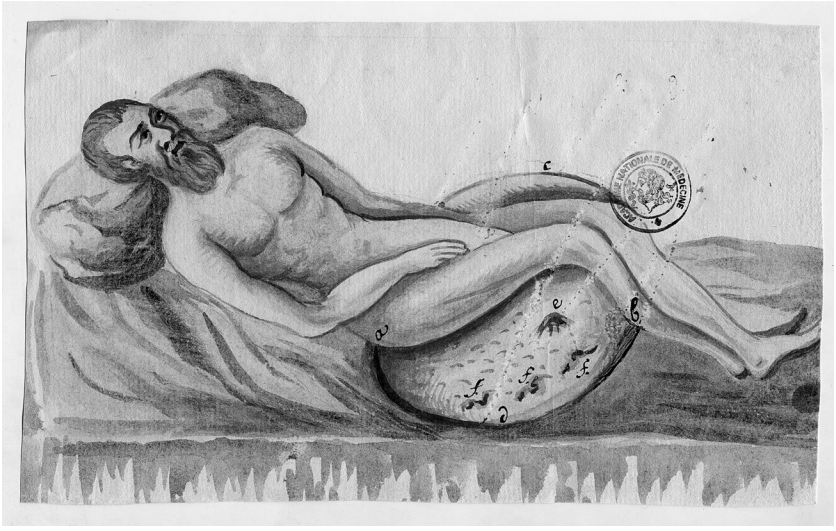
92 Here Gilibert is most likely referring to the Turkic-speaking Crimean Karaites who were brought to Lithuania at the end of the fourtheenth century by the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great. See Halina Kobeckaitė, *Lietuvos Karaimai*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1997; Jean-François Faü, *An Introduction to Karaitė Judaism: History, Theology, Practice, and Culture*, Turnhout: Brespols, 2003.

93 « Je me suis assuré que cela est très faux, j'ai vu plusieurs juifs Tartares, Lithuaniens guéris de la peste, qui m'ont assuré avoir été très peu malades ». Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 65.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 66, 68.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

96 "Tumor: unusual swelling on some part of the body" (« Tumeur: enflure non ordinaire en quelque partie du corps »). See *Dictionnaire portatif de la langue françoise*, t. 2, Paris: chez Pierre Bruyset Ponthus, 1775, p. 732.



5. *Observation of a hydrosarcocele, with a merocele on the left side* (*Observations d'un hydrosarcocèle accompagné d'une hernie crurale du côté gauche*). This drawing, made at the request of Nicolas Regnier, a medical teacher at the Vilnius University, depicts a sick 74-year-old man living in "Entokole", likely *Antakalnis*, a today neighbourhood in Vilnius. On 1 May 1781 he was taken to the Saint-Roch hospital, which in those days was run by Nicolas Regnier. It is possibly the oldest depiction of a Lithuanian patient. © Bibliothèque de l'Académie nationale de médecine (ARC 15 dossier 3 n. 57 a).

Alexandrian senna (*senna alexandrina*) or an ounce of magnesium sulfate (Epsom salt), or more often with three ounces of pulp of coffee.[97]

Next, Gilibert mentioned the fevers and acute diseases caused by an excessive consumption of alcohol in Poland-Lithuania, which was astonishing to the physician. Alcoholism affected common people and nobles alike.[98] In his work, *Description of rural Lithuania* (*Tableau de l'économie rurale en Lithuanie*), Gilibert remarked about the peasants that they "have the habit to drink

97 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 67–68.

98 "In Lithuania, as in Poland, not only the common people, but also the nobles and the magnates consumed wine and liquors immoderately. Any deal, public or private, usually concluded with at least the half of the attendants being drunk. I saw, when the dietines [note: a dietine is a local assembly, and more precisely an assembly where Polish and Lithuanian nobles used to elect their deputies to the Sejm – the national diet] were over, the rooms of the palace were littered with dead drunk gentlemen. Peasants, men and women, desire money just to drink a vodka made agreeable with anise grains" « En Lithuanie comme en Pologne, non seulement le peuple, mais encore les nobles et les magnats sont adonnés à l'usage immodéré du vin et des liqueurs ; on ne termine aucune affaire soit générale, soit particulière, sans que la moitié au moins de l'assemblée ne soit ivre. J'ai vu après les diétines, les salles du palais jonchées de gentilhommes ivres-morts ; les paysans hommes et femmes ne désirent l'argent que pour boire une eau de vie de grains rendue assez agréable avec les semences d'anis ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 69.

three or four pints of [...] liqueurs without feeling significantly indisposed. I knew thousands of Lithuanians, over 70, who had committed such excesses all life long."[99]

Then he wrote about pleurisy and peripneumonia, or inflammation of the pleura. This disease, which was common in France, was rare in Poland and even rarer in Lithuania. In February and March of 1779, there were about twenty patients suffering of pleuroperipneumonia in the hospital. Gilibert related how he heard about 13 peasants suffering from it, who had no money to buy medication but were cured naturally. At his request, four of them came to Grodno for further enquiry.[100] Nevertheless, Gilibert expressed his regrets for not having sufficiently cured a young man suffering from peripneumonia, who ultimately died. Gilibert also mentioned that opened-up (sliced) living pigeons, placed on a painful place, sometimes calmed pain.[101] At that time, split pigeons were often used for healing. As *Le dictionnaire universel des arts et des sciences* reminds us: "the pigeon is quite useful in medicine. It is sometimes cut alive into two halves, to be applied on the head of the patient, or some other part of his body, in order to warm it up, or to heal."[102]

Further, Gilibert wrote about daily fever (*fièvre quotidienne*)[103] and springtime tertian fever (*tierce printanière*).[104] He pointed out that he didn't differentiate

99 « L'habitude leur permet de boire trois ou quatre pintes de ces liqueurs, sans en être sensiblement incommodés. J'ai connu des milliers de Lithuaniens plus que septuagnaires, qui avoient commis ces excès toute leur vie ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, Tableau de l'économie rurale en Lithuanie, in: *Histoire des plantes d'Europe et étrangères, les plus communes, les plus utiles et les plus curieuses; ou élémens de botanique pratique*, tome troisième, Lyon, 1806, p. XXIX.

100 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 72–73.

101 « [...] Des pigeons ouverts vivants et appliqués sur le côté douloureux ont quelquefois calmé la douleur ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 74.

102 « Le pigeon est d'un grand usage dans la Médecine, et quelquefois on le coupe vif par la moitié pour l'appliquer sur la tête ou sur quelque autre partie, afin de fortifier la chaleur naturelle, de résoudre les restes de l'humeur qui a été la cause du mal. ». See article « pigeon », in: *Le dictionnaire universel des arts et des sciences de M.D.C. de l'Académie Françoise*, t. 2, Paris: chez P. G. Le Mercier fils, 1732, p. 221.

103 "Daily, fever (medicine): a kind of intermittent fever, which comes and ceases every day, and is followed by a few hours of interruption. It is much less frequent than the tertian and quartan ones. In that fever nature strives to free itself from the burden of a morbific material, with which nature is uneasy, and that commonly exists in [the digestive system]" (« Quotidienne, fièvre, (*Médecine.*) espèce de fièvre intermittente qui vient, cesse tous les jours, & est suivie de quelques heures d'intermission. Elle est beaucoup moins fréquente que la tierce & la quarte; dans cette fièvre la nature tâche de se délivrer elle-même du poids d'une matière morbifique qui lui est incommode, & qui se trouve communément exister dans les premières voies », *Ibid.*, t. 28, Genève, 1775, p. 182.

104 "Tertian, fever (medicine): fever that comes back every two days, with a feeling of cold and chill, a prompt and frequent pulse, that follows an uncomfortable and burning heat. It is the most common kind of fever. It attacks people indistinctly, whatever their age, their sex, or their constitution" (« Tierce, fièvre, (médec.): fièvre qui revient tous les deux jours, accompagnée de froid et de frisson, d'un pouls prompt et fréquent, que suit une chaleur incommode et brûlante; c'est l'espèce de fièvre la plus commune; elle attaque indistinctement les personnes de tout âge, de tout sexe, et de tout tempéramment »). See *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, t. 33, Genève, 1779, p. 445.

between these two kinds of fever because the same epidemics produced both kinds of fever, and a patient often went from one to the other. This fever occurred almost every spring in Grodno. Out of 1,500 workers, each year at least 60 suffered of such tertian or daily fever.[105]

Observing patients with fevers was a good opportunity to see the power of nature at work: "I noticed that the patients left to nature had the courage to suffer the fourth, the seventh, or fourteenth bout of fever, looked better and recovered quicker, than those who had received some medicines, especially those who had much cinchona (*quinquina*). For this reason I treated more than two hundred of them without bloodlettings, purgations, or using such plant."[106]

Gilibert, who suffered from the climate in Lithuania,[107] himself suffered from such fevers. For instance, in the spring of 1776 he contracted a tertian, simple fever, complicated with nervous afflictions and accompanied by a harsh cough, and eventually fell unconscious. The following year, he contracted a serious pernicious and remittent (that is, characterized by periods of diminished severity) fever with frequent heart palpitations and became very weak.

Gilibert was astonished several times by the changes that fever made to the physiognomy of the patients: "I saw very pretty women or girls, their faces so deformed that they were unrecognizable. One would have said that they were skinny, but a good month of good appetite gave them back freshness and stoutness. They were even fresher and prettier after this disease than before."[108]

Concerning intermittent fever, Gilibert noted that the autumnal one, which was very common in Lyon, was rare in Grodno. During his stay in this town, he saw only seven cases of quartan fever. He observed that in Lithuania such fever was usually treated by taking a minimum dose (*minima dosi*) of arsenic: a quarter of a seed in a pint of water. But he agreed with Stahl that such a practice should be condemned. Gilibert mentioned the case of several noblemen who had consumed what was called "the secret of Jewish physicians," which, as a Jewish physician himself told Gilibert, was nothing other than arsenic. Nevertheless, Gilibert admitted that the patients recovered without fateful consequences.[109] During the year 1777,

105 Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 76.

106 « J'ai remarqué que les malades abandonnés à la nature, qui avoient le courage de souffrir le quatrième, septième ou quatorzième accès, étoient moins défaits et plutôt rétablis que ceux qui avoient été médicamentés, surtout que ceux qui avoient pris beaucoup de quinquina ; aussi en ai-je traité plus de deux cent sans saignées, sans purgations ni quinquina ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 77.

107 "Just arrived in Lithuania, I realized the climate did not suit me" (« À peine arrivé en Lituanie, je vis que le climat m'étoit contraire »). See Lettre première, Lyon, 14 juillet 1784, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Aperçu sur le magnétisme animal, ou résultat des observations faites à Lyon sur ce nouvel agent*, Genève, 1784, p. 6–7.

108 « [...] j'ai vu de très jolies femmes ou filles être tellement défigurées qu'elles n'étoient plus reconnoissables. On aurait dit qu'elles étoient étiques, mais un mois de bon appétit leur rendoit la fraîcheur et l'embonpoint ; elles étoient même plus fraîches, plus jolies après cette maladie qu'auparavant ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 77–78.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 81–82.

a pernicious tertian fever broke out. Gilibert treated 42 patients suffering from it. Out of a population of about 3,000, only three died.[110]

Concerning rheumatism, or inflammation of the muscular system, he observed that it was quite widespread in Lithuania. Either in winter or in summer, there were several patients who were cured of this disease at the Grodno hospital.[111]

Concerning bone fractures, Gilibert wrote about a peasant in Grodno who fell from a scaffolding and injured his head on a heap of stones. He was taken to the Grodno hospital unconscious, the blood streaming from his nose and ears. The following day a soporous disorder and a bilious vomiting occurred. The third day the pulse became more frequent. The fourth day the lethargy stopped, he felt a violent pain in his head, and a hemorrhage in the nose stopped it. On the eleventh day, all of the symptoms disappeared, and on the sixteenth he was sent back home, sound and healthy.[112] For Gilibert, fractures that reduced themselves naturally proved how strong the energy of the vital principle was.[113]

Here ends the overview of the observations made by Gilibert as they appeared in his *Collection of observations*. In some of his other works, he provided us information about the attitude of Lithuanians toward diseases. In his work *The naturalist doctor* (*Le médecin naturaliste*), he reported on a local means by which to prevent epilepsy attacks: "According to [...] a common prejudice, the elk is victim of an epilepsy attack after his long runs. I saw some who were harassed for entire days and never fell. In nearly every house of Lithuania, people have rings whose bezel is full of fragments of elk's foot. I can assert that, according to a large number of cases that I witnessed,[114] this amulet and the powder of elk's foot fragments never delayed by a single day the crisis of epilepsy."[115] In his *Compendium*

110 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

112 « Un paysan de Grodno tombe d'un échafaudage ; la tête porte sur un tas de pierres; on me l'apporte sans connoissance, le sang ruisseloit par le nez et par les oreilles; le lendemain affection soporeuse, vomissement bilieux ; le troisième jour le pouls s'élève, devient plus fréquent; le quatrième la léthargie cesse, il sent une violente douleur de tête, une hémorrragie par le nez la fait cesser. Le onzième jour tous les symptômes se dissipent, le seizième il est renvoyé sain et bien portant ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

113 « Enfin les fractures nous prouvoient combien cette énergie du principe vital est puissante ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

114 Gilibert had the opportunity to closely observe the elk of Lithuania. He noted that there were some elks living around Grodno, especially in the Bobrowoscyna Forest, and that they were bigger than large horses. In January of 1776, the king's huntsmen sent several elks to Gilibert. See *Observations sur l'élan de Lithuanie* in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Abrégé du système de la nature, de Linné, histoire des mammaires ou des quadrupèdes et cétacées*, Lyon, 1805, p. 385–386.

115 « Un autre préjugé aussi répandu, c'est de croire que l'élan est attaqué d'épilepsie après de longues courses. J'en ai vu qui étaient harcelés des journées entières, et qui ne tombaient jamais. Dans presque toutes les maisons, en Lithuanie, on conserve des bagues dont le chaton est rempli, par un fragment taillé, de corne de pied de l'élan: je peux assurer; d'après une foule

of Systema Naturae (*Abrégé du système de la nature*), Gilibert reported that the bison's hide, even worked, retained the smell of musk for a long time. He made the deduction that the recommendation of ancient Lithuanian healers to apply this hide to nervous women to ease childbirth was not so absurd.[116]

In another one of his works, *Presentation of rural life in Lithuania* (*Tableau de l'économie rurale en Lithuanie*), Gilibert provided interesting information about the way Lithuanian peasants behaved in the face of disease: "If they are sick, they can endure their ills. They acquired the experience to recognize the diseases that Nature cures and those that it does not. In the first case, they drink acids and remain quietly on their pallet. In the second case, they wait for death, without whisper or complaint. One of them was dropsical (*hydropique*). I wanted to persuade him to take some medicine, and he answered me: "Our palatine died two months ago of the same disease, though the grand physician from Warsaw gave him lots of remedies."[117]

Gilibert made some remarks that went against the general trend. He was dumbfounded to see how poppies (*pavot à grosse tête*), the same ones that were used to make opium, were so common in Lithuania, and even more surprised that they were cultivated solely for their seeds, which were used for making gruel. He observed that each Lithuanian ate with impunity "an amount that would terrify our theoretical physicians."[118] Also, having witnessed the resistance of Lithuanian peasants, Gilibert cast doubt on physicians who stated that alcohol consumption caused troubles to the body. To Gilibert it was further proof of the vital principle's power to "tame the morbific causes."[119]

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d'épreuves dont j'ai été témoin, que cette amulette et la poudre de corne d'élan, n'ont jamais retardé d'un seul jour les accès d'épilepsie ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Le médecin naturaliste,* Paris–Lyon, 1800, p. 281.

116 « On a remarqué que la peau du front [du bison], même préparée, conserve longtemps une odeur de musc ; d'où l'on peut conclure que l'assertion des anciens médecins lithuaniens, sur l'application de cette peau pour faciliter l'accouchement des femmes nerveuses, n'est pas aussi absurde ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Abrégé du système de la nature, de Linné,* Lyon: chez l'éditeur, 1805, p. 437. We may notice that in the following century the baron of Brinken remarked that "formerly it was said that a belt made of bison skin soothed birthgiving" ("On prétendait autrefois que cette ceinture en peau facilitait l'accouchement"). See Julius de Brincken, *Mémoire descriptif sur la forêt impériale de Bialowieza, en Lithuanie*, Varsovie, 1828, p. 61.

117 « S'ils sont malades, ils savent supporter leurs maux, l'expérience leur ayant appris à connoître les maladies que la Nature guérit, et celles dans lesquelles elle succombe. Dans le premier cas ils boivent des acides et restent tranquillement sur leur grabat; dans le second, ils savent attendre la mort sans murmurer ni se plaindre. Un d'eux étoit hydropique; je voulus lui persuader de prendre des remèdes, il me répondit: - Notre Palatin est mort depuis deux mois de la même maladie; cependant le grand Médecin de Varsovie lui a donné bien des remèdes ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Tableau de l'économie rurale en Lithuanie*, in: *Histoire des plantes d'Europe et étrangères, les plus communes, les plus utiles et les plus curieuses; ou élémens de botanique pratique*, tome troisième, Lyon, 1806, p. XXII–XXIII.

118 « [...] dont chaque Lithuanien mange impunément une quantité capable de faire trembler nos Médecins théoriciens ». Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Ibid.*, p. XXX.

119 *Ibid.*, p. XXIX.

6. Bronze medal coined by J. P. Holchanzer at the request of King Stanislaw August to honor Onufry Orlowski, who saved the life of Jean Emmanuel Gilibert.
On the obverse: The bust of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanislaw August. On the reverse: "For the rescue of a citizen to Onufry Orlowski, conscientious botany lecturer at the Vilnius Academy, for having discovered and prevented criminal attacks against life, so useful and so dear to the people and the king, of his master Jean Gilibert, Professor of Natural Sciences, MDCCLXXXII [1782]"[120].
Photo by R. Malaiska. Courtesy of the Museum of Vilnius University.

VI. The end of the Grodno Royal School of Medicine

Even though Gilibert made many important observations and helped cure many patients, some unsolved problems led to the end of the activity of the Royal School of Medicine. At the school, it was planned that the noble students who graduated would work as town physicians, while the peasant students would work as country physicians. But medical studies were still looked at with scorn and distrust, so it was difficult to attract both young nobles and young peasants.

But more significant were the school's financial problems. Though the school was supposed to be funded by the state, it lacked money, and there was not enough for food, clothing, and dormitories for the students. Gilibert himself was not paid regularly. In 1781, because of these financial problems, the school finally had to close. That same year, Gilibert was invited to become the first professor of natural history at Vilnius University, which was then renamed the Principal School of

120 During Gilibert's stay in Grodno, a lover of his wife put poison into his cup of coffee. Fortunately, Onufry Orlovski, one of Gilibert's pupils, saw it and prevented the scientist from drinking the coffee. In so doing he saved the scientist's life. Grateful to him for having saved the life of his friend, Stanislaw August ordered a medal to be coined to honor Onufry Orlovski.

the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and he left for Vilnius. After two years there, in 1783 he returned to France.[121]

Looking closely at the work achieved by the Lyon physician in Lithuania, we can see that his observations and practice in Grodno strengthened his belief in vitalism, a conviction that grew stronger as time went on. As Gilibert wrote some years after leaving Lithuania, three fourths of known diseases healed themselves better if left in the hands of nature.[122]

On the whole, Lithuania was for Gilibert quite a suitable place to put into practice the principles of vitalism. Indeed "... the Lithuanian peasants [are] vigorous. For this reason, expectant medicine is more successful with such subjects."[123]

Conclusion

Today, Gilibert is mostly remembered as "the father of Lithuanian botany" because he was the first to scientifically study and describe, using the Linnaean system, the flora of Lithuania. He was also the first professor of natural sciences (1781–1783) at the newly founded natural history department of Vilnius University, and a forerunner of medical teaching in Lithuania. Today, a nice statue of him stands in Grodno to remind us of his work there.

Although the Grodno school had a life of only about 7 years, it was significant in that it was the first local institution to prepare local medical specialists. Also, Gilibert left a long list of diseases which he encountered while in Grodno and the remedies he used to treat them. This is very useful information for the history of medicine in Lithuania.

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121 At the closing of the Royal School of Medicine in Grodno, Gilibert came to the Principal School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Vilnius, where he headed the chair of natural history during the years 1781–1783. His Grodno students came with him to Vilnius to complete their studies at the newly formed Faculty of Medicine. As in Grodno, Gilibert started a botanical garden, which was used for preparing remedies. In 1781, he published the book *Flora Lithuanica*, which was the first collection on plants of Lithuania, making him "the father of Lithuanian botany". In 1783, the Education Commission paid its debt to Gilibert and asked him to come to teach in Warsaw, but the scientist declined this offer and went back to France, leaving to the Principal School library about 3,000 books related to his research. In France, thanks to a recommendation by the King of Poland, he found a job as head physician at the hospital in Lyon, became head physician for the epidemic district (*généralité*) of Lyon, Forez and Beaujolais, and was member of the Lyon Academy of Sciences.

122 Envoi à Monsieur Tissot, célèbre médecin de Lausanne, in: Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *Adversaria medico-practica prima, seu annotationes clinicae*, Lyon, 1791, p. 366.

123 « [...] les paysans de Lithuanie sont des sujets mieux constitués. Il est vrai que par cette raison la médecine expectante triomphe mieux sur de pareils individus ». See Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'autocratie de la nature*, p. 85.

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NUO MONPELJĖ MEDICINOS FAKULTETO IKI GARDINO KARALIŠKOSIOS MEDICINOS MOKYKLOS: KAIP DR. JEANAS-EMMANUELIS GILIBERT'AS PASITELKĖ VITALIZMĄ SAVO PACIENTAMS GYDYTI LIETUVOJE

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1775 m. prancūzų gydytojas, botanikas Jeanas-Emmanuelis Gilibert'as atvyko į Gardiną, siekdamas Lietuvoje įkurti medicinos mokyklą. J.-E. Gilibert'o įkurta mokykla buvo pirmoji Lietuvoje medicinos mokykla, kuriai jis pats vadovavo iki pat 1781 m., kai mokykla, pristigus lėšų, buvo uždaryta. Gardine gydytojas ne tik vadovavo mokyklai, bet taip pat prie jos prijungė ligoninę, kuri jam suteikė galimybę geriau susipažinti su tų laikų ligomis Lietuvoje. Gydydamas savo pacientus, J.-E. Gilibert'as, įsitikinęs vitalizmo šalininkas, panaudodamas Monpeljė medicinos fakultete įgytas žinias, pritaikė *laukiamąjį gydymą*. Tuo būdu jis sudarė unikalų Lietuvos gyventojų ligų ir būdų jas gydyti aprašą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: medicina, vitalizmas, prancūzų gydytojas, Gardino karališkoji medicinos mokykla.