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Mensa i Valls, Jaume. «The "Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis" by Arnau de Vilanova (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Casa Reial 1) : Origin, Circumstances, and History of the Text». *Mediaeval Studies*, Vol. 79 (2017), p. 131-163. 33 pàg.

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THE *INTERPRETATIO DE VISIONIBUS IN SOMNIIS* (MS BARCELONA, ACA, CASA REIAL 1) BY ARNAU DE VILANOVA: ORIGIN, CIRCUMSTANCES AND HISTORY OF THE TEXT*

THE *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis dominorum Iacobi secundi regis Aragonum et Friderici tertii regis Siciliae, eius fratris* (henceforth simply *Interpretatio*), written by Arnau de Vilanova slightly over two years before his death and read before the Pope, set out to reform Christianity. It was, in fact, a failed attempt, but it aroused a conflict at the highest echelons and essentially determined the course of events in the later years in the life of this famous Catalan physician and theologian.¹

* This article is the outcome of the research project entitled “Corpus Digital d’Arnau de Vilanova: Filosofia i ciència a la Corona d’Aragó (segles XIII–XIV),” MEC, FFI2014–53050–C5–2–P. One of the goals of this project is to publish a critical edition of the *Interpretatio* (*Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Theologica Omnia*). I would like to express my gratitude to the direction of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, which authorised me to peruse this codex.

¹ The work had not only, shall we say, diplomatic and political consequences but also doctrinal ones. For example, Augustinus Triumphus wrote his *Tractatus contra divinatores et sompniatores* thinking (at least partly) of Arnau de Vilanova: Pierangela Giglioni, “Il *Tractatus contra divinatores et sompniatores* di Agostino d’Ancona: introduzione e edizione del testo,” *Analecta Augustiniana* 48 (1985): 8–111. Regarding Arnau’s life, see the dictionary articles by Michael R. McVaugh, “Arnald of Villanova”, in Charles C. Gillispie, ed., *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 1 (New York, 1970), 289–91; and Fernando Salmón, “Arnald of Vilanova”, in William F. Bynum and Helen Bynum, eds., *Dictionary of Medical Biography*, vol. 1 (Westport, Conn. and London, 2006), 126–30. On Arnau’s religious ideas, see Clifford R. Backman, “The Reception of Arnau de Vilanova’s Religious Ideas,” in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds., *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1996), 112–31. Regarding Arnau’s medicine and its connection with theology, see Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion, c. 1300. The Case of Arnau de*

Frederick III of Sicily told Arnau de Vilanova about a recurring dream that was worrying him; the wise physician associated it with another similar dream which his brother James II of Aragon had had, and he interpreted them as signals from heaven that despite their qualms, these kings should spearhead an in-depth reform of Christianity. Arnau de Vilanova read his interpretation of the royal dreams and the consequent reform plan (that is, the *Interpretatio*) before Pope Clement V and the cardinals in the papal court of Avignon. The work sparked an uproar, especially among the Franciscan cardinals, who wrote to James II telling him what had happened and insisting that the physician had accused him of expressing doubts about his faith. Ultimately, after requesting information from several people and asking Arnau de Vilanova himself for explanations, James II decided to put an end to his close collaboration and friendship with his physician and councillor. Even though Frederick of Sicily always remained loyal to Arnau de Vilanova, the reform plans as Arnau de Vilanova had articulated them could no longer be carried out.²

The *Interpretatio* was the first spiritual work by Arnau de Vilanova published in print. The Protestant theologian Matija Vlačić Ilirik, usually known by his Latinised name Matthias Flacius Illyricus or Matthias Francovich, included it as an appendix with independent pagination (1–11) in the second edition of his *Catalogus testium veritatis* (Strasbourg, 1562) with the title of *Colloquium Friderici regis et Arnoldi de Villanova*, along with two letters (*Appendix*, 11–14), one that Frederick of Sicily sent to James II, and the other the response from James II to Frederick of Sicily.⁵ We do not know what

Vilanova (Oxford, 1998). On the social, political and religious context in Sicily, see Clifford R. Backman, “The Papacy, the Sicilian Church and King Frederick III (1302–1321),” *Viator* 22 (1991): 243–7; idem, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, religion, and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337* (Cambridge, 1995).

² Regarding a presentation of this episode, see Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova. L'obra espiritual, Història i societat* 5 (Valencia, 1987), 138–39; and Jaume Mensa i Valls, *Arnau de Vilanova, Episodis de la història* 313 (Barcelona, 1997), 27–30.

⁵ This text of the *Interpretatio* was reproduced several times in the editions (Lyon, 1597; Geneva, 1608; Frankfurt, 1666 and 1672) and translations (to German, Frankfurt,

manuscript Matthias Flacius used to when preparing his edition of the work.⁶ However, we can report that Flacius's text is different to the text of the Barcelona manuscript, at least in some particularly thorny doctrinal points. In 1879, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo published the text of the *Interpretatio* from the codex of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in his monograph *Arnaldo de Vilanova, médico catalán del siglo XIII. Ensayo histórico*.⁷ And one year later, in 1880, he included it in the *Historia* (and its subsequent reissues).⁸ Since neither of these two publications meets the minimal historical-critical

1573; to Dutch, Hoorn, 1633) of the *Catalogus* and was also reproduced by Johan Wolf in his *Lectiones memorabiles* (Lauingen, 1600; and Frankfurt, 1671–72).

⁶ After considering several possibilities, Professor Sebastià Giralt, “Arnau de Vilanova en la Reforma protestant,” *Faventia* 31 (2009): 201–12, reached the conclusion that “no tenim cap indici d'on podia provenir el text de Flacius” (206). Nor do we know anything about the possible origin of the letters. Josep M. Pou i Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Vic, 1930), 67, stated that “el texto latino de la interpretación de los sueños de Fadrique, existente en el códice de la Biblioteca Nacional de París, fué publicado por Francowitz (*Flaccius Illyricus*) en su *Catalogus testium veritatis*, por Wolf, y últimamente por Menéndez y Pelayo.” It seems that Pou i Martí believed all these editions of the *Interpretatio* have been transcribed from the same Paris manuscript. And this may have led later authors to repeat the mistake. See, for example, Joaquim Carreras i Artau, “Les obres teològiques d'Arnau de Vilanova,” *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1936): 224, no. 32 (includes the Barcelona manuscript and Paris lat. 17534); M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), 342, no. 1699 (Barcelona, Paris and Vienna manuscripts); and Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 263, no. 40.

⁷ Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, médico catalán del siglo XIII. Ensayo histórico* (Madrid, 1879), 91–127. The transcription of this text seems to be the work of Manuel de Bofarull (21).

⁸ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia* (Madrid, 1880), 1:449–87 and 720–81. The *Interpretatio*, specifically, is on 720–38. In this work, we shall cite the National Edition, overseen by Rafael de Balbín: *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (2nd ed., Madrid, 1963), 7:233–54 (*Interpretatio*), 7:254–57 and 257–60 (letters taken from Matthias

criteria currently required of an edition of a mediaeval text, for some time I have been working on a critical edition of the *Interpretatio*, which is now fairly well advanced.⁹

When talking about the *Interpretatio*, the bibliographic repertoires on Arnau de Vilanova tend to claim that the work has reached us in three manuscripts: the codex Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Diversos i col·leccions, Manuscrits, Casa Reial [henceforth ACA, Casa Reial] 1, fols. 1–14; the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 17534; and the MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5315.¹⁰ However, in reality these latter two manuscripts do not contain the *Interpretatio* (and never did), and therefore the only manuscript of the *Interpretatio* which we are aware of today is the one in the Royal Archive of Barcelona or the Archive of the Crown of Aragon.¹¹

The information on the *Interpretatio* has been confused and erroneous for a long time. Indeed, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo claimed that the *Interpretatio* (along with the *Informació espiritual*),¹² from the Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1 manuscript, was sent by

Flacius's edition); and 2:247–92 (“Arnau de Vilanova”). Regarding the *Interpretatio*, there is one addition with the textual variants in the edition by Matthias Flacius and the letters from kings James II and Frederick of Sicily.

⁹ For this reason, on these pages we shall directly cite the text from the MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1.

¹⁰ See, for example, Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 263 and 291–92; and, in part, Jaume Mensa i Valls, *Arnau de Vilanova, espiritual*, Treballs de la Secció de Filosofia i Ciències Socials 17 (Barcelona, 1994), 68 and 76.

¹¹ I have been able to see for myself that the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 17534 does not contain this work. I owe the information on the MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5315 to Professor Rosario A. Lo Bello. Indeed, the Viennese manuscript (fols. 245a–252b) contains the pseudoarnaldian medical work *De interpretatione sompniorum* (actually by Guillem d'Aragó), although it is attributed to Arnau de Vilanova in this codex.

¹² Edited by Miquel Batllori, Arnau de Vilanova, *Obres catalanes*, vol 1, Els nostres clàssics A 53-54 (Barcelona, 1947), 223–43.

Frederick of Sicily to James II along with a letter.¹³ Therefore, the *Interpretatio* would be a work written in Sicily in late 1308 or the first few months of 1309 and sent to James II by Frederick of Sicily himself via Arnau de Vilanova.¹⁴ According to this vantage point, Arnau de Vilanova must have also explained the dreams of the kings in Avignon before the Pope and cardinals in the late summer of 1309, but the text read in Avignon must not have been conserved: we only have the version which Arnau de Vilanova himself gave in the *Raonament d'Avinyó*,¹⁵ which he presented in Catalan before James II in Almeria in January 1310 (during the siege).

In the collection of documents *Acta Aragonensia*, Heinrich Finke published the letter from James II to Frederick of Sicily (4 October 1310) which truly accompanied the *Interpretatio* and the *Raonament d'Avinyó*, along with Frederick's response (10 January 1311) acknowledging receipt. He therefore realises that these two works were sent by James II to Frederick of Sicily and not vice-versa, as Menéndez y Pelayo thought.¹⁶ The

¹³ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 2:279–80: “A esta carta acompañaban, en efecto, dos escritos, que pueden ver mis lectores en el Apéndice. Titúlase el uno *Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villanova de visionibus in somniis Jacobi Secundi, regis Aragonum, et Friderici Tertii, Regis Siciliae, ejus fratris*, y el segundo, *Letra tramesa per lo Rey Frederich de Sicilia al Rey En Jaume Sigon son frare*.” He himself published the letter in *Historia*, 7:307–8 (Josep Alanyà, “Diplomatari de mestre Arnau de Vilanova. Avantprojecte. Regest de documents,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 30 [2011–13]: 128, no. 150). However, as we shall see (see footnote 48 below), Frederick actually did not send the two texts mentioned above with this letter but probably an early version of the *Informació espiritual*.

¹⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 2:280, initially dates the interpretation of dreams from 1304.

¹⁵ Edited by Miquel Batllori, Arnau de Vilanova, *Obres catalanes*, vol 1, 167–21. The *Raonament d'Avinyó* is the explanation in Catalan given by Arnau de Vilanova to king James II in Almeria in mid-January 1310 about her interpretation of the dreams in the consistory in Avignon (i. e., the *Interpretatio*).

¹⁶ Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen*

Interpretatio would then be the Latin text read before the Pope.¹⁷ The Arnau experts in the next generation did not take advantage of these brief yet accurate observations by Finke; however, we believe that they are the only ones that match the historical deeds and the only ones that, when properly contextualised with the other information provided by the documentation and the *Interpretatio* itself, allow us to reconstruct its historical process and ascertain what kind of work the *Interpretatio* is. In the edition of the *Raonament d'Avinyó (Obres catalanes, vol. 1)*, the editors once again interpret the facts similar to the way Menéndez y Pelayo had.¹⁸

The objective of this article is to ascertain the origin, circumstances and history of the text of the *Interpretatio* based on the internal information that the work itself harbours, along with contemporary documentation (letters exchanged between Arnau de Vilanova, the aforementioned kings, Pope Clement V and occasionally other individuals), the

Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327), vol. 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908), 895–96 and 897–98. Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 148, no. 196; and 150, no. 202.

¹⁷ Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:895, n. 1: “Der ersten Quatern ist die lateinische *Interpretatio* (Menendez I, 720 bis 738); er is im Konsistorium vorgetragen worden.” This information matches what can be read in the title of the book published by Flacius, *Catalogus* (Strasbourg, 1562), *Appendix*, 11, in the sense that the *Interpretatio* was read and communicated in the Apostolic See. Paul Diepgen, *Arnald von Villanova als Politiker und Laientheologe*, *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* 9 (Berlin, 1909), 72–86; Karl L. Hitzfeld, *Studien zu den religiösen und politischen Anschauungen Friedrichs III. von Sizilien*, *Historische Studien* 193 (Berlin, 1930), 21, and, in part, Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 137–38 and 263–64, follow Heinrich Finke.

¹⁸ Cf. Batllori, “Notícia preliminar,” 69–70. Pou i Martí, *Visionarios*, 68; Joaquim Carreras i Artau, *Relaciones de Arnau de Vilanova con los reyes de la casa de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1955), 55; Francesco Bruni, “Un intellettuale riformatore a Corte: Arnaldo da Villanova, Federico III e gli Spirituali,” in Rosario Romeo, dir., *Storia della Sicilia* (Naples, 1980), 4:194, and myself, for example, have followed this interpretation, with a few variations.

description of the manuscript of Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1,¹⁹ and, since we cannot study the codex on which it was based directly, an analysis of the most important additions, omissions or modifications in Flacius' edition (in relation to the Barcelona text). We are convinced that only when we examine all four factors mentioned above (the documentation, the information harboured within the *Interpretatio* itself, the codicological description of the only manuscript still remaining and the additions, omissions and modifications to prepare the edition of the work in the Protestant world) together, comprehensively and systematically will we be able to achieve our objectives.

In the first section after this introduction, *The Interpretatio: Reading in the consistory in Avignon and first copies (analysis of correspondence)*, we survey the information furnished by the documents on the early history of the word. Having sketched out this historical context, in the second section, *The MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1*, we describe the only known manuscript of the work, especially bearing in mind the information from the first section. The third part, *Genesis of the Interpretatio: The historical act of interpreting the dreams of James II and Frederick of Sicily*, is devoted to studying what we could call the genesis of the text, that is, the events and historical circumstances that motivated it based on the information provided by the *Interpretatio* itself. And in the fourth part, *The edition by Matthias Flacius (1562): Additions, omissions and modifications of the text*, we note that the text published for the first time by Flacius Illyricus shows significant changes compared to the codex in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, and we inquire into the possible reasons for these textual variants (Were they introduced by the publisher? Were they already in the antigraph manuscript?). Finally, in the *Conclusion*, we recapitulate our results.²⁰

¹⁹ Even though this manuscript is one of the most important ones by Arnau de Vilanova (the three works that this manuscript contains, one in Latin and two in Catalan, survive only in this manuscript), it has never been the subject of a codicological description. Only Batllori, "Notícia preliminar," 86–87, devotes one paragraph on it. Below we shall discuss this information from Miquel Batllori.

²⁰ For our purposes, the magnificent chronological list of Arnau's documents (a solid underpinning for the future diplomatarium), recently published by Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 69–170, is extremely useful. Inevitably, Alanyà follows the information

THE *INTERPRETATIO*: READING IN THE CONSISTORY IN AVIGNON AND FIRST COPIES
(ANALYSIS OF CORRESPONDENCE)

In August, or more likely September, of 1309, Arnau de Vilanova read the text of the *Interpretatio* before Pope Clement V and the cardinals in a private consistory in Avignon.²¹ On the 26th of October, the cardinal of Porto, Giovanni Minio da Morrovalle,

of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Josep M. Pou i Martí, Joaquim Carreras i Artau, and Miquel Batllori, and partly that of Heinrich Finke as well, which has caused a few errors in the identification of events, documents and works, along with a few contradictions. We shall point these out when needed.

²¹ Arnau de Vilanova reached Avignon in mid-June (cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 132, no. 160). We have documentary proof that Arnau de Vilanova stayed in the papal court of Avignon until September (cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 133–36, no. 161.163.164.165.168.169). He had already left by the 6th of October (*terminus ad quem*), most likely heading to Sicily (cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 136, no. 171). In the *Raonament d’Avinyó*, Arnau de Vilanova explains he stayed in Avignon waiting for an audience. Since the papal court was too busy in the coronation of King Robert, Clement V could not receive Arnau in consistory before the coronation. Arnau de Vilanova tells: “car lo negoci de l’emperador e del rey Robert los tenie ocupats, dixeren que tro que aquel fos termenat no’m porien donar audiència, mas que puyxes la’m darien; e així ho feren” (*Obres catalanes*, 1:168). King Robert was crowned in Avignon on the 3rd of August (*terminus a quo*). Bearing in mind that Arnau de Vilanova had been expected in Avignon for some time in order to appear in the consistory and outline the reform plans of James II and Frederick of Sicily to the Pope and cardinals, it is reasonable to posit that once he did what he had gone there to do, he left Avignon for Sicily. In none of the documents from August that mention Arnau de Vilanova can we find any indication that this consistory was held. We are aware of different documents dated between the 30th of August and the 9th of September which report on several joint actions between Clement V and Arnau de Vilanova. On the 30th of August, Clement V granted Arnau de Vilanova the privilege of choosing his confessor and possessing a portable altar. On the 8th and 9th

wrote a letter to James II to inform him that Arnau de Vilanova had made statements in Avignon before the Pope and the college of cardinals which harmed both him and his brother, Frederick, King of Sicily. He also reported that a mutual friend, Father Romeu Ortiç, would tell him about it.²² Indeed, the following day, the 27th of October, Romeu Ortiç wrote to the king,²³ claiming that before the Pope and cardinals of Avignon, Arnau de Vilanova, among other things, va explicar que el rei Frederic tenia dubtes de fe i que, en aquest estat d'ànim, se li va aparèixer diverses vegades la reina en somnis. També va explicar que Jaume II havia tingut uns dubtes semblants i que se li va aparèixer el seu pare, el rei Pere. Romeu Ortiç, en efecte, explica (the following passage is quoted here with notes indicating parallels in the *Interpretatio*):²⁴

Dixit enim quod dominus Rex Fredericus, frater vester, dubitaverat diu utrum tradicio evangelica de abrenunciacione temporalium propter Cristum esset ab invencione hominum vel divinitus inspirata,²⁵ et dum sub tali dubio eius animus fluctuaret, apparuit sibi quadam nocte in sompnis domina Regina mater vestra, velata facie,²⁶ suadens ei quod mundum contempneret et divinis obsequiis inhereret, et quo

of September, Clement V, advised by Arnau de Vilanova, established the way to receive the doctorate in medicine at the University of Montpellier and the way to choose the Chancellor (cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 135–36, no. 168–69). Around the same dates, through the efforts and cooperation of both of them, Arnau de Vilanova must have been received in consistory. In another letter addressed to James II dated the 26th of October 1309, Cardinal Minio da Morrovalle referred to Arnau de Vilanova’s presentation before the Pope and the cardinals with the adverb ‘nuper’ (see footnote 36 below). Regarding Clement V, see Sophie Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998).

²² Cf. Alanyà, *ibid.*, 137, no. 173.

²³ Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 137–38, no. 174. The letter is conserved in Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Lletres reials, Jaume II, extra series 171, and was published by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:310–12.

²⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:310–11.

²⁵ Arnaldus de Villanova, *Interpretatio*, MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fol. 2v: “Ad hanc autem repressionem maxime impellebat nos [= Frederick] dubium quod occorrebat nobis de doctrina euangelica: utrum esset humana inuentio uel diuina traditio.”

²⁶ *Interpretatio*, fol. 2r [King Frederick]: “apparuit nobis in sompnis regina quondam domina mater nostra facie uelata.”

pro certo teneret et crederet quod tradicio evangelica non fuerit humanitus sed divinitus instituta, et de hoc nullatenus dubitaret. Dum autem adhuc dominus Fredericus in eodem dubio permaneret, iterato in sompnis modo consimili eidem aparuit mater vestra et consimiliter verba retulit supradicta. Tercio vero iterato eidem aparuit facie revelata et verba similiter protulit suprascripta, et tunc dominus Fredericus recognovit illam fuisse matrem suam, que sibi aparuerat et retulit supradicta.²⁷ Dixit etiam quod prefatus dominus Fredericus miserat pro magistro Arnaldo quod veniret ad eum in Ciciliam ut sibi prefate visionis misterium cercius explicaret.²⁸ Dixit etiam quod modo consimili vos fueratis in eodem dubio, utrum prefata tradicio fuisset ab invencione hominum vel divinitus, ut predicatur, inspirata et quod modo consimili vidistis in sompnis dominum Regem Petrum patrem vestrum eo modo et ordine quo dominus Fredericus vidit matrem vestram qui vobis dixit eadem verba que mater vestra dixerat domino Frederico, et quod vos similiter miseratis pro dicto Arnaldo, ut vos vobis visionem predictam plenius explanaret.²⁹

In mid-January 1310, Arnau de Vilanova reached Almeria the city where James II was enmeshed in a siege—to tell the king everything he had said in Avignon before the Pope and the cardinals: this is the *Raonament d'Avinyó*.³⁰ On the 25th or 26th of January, Arnau de Vilanova left Almeria with instructions from James II to Frederick and with a letter for the Pope asking for the text that he had read in Avignon.³¹ In this letter to Clement V, James II tells the Pope that he was aware of what Arnau had said in consistory (and reproduces the summary of it by Romeu Ortig practically verbatim, without naming him). Furthermore, since Arnau de Vilanova's explanation (given in Almeria), that is, the *Raonament d'Avinyó*, did not match up, he requested a “copia autentica” of the Avignon

²⁷ Ibid., fol. 4v [King Frederick]: “apparuit nobis in sompno mater nostra reuelata facie et uidimus splendorem uultus eius mirabilem.”

²⁸ Ibid. [King Frederick to Arnau]: “dixit nobis aperte quod mitteremus pro uobis, quia uos illuminaretis nos.”

²⁹ Ibid., fol. 5v–6r [Arnau]: “datus est intellectus uisionis. Et ideo facio mentionem de fratre uestro, quia propter eum in simili casu fui ad hoc illuminatus.”

³⁰ Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 138–39, no. 176. However, we believe that the correct date is not the 25th of January but the 17th. Cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:886, no. 564.

³¹ Cf. Alanyà, Ibid., 139, no. 177–78. Both letters are dated the 25th of January. The following day, James II lifted the siege.

text, that is, the *Interpretatio*, so he could compare them.³² Indeed, on the 8th of June 1310, Clement V signed the bull introducing the text read by Arnau de Vilanova in Avignon, and he sent it to James II via Arnau de Vilanova himself.³³ On the 17th of June, in Marseilles, Arnau de Vilanova wrote to James II and, among other things, explained that he was forwarding the text which the king had requested of the Pope and a letter of introduction via Ramon Conesa.³⁴ Since Ramon Conesa could not personally carry the papal writings, he asked Bernat Vidal, James II's manservant, to do so, and he wrote to the king to inform him of his (27th of July 1310).³⁵ James II confirmed receipt on the 6th of August.³⁶

Now James II had possession of the text read by Arnau de Vilanova (*Raonament d'Avinyó*) in Almeria and the one read in the court of Avignon (*Interpretatio*), and he noted that Arnau de Vilanova was a liar.³⁷ In consequence, on the 24th of September, James II wrote a letter to Frederick explaining the facts, and days later, on the 4th of October, he sent him a copy of both treatises. He advised him to break off relations with

³² The text was published by Martí de Barcelona, "Nous documents per a la biografia d'Arnau de Vilanova," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 11 (1935): 117–18, no. 34. It is the document Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 335, fol. 348v.

³³ Cf. Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 142–43, no. 185. See the letter in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:314. The letter (bull) is conserved in the bundle Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Lligall 26, no. 38.

³⁴ Cf. Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 143–44, no. 186. The letter is published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:694–95, no. 437. In this letter, Arnau de Vilanova himself confirms that the bull by Clement V and the text by Arnau "fo tot ensems bullat" (694).

³⁵ Cf. Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 144, no. 187. Regarding the letter, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, vol. II, 890, no. 568. Ramon Conesa referred to the letter from Clement V and the *Interpretatio* with these words: "Dominus magister A. de Villanova scripsit michi, quod presentarem illustri dominacioni vestre litteras summi pontificis bullatas bulla plumbea."

³⁶ Cf. Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 144–45, no. 189. See the transcription of the letter in Martí de Barcelona, "Nous documents," 121, no. 37.

³⁷ Cf. *infra*, n. 39.

Arnau and apologise to the Pope for the affair.³⁸ Meantime, on the 1st of October 1310, James II sent a letter to Clement V reminding him of the deeds, apologising for them and asking his letter to be read in consistory. Indeed Arnau de Vilanova had committed three falsehoods: *a*) by claiming that James II doubted whether the gospel doctrine was human invention or divine tradition; *b*) by claiming that James II had had a dream in which his father appeared; *c*) by denying that he had made the previous two statements before the

³⁸ Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 144–46, no. 192. Apparently, Alanyà’s documents no. 190 and 192 are actually the same. The letter (24 September 1310) is published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:890–91, no. 569. On the 4th of October, James II sent a letter via Martí de Ruffis al seu germà Frederic sobre allò que Arnau de Vilanova ha explicat contra els dos reis i mentint en el consistori d’Avinyó i a Almeria. També li envia una còpia de la *Interpretatio* i del *Raonament d’Avinyó*. Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 148, no. 196; published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:895–96, no. 571: “Ecce, frater karissime, quod mittimus vobis per Martinum de Ruffis de domo nostra presencium portitorem litteram unam nostram super facto eorum, que magister Arnaldus de Villanova coram domino papa et dominis cardinalibus in privato consistorio mendaciter et male adversus nos et vos loquutus est et duo quaterna translatum continencia duarum propositioinum factarum per dictum magistrum Arnaldum, alterius in dicto privato consistorio et alterius coram nobis et quampluribus aliis in obsidione civitatis Almarie tunc manentibus; item et translatum cuiusdam rescripti papalis directi nobis”.

Pope and cardinals in Avignon.³⁹ James II wrote very similar, almost identical letters to cardinals Fré dol and Morrovalle.⁴⁰

³⁹ Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 146, no. 193. The letter is published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:891–95, no. 570: friends of the king from the Curio informed him that (892) “nos [James II] et ille [Frederick] dubitaveramus, utrum tradicio evangelica esset ab invencione hominum vel divinitus inspirata. Nos autem [. . .] nunquam de hoc cogitavimus nec unquam verbum super eo scivimus.” Being in Almeria, Arnau denied it. Clement V sent the text to James II, who realized that: “Ubi dicitur dictum regem Fredericum inter aliquas causas dicto magistro sic expresisse, quod impellebat ipsum regem ad ipsas causas dubium, quod occurrebat sibi de doctrina evangelica, utrum esset humana invencio vel divina tradicio” (893) “Subsequitur etiam in eisdem dictum magistrum respondentem dicto regi Frederico inter alia sic dixisse, quod vacante sede post Benedictum vocatus per nos adivit presenciam nostram, et quod narravimus ei cogitatum et dubitaciones recte per omnia similes cogitatu et dubitacionibus dicti regis Frederici quodque insuper addidimus, quod sepe videramus in sompno patrem nostrum in habitu mirabili tradentem nobis quatuor auri pecias, et alia plura verba prosequitur super eo, ut in (894) dictis scriptis plenius continetur. Nos, inquam, hec videntes nimium provocati ad iram stupefacti ac vehementer stimulati fuimus audientes et videntes rem nunquam in nobis excogitatam neque per consequens dictam, cum nunquam etiam super talibus cum dicto magistro Arnaldo nec cum alio contulerimus, ut predicatur, die aliquo vite nostre. Nec etiam verum fuit, quod nos sompnum predictum fecerimus nec cum dicto magistro consequenter loqui fuerimus in aliquo super eo” [. . .] “Qui etiam magister circa hoc comisit triplicem falsitatem, primo quia nos in evangeliis proposuit dubitasse, quod nunquam in cor nostrum ascendit. Secundo quia dictum sompnum nos fecisse et sibi retulisse asseruit, quod, ut prediximus, nunquam fecimus nec secum aliquid super eo contulimus. Tercio quia nobis eum, ut supra scribitur, interrogantibus, an dixisset, se dixisse, ut prescribitur, omnino negavit.”

⁴⁰ Cf. Alanyà, *ibid.*, 146–47, no. 194; and 147, no. 195, with an indication of the editions. On the 15th of September, the general minister of the Franciscans, Gonzalo de Balboa, had written a letter to James II telling him that Cardinal Morrovalle had told him about the affair related to the *Interpretatio* and advising him to offer Arnau de Vilanova

The responses came immediately. In a letter dated the 24th of October, Clement V downplayed the importance of the affair:

Verumtamen sciat regalis sinceritas quod ad scripturam illam, per dicta propositio facta extitit coram nobis, nos, dum legebatur, cogitantes circa alia negotia graviora, quae nostris tunc cogitationibus imminebant, mentem nostram non curavimus apponendam, nec ad illa quae praelibata continebat scriptura, tunc vel postea nostrum direximus intellectum, neque illis fidem vel credulitatem aliquam diximus adhibendam.⁴¹

In two letters, one dated the 10th of January 1311 and the other without a date, Frederick of Sicily confirmed receipt of the copy of both treatises and stated that he saw no contradictions in them.⁴² La primera lletra és escrita en llatí, la segona en català, però el contingut és molt semblant. In the first one, Frederick said:

clemency. Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 145, no. 191, published by Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327)*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1922), 691–92, no. 21. Regarding Cardinal Morrovalle, see: Lorenzo Cerquetella, *Giovanni Minio da Morrovalle, Frate Minore e Cardinale* (Morrovalle, 2001). See also: Josep M. Pou i Martí, “Jaime II de Aragón, el cardenal Mincio de Morrovalle, O.F.M., y Arnaldo de Vilanova,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 20 (1923): 110–12; Herbert Grundmann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 25/2 (Stuttgart, 1997), 2:147–50; Rosario A. Lo Bello, *Resistenza profetica. Arnaldo di Villanova e i frati minori* (Milan, 2014), 85–106. Regarding Cardinal Berenguer Fré dol, see Francesco Santi, “Bérenger Fré dol (1250 ca. – 1323), amico di Arnau de Vilanova,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 30 (2011–13): 385–412 (updated bibliography on 387, footnote 5).

⁴¹ Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 148, no. 197; published by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:315. The following day, the 25th of October, Cardinal Morrovalle also confirmed receipt of it. Cf. Alanyà, *ibid.*, 148–49, no. 198; published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:896–97, no. 572.

⁴² Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 150–51, no. 202; and 151, no. 203. Published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:897–98, no. 573 (the first letter); and by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:312–14 (the second letter).

Et quod sint a Deo, videtur nobis dupliciter: primo quia in utraque illarum propositionum exprimuntur audacter, vere et clare defectus et deviationes maiorum Christianitatis omnium, qui ab evangelica veritate declinare noscuntur; et quantum faciunt alios declinare, prout fragilitas nostre cognitionis potest de huiusmodi iudicare. Secundo quia, quamvis ille propositi unius sint eiusdemque materie et ad finem ordinentur eundem, tamen quia non identitate stili set in quadam diversitate convenienter pro personarum consideratione servata proponenda est veritas clericis, laycis, eruditis et rudibus quem ad modum apostolus docet et etiam nonumquam audivimus a proponentibus verbum Dei: facit ipse Deus, quod veritas sub stilo differenti convenienter exprimeretur; videlicet clericis et habentibus intellectum scientiis illustratum in Latino et laycis atque rudibus in vulgari.

In the second letter, which was in Catalan, Frederick claimed that no ha trobat res de dolent en els escrits d'Arnau de Vilanova, que tot allò que explica és veritat. Si Arnau de Vilanova hagués dit alguna cosa que no és en aquests escrits, el procurador davant la cort pontífica li ho hauria explicat (i no ho ha fet):⁴³

no trobam, ni per nostre enteniment ni daltres, que en aquelles proposicions aja res dit a nostra infamia [. . .] car en tot ço que conta e dix de la nostra par, es ver que axi com o recita axins ne eren raonatç ab ell; [. . .] nos li dixem que segons les obres els portamens que faien generalment totç crestians donaven a entendre que la doctrina del evangeli fos faula [. . .] si maestre Arnau, fora dels escrits que avia vistz, avia dit al Papa en public o en privat que nos duptasen e meinscreegesem en ço que pertayn a la fe del crestianisme, nos som aparellatç de proposar e de manifestar davant lo Papa que ell no diie veritat, mas no avem entes encara ni per Papa ni per Cardenal ni per nostre percurador que tenim en cort, que maestre Arnau dixes de vos ni de nos aço en nenguna manera, ans avem entes lo contrari.

The day before the date of the first letter from Frederick to James II, that is, on the 9th of January 1311, Arnau de Vilanova had sent a few lines to James II from Messina; among other things, he recommended a certain medication, expressed his loyalty and reminded him that no one can forbid Arnau from esteeming him.⁴⁴

⁴³ Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, 7:312 and 313.

⁴⁴ Cf. Alanya, “Diplomatari,” 150, no. 201; published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:701–2, no. 440: “Scripsi vobis alias, si recolitis, quod nullo modo poteritis michi auferre vel proybere, quin diligam vos, quia privilegium libere diligendi, quemcunque voluero, sic michi dedit altissimus, quod nullus inde potest me spoliare. Unde quia multa percepi de passionibus cordis et corporis vestri, consulo, quod faciatis fieri electuarium, cuius receptum hic scienter inclusi, et utamini eo, sicut in cedula continetur.”

*
* *

According to the documentation we have analysed, we know of the existence of at least three copies of the *Interpretatio*: the *exemplar* in the hands of the Pope (which may or may not be the same one that Arnau de Vilanova read in Avignon in late August or early September 1309, but which in any case would be an authenticated copy made at the same time); the authenticated copy that the Pope sent James II on the 8th of June 1310; and another authenticated copy that James II sent to Frederick of Sicily on the 4th of October 1310. Neither the *exemplar* in the Pope's possession nor the one that James II sent to Frederick of Sicily appears to have survived. Is the *exemplar* conserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon the one that the Pope sent to James II and the model of the copy that James II sent to Frederick?

THE MS BARCELONA, ACA, CASA REIAL 1

Identification:

Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Diversos i col·leccions, Manuscrits, Casa Reial 1 (olim Curiosos 6).

Binding:

The covers measure 160 x 215 mm., and 30 mm. thick. Binding in beige parchment with three flyleaves at the beginning and three at the end: I + II + III and IV + V + VI. The inside is cardboard covered in beige-tinged white paper (with no watermark). The spine is flat, and towards the top and centred it reads: "1" and then "Interpre // de los // Sueños // de Jaime // 2^{do}. y // Federico // 3^{ro}. D^e // Sicilia." On the bottom half is a title piece made of white paper measuring 40 x 62 mm., printed (general information) and completed by hand (references to the manuscript): "ACA B // Biblioteca // Arm.: CODICES CASA // Est.: REAL // Num.: 1 // Camara C." And below: "Coleccio // Curios // T ° 6." The quires are sewn together (seven bound together) and sewn to the covers at the top and bottom. Remains of gold can be seen in the edges.

At the end of folio 49v, we can read this note: “Dⁿ Prospero de Bofarull Ar//chivero &: Certifico: que en el año de la // fecha mandé (*canc* formar) enquadernar los // tres quadernos de que se compone (*corr* componia) este tomo // que aplique à la coleccion curiosa. Barcelo//lona y Agosto 20 de 1817. Prospero de Bofarull.” On fly leaf IIIr, a contemporary hand wrote “Tres Quadernos tocantes á la interpretacion // hecha por el Maestro Arnaldo de Vilanova de // las visiones en sueños de los Señores Reies Don // Jaime 2.^o de Aragon, y Dⁿ Frederico 3.^o de Sicilia // su hermano: La carta de este á otro de D. Jaime // Y el razonam^{to} hecho, por el mencionado Vilanova, // (en Avinyon, en presencia del Papa, y Cardenales) // de las expresadas visiones.” In later handwriting, probably from the second half of the 20th century, a summary (underneath) was added in pencil: “1. I–XIV // 2. XV–XXVI // 3. XXIX–XLIX.” At the beginning of the title of each work, the notes “1”, “2” and “3” were written in the interlinear spaces. At the top of the page, near the inner margin, there seems to have been a signature “A7 ·/·” (?), and more towards the centre, “t”.

The binding dates from around 1817. When it was bound, the codex was restored and reinforced with sized paper, as it had rotted and had moisture stains. Paper was also used to join sheets and/or create a margin for binding. The composition of the quires was the way it is today, the outcome of this binding. The edges were guillotined.

Body of the volume:

Composite codex; paper. The body of the volume is made up of I + II + III + 49 + IV + V + VI folios measuring 210 x 155 mm. It is impossible to ascertain the initial composition of the quires, but now, after the new binding, it is made up of 8 quires with neither numbers nor indications:

- 1) Quire of three inner bifolia (fols. 1–6);
- 2) Quire of three inner bifolia (fols. 7–12), followed by a singleton (fol. 13);
- 3) Quire of two inner bifolia (fols. 14–17), followed by a singleton (fol. 18);
- 4) Quire of three inner bifolia (fols. 19–24);
- 5) Quire of three inner bifolia (fols. 25–30), followed by a singleton (fol. 31);
- 6) Quire of two inner bifolia (fols. 32–35);
- 7) Quire of a singleton (fol. 36), followed by three inner (fol. 37–42);
- 8) Quire of three inner bifolia (fols. 43–48), followed by a singleton (fol. 49).

Foliation with Roman numerals at the upper right corner of the recto; it seems to date from the same time as the note on fol. 49v (except on fol. 34, which is in Arabic numerals written in pencil at later date, most likely by the same person who devised the summary of the flyleaf IIIr). The codex is made up of three units: fols. 1r–14v (= unit I), fols. 15r–26v (= unit II) and fols. 29r–49v (= unit III). The paper in unit I is darker. We are unable to detect any watermarks in the entire codex. There are no ruled lines in any of the units.

Literary content:

1.–Fols. 1r–14r: *Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de villa noua de visionibus in somniis dominorum Jacobi s[ecun]di Reg[is A]ragonum et Friderici tercii Regis Sicilie, eius fratris. Inc.:* “Ab adolescencia nostra quidam cogitatus frequenter pulsauit cor nostrum.” *Exp.:* “Rex autem hiis auditis traxit se in solitudinem et scripsit predictam in suo uulgari et ecce qualiter per literam suam alloquitur fratrem suum.”

Arnaldus de Villanova, *Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villanova de visionibus in somniis dominorum Iacobi secundi regis Aragonum et Friderici tercii regis Siciliae, eius fratris.*⁴⁵

Hauréau LXXVIII, Glorieux ct, Díaz 1699, Carreras 32, Santi 40.

Editions: Flacius, *Catalogus, Appendix*, 1-11 (re-editions Lyon, 1597, 742-755; Geneva, 1608, 1733-1746; and Frankfurt, 1666 and 1672, 358-372; and translations to

⁴⁵ On the line after the title of each work, we indicate the references of the work in question in the catalogues below:

Hauréau = Barthélemy Hauréau, “Arnauld de Villeneuve, médecin et chimiste,” in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. 28 (Paris, 1881), 26–126.

Glorieux = Palémon Glorieux, *Repertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale 17 (Paris, 1933), 418–39.

Carreras = Joaquim Carreras i Artau, “Les obres teològiques d'Arnau de Vilanova,” *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1936): 217–31.

Díaz = M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), 328–44, no. 1607–1710.

Santi = Francesco Santi, “Gli *Scripta spiritualia* di Arnau de Vilanova,” *Studi Medievali* 26 (1985): 977–1014; and in Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 250–77.

German, Frankfurt, 1573; and to Dutch, Hoorn, 1633, 347-356); Johan Wolf, *Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI* (Lauingen, 1600), 1:564-575; (Frankfurt, 1671), 565-573; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova*, 91-127; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7: 232-254. Fragments: Pou, *Visionarios*, 68-84.

2.–Fols. 15r–26v: *Letra tramesa per lo Rey Frederich de Sicilia al Rey en Jaume Segon, son frare. Inc.*: “[S]eynor uos sots tengut de fer algunes coses pròpiament en quant sots rey.” *Exp.*: “ab lo zel conexerets-o tot et porgar-o ets.”

Arnaldus de Villanova, *Informació espiritual al rei Frederic de Sicília*.

Carreras 34, Santi 42.

Editions: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova*, 128–49; and *Historia de los heterodos españoles*, 7:270–80; Arnau de Vilanova, *Obres catalanes*, 1:223–43; P. Sainz Rodríguez, *Antología de la literatura espiritual española*, vol. 1, *Edad Media*, Espirituales españoles 28 (Madrid, 1980), 423–34. French translation: Jean Canteins, *Arnau de Villeneuve*, vol. 1, *Un “spirituel” soupçonné d’hérésie (avec traduction d’écrits catalans)* (Paris, 2015), 167–81. German translation: Arnau de Vilanova, *Über den Antichrist und die Reform der Christenheit*, ed. Alexander Fidora, *Katalanische Literatur des Mittelalters* 8 (Berlin, 2015), 81–93.

3.–Fols. 29r–49v: *Rahonament fet per mestre Arnau de Vilanova en Avinyó denant lo papa e cardenals de les visions del Reys Jaume d’Aragó et Ffrederich Rey de Sicilia, son frare. Inc.*: “Quant fuy en Aviyon en casa del papa, ell e e·l·ls cardenals souén me demanaren.” *Exp.*: “car ell los dava protecció et prouissió en necessaris de vida.”

Arnaldus de Villanova, *Raonament d’Avinyó*.

Hauréau CXXI, Glorieux cu, Carreras 33, Santi 41.

Editions: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova*, 150–201; and *Historia*, 7:280–306; Lluís Farauo de Saint-Germain, ed., “Rahonament fet per mestre Arnau de Vilanova en Avinyó”, *Recull de textos catalans antics*, vol. 9 (Barcelona, 1909); Arnau de Vilanova, *Obres catalanes*, 1:167–21. Fragments: Pou, *Visionarios*, 68–84. Portuguese translation: Nachman Falbel, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, sua doutrina reformista e sua concepção escatológica* (Hab. Diss., Univ. São Paulo, 1977), 336–74 (Catalan text), 375–413 (Portuguese translation). French translation: Canteins, *Arnau de Villeneuve*, 1:130–66. German translation: Arnau de Vilanova, *Über den Antichrist und die Reform der Christenheit*, 53–80.

Script: The text box in unit I measures 115 x 170 mm., covers the full line and has 22–24 lines. Page layout: 15 + 115 + 25 (horizontal, from inside to outside) x 12 + 170 + 28 mm. (vertical, from top to bottom), with no justification lines. The unit of ruling (= UR) is 7 mm. The text box in unit II measures 120 x 160 mm., covers the full line and has 18–21 lines. Page layout: 15 + 110 + 30 x 15 + 160 + 35 mm., with justification lines, from top to bottom and from one side to the other, marked by pen. UR = 8. The text box in unit III measures 20 x 160 mm., covers the full line and has 18–23 lines. Page layout: 12 + 120 + 18 x 18 + 160 + 32, irregular, with justification lines slightly marked with hard point ruling. UR = 8.

Each work is written by a different hand in the early 14th century, with Gothic chancery script used for books; the script in units II and III is more cursive. The ink is very dark in unit I, lighter in unit II and even lighter in unit III.

On fol. 1r, we can read several notes: “Verum est quod de mandato domini Regis de isto (*canc.* translato) quaterno [fuit] // missum translatum domino Regi Frederico et fuit probatum”, “Originale” (these two notes are from the same early 14th century hand);⁴⁶ an obliterated note (order by registrar?) in which we can read the name “Joseph Llaris”, archivist (17th–18th centuries). A third hand—from not too far into the 14th century—⁴⁷ has written: “Primus quaternus” and “Interpretacio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villa nova // de visionibus in somniis dominorum Jacobis [secundi] Regis Aragonum //

⁴⁶ This is the script used in the registers of James II during those years: see Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Reg. 345. Batllori, “Notícia preliminar,” 86, who did not see or failed to pay attention to the first note on this folio (“Verum est quod de mandato domini Regis de isto quaterno [fuit] missum translatum domino Regi Frederico et fuit probatum”), interprets the word ‘originale’ in the sense of ‘autograph’ of Arnau de Vilanova. There is no doubt that the official in the Chancery did not mean this but instead by using this word they were distinguishing the Chancery’s original copy from the copy sent to Frederick.

⁴⁷ It is certainly not the typical script found in the registers of the Chancery from that period, but it leads us to think: see, for example, Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Reg. 207, from 1310–1311.

et Ffrederici tercii Regis Sicilie eius fratris.” Between these two notes there seem to be the initials “Fi” (?).

On fol. 15r, the same hand that wrote the title of the work and the book number on fol. 1r noted “Secundus quaternus” and “Letra tramesa per lo Rey Ffrederich de Sicilia al Rey // en Jaume Segon son frare.” And on the outer margin, Pere Miquel Carbonell (Royal Archivist, 1476–1517) wrote on two lines from top to bottom, “Sunt reponende in arca parua de ·C· sita // coram Armario Tarraconis.”⁴⁸

On fol. 29r, the same hand wrote notes similar to the one on fol. 1r: “de isto quaterno ad mandatum domini Regis fuit missum // translatum domino Regi Ffrederico et fuit probatum” and “Originale.” But before this latter word, we can read “Tercius quaternus” and on the bottom “Rahonament fet per maestre Arnau de Vilanova en // Avinyo denant lo papa e cardenals deles visions // del reys Jaume darago et Ffrederich Rey de Sicilia // son frare.” These latter notes are by the same hand that also wrote similar notes on fol. 1r and fol. 15r.

The decorative elements are limited to initial letters, which are minimally decorated with the same colour ink (fols. 8r, 13v, 14r [x 2], 30r), along with section marks (fols. 2r [x 2], 4v [x 2], 9r [x 2], 11r, 13v [x 2], 14r [x 2], 16 [x 2], 17v, 18v, 19r [x 2], 20r, 20v [x 4], 21r [x 2], 21v [x 2], 22r [x 3], 22v [x 5], 23r [x 3], 23v, 24r, 24v [x 3], 25v [x 2], 26r) and two manichulae (fols. 32r and 48v). On fol. 16r, the copyist left a blank space for the initial (S), but subsequently it was neither drawn nor illuminated. Several biblical quotes are underlined (fols. 7v, 11v [x 2], 22v).

Textual corrections and additions: fols. 2v (x 2), 5r (x 2), 5v, 6r (x 3), 9v, 10r, 10v, 12v, 13r (by the same hand that wrote the text, with the exception of the one on fol. 9v, which is by a different hand but in the same period); fols. 17v, 18v, 19v, 20v, 22v (by the same hand that wrote the text); fols. 37r, 43v, 45r, 45r, 48v, 49r (by a different hand in the same period).

Blank pages: flyleaves Ir–v, IIr–v, IIIv, fols. 1v, 14v, 15v, 27r–v, 28r–v, and flyleaves IVr–v, Vr–v, VIr–v.

⁴⁸ The handwriting of Pere Miquel Carbonell is also identified in other codices. See, for example, Barcelona, ACA, Diversos i col·leccions, Manuscrits, Casa Reial 9, inside the cover.

On the outer margin of fol. 10v next to line 15, we can see a red stain (wax?) (3 x 2 mm.).

Conclusion:

The state of conservation of this codex is not good: there are many moisture stains and it has been attacked by book-eating bugs. When it was bound, it was also restored.

The manuscript is not dated, and the artefact we see today is the outcome of a long history. However, we believe that it is possible to reconstruct the main stages in its history and ascertain the dates when the works it contains were copied.

1) *Date of the each unit.* We know that the text of the *Interpretatio* (unit I) and the *Raonament d'Avinyó* (unit III) in this codex are the originals (fols. 1r and 29r) of the copy of these works that James II sent to Frederick of Sicily (fols. 1r and 29r) on the 4th of October 1310.⁴⁹ This is the *terminus ad quem*. What is the *terminus a quo*? In the case of the *Interpretatio*, it is the 8th of June 1310, the date of Clement V's bull which accompanied the text of the *Interpretatio*.⁵⁰ Everything leads us to believe that the copy

⁴⁹ See Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Reg. 336, fol. 22, published by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:890–91, no. 569: “Vos autem, karissime frater, visis et diligenter consideratis scriptis dicte propositionis coram nobis in obsidione iam dicta per prefatum magistrum, ut predicatur, facte ac littera rescriptiva papali, de qua supradiximus, ac scriptis nobis in ea missis interclusis, quarum omnium translatum vobis mittimus sub sigilli nostri munimine interclusum, tam scribendo domino pape et aliquibus dominis cardinalibus quam alias expedietis super huiusmodi negocio, quod discrecioni regie videbitur expedire.”

⁵⁰ See Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, Lligall 26, no. 38, published by Menéndez, *Historia*, 7:314: “Ex tuarum accepimus serie litterarum, quod per aliquos tibi significatum extiterat, quod dilectus filius magister Arnaldus de Villanova quaedam te et carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Fredericum, Regem Trinacriae illustrem germanum tuum tangentia proposuerat coram nobis, super quibus per Nos certificari humiliter supplicasti. Verum ut de huiusmodi propositis et Nobis in scripto oblatis per eundem magistrum Arnaldum in consistorio privato notitiam tua habeat celsitudo, ecce quod scripta et proposita ipsa quae tunc venerabili fratri nostro Berengario, Tusculanensi Episcopo, tunc

sent by the Pope is the one now conserved in this manuscript. The following elements lead us to believe this: the “interclusa” copy issued by the Pope is not conserved along with the bull; in this codex, this work originally had no title (the one on fol. 1r dates from later) because it and the bull were like a single unit, and the handwriting and the paper are clearly different to the ones we find in unit III, *Raonament d’Avinyó*. In the case of the *Raonament d’Avinyó*, the *terminus a quo* is mid-January 1310, the date that the text was read in Almeria. The text in unit II, the *Informació espiritual*, which is presented as *Letra tramesa per lo Rey Frederich de Sicilia al Rey en Jaume Segon, son frare* (Letter sent by King Frederick of Sicily to James the Second, his brother) on fol. 15r is the text sent by Frederick to James II in an undated letter (January of 1311?) in response to the letter that King James II had sent him on the 4th of October 1310.⁵² The copies of the three works conserved in the Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1 codex can be confidently dated from between June 1310 and the first few weeks of 1311.⁵³

tituli Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei presbytero Cardinali, per eundem magistrum Arnaldum tradi mandavimus, tibi mittimus praesentibus interclusa.”

⁵² Published by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:314: “E per tal que vos siatç pus cert del seu çel e de ço que diu de desiga de vos e de nos, trametem vos sotç nostre lo translat del enformament quens a donat ara en aquesta venguda, lo qual enformament nos per la gracia de Deu avem començat a metre en obra.” Frederick of Sicily had previously sent him an early version of the *Informació espiritual* (no longer conserved), with the letter *Excellentissimo domino J. Dei gratia illustri Regi Aragonum* (Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 128, no. 150). Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:308: “Jos tramet per escrit alguns proçeses que yo e feite per donar a entendre mon enteniment per exempli dobra, e tramet vos la informaçio que maestre A. a feita sobre lo dit enteniment.” On this early version of the *Informació espiritual*, see Karl Leopold Hitzfeld, *Studien zu den religiösen und politischen Anschauungen Friedrichs III. von Sizilien*, *Historische Studien* 193 (Berlin, 1930), 33–35.

⁵³ The MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1 should be regarded as one of the earliest Arnaldian manuscripts, along with the MSS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3824; Borgh. 205; Vat. Lat. 9968; and Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana 40.E.3. Regarding the Arnaldian manuscripts, cf. Jaume Mensa i Valls, *Arnau de*

2) *Compilation of the three units.* The three units were bound together in the 14th century. The compiler wrote the titles of the texts (when separating them from the documents that accompanied them or from their natural place, an identifying reference was needed) and numbered the “books.” We should note that in the case of the *Informació espiritual*, he added a title which referred to the letter (from Frederick) that accompanied it, but not to the work (by Arnau) itself: *Letra tramesa per lo Rey Frederich de Sicilia*.

3) *Binding.* On the 20th of August 1817, Pròsper de Bofarull had the codex bound (cf. note on fol. 49v). It was also restored at that time, the pages numbered and flyleaves added, with a brief description of the content of the codices (fol. IIIr). The current material composition of the body of the volume is the result of this binding.

*
* *

The *Interpretatio* from the MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1 is unquestionably the *exemplar* of this work that James II sent to Frederick of Sicily on the 4th of October 1310, and most likely the same copy that Clement V sent to James II on the 8th of June 1310.

GENESIS OF THE *INTERPRETATIO*: THE HISTORICAL ACT OF INTERPRETING THE DREAMS OF FREDERICK OF SICILY AND JAMES II

From the previous sections, we know that the *Interpretatio* is the text read by Arnau de Vilanova in Avignon in late summer 1309, and we know its history immediately afterward. Therefore, until now the object of study was the text of the *Interpretatio* and its history immediately after it was written. However, in this section we shall ask whether it is possible to get any information on the origin and circumstances of the historical deeds described in the *Interpretatio*, that is, on Arnau de Vilanova’s interpretation of dreams, especially the dreams of Frederick and, to some extent, those of King James. To do so, we shall use the genealogical method; that is, we shall go backwards in time.

Vilanova, espiritual, 67–76; Josep Perarnau i Espelt, “Noves dades sobre manuscrits ‘espirituals’ d’Arnau de Vilanova,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 27 (2008): 351–424.

From what we can deduce from the text of the *Interpretatio* itself, the historical act of the conversation between Frederick and Arnau de Vilanova on the King of Sicily's dream took place before the month of June 1309. Indeed, some information appears in the text which must be borne in mind:

1) In the *Interpretatio*, we find a clear distinction between “illa estate” [when Frederick was in Montalbano and a rumour reached him that Arnau had died] and “nunc” [when Arnau de Vilanova had reached the island].⁵⁴ Quite a bit of time had elapsed between these two points in time because in the meantime, the king had had a ship built and commissioned someone named “G” to go wherever Arnau de Vilanova might be.⁵⁵ If the introduction to the edition by Flacius Illyricus is reliable, the act of interpreting the dreams took place in Catania.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *Interpretatio*, fol. 4v: “Contingit autem quod illa estate, qua misimus pro uobis, eramus in Monte Albano, et uenit rumor ad nos de Messana quod uos decesseratis, et contristauit nos rumor ille [. . .] Nunc autem postquam fuistis in insula et ·G· uenit ad nos de Messana notificans quod uos aderatis, apparuit nobis [. . .].”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: “dum nos cogitaremus fuisse illusionem quicquid uideramus, apparuit nobis more solito mater nostra et dixit nobis aperte quod mitteremus pro uobis, quia uos illuminaretis nos, et quod uiuebatis, et tunc repente precepimus quod armaretur lignum, et mandauimus ·G·, clerico camere nostre, quod ipse iret in ligno ad quecumque loca posset de uobis certos rumores audire, et expressimus, dicentes quod non credebamus illos rumores esse ueros et omnino uolebamus certificari de uita uel morte uestra et tradidimus ei literam nostram et mandauimus ei quod, si uiueretis, presentaret uobis et quod certa testimonia de uita uel obitu nobis afferret.”

⁵⁶ In this introduction, Arnau de Vilanova explains: “quia cum peruenissem Cathaniam, Rex praedictus exorsus est mihi pandere causam, propter quam me vocauerat sub talibus uerbis” and then tells the story of King Frederick's dream in the first person. Cf. Flacius, *Catalogus, Appendix*, 1. Batllori, “Notícia preliminar,” 70, says that “és molt fonamentat d'identificar la *Interpretatio de visionibus* amb la *Lectio Cataniae* de l'inventari publicat per Chabàs, núm. 137.” The *exordium* published by Flacius Illyricus confirmed Batllori's hypothesis. However, as we shall see below, there is also a factor weighing against this. See Roc Chabàs, “Inventario de los libros, ropas y demás efectos

2) At the end of the *Interpretatio*,⁵⁷ Arnau de Vilanova reports he had suggested to the king to write in Catalan els seus pensaments i de manifestar la seva voluntat de seguir l'evangeli i de fer la petició que cregui oportuna al rei d'Aragó. That is what the king does. After the letter was translated into Latin,⁵⁸ Arnau de Vilanova takes it to James II before the king sets out for the kingdom of Granada.⁵⁹ This letter is not dated, but

de Arnaldo de Villanueva,” *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 9 (1903): 194, no. 137: “lectio Cathanie in papiro cum cupertura pergameni.” And two lines later: “denuntiatio Avinione in papiro.”

⁵⁷ *Interpretatio*, fol. 14r: “scribatis ergo in vulgari vestro totum processum quem cogitastis circa cultum euangelii obseruare et substantiam illius insinuationis quam uultis facere regi Aragonum fratri uestro”.

⁵⁸ This information is also reported by Arnau at the end of the *Interpretatio* (ibid.)

⁵⁹ Ibid. This text translated into Latin is the letter published by Flacius, *Catalogus, Appendix*, 11–13; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:254–57 (Alanya, “Diplomatari,” 130, no. 155). Indeed, in it we can read the two petitions to James II that Arnau reports Frederick had explained to him. See: “Idcirco deliberabimus, quod ex nunc totum vitae nostre residuum expendamus in eius obsequium, procurando quod ab hominibus laudetur, ametur et honoretur. Cum autem nullus ametur et honoretur per ea quae fiunt ei contraria, et ipse (sicut didicimus a sancta matre Ecclesia) sit veritas et iustitia et pax et misericordia, proponimus ad cultum istarum virtutum diligenter intendere, ac earum contraria, prout poterimus, evitare” (255), and, e.g., *Interpretatio*, fol. 14r: “proponimus uiuere in statu nostro secundum regulam euangelii et exponere nos morti pro gloria Saluatoris, et cunctos uolentes in obseruancia ueritatis euangelice uiuere, diligenter fouere ac sustentare.” See also: “Quapropter requerimus et rogamus vestram fraternitatem et ex parte Domini nostri Iesu Christi fraterna dilectione monemus, quatenus animo et viribus universis velitis huiusmodi unionis esse non solum pars altera, sed etiam pater et artifex: taliter, ut quaecunqve vestrae prudentiae videbuntur dictae intentioni accomoda, vel forte magis expedientia quam quae per nos fuerunt excogitata, nobis tam literis quam nunciis intimetis” (257), and *Interpretatio*, f. 2r: “Desiderium erat et adhuc est quod frater noster rex Aragonum esset principalis in proposito cogitatus predicti, ita quod, sicut est maior in carne, sic desideramus quod esset maior in graciis celestibus et quod assumeret

James II's response is: the 11th of June 1309 in Barcelona.⁶⁰ James II immediately leaves for Granada. This is the *terminus ad quem*.

3) Frederick's dream—the king explains at the beginning of his text—had been recurring frequently for the past seven years.⁶¹

Therefore, Arnau de Vilanova must have interpreted Frederick's dream before June 1309. Frederick sent for his physician and counsellor in the summer of 1308, but he must not have reached the island until somewhat later. This date (spring of 1309) dovetails with the information that Frederick's dreams had been recurring for seven years. Indeed, if Frederick began to have dreams after the death of his mother Constance (8th of April 1302) the seven-year period would end in the spring of 1309. Josep M. Pou i Martí, Martí de Barcelona, and after them other historians who followed their proposal, situated the historical act of dream interpretation in the month of December 1308.⁶² It is merely conjecture and is certainly possible, but this date has no documentary grounding.

So is the written text also from this time? We do not know. Arnau de Vilanova did not take the *Interpretatio* to James II along with the aforementioned letter from Frederick.⁶³ Is this an indication that it had not yet been written? We do not know. However, we do know that when Frederick received the copies of both treatises (*Interpretatio* and

feruenter illud propositum et quod simul prosequeremur ipsum." The phrase "mittimus ad vos personam nobis unanimen in predictis" (257) confirms that Arnau was the one carrying it.

⁶⁰ Flacius, *Catalogus, Appendix*, 13–14; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:257–60 (Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 131–32, no. 159).

⁶¹ *Interpretatio*, fol. 2r: "Ab adolescencia nostra quidam cogitatus frequenter pulsauit cor nostrum, sed a ·VII· annis citra quasi assidue feruebat in nobis. In quibus ·VII· annis frequenter apparuit nobis in sompnis regina."

⁶² Cf. Pou i Martí, *Visionarios*, 67; Martí de Barcelona, "Regesta de documents arnaldians coneguts," *Estudis franciscans* 47 (1935): 284, no. 106; Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 128, no. 149.

⁶³ Alanyà, "Diplomatari," 130, no. 155. Jaume II knew the contents of the *Interpretatio* first for the news of Romeo Ortiç and then thanks to the copy sent by Climent V. Cf. supra, footnotes no. 20 and no. 30.

Raonament d'Avinyó) that his brother James II had sent him, he says that “los quals translatz ia aviem reebutç.”⁶⁴ When? We do not know.

While King Frederick corroborated that the dream attributed to him in the *Interpretatio* and recounted in the first person corresponds to the conversation that he actually had with Arnau de Vilanova (“en tot ço que conta e dix de la nostra par, es ver que axi com o recita axins ne eren raonatç ab ell.”)⁶⁵ James II categorically denies that he had the dream that Arnau de Vilanova attributes to him and that, consequently, he had ever spoken with Arnau de Vilanova about it (“nec etiam verum fuit, quod nos sompnum predictum fecerimus nec cum dicto magistro consequenter loqui fuerimus in aliquo super eo.”)⁶⁶

These are Arnau’s words about King James II’s dream and its interpretation:⁶⁷

Vacante sede post Benedictum, uocatus per ipsum, adiui presenciam eius et narrauit mihi cogitatum et dubitationes recte per omnia similes uestris, et insuper addidit quod sepe uiderat in sompno patrem suum et uestrum in habitu mirabili, tradentem ei ·III·^{or} auri petias immensi et eiusdem ponderis, et cum consideraret in uisione quid inde faceret, dicebatur ei: “trade monetario et ille faciet inde monetam utilem et necessariam tibi”; et fuit ei dictum quod ego eram monetarius.

Ego autem respondi quod, in eius presentia et narratione predictorum, datus fuerat intellectus mihi:

“Sic, scilicet quod Deus quando uult beneficia sue pietatis aliquibus indicare, se ipsum ostendit eis sub figura illius rei, que notior est eis et magis conuenit ordini uel circumstanciis naturalibus rerum. Nam eterna sapientia non confundit, nec deserit rerum proprietates, sed perficit. Vnde, quia Deus est pater omnium electorum et gratia ipsius est mater, propterea uobis, qui inter filios regis ·P· estis maior, non solum dignitate, sed etiam etate, ostendit se sub forma patris, quia naturaliter cura maioris fratris conuenit patri. Quia uero cura minoris filii conuenit matri, propterea, si fratri uestro, qui minor est, deberet se ostendere, Deus faceret hoc sub forma matris. Quatuor autem pecie auri immensi et eiusdem ponderis significant diuinam sapientiam, que in ·III·^{or} *Euangeliis* continetur.”

After the death of Benedict XI, the Holy See was vacant from the 8th of July 1304 until the 5th of June 1305. On the 6th of April 1305 James II wrote a letter to Arnau de Vilanova asking that he appear in the royal court: his chamber physician, the nephew of Arnau de

⁶⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:312.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:894.

⁶⁷ *Interpretatio*, fol. 6r.

Vilanova, Ermengol Blasi, did not dare to medicate him without the presence of his uncle.⁶⁸

THE EDITION OF MATTHIAS FLACIUS (1562):
ADDITIONS, OMISSIONS AND MODIFICATIONS OF THE TEXT

The *Interpretatio* was the first spiritual work of Arnau de Vilanova published, and it is no coincidence that it was published in the Protestant world by a Lutheran publisher who precisely presents it as a forerunner of the ideas of the reformed theology. Indeed, in the Catholic world, the inquisitorial sentence issued in Tarragona in 1316 condemning Arnau de Vilanova's writing bans ownership and dissemination of his works.⁶⁹ This circumstance (that is, that the *Interpretatio* was published in the Protestant world and presented as a forerunner of Lutheran ideas) surely explains some of the variations we find in Flacius' edition compared to the text of the manuscript conserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon. However, we should recall that the text that Flacius' edition is based on is not this manuscript but a codex that is unidentified or lost today. Therefore, we cannot ascertain Flacius' degree of fealty to the manuscript he used as the original. Below we shall note several additions, the omissions and a couple of modifications in the text we have found in Flacius' edition compared to the text in the MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2:872–73, no. 550. Cf. Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 114–16, no. 118.

⁶⁹ Regarding the inquisitorial sentence of Tarragona from 1316, see Jaume Mensa i Valls, “Confrontació de les tesis condemnades en la Sentència de Tarragona de 1316 amb les obres espirituals d’Arnau de Vilanova,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 30 (2011–13): 305–34. For the text of the sentence, see Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova*, 283–89.

⁷⁰ In the critical edition which we are preparing, we include all the textual variants. In this paper, however, we are only offering a list of the most important ones, that is, the ones that go beyond mere style, language correction, reading errors, clarifications, etc., and which instead have to do with the doctrinal content or contextualisation of the work.

Unlike the MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1 (which originally had no title, which was added shortly or long afterward), the title of Flacius' edition (*Appendix*, 1) is: [fol. 1r] *Incipit Collocutio Friderici Regis Siciliae, et nostra Arnaldi de Villanova, lecta et communicata sedi Apostolicae.*

Addition:

1) *Appendix*, 1: “Exordium. Quia tota series meae narrationis essentialiter pertinet ad Euangelicam veritatem, idcirco ad perpetuam rei memoriam, et ut in posterum obtundi possint aculei quorumcunque praeuaricantium, et dissipantium ea quae audiuntur, volo, prout decet et expedit in tali nostro scripto, de omnibus clarificare sedis Apostolicae maiestatem. Et dico: quia cum peruenissem Cathaiam, Rex praedictus exorsus est mihi pandere causam, propter quam me uocauerat sub talibus verbis.”

Omissions:

1) Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fol. 2r (*ter*): “·VII·” [referring to the number of years Frederick had been having the dreams].

2) Fol. 3r: “(Pro actibus penitentiae uaccant splendidis epulis),⁷¹ pomposis uecturis, curiosis indumentis et mollibus stramentis.”

3) Fol. 6r: “Nam eterna sapientia non confundit, nec deserit rerum proprietates, sed perficit.”

4) Fol. 7v: “et ‘peruertent omne rectum’” (Mic. 3:9).

5) *Ibid.*: “(Ergo, si uultis gratus esse Deo et operari ad meritum salutis eterne, primo et principaliter intendatis ubique ad negotia pauperum et in consilio uestro uos sitis aduocatus ipsorum et ne fraudari possint, saltem instituirem unum timentem Deum, qui cotidie promptus querelas pauperum ad uos et ad consilium uestrum introducere teneatur et illas prius et celerius expedire,) propter quam causam specialiter Sancti Patres

⁷¹ When the omission is part of a longer sentence or paragraph, without which its meaning would be impossible to understand, we shall provide the part not omitted in parentheses. For example, in our case “Pro actibus penitentiae uaccant splendidis epulis” is written in parentheses, which means that it is in Matthias Flacius's edition.

instituerunt refferendarios in Apostolica Sede, ne “gemitus pauperum” (cf. Ps. 9:6) extra portam diucius expectaret, sicut legitur in *Gestis Magni Gregorii* et suorum imitatorum.”

6) Ibid.: “(Primum testimonium est *Eloquii divini* dicentis per Iacobum: ‘Fratres, nolite in personarum acceptione habere’ [James 2:1], etc.), ubi expresse dicitur quod qui plus intendit diuitibus quam pauperibus transgressor est divine legis et in uia dampnationis. Nec fides, ut dicit, potest eum saluare, quia similis est fidei demonum, qui bene ‘credunt et’ insuper ‘contremiscunt’, que Dei sunt, sed peruertunt et transgrediuntur ea (cf. James 2:19).”

7) Fol. 8r: “(sine qua [caritate]), nec psalmi nec misse nec ieiunia nec etiam elemosine (possunt aliquem saluare, dicente Deo per Apostolum [. . .]).”

8) Ibid.: “(Nam beatus Ludouicus, rex Francorum clarissimus, quamdiu uixit, seruauit istud, et auus uester et pater hoc ubique obseruauerunt. Et ideo felicitauit eos Deus) dupliciter, quia dedit eis triumphum quotienscumque potentes insurrexerunt contra eos, et ab omnibus timebantur, et in fine dierum eduxit eos de mundo cum plenitudine luminis spiritualis’. Et ex tunc rex frater uester seruauit istud et Deus in multis statum eius felicitauit.”

9) Ibid.: “Ad desiderium autem uestrum dico, sicut audiistis, quod indubitanter est a Deo et adimplebitur. Et ego super hoc uolo esse nuncius ad fratrem uestrum, et hoc desiderium aperit mihi enigmata *Scripturarum* et certificat de curriculis temporum usque ad finem mundi.”

10) Fols. 10v–11r: “sine scientia uel comissione Sedis Apostolice, ad quam solum uel ex speciali comissione ipsius spectat de scripturis euangelicis iudicare, et iudicio condemnare uel approbare.”

11) Fol. 13v: “(aliqui dicebant eum esse fantasticum, alii seductorem, alii phitonistam, alii uero ypocritam, nonnulli hereticum), quidam uero heresiarcam.”

12) Ibid.: “et quia uite mee durationem ignoro, propterea pando uobis quod inde scio, et uos scribatis, ut sit uobis memoriale, si contingat me prius obire, quam illa eueniant.”

13) Ibid.: “sed hec notate, que dicam.”

Modifications:

1)

MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fol. 4r–v	Flacius, <i>Catalogus, Appendix, 3</i>
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Nec inueniebamus in corde quenquam, cui tute possemus pandere conceptus nostros. Et in uisione, quam diximus uobis, uidebatur nobis quod audiremus uocem, dicentem nobis quod uobis communicaremus, et quia uos eratis absens et longe a nobis, nec facile nobis erat uestram habere presenciam, reputabamus illusionem. Et maxime quia aliquando temptauimus audire a quibusdam doctoribus statuum regularium, quos communis opinio iudicat uel estimat esse profundos in sapientia et intellectu oculorum, quid uideretur eis de illa uisione matris, quam diximus uobis. Et finaliter [fol. 4v] cognouimus quod ipsi habebant pro illusionem, licet aliquis eorum dixisset nobis quod poterat esse indicium celeste, significans nobis quod domina mater nostra erat in purgatorio et petebat suffragium. Et nos fecimus in suffragium eius tam missas celebrari quam elemosinas fieri.

Contingit autem quod illa estate, quam misimus pro uobis, eramus in Monte Albano, et uenit rumor ad nos de Messana quod uos decesseratis, et contristauit nos rumor ille, et dum nos cogitaremus fuisse illusionem quicquid uideramus, apparuit nobis more solito mater nostra et dixit nobis aperte quod mitteremus pro uobis, quia uos illuminaretis nos, et quod uiuebatis, et tunc repente precepimus quod armaretur lignum, et mandauimus ·G·, clerico camere nostre, quod ipse iret in ligno ad quecumque loca posset de uobis certos rumores audire, et expressimus, dicentes quod non credebamus illos rumores esse ueros et omnino uolebamus certificari de uita uel morte uestra et tradidimus ei literam nostram et mandauimus ei quod, si uiueretis, presentaret uobis et quod certa testimonia de uita uel obitu nobis afferret.

Et aliquando tentauimus audire, et a quibusdam doctoribus, statum Regularem, quos communis opinio iudicat uel aestimat esse profundos in sapientia et intellectu oculorum, quid uideretur eis de illa uisione matris.

Et finaliter cognouimus, quod ipsi habebant pro illusionem, licet aliquis eorum dixisset nobis, quod poterat esse indicium coeleste, significans nobis quod Domina mater nostra erat in purgatorio, et petebat suffragium. Et nos fecimus in suffragium [*sic*] eius tam missas celebrari, quam elemosynas fieri.

Contingit autem, cum nos ista aetate

cogitaremus circa illam uisionem, quod apparuit nobis more solito Domina mater nostra in somnio, uelata facie, et uidimus splendorem uultus eius mirabilem.

<p>Nunc autem, postquam fuistis in insula et ·G· uenit ad nos de Messana, notificans quod uos aderatis, apparuit nobis in sompno mater nostra reuelata facie et uidimus splendorem uultus eius mirabilem et tenebat dyadema gemmatum ineffabilis pulchritudinis et splendoris in manu dextera et dicebat nobis: “Hoc diadema portabis in capite”</p>	<p>Et tenebat diadema gemmatum ineffabilis pulchritudinis et splendoris in manu dextera, et dicebat mihi: “Hoc diadema portabis in capite”</p>
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2)

<p>MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fol. 14r</p>	<p>Flacius, <i>Catalogus, Appendix</i>, 11</p>
<p>Nunc autem, si placet, certificate me de uestro proposito, quia ego non possem tolerare quod hic uel alibi essem uagus ullo modo.</p>	<p>Nunc autem, si placet, certificate me de proposito uestro, pro expeditione mea.</p>

Some of these interventions seek to explain the content (addition 1) within which the *Interpretatio* was produced, or to eliminate biographical and historical details (modifications 1 and 2), or to simplify them (omissions 1, 8, 9 and 12), which could make it more difficult to understand, especially for a reader who knew little to nothing about Arnau de Vilanova and his cultural, religious and political context, or simply to make it easier to read (omission 13).

Others are clearly doctrinal in nature. The fragment in omission 6 argues that if the wealthy are preferred over the poor, not even faith can save us. The fragment in omission 7 examines the scientific value of charity, masses, fasting and alms. The fragment in omission 3 can be interpreted as the relationship between nature and grace. While they do not run directly counter to the positions upheld by the reformed theology, it may seem like they do. The fragments in omissions 5 and 10 justify (with biblical texts) certain functions or authorities of the Holy See. The purpose of these omissions, which may or may not have been made by Flacius himself, are to make Arnau de Vilanova’s *Interpretatio* fit fully within the goal for which the *Catalogus* had been written, namely “to find some witnesses from the history of Church, who would vouch for the truth and

truthfulness of Luther’s and his own faith and its understanding, as opposed to those of the Roman pope and his primate.”⁷²

CONCLUSION

If the analyses we have performed in the previous sections are correct, the course of events is the following: Before June 1309, Arnau de Vilanova orally interpreted a dream of King Frederick and related it to another dream that James II had had a few years earlier. Later, more or less before the consistory of Avignon, he wrote it up (*Interpretatio*) and read it at this consistory (late August or early September 1309) before the Pope and the cardinals. Warned by the Franciscan cardinals that his counsellor had defamed him, James II sought and secured an authentic copy of the Latin text of Avignon thanks to diplomatic arrangements with Clement V, and ordered Arnau de Vilanova to Almeria to explain in writing and in Catalan what he had said in Avignon. After reading the *Interpretatio* and the *Raonament d’Avinyó* and comparing them, James II broke off relations with Arnau de Vilanova and sent a copy of both treatises to Frederick of Sicily so he could read them and do the same, if he wished. The text of the MS *Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1* was used as the original for these copies. However, Frederick of Sicily stated that he saw no contradiction or anything untoward. The table below shows a chronological reconstruction of the most important events:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>

⁷² Ivan Kordić, “Croatian Philosophers IV: Matija Vlačić Ilirik – Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575),” *Prolegomena* 4/2 (2005): 229 and 232–33. See also Christina Beatricd Melanie Frank, *Untersuchungen zum Catalogus testium veritatis des Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. Tübingen, 1990); Thomas Haye, “Der *Catalogus testium veritatis* des Matthias Flacius Illyricus –eine Einführung in die Literatur des Mittelalters?,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 31–48; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, and Martina Hartmann, eds., *Catalogus und Centurien: interdisziplinäre Studien zu Matthias Flacius und den Magdeburger Centurien*, Tübingen, 2008.

After the 8 th of July 1304, probably in the spring of 1305	Arnau de Vilanova claims that he was summoned by James II, the king told him about a dream and Arnau interpreted it.
Before June 1309	Frederick had Arnau de Vilanova brought to him so he could interpret a dream he had been having for seven years. Arnau de Vilanova interpreted it in Sicily (Catania?): James II and Frederick of Sicily, with the full support of the Holy See, were to spearhead a plan for reform Christianity.
Before June 1309	As a result of Arnau de Vilanova's interpretation of the dream, Frederick writes a letter to James II telling him about his intentions to carry out a reform plan. [However, he does not send James II the text of the <i>Interpretatio</i> .] Frederick asks his brother to join him, not as yet another party but as "pater et artifex."
11 th of June 1309	James II responds positively to Frederick of Sicily and immediately heads for Granada.
Probably between the late spring of 1309 and August 1309	Arnau de Vilanova writes up the dream that Frederick of Sicily had told him and his interpretation.
August or more likely September 1309	Arnau de Vilanova reads the <i>Interpretatio</i> before the Pope and cardinals in a private consistory in Avignon.
26 th of October 1309	The cardinal of Porto, Minio da Morrovalle, writes a letter to James II to inform him that Arnau de Vilanova had made claims before the Pope that discredit him. He explained them to Romeu Ortig so that he could personally discuss them with the king.
27 th of October 1309	Romeu Ortig writes a letter to King James II telling him the content of the <i>Interpretatio</i> . He underscores that Arnau "vos, domine, et fratrem vestrum de dubio fidei coram Papa et Cardenalibus diffamavit."
Mid-January 1310	Summoned by James II, Arnau de Vilanova appears in Almeria to explain himself. There he reads the <i>Raonament d'Avinyó</i> . Since the king believes that Arnau de Vilanova's explanation does not match the information he was given by Romeu Ortig, James II writes a letter to the Pope (carried by Arnau de Vilanova himself) asking him for an authentic copy of the <i>Interpretatio</i> .
8 th of June 1310	

17 th of June 1310	Clement V signs the letter presenting the <i>Interpretatio</i> and sends the letter and work (“interclusa”) to James II via Arnau de Vilanova himself.
27 th of July 1310	From Marseilles, Arnau de Vilanova writes a letter to James II telling him that he is sending him the letter from Clement V and the <i>Interpretatio</i> via Ramon Conesa.
6 th of August 1310	Ramon Conesa writes to James II to tell him that he is sending him the letter from the Pope and the <i>Interpretatio</i> via his manservant Bernat Vidal.
24 th of September 1310	James II confirms receipt of the <i>Interpretatio</i> (to Ramon Conesa).
1 st of October 1310	Having seen that Arnau de Vilanova had committed three lies, James II writes a letter to Frederick of Sicily asking him to break off relations with Arnau de Vilanova, as he had.
4 th of October 1310	James II writes (practically identical) letters to Clement V and cardinals Frédol and Morrovalle explaining the deeds, apologising and asking that his letter to be read in the consistory.
24 th of October 1310	James II sends Frederick of Sicily the <i>Interpretatio</i> and the <i>Raonament d’Avinyó</i> . The originals of these two copies are, respectively, the first and third “books” now conserved in the codex <i>Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1</i> .
9 th of January 1311	Clement V writes to James II and downplays the importance of the affair.
10 th of January 1311	From Messina, Arnau de Vilanova writes to James II: he recommends a medication, expresses his loyalty and reminds him that no one can forbid Arnau from esteeming him. On this date and shortly before or after, Frederick writes two letters to James II, one to confirm receipt of the treatises and the other claiming that he sees no contradiction nor anything untoward or defamatory in the treatises. He sends him the <i>Interpretatio spiritual</i> .

It is also clear that: 1) the *Interpretatio* is the text that was read by Arnau de Vilanova in a private consistory at the papal court in Avignon (in August or September 1309); 2) Frederick’s letter alluded to at the end of the *Interpretatio* and sent to James II (published by Flacius Illyricus, and by Menéndez y Pelayo along with the response from

James II and the *Interpretatio*)⁷³ did not have this work attached to it; 3) an authenticated copy of the text of the *Interpretatio* was sent by Clement V to James II (via Arnau de Vilanova, Ramon Conesa and Bernat Vidal) between the 8th of June and the 6th of August 1310, and on the 4th of October 1310 James II sent a copy (along with the *Raonament d'Avinyó*) to Frederick of Sicily; 4) the manuscript of the *Interpretatio*, Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fols. 2r–14v is almost certainly the *exemplar* that James II sent to Frederick and most likely the same copy that Clement V sent to James II; 5) the manuscript of the *Informació espiritual*, Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1, fols. 15r–26v was sent by Frederick to James II in an undated letter in response to another letter from James II dated the 4th of October 1310.

In contrast, the text of the *Interpretatio* published by Matthias Flacius in 1562 (and in several subsequent editions) does not match the MS Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial 1: it is missing fragments on doctrine that do not fit with the objectives of the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, along with biographical and historical information that are not important to a modern or Lutheran reader. In contrast, it does contain elements identifying and contextualising the work (which must have been in the manuscript) that are not in the copy housed in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon.

⁷³ Cf. Flacius, *Catalogus, Appendix*, 11–13 and 13–15; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, 7:254–57 and 257–60 (Alanyà, “Diplomatari,” 130, no. 155; and 131–32, no. 159).