

THE *COLLOCUTIO FRIDERICI REGIS SICILIAE ET NOSTRA, LECTA ET  
COMMUNICATA SEDI APOSTOLICAE* BY ARNAU DE VILANOVA (†1311): A  
REHABILITATION PROPOSAL\*

*Collocutio Friderici regis Siciliae et nostra, Arnaldi de Villanova, lecta et communicata Sedi apostolicae* (henceforth *Collocutio*) is the title of the opusculum by Arnau de Vilanova from a codex that is now lost (or at least whose whereabouts are unknown) transcribed by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in his *Catalogus testium veritatis* (f).<sup>1</sup> In his 1879 monograph on Arnau de Vilanova, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo published the *Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villa nova de visionibus in somniis dominorum Jacobi Secundi Regis Aragonum et Frederici Tertii Regis Sicilie* (henceforth *Interpretatio*) based on the codex preserved in Barcelona, in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Archives of the Crown of Aragon, ACA), Diversos i col·leccions, Casa Reial, Ms. 1 (B), which dates from the time of King James II of Catalonia-Aragon and King Frederick III of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> One year later, M. Menéndez included this monograph in his *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. At that time, M. Menéndez knew of the text edited by M. Flacius. He established that both texts were the same, and included the variations of the edition by M. Flacius in the critical apparatus accompanying his own edition.<sup>3</sup> Since 1880, it has been *opinio communis* that the two works are (supposedly) identical. As a result, the title *Interpretatio* has prevailed and *Collocutio* has not been used again.<sup>4</sup>

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\* This research note is the outcome of the research project entitled “Corpus Digital d’Arnau de Vilanova”, MEC, FFI2014-53050-C5-2-P.

<sup>1</sup> M. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, 2nd ed., Strasbourg, apud Paulum Machaeropaeum 1562, Appendix, 1-14. The *Collocutio* was also included in subsequent editions (Lyon, ex typographia Antonii Candidi 1597; Geneva, in Officina Iacobi Stoer et Iacobi Chouët 1608; Frankfurt, [s.n.] 1666 and, ex Officina Zunneriana 1672), in the translations into German (Frankfurt, Johannes Schmidt 1573) and Dutch (Hoorn, Martin Gerbrantsz 1633), and in the work by J. WOLF, *Lectiones memorabiles*, Lauingen, Leonhardus Rheinmichel 1600, and Frankfurt, Grosius 1671-2. Vid. S. GIRALT, “Arnau de Vilanova en la Reforma protestant”, in *Faventia* 31/1-2 (2009), 201-212.

<sup>2</sup> M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, médico catalán del siglo XIII. Ensayo histórico*, Madrid 1879, 91-127.

<sup>3</sup> M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, I, Madrid 1880, 720-38. We shall cite the second edition in this research note: MENÉNDEZ, *Historia*, 2nd edn, VII (Edición nacional de las Obras Completas de Menéndez y Pelayo 41), Madrid 1963, 233-54.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the most widely used lists of Arnau’s works: J. CARRERAS I ARTAU, “Les obres teològiques d’Arnau de Vilanova”, in *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1935), 224, no. 32; F. SANTI, *Arnau de Vilanova. L’obra espiritual* (Història i Societat 5), València 1987, 263, no. 40; or J. MENSA I VALLS, *Arnau de Vilanova, espiritual: Guia bibliogràfica* (Treballs de la Secció de Filosofia i Ciències Socials 17), Barcelona 1994, 84, no. 17.

The purpose of this research note is to argue that: *a)* the *Interpretatio* and *Collocutio* are two different texts, even though they are closely related and their contents mostly match; *b)* chronologically, the *Interpretatio* dates prior to the *Collocutio*; *c)* from the standpoint of the content, the *Interpretatio* was integrated into the *Collocutio* as a main part of the work; *d)* the text from **B** is extracted from the *Collocutio*; *e)* the title *Interpretatio* of **B** dates after the copy of the work; and *f)* the title *Collocutio* reflects its dialogued form. For this reason, the title is very appropriate and merits our confidence.

In a recent study, we have analysed and described **B** and studied the origin, circumstances and history of the text.<sup>5</sup> Given our objectives, I believe it is important to highlight the following information:

*a)* Before June 1309, Arnau de Vilanova was in Sicily where he interpreted a dream that Frederick had had, which he related to a similar dream of his brother James II, namely, that the dreams were a divine command for the kings to lead a reform of Christianity. As a result of his conversation with Arnau de Vilanova, Frederick wrote a letter to James II in which he told his brother of his intention to undertake the reform and requested that James II support him in his endeavour and head the reform. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, James II responded affirmatively. At the same time, Arnau de Vilanova wrote an account of his conversation with King Frederick: the *Interpretatio*. Sometime thereafter (August or early September 1309), he read a speech, in addition to the letters exchanged between the two kings, before Pope Clement V and the papal court to request their involvement.<sup>6</sup>

*b)* Minio da Morrovalle and Romeu Ortig informed King James II that Arnau de Vilanova had suggested to Pope Clement V at the consistory in Avignon that the Catalan king had doubts about his faith. James II requested an explanation from Arnau and so he went to Almeria (a city besieged by James II at the time) in January 1310 to speak to the king personally and provide him an explanation in writing in the *Raonament d'Avinyó*.<sup>7</sup> James II asked Clement V to give him a copy of Arnau de Vilanova's speech at the consistory. James received the copy before the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 1310 and, in turn, sent a copy to Frederick on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October. Codex **B** is the original

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<sup>5</sup> J. MENSA, "The *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis* by Arnau de Vilanova (Barcelona, ACA, Casa Reial MS 1): Origin, Circumstances, and History of the Text", in *Mediaeval Studies* 79 (2017), 131-63.

<sup>6</sup> MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 137-44.

<sup>7</sup> The *Raonament d'Avinyó* is a very free version in Catalan of the speech that Arnau delivered before the Pope and the cardinals.

copy of that speech and probably the same one that Clement V sent to James II.<sup>8</sup>

In what follows we will go one step further to compare the content of the *Interpretatio* (**B**) and the *Collocutio* (**f**) and analyse how their different parts are related.<sup>9</sup>

Barcelona, ACA, Ms. 1 ( <b>B</b> )	Flacius ( <b>f</b> )
F. 1r. [Title: <i>Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villa Nova de visionibus in somniis dominorum Iacobi secundi regis Aragonum et Friderici tercii regis Sicilie, eius fratris</i> ]	P. 1. Title: <i>Collocutio Friderici regis Sicilie et nostra, Arnaldi de Villanova, lecta et communicata Sedi apostolicae</i>
—	1: <i>Exordium</i>
Ff. 2r-14r: Direct dialogue between Frederick of Sicily and Arnau de Vilanova, narrated by Arnau	1-11: Idem
—	11-13: <i>Friderici Sicilie regis ad fratrem Iacobum Aragonum regem epistola</i>
—	13-14: <i>Iacobi Aragonum regis ad fratrem Fridericum Sicilie regem epistola</i>

Table 1. Comparison of the content of **B** and **f**

*a) Title:* The title of **B** was written by another later hand (14<sup>th</sup> century) on the f. 1r. Ms as it originally had no title. Although Arnau de Vilanova's interpretation of James II's dream is secondary (in meaning and length) to that of Frederick's, James II's name precedes Frederick's in the title of **B**. Indeed, it appears to be a title devised for internal use at the court or chancellery of James II. The title of **f** clearly expresses the dialogued form and the content of this opuscle, reports on the place where it was read (papal court) and is reminiscent of Arnau's style.<sup>10</sup>

*b) Exordium:* Arnau de Vilanova explains the meaning of his speech before the Holy See and the origin of the conversation with Frederick (in Catania) only in **f**. Furthermore, the final words of the exordium ('Rex predictus exorsus est mihi pandere causam, propter quam me uocauerat sub talibus verbis') tie in with Frederick of Sicily's initial speech.<sup>11</sup>

*c) Dialogue:* This is the main part of the work. Statements in the first person by Arnau de Vilanova which narrate the dialogue in the past alternate with Arnau's own speech and that of King Frederick. At one point, Arnau

<sup>8</sup> MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 152-4.

<sup>9</sup> For an analysis of the main variations in the texts, see MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 156-60.

<sup>10</sup> The title of the early version of the *Alphabetum catholicorum*, another dialogued work, is *Collocutio dydascalica* (Sydney, University Library, Nicholson, Ms. 23, f. 151).

<sup>11</sup> FLACIUS, *Catalogus*, Appendix, 1.

also reproduces a dialogue he had with James II. While in **f** Frederick's first speech is introduced in the last sentence of the exordium, in **B** the text begins abruptly with Frederick's own words in the first person, such that those who read or listen to the text do not know who is speaking.<sup>12</sup> The literary structure of the dialogue requires an exordium like the one in **f**.

**B** also ends brusquely: 'Rex autem, hiis auditis, traxit se in solitudinem et scripsit predicta in suo uulgari et ecce qualiter per literam suam alloquitur fratrem suum'.<sup>13</sup> As in **f**, one would expect to encounter the letter Frederick wrote to James II (and the latter's reply) in **B**, but it is not to be found.

d) *The letters*: The letters are only contained in **f**. One can deduce that the letter from King Frederick (as well as James II's reply) was the outcome of the oral conversation between the king and his physician as these words from Arnau to Frederick in the *Interpretatio* would seem to suggest:<sup>14</sup>

Scribatis igitur in uulgari uestro totum processum, quem cogitastis circa cultum euangelii obseruare et substantiam illius insinuationis, quam uultis facere regi Aragonum fratri uestro, et faciemus ambo iuxta seriem uestri uulgaris in latinum conuerti.

In *Raonament d'Avinyó*, Arnau himself explains that he read the letters before the pope and the cardinals:<sup>15</sup>

E, per tal que mils me'n creegats, legir-vos he los translats de les letres que ambdosos los reys trameseren la ·I· al altre. E, car primerament fuy messatge del rey Frederich al rey En Jacme, primerament vos legiré lo translat de la sua letra, e puxes lo translat de la responsiva del rey d'Aragó.

The letters circulated between the two kings without the text of the *Interpretatio* (James II was not aware of the text and had to request it from the pope). However, they were attached to the text of the *Interpretatio* when Arnau de Vilanova read it in Avignon. The text of the second letter is also preserved in the ACA of Barcelona, Cancelleria, Reg. 335, f. 337v and f. 295r (**C**).

Why was the text of the *Interpretatio* of **B** not accompanied by these two letters? The reason seems to be simple: **B** is the original copy sent by James II to Frederick of Sicily, and probably the same one that Clement V sent to James II at the king's request. It would make no sense whatsoever for the pope to have attached two letters (which were very familiar to the kings) to this copy.

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<sup>12</sup> Most likely for this reason, MENÉNDEZ, *Historia*, 233, introduces the name 'Fridericus' to indicate that the speaker is the king.

<sup>13</sup> ARNALDUS DE VILLANOVA, *Interpretatio*, **B**, f. 14r.

<sup>14</sup> ARNALDUS DE VILLANOVA, *Interpretatio*, **B**, f. 14r.

<sup>15</sup> ARNAU DE VILANOVA, *Obres catalanes*, I, ed. M. BATLLORI (Els Nostres Clàssics A 53-54), Barcelona 1947, 218.

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Everything suggests that the set of writings edited by Flacius—the exordium, Arnau de Vilanova’s account of his conversation with King Frederick, the letter from Frederick to James II and James II’s reply—form a whole. This is confirmed by the internal references and the testimony of Arnau himself in *Raonament d’Avinyó*, and proves the purpose of the work: to be read before Pope Clement V. The title *Collocutio* is in Arnau’s style. In contrast, the text of the *Interpretatio* of **B** is not autarchic: it requires a textual context that is not provided in **B**. Originally, the *Interpretatio* may have stood as an independent work (which is quite likely), but we have no proof of this. **B** is an excerpt from the *Collocutio*. The title of **B** dates later (see *Table 2*) and does not reflect the content of the opuscle. In conclusion:

a) We suggest distinguishing between these two works. One is the written account of the conversation that Arnau had with Frederick about a dream that was causing the king distress; the other is the text read about this first work, contextualised with an exordium and the letters of kings Frederick and James in which they promise to undertake the reform Arnau de Vilanova suggested when he interpreted their dreams. The former was written after the conversation between Frederick and Arnau de Vilanova in the spring of 1309 and prior to it being read before Clement V, while the latter was read in the consistory (August or September 1309). It is a pity that we only have one edition of the *Collocutio* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century!

b) We suggest the title *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis* for the first of the two works (**B**) and *Collocutio Friderici regis Siciliae et nostra, lecta et communicata Sedi apostolicae* for the second (**f**).

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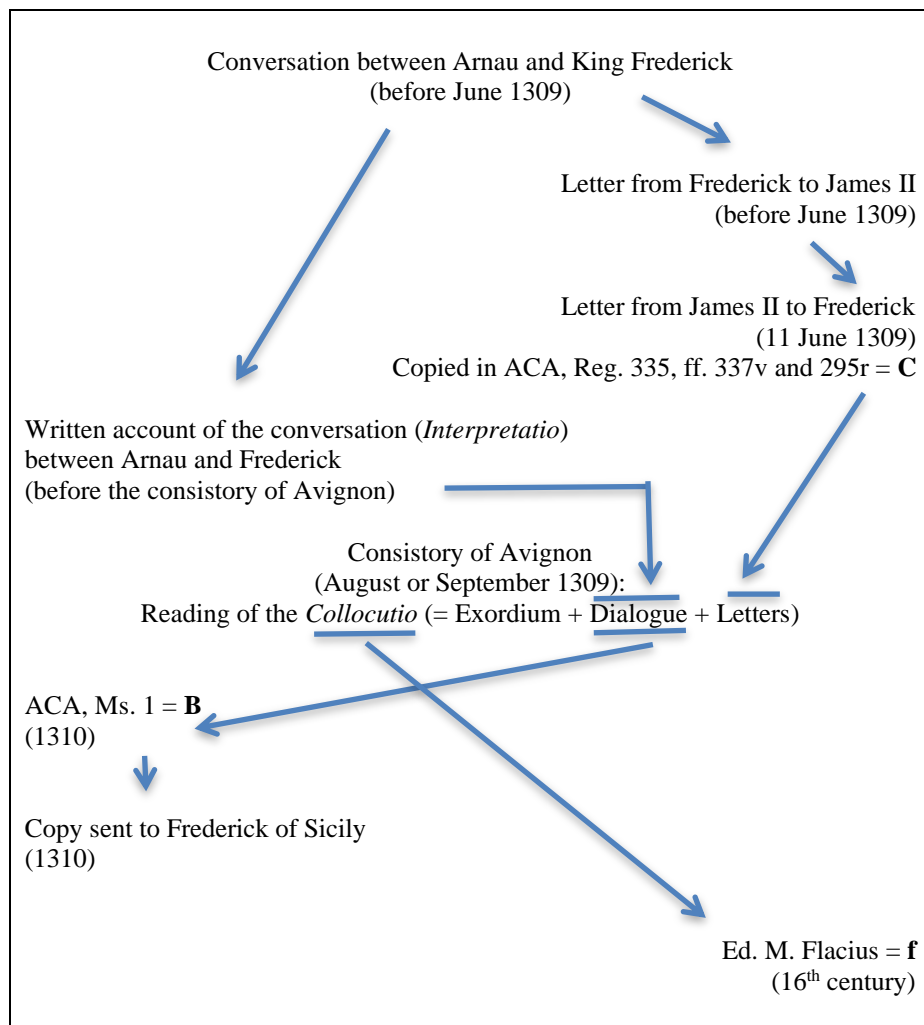


Table 2. *Diagram of the writing process of the Interpretatio and the Collocutio*