

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

Collocutio Friderici regis Siciliae et nostra Arnaldi de Villanova, lecta et communicata Sedi Apostolicae (henceforth *Collocutio*) is the title of the opuscule by Arnau de Vilanova transcribed by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in his *Catalogus testium veritatis* (=f) from a codex that is now lost (or at least whose whereabouts are unknown).¹ 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 (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.² One year later, Marcelino Menéndez included this monograph in his *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. At that time, Menéndez was aware of the work edited by Flacius, having established that the texts were substantially the same, and he included the differences between them in the critical comments accompanying his own edition.³ Since 1880, it has been *opinio communis* that the two works are broadly identical. As a result, the title *Interpretatio* prevailed and *Collocutio* fell into disuse.⁴

^{*} This research note is the outcome of the research projects entitled “Corpus Digital d’Arnau de Vilanova”, MEC, FFI2014-53050-C5-2-P; and PRO2018-205-MENSA, Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

¹ 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 Rheinichel 1600, and Frankfurt, Grosius 1671-2. Cf. S. GIRALT, “Arnau de Vilanova en la Reforma protestant”, in *Faventia* 31.1-2 (2009), 201-12.

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

³ M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, vol. I, Madrid 1880, 720-38. We shall cite the second edition in this research note: MENÉNDEZ, *Historia*, VII (Edición Nacional de las Obras Completas de Menéndez y Pelayo 41), Madrid 1963², 233-54.

⁴ 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 Tarragonensis* 12 (1936), 224

In this research note it is argued that: a) the *Interpretatio* and *Collocutio* are two distinct texts, even though they are closely related and their contents broadly correspond; b) chronologically, the *Interpretatio* predates the *Collocutio*; c) the *Interpretatio* was integrated into the *Collocutio* as the main part of the work; d) the text of Ms. B is extracted from the *Collocutio*; e) the title *Interpretatio* was given to Ms. B after it was extracted from the *Collocutio*; and f) the title *Collocutio* reflects its dialogue form and thus seems to be appropriate and deserving of some credit.

In a recent study, we analysed and described Ms. B and studied the origin, circumstances and history of the text⁵ Given our objectives, I believe it is important to highlight the following findings:

a) Before June 1309, Arnau de Vilanova was in Sicily, where he interpreted a dream that Frederick had had, relating it to a similar dream by the king's brother, James II. According to Arnau 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 him of his intention to undertake the reform, urging him to support his endeavours and to lead the reform himself. On the 11th of June, James II responded affirmatively. At the same time, Arnau de Vilanova wrote an account of his conversation with King Frederick: the *Interpretatio*. Some time thereafter (August or early September 1309), he presented the correspondence between the two kings to Pope Clement V at a consistory of the papal court in Avignon and gave a speech appealing for their involvement⁶

b) Minio da Morrovalle and Romeu Ortí 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, who went to Almeria (a city besieged by James II at the time) in January 1310 to speak to the king personally and provide him with an explanation in writing the *Raonament d'Avinyó*.⁷ James II also asked Clement V to give him a copy of Arnau de Vilanova's speech at the consisto-

n.32; F. SANTI, *Arnau de Vilanova. L'obra espiritual* (Història i Societat 5), València 1987, 263 n.40; J. MENSA I VALLS, *Arnau de Vilanova, espiritual: Guia bibliogràfica* (Treballs de la Secció de Filosofia i Ciències Socials 17), Barcelona 1994, 84 n.17.

⁵ 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.

⁶ MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 137-44.

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

ry. James received the copy before the 6th of August 1310 and, in turn, sent a copy to Frederick on the 4th of October. Ms. B is the original copy of that speech and probably the same one that Clement V sent to James II.⁸

In what follows we will go one step further to compare the content of the *Interpretatio* (Ms. B) and the *Collocutio* (f) and analyse how their different parts are related (Table1).⁹

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

a) *Title*: Ms. B originally did not bear any title and one was added by a later hand in the 14th century. Although Arnau de Vilanova's interpretation of James II's dream is secondary (in significance and length) to that of Frederick's, James II's name precedes Frederick's in the title of Ms. B. Indeed, it appears to be a title devised for internal use at the court or chancellery of James II. The title of Ms. f clearly expresses the dialogue form and the content of the opuscule, points out the place where it was read (the papal court) and is reminiscent of Arnau's style¹⁰

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 Ms. 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 speech¹¹

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

⁸ MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 152-54.

⁹ For an analysis of the main variants in the texts, see MENSA, "The *Interpretatio*", 156-60.

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

¹¹ FLACIUS, *Catalogus*, Appendix, 1.

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

Ms. B also ends abruptly: "Rex autem, hiis auditis, traxit se in solitudinem et scripsit predicta in suo uulgari et ecce qualiter per literam suam alloquitur fratrem suum".¹³ As in Ms. f, one would expect to find the letter Frederick wrote to James II (and the latter's reply), but it is not the case.

d) *The letters*: The letters are only contained in Ms. f. It may be deduced that the letter from King Frederick (as well as James II's reply) was the transcript of the oral conversation between the king and his physician, as these words from Aranau to Frederick in the *Interpretatio* would seem to suggest:¹⁴

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 vulgaris in latinum conuerti.

In the *Raonament d'Avinyó*, Aranau himself explains that he read the letters before the pope and the cardinals:¹⁵

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 were exchanged between the two kings without reference to 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 Aranau de Vilanova read it in Avignon. The text of the second letter is also preserved in Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria Reg. 335, f. 337v and f. 295r (=C).

Why was the text of the *Interpretatio* in Ms. B not accompanied by these two letters? The reason seems to be simple: Ms. B is the original copy sent

¹² It is most likely for this reason that MENÉNZ, *Historia*, 233, introduces the name 'Fridericus' to indicate that the speaker is the king.

¹³ ARNALDUS DE VILLANOVA, *Interpretatio*, Ms. B, f. 14r.

¹⁴ ARNALDUS DE VILLANOVA, *Interpretatio*, Ms. B, f. 14r.

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

by James II to Frederick of Sicily, and probably the 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 with which the king was already familiar to this copy.

Conclusion

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 the *Raonament d'Avinyó*, and is consistent with the purpose of the work, which was to be read before Pope Clement V. The title *Collocutio* reflects Arnau's style. In contrast, the *Interpretatio* in Ms. B is not intended as a stand-alone text: it requires a textual context that is not provided. Originally, the *Interpretatio* may have stood as an independent work (which is quite likely), but we have no proof of this, and Ms. B appears to be an excerpt from the *Collocutio*. The title of Ms. B was added later (see Table 2) and does not reflect the content of the opuscule. In conclusion:

- a) We suggest that these two works be distinguished. One is the written account of Arnau's conversation with Frederick about a dream that was causing the king distress; the other is an account of this first dialogue, 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). Unfortunately, modern editions of the *Collocutio* are not yet available, as we have only an edition from the 16th century.
- b) We suggest the title *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis* for the first of the two works (Ms. B) and *Collocutio Friderici regis Siciliae et nostra, lecta et communicata Sedi apostolicae* for the second (Ms. f).

Conversation between Arnau and King Frederick
(before June 1309)

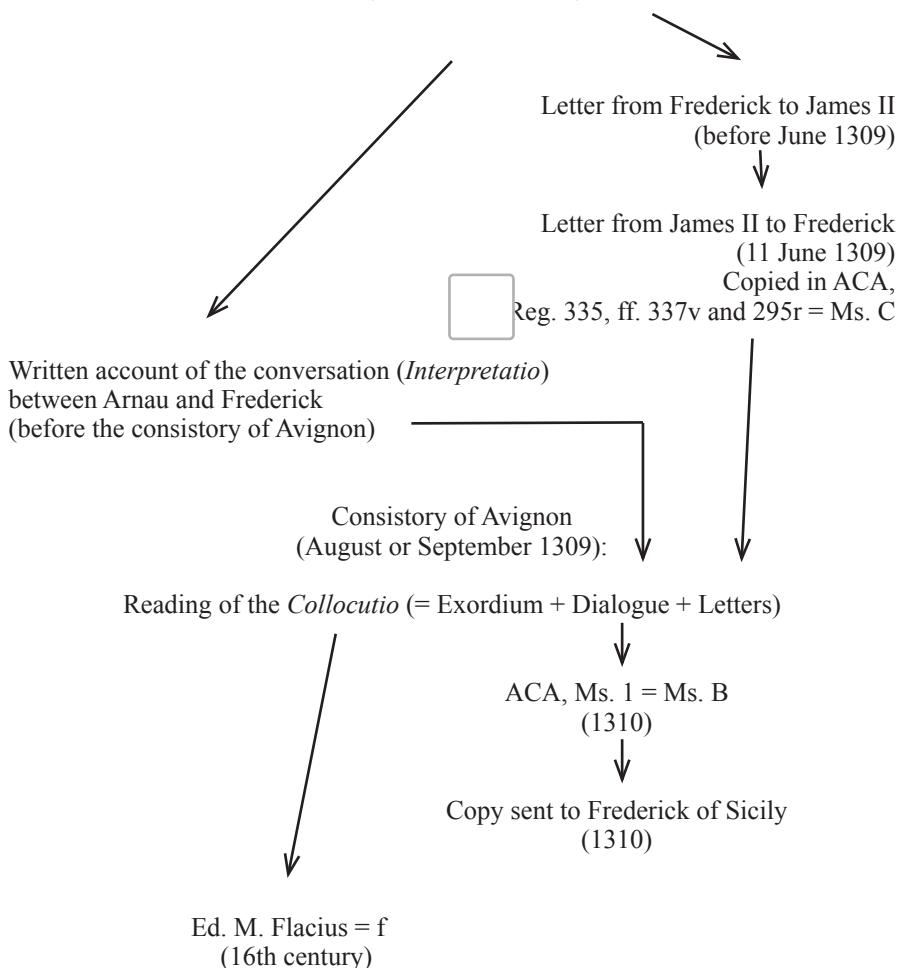


Table 2. *Diagram of the writing process
of the Interpretatio and the Collocutio*



Abstract: The aim of this article is to analyse and explain the differences between the text written by Arnau de Vilanova and edited by M. Flacius Illiricus (transcribed from an unidentified codex and currently lost) in 1562 under the title *Collocutio Friderici Regis Siciliae et nostra*, and the text edited by M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Diversos i col·leccions, Casa Reial, Ms. 1) in 1879 under the title *Interpretatio facta per magistrum Arnaldum de Villa nova de visionibus in somniis dominorum Jacobi Secundi Regis Aragonum et Frederici Tertii Regis Siciliae*. Since Menéndez's edition, the idea has spread among Arnau de Vilanova scholars that both works were the same and that the differences were simple textual variants of little importance. The article concludes that the *Collocutio* is actually the complete and definitive version of the work, and that the *Interpretatio* is a partial version corresponding to a previous stage in the redaction of the work. *Collocutio* is also the definitive title.

Keywords: Arnau de Vilanova, *Collocutio*, *Interpretatio*, M. Flacius, Frederick of Sicily, dream interpretation

