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THE PARISIAN CENSURE OF ARNAU DE VILANOVA
(August 1300)*

Abstract: Medieval Europe left a wealth of archival materials to construct a prosopographical study of Arnau de Vilanova's connections. This article draws on some of these materials to expose the workings of Arnau de Vilanova's arrest in Paris by the official of the bishop's court. This unfortunate event occurred on his mission in 1300 to the King of France on behalf of the Kings of Aragon and Mallorca. The material in this paper includes a new Arnaldian document from a French inquiry in December 1300 into tax policies imposed on Mediterranean merchant ships from the Crown of Aragon and Mallorca. The consequence of the new French coastal policy was one of the three issues Arnau de Vilanova conveyed to King Philippe of France at Becoiseau in August 1300.

Keywords: King Philippe IV; Becoiseau; Saint Louis' Day; Archbishop Aceylin of Narbonne; Guillaume the Nogaret; Simon de Marchesi; the bishop's court of Paris; the feast of Saint Bartholomew.

Introduction

After the bishop's court in Paris convicted Arnau de Vilanova in September 1300, the Catalan¹ physician sent a statement to the French King Philippe IV.² It paved the way for a written appeal to the Pope,³ which the

* Based on the preparations of a prosopographical study of Arnau's connection, T.H.M. Falke v.42 (15 May 2021).

1. «De nostris partibus oriundus», King Jaume II of Aragon would write in 1304, Antoni RUBIÒ I LLUCH, *Documents per la Historia de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis catalans, 1921, vol. 1, 38, no. 30. Arnau was born during the reign of Jaume I (1208-1276), around the time King Jaume tried to kidnap the heiress to Provence to restore his dynasty's control of Provence. Earlier, on 23 April 1241, King Jaume I had advertised himself as king of «tota terra regis Aragonum et suorum a Rodano usque Valenciam», Robert I BURNS, «The loss of Provence. King Jaume's raid to Kidnap its Heiress (1245): documenting a legend», in *Warrior Neighbours: Crusader Valencia in its International Context, Collected Essays of Father Robert I. Burns, SJ*, ed. Mary E. PERRY, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 307-350.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MSS Latin 17.534, ff. 103c-104d, printed in ARNAU DE VILANOVA, *Tractatus de tempore adventus antichristi ipsius et aliorum scripta coaeva*, ed. curated by Joseph PERARNAU (Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Theologica Omnia [AVOThO], V), Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2014, 350-356, 160-355. Quotes in English in this presentation are from Lynn THORNDIKE, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*, New York: CUP, 1944, 128-132.

3. «Ex parte domini regis et Apostolice Sedis», VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 349, 122-123.

bishop's court had previously denied.⁴ In his legal document to the King, Arnau describes his imprisonment for one night in Paris by the official of the bishop's court and the critical role the Archbishop of Narbonne and Guillem de Nogaret played in his release the following morning.⁵ The nocturnal captivity in a pernicious house occurred after Arnau de Vilanova returned from visiting the King of France. McVaugh has demonstrated that all these events occurred in the summer of 1300, which helped solve a long-standing conundrum surrounding incompatible historical data. Internationally, most leading historians have accepted the conclusions of his landmark paper of 2006.⁶ For others, it appears to be a bit of a grit in their shaping of Arnaldian studies.

Some protagonists during the winter of 1299/1300

In this paper, we will add some related facts and details to what happened during the month of Arnau's captivity in 1300, which seem incompatible with an old proposition for a date in December 1299. Let us start by looking at the whereabouts of three protagonists that played a crucial role in Arnau's release from detention in Paris.

First, Julien Théry observed that King Philippe's councillor Guillaume de Nogaret, a law professor from Montpellier, is in Marsillargues (South of France) during the winter of 1299, according to a document dated 2 December 1299.⁷ Next, de Nogaret surfaces in Milan with an embassy to Rome in March 1300.⁸ Advance payments for his visit to Rome were recorded in February 1300.⁹ A historian can only guess that he stayed in the south of France during the winter of 1299, because strictly speaking, there is no information on his whereabouts between 2 December and March 1300.

Second, King Philippe was at Vaucouleurs («vallis colorem») between 8 and 15 December 1299. He visited places such as 'Rigny-St. Martin' ('Risnel'), 'les Maroches' close to Vaucouleurs, and on the east bank of the Maas valley, the meadow between 'Toul' and 'Bracôte' («in prato infra Tol et

4. VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 347, 55-60.

5. VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 351, 176-181.

6. Michael R. MCVAUGH, «Arnau de Vilanova and Paris: one embassy or two?», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 73 (2006), 29-42.

7. Transcription from «rouleau original coté tome second ns. 22», in «Cartulaire de la Communauté de Massillargues (1781)», ed. L. BAUMEL, 27-30 (presently in E Dépôt AA4, Archives départementales de l'Herault 1 MI 614/1). A date of 15 December is suggested in Julien THÉRY, «A Heresy of State: Philip the Fair, the Trial of the "Perfidious Templars", and the Pontificalization of the French Monarchy», *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 39/2 (2013), 144, n. 70.

8. Jean COSTE, *Boniface en procès* (Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Studi e documenti d'archivio, 5), Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995, 89, n. 1.

9. Jules VIARD, *Les journaux du trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1840, 637, no. 4353 and 646, no. 4434.

Baclior») at the Quatre-Vaux elevation ('Quatre Vallis').¹⁰ There, he had a ceremonial meeting with the emperor Albert of Austria.¹¹ His return route can be traced through various documents back to Paris, where he did not arrive before 30 December. In the last weeks of 1299, between 15 and 31 December, the King on his return trip to Fontainebleu issued east of Paris documents at the Benedictine abbey of Montier-en-Der (75 km. west of Vaucouleurs), Meaux, and Fontenay-Trésigny (Château de Vivier-en-Brie).¹²

The third protagonist is the Archbishop of Narbonne, who helped Arnau de Vilanova during his night of captivity. The Archbishop of Narbonne, after he presided over the provincial council of Béziers on 29 and 30 October 1299,¹³ remained in Narbonne for the winter to sort out his differences with the viscount of Narbonne.¹⁴ He stayed there at least until after 13 March 1300, according to a document of King Philippe.¹⁵ Archbishop Aycelin reached an agreement with his vassal by the spring of 1300, which Pope Boniface rejected in his letter of 18 July «Recordare rex inclyte» he sends to

10. For the geographic locations see Cartes IGN, no. 121, and ING, no. 3215E. See also ANONYMI, *Chronicon Austriacum*, ed. A. RAUCH (Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores, 2), Vienna, 1793, vol. II, 297. For the king's departure on the 15th see Fritz KERN, *Acta imperii Anglia et Franciae ab A. 1267 ad A. 1313, Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Beziehungen Deutschlands*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1911, no. 278, 210, 2.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 10981, f. 42. Additionally see M. CLOËT (Histoire de Verdun et du pays verdunois, 3), Verdun: Imprimerie Laurent, 1870, 41-49.

12. Elisabeth LALOU, *Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285-1314)* (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouv. Sér., 37-38), Paris, 2007. In a document of 30 December 1299, the king mandates his brother in Paris, Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Troisième cartulaire de Flandre, pièce 43.

13. On the council of his suffragans in Béziers see Charles-Joseph HEFELE, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, VI, pt. I, 458-460. At Béziers concerns were expressed about the viscount of Narbonne, and the activities of Olivi's followers, including a spiritual community of lay persons («... Beguini seu Beguinae vulgariter appellati...»). Canon 6 concerned the instalment of St. Louis' Day in the province de Narbonne, and Canon 4 the ban on «béguins and béguines». The ban on Beguines contrasts with the fate of the prosperous Beguines of Marseille in a will of Arnau de Vilanova, Ramon D'ALÒS, «De la marmessoria d'Arnau de Vilanova», in *Miscel·lània Prat de la Riba*, vol. 1, Barcelone: Institut d'Etudis Catalans, 1923, 299. They were protected by Pope John XII, J. H. ALBANÉS, *La vie de Sainte Douceline, fondatrice des Béguines de Marseille*, Marseille: Camoin, 1879, 277-280, no. 15 and *Jean XXII (1316-1334): lettres communes*, ed. G. MOLLAT, (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3e série, 7), Paris: Fontemoing, 1914, 155-156, no. 40257.

14. Claude DE VIC and Joseph VAISSETE, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, vol. 6, Toulouse: Paya, 1843, 281, no. 61

15. Louis-Guillaume DE VILEVAULT et al., *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1727, 12, 339-20. Some historians think that he heard the complaints of Bernard de Délicieux against the Dominican inquisitors in the case Castel Fabri in Carcassonne between the 4th and 10th of July based on «Instrumentum appellationis Bernardi Delitiosi», Douat, 24, f. 123, printed in B. HAURÉAU, *Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition albigeoise 1300-1320*, Paris: Hachette, 1877, 167-176, esp. 172.

King Philippe.¹⁶ On 19 July 1300, King Philippe meets in Chaigny with the Archbishop of Narbonne and G. de Nogaret and several other protagonists that acted during the days and months of Arnau's capture or tribunal.¹⁷ Then, two weeks after the King was in Chaigny, we find him and Arnau de Vilanova in Mortcerf.¹⁸ These few facts confirm the incompatibility with a mission in 1299 and the likelihood of a single mission in August 1300. In the next paragraph, we concentrate on king Philippe's residence in Mortcef. In this village are the ruins of Becoiseau, in 1300 a mansion of Joan I of Navarra, where King Philippe received Arnau de Vilanova.

The mansion {'domus'} of Becoiseau at Mortcerf, Brie

In 1249/1252, the mansion was likely one of the 'fortericie' of the count of Champagne in the remote village 'Moressart [Mortcerf].'¹⁹ The property was held by baron Hugh V de Châtillon, lord of Crècy (count of Blois and Saint-Pol).²⁰ In 1294, after Philippe married Joan I of Navarra in 1284, the property appears as the royal couple's «domorum nostrarum de Becoyse». ²¹ The possession came into the hands of the royal couple after a switch between properties with Gaucher V de Châtillon in 1290, including the châtelanie of Crècy-en-Brie. In 1299 the mansion appeared under the name 'Becoisel'.²² The earliest reference to 'Becoisel' can be traced back to a document in March 1261-1262 issued by Thibaud V of Navarre.²³ Around the time Arnau de

16. See references on p. 1997 in *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Augustus POTTHAST, Graz: Akademische Druk, 1957, vol. 2, 1996-1997, no. 24969.

17. Elisabeth LALOU, *Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285-1314)*, on internet: <http://telma-chartes.irbt.cnrs.fr/actes-philippe4> (consulted on 21 September 2021).

18. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 1563, n°62.

19. Rôles de fiefs du règne de Thibaud IV le chansonnier, Auguste LONGNON, *Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie, Les Fiefs*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), vol. 1, 194, 5307. In the documents of the 13th century Becoiseau depended on Crècy, and usually appears together with the fiefs Crèveoeur and Villeneuve.

20. It originated from an ancestral acquisition in 1217, Trésor des chartes (layettes 755-1223), J/383, G. et H. DE CHÂTILLON, sires de Crècy, no. 6. Their possessions in the Marne Valley were close to the town Châlons, located on the bank of the Marne, a central stage in the Champagne fairs. By the 13th century cloth from Châlons («Catalauni») was a highly valued commodity in Catalunya under the names: 'Chalon', or 'Exalo'. On 11 January («XI die dcti mensis januarii») 1304, prior to Arnau de Vilanova's journey to Rome and Perugia, the treasurer of the royal household of Aragon enters in his financial records «done a n Arnau de Vilanova» in [Valencia] «una gramaya que I SR mana dar 5 alnes de Exalo», Eduardo GONZÁLEZ HURTEBISE, *Libros de Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón*, vol. 1, Barcelona: Tipografía Benaiges, 1911, 366, no. 1639.

21. Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 10944 (cartulaire du Pont-aux-Dames), f. 96.

22. Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 10944 (ibid.), f. 22v-23r.

23. Layettes, V, ancienne série des Sacs (aujourd'hui «Supplément» 755-1270), J/771, no. 1.

Vilanova visited Becoiseil, the mansion had been developed into a more prestigious residence to suit the royals for the summer.²⁴

Nowadays, what remains of the royal mansion are a tower and a wall incorporated in a farm. The other two elements are a wall behind the shack of the same farm and a tower with an attached wall segment. The latter is in the backyard of one of Mortcerf's residents. From the street, the first elements of the ruin are visible. If one wants to visit the third element, one must climb a fence and walk 60 meters up a lane on private property.

«... postquam a vobis licenciam redeundi and eum recepissem in Betausel {sic}...»

How do we know the King and Arnau de Vilanova were in Becoiseau in August? First, Arnau wrote in his legal document to the King's court that he visited the King at 'Betausel [sic]'.²⁵ Menendez identified this as 'Becoiseil' in 1880 but kept it unexplained,²⁶ as did all historians after him. The name Becoiseil in Arnau's document is misspelt, as illustrated by a document a few months earlier.²⁷ Third, we know the King was at Becoiseau in August 1300 from a document in the archives of Lille.²⁸ From other documents, we know this was somewhere between 1 and 13 August.²⁹

The purpose that brought Arnau de Vilanova to Becoiseau

What was Arnau de Vilanova doing at Becoiseau? He was there as a mounted messenger³⁰ on behalf of King Jaume II of Aragon, carrying instructions to convey Jaume's position on three unresolved issues to King Philippe

24. From then on 'Becoiseil' is mentioned more frequently in the documents. In the summer of 1306 Philippe IV is again at 'Becoysel,' Frans VAN MIERIS, *Groot charterboek der graaven van Holland*, Leiden: Eyk, 1754, 2, 57-58. Philippe's son Charles III makes extensive use of 'Becoiseil-en-Brie' in the summer. In the 'assiette' of Jeanne d'Evreux, consort of the French king Charles IV from 1325-1328, the royal property appears as 'terris et Castellaniis nostris [de Creciaco], de Becoiseil, [de Creveacuer],' LONGNON, *Documents relatifs*, vol. 2, 219G

25. BnF, MSS Latin 17.534, ff. 103c-104d, printed in VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 350, 163-164

26. Marcelino MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid, 1880, vol. 1, 739, n. 1

27. BnF, MSS Latin 10944 (ibid.), f. 22v-23r.

28. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 1563, n°62.

29. Elisabeth LALOU, *Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285-1314)*.

30. On the role of a 'nuncius' in the 13th century, see Donald E. QUELLER, «Thirteenth-Century Diplomatic Envoys: Nuncios and Procuratores», *Speculum*, 35/2 (1960), 196-213, and Stéphane PÉQUIGNOT, *Au nom du Roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*, Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2009.

the Fair.³¹ At least two issues had been discussed during the negotiations for the tripartite treaty of Argelès (12 June 1298), which restored the kingdom of Mallorca. One instruction was about the ongoing sequestration of the Atlantic Aran valley. A second instruction concerned the most recent invasion by French vassals in the continuous struggle for the petty county of Pallars. Furthermore, a third instruction to convey Jaume's position was on the French tax policy at Aigues-Mortes, which affected the merchants of the Crown of Aragon and the kingdom of Mallorca.³² This issue had been brought to the attention at Argelès in 1298 by the proctors of the King of Mallorca.³³ Arnau de Vilanova was familiar with these proctors; he appeared in a notary document with Guillaume Puig d'Orfila of Collioure when he returned to Montpellier in the early-1290s,³⁴ and he wrote a letter to Brémond de Montferrer around 1303.³⁵

The provisions for Arnau's mission to the French King were probably made during Spring 1300 when King Jaume presided over the court and

31. Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ACA), Cancelleria (C), Cartes Reials, Jaume II, núm. 4.601, as printed in Heinrich FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia*, Berlin: Rothschild, 1908, vol. 1, 452-453, no. 302 (Finke's reference is identical to Willemsen's reference to another undated document which gives the same —ACA, CDR. Jaime II. Nr. 4601— for instructions to Jaume's proctors going to Montpellier), Carl A. WILLEMSSEN, *Der Kampf um das Val d'Aran* (Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens [Spanische Forschungen der Görregesellschaft, Reihe I, Bd. 6]), Münster, 1937, 196-197, doc. 1.

32. A policy started in 1294 under the seneschal of Beaucaire (Alfonse de Rouvray, governor of Navarre in 1300), M. MÉNARD, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nîmes*, Paris: Chaubert, 1744, vol. 1, 124-125, no. 92.

33. Two years before, on 29 March 1298 («XII kalendas aprilis, anno Domini MCC nonagesimo octavo»), prior to the signing of the treaty of Argelès (30 June 1298), lieutenant Brémond de Montferrer (on behest of his patron Jaume II of Mallorca) and the consuls of Montpellier were authorized in Perpignan, as part of the peace negotiations, to reach an agreement on this matter with King Philippe's agents Gui de la Charité and Richard Le Neveu in Montpellier, according to a primary inquiry held between January and June 1299, Archives nationales, J 892, no 9, printed in Alexandre GERMAIN, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier*, Montpellier: Martel, 1861, vol. 1, 326-378. See also a related document on the canal of Lunel dated July 1299 in Thomas MILLEROT, *Histoire de la ville de Lunel*, Montpellier: Martel, 1880, 480-484, no. 10. Guillaume Puig d'Orfila, Brémond de Montferrer, and Jofre de Cruilles were among the negotiators at Panissars (January 30, 1298) and Argelès (29 and 30 June 1298), Stephanus BALUZE, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 3, ed. G. MOLLAT, Paris: Letouzey, 1921, 26-39, nos. 13-16.

34. After his medical training in Montpellier in the 1260s he returned to that city early in the 1290s according to an investment he made in 1293: «Ego Bernardus de Brossa mercator habitator Montispessulani [dono] pro me et Guillelmo de Podio Orphila socio meo confiteor me debere [vobis] magistro Arnaldo de Villa nova phisico habitatori Montispessulani centum et quinquaginta lib. melgorens. quod ... gratia nostri [mei] depositarii tantum [facti] In quibus ... etc. Quos promitto tibi...», Archives municipales de Montpellier, Registres des notaires du Consolat BB1 (Jean Grimaut), f. 34r.

35. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3824, f. 232v-233v. See also M. R. McVAUGH's upcoming Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia (AVOMO) volume, with Fernando SALMON MUÑIZ, *De parte operativa*.

vicarage of Lleida and Pallars.³⁶ The King ordered the payment of a large sum of money to Arnau de Vilanova on 12 May 1300,³⁷ and he gave an order to the Justice and bailiff of Valencia in Arnau's domestic case on 20 May 1300.³⁸ The last invasion of Pallars was discussed at the court in Lleida on 13 June. On the same date, the court at Lleida and Pallars produced a document on another issue. One of the witnesses in this document is Jofre de Cruilles, abbot of Sant Volusà de Foix and effective archdeacon of Tarragona.³⁹ On the same day, a letter of credence was issued for the abbot. It contained a commission for a simultaneous mission to the Pope on Pallars and the restitution of the Aran Valley.⁴⁰ On 8 July, Jaume notified the King of Mallorca that the provisions had been made for both missions, according to an entry in register ACA 117.⁴¹ When the messengers leave is another matter.

Interestingly, relevant documents appear closely together in register ACA 252,⁴² the first of the seven «Sigili et Secretorum» registers produced during

36. The King stayed in Lleida between 7 May – 15 June 1300. Juan M. DEL ESTAL, *Itinerario de Jaime II de Aragón (1291-1327)* (Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas, 47), Zaragoza: C.S.I.C., 2009, 204-206.

37. ACA, C, Pergamins de Jaume II, 1379, printed in MARTÍ DE BARCELONA [Jaume BAGUNYÀ I CASANOVAS], «La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II», *Estudios Franciscanos*, 91 (1990), 213-295, no. 44. The document is calendared in Josep ALANYÀ I ROIG, «Diplomatari de mestre Arnau de Vilanova. Avantprojecte. Regest de Documents», *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 30, (2011-2013), 92, no. 55

38. Alanyà, «Diplomatari», 92, no. 57. Some historians think Arnau was in Montpellier that month, finishing a 'commentum' on Galen, VILLANOVA, *Commentum supra tractatum Galieni De malicia complexionis diverse, 'eiusdem'*, eds. Luis GARCÍA BALLESTER *et al.* (AVOMO, 15), Barcelona, 1985, 15, 32. We know for certain that Arnau was at the bishop's palace in Valencia for his civil case on 20 April 1300, ACA, Pergamins de Jaume II, núm. 1362, printed in ERIC GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ, *Pergamins, processos i cartes reials: documentació dispersa valenciana del segle XIII*, València: Universitat de València, 2010, 278-279, no. 144.

39. Lleida, Arxiu Municipal, Fons Municipal, *Llibre Vert de la ciutat de Leyda*, 1691, reg. 1370, f. 78-81, printed in Guillem ROCA CABAU, *Salubritat i salut pública a la Lleida baix medieval: la gestió dels espais públics, la pobresa i els hospitals*, PhD thesis supervised by Joan J. BUSQUETA I RIU *et al.*, Lleida, 2017, 447, no. 12. Also printed in Youna MASSET, *Les juifs face à la justice catalane (1301-1327)*, PhD thesis supervised by John TOLAN *et al.*, University of Nantes, 2012, vol. 2, 303-306, no. 261. Arnau's diplomatic colleague («Jaufrido [Jaufredi] abbate Fuxensi») had been one of Jaume's proctors in Argelès in June 1298, BALUZE, *Vitae paparum*, vol. 3, 33-39, nos. 14-16 and ACA, C, 197, f. 28r, printed in Juan REGLÀ CAMPISTOL, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón y la frontera pirenaica* (Escuela de estudios medievales, 13 and 14), Madrid: Padilla, 1951, vol. 2, 17-18, no. 12.

40. ACA, C, 252, f. 227v: Letter of credence (13 June 1300) written at Lleida with instructions to «Gaufridu Abbatem Fuxen» for a simultaneous mission to the Pope on Pallars and «restitutie Vallis d'Aran».

41. On 8 July 1300 the King of Mallorca was notified of both missions («providimus destinandos»), ACA, C, 117, f. 284r-v., calendared in ALANYÀ, «Diplomatari», 93, no. 57 («ha estat enviat»).

42. ACA, C, 252 (First of seven registers 'Sigilli et Secretorum'), f. 227v: Letter of credence (13 June 1300) written at Lleida with instructions to «Gaufridu Abbatem Fuxen» for a simultaneous mission to the pope on Pallars and «restitutie Vallis d'Aran»; f. 226v: Lleida,

Jaume II's reign. The royal Chancery held these diplomatic records to keep track of diplomatic missions, and the records also served as templates for future diplomatic communication. Arnau's mission started on a more personal basis, and those missions provided by the King of Aragon ended in the 'Cartes Reials.' More information on the evolving diplomatic system can be found in the thesis of Péquignot.⁴³ The King of Aragon was seeking permission through Arnau to continue the negotiations with Philippe's proctors, the Bishop of Toulouse being one of the principal architects on matters of the Pyrenees,⁴⁴ and Richard le Neuve. The latter had negotiated in the complaints of the consuls of Montpellier over the new French tax policies. He later served as mediator between Arnau de Vilanova and the bishop's court in September 1300, during the procedures after Arnau's captivity for a night.

The reason why King Philippe was at Becoiseau

The next question is: what was King Philippe doing at Becoiseau? As usual, in the summer, he was travelling through his domains southeast in Île-de-France, combining the nomadic trekking alongside his castles and inspection of his mansions under construction with the pleasures of the royal hunt.⁴⁵ Eventually, the pleasure of hunting turned into a fatal accident in

13 June 1300: invasion Pallars; f. 227r: «Arnau de Senmarçal, tenent la vall d'Aran per noble rey de Maylorques»; f. 229r-v: which states «Gaufridu abbatem fuxen et archidiacona Trac ad Romina Curia», written from Teruel where the King resided between 22 June and 10 July; f. 230: Letter of 23 July 1300 forwarded to Arnau de Vilanova on the issue of Cerda; f. 236r: letter to pope Boniface of 14 August on the mission of the abbot of Foix on the invasion of Pallars, printed in M. RODRIGO LIZONDO *et al.*, *Col·lecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó: Textos en llengua catalana (1291-1420)* (Fonts històriques valencianes, 56A), València: Universitat de València, 2013, 131, no. 53. The entry is preceded by a paragraph on the issue of Cerda, and carried by another envoy to the Pope, f. 233r-234v, printed in RODRIGO LIZONDO, *Col·lecció documental*, 127-129.

43. PÉQUIGNOT, *Au nom du Roi*, *ibid.*

44. Letter of 8 December 1299 signed «mandato domino episcopi» [bishop and chancellor Ramon Despont, presently sent to Perpignan by Jaume of Aragon to press the conference at Ischia Island, and present at the negotiations in Valencia in early-1298, BALUZE, *Vitae paparum avinionensium*, vol. 3, ed. MOLLAT, 3, 19-26, no. 12] REGLÀ CAMPISTOL, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 2, 16, no. 11 (ACA 197, f. 29r). In the letter of 8 December 1299, Jaume II of Aragon refers to the French proctor as «Petro, tunc Carcassonensis, nunc episcopo Tolosano». In the documents of 1298, the French proctor is referred to as 'Petrus, permissione divina Carcassonensis episcopus, [et Petrus de Bituris, succentor Aurelianensis], nuntii et procuratores', BALUZE, *Vitae paparum*, vol. 3, 13-39 (18-19, no. 10-11 and 38-39, no. 16 was left out by PERARNAU, AVOTHo, V, 144-145). The letter of Jaume of 8 December 1299 refers to the legist Pierre de la Chapelle, switched in the meantime (25 October 1298) from Carcassonne to Toulouse, Conradus EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, Münster: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 21913, 488.

45. Jean MESQUI, «Châteaux et chasses royales dans les forêts de l'Orléanais au Moyen Âge, Le nomadisme résidentiel et ses effets sur l'activité castrale », in *Le nomadisme châtelain du*

1314.⁴⁶ According to a story in a letter to the King of Mallorca, Philippe the Fair probably suffered from a cerebral vascular accident, and he did not fall victim to a wild boar, as portrayed in an illustration in a manuscript of Boccaccio's «De casibus virorum».⁴⁷

The study by Mesqui shows in Fig. 1 the development of Philippe's castles and houses during his lifetime and the frequency distribution of his lodging throughout his domains southeast of Paris. Notice the route from Chaigny/Orleans along the Loire, turning northeast in the direction of Ferrières, near Becoiseau.

Did Arnau convey King Jaume's position on the three issues at Becoiseau in August 1300?

The next question is, did Arnau de Vilanova convey King Jaume's position on the three issues to King Philippe. The answer is yes. He left Becoiseau with a mandate to contact Philippe's proctor, the Bishop of Toulouse.⁴⁸ On the Monday after the feast of Bartholomew (29 August), King Philippe sent a letter to his proctors, Pierre de la Chapelle (Bishop of Toulouse) and Richard Le Neveu, outlining his position on the three issues.⁴⁹ He also sent on the same day a messenger to King Jaume.⁵⁰ An October letter of King Jaume to Philippe mentions that Arnau had conveyed his position on the three issues.⁵¹

ix^e au xvii^e siècle: actes du 6e colloque de Bellecroix, 14-16 octobre 2016, eds. Nicolas FAUCHERRE *et al.*, Chaigny: Édition du centre de castellologie de Bourgogne, 2017, 284-315, esp. 286-287.

46. Charles BAUDON DE MONY, «La mort et les funérailles de Philippe le Bel d'après un compte rendu à la cour de Majorque», *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 58 (1897), 5-14.

47. London, The British Library, ms. Royal 14 E V, f. 497v, Death of Philippe the Fair.

48. On St Louis' Day, and the days after, bishop Pierre de la Chapelle-Taillefert was in Toulouse under attack of the Viguiers Guilhem Isarn (ally of the bishop of Pamier), according to a letter of king Philippe issued at 'Becoiseil' on 20 September 1300, Adolphe BAUDOIN, *Lettres inédites de Philippe le Bel*, Paris: Champion, 1887, 53-56, no. 54.

49. Paris, Archives nationales, J 915, no. 28.

50. ACA, C, 334 f. 3v. The entry in the register concerns a letter to the governor of Navarre, Alfonse de Rouvray. As seneschal of Beaucaire (1292-1295), he previously took possession of the bishop's quarter of Montpelliéret (with the help of the law professor Guillaume de Nogaret) in February 1294, against the protests of King Jaume of Mallorca's agent Bremond de Montferrer and the consuls of Montpellier, Alexandre GERMAIN, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, vol. 2, Montpellier: Martel, 1851, 361-363, no. 8. See also DE VIC and VAISSETE, *Histoire*, vol. 9, Toulouse: Privat, 1885, 180. As governor of Beaucaire, Alfonse de Rouvray laid the groundwork for the French tax policies at Aigues-Mortes, MÉNARD, *Histoire civile*, vol. 1, 124-125, no. 92.

51. I found this letter of King Jaume to the King of France of 17 October 1300 («Datum Calatrave, XVI^o kalendas novembris, anno Domini .M.CCC.»), also embedded in the published document —Paris, Archives nationales, J 915, n° 28— of an inquiry on the matter of the merchant sailors started at Aigues-Mortes in December 1300 («Anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo CCC^o et die sabbati post festum beati Andree apostoli»). The date of the document printed in *Enquêtes menées sous les derniers capétiens*, edited by Elisabeth LALOU *et al.*

Finally, in December, Richard le Neuve in Aigues-Mortes started an inquiry on the issues, and negotiations were started in Montpellier by the proctors of both parties, joint by the Bishop of Toulouse.⁵² By the summer of 1301, Richard Le Neveu shifted his attention to the Languedoc as the King's agent. He was urgently needed there to investigate further complaints about the local Dominican inquisitors and the difficulties in Pamier.⁵³ By 1 November 1300, the Archbishop of Narbonne was back to install Pierre de Rochefort as the new Bishop of Carcassonne.⁵⁴

The movement and position of protagonists in the summer of 1300

A closer look at the events in August reveals some interesting finds on the position and movement of the selected protagonists. After some of them appeared as a witness in the document of Philippe on 19 July, the King issued another document in Chaigny on 21 July.⁵⁵ In this document, he orders Thibout, the royal provost of Paris, to prepare a document to confirm university privileges and send it to Saint-Denis for a ceremonial meeting with the University on Saint Louis' Day.⁵⁶ This document reconfirms the delegation of judicial authority over the members of the University of Paris to

(<http://telma.irbt.cnrs.fr/outils/enquetes/enquete47/index/>) is in line with REGLÀ CAMPISTOL, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón*, 26-28, no. 17, and ALANYÀ, «Diplomatari», 96, no. 65 (ACA, CRD, caixa 81, n. 1965) printed in MARTÍ DE BARCELONA, «Nous documents per a la biografia d'Arnau de Vilanova», *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia. Revista de ciències historico-eclesiàstiques*, 11 (1935), 92, no. 7 (wrongly suggested date 18 October 1299).

52. ACA, 116 f. 270r-v, printed in REGLÀ CAMPISTOL, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón*, 34-35, no. 24.

53. DE VIC and VAISSETE, *Histoire*, vol. 6, Toulouse; Privat, 1885, 282-284, no. 63. See also the factual account ('Gesta in Captura') of the Archbishop of Narbonne, Edmond MARTÈNE et al., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. 1, Paris, 1717, 1319-1329.

54. Thomas-Augustin BOUGES, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et diocèse de Carcassonne*, Paris, 1741, 607, no. 57.

55. Elisabeth LALOU, *Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285-1314)*, on internet: <http://telma-chartes.irbt.cnrs.fr/actes-philippe4> (consulted on 21 September 2021), Actes 1995 – 2003. On 19 July 1300, King Philippe was in Chaigny (bois d'Orleans) with the bishop of Narbonne (G. Aycelin), the bps. of Auxerre (P. Mornay) and Soissons (Gui de la Charité), P. de Flote and G. de Nogaret.

56. On 21 July 1300 the King writes an invitation from Chaigny ('Chingiacum') for a ceremony at Saint Louis' Day to the University of Paris through his provost 'Guillelmi Thiboust,' sealed by Thibout on Wednesday 27 July 1300, Claude THIBOUST, *Recueil des privilèges de l'université de Paris*, Paris, 1674, 77, and *Cbartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 2, eds. Heinrich DENIFLE et al., Paris: Delalain, 1891, 84-86, no. 612 and 614. On the symbolic interaction between crown and university on the 25th of August see Christoph Friedrich WEBER, «Suitable for Crown and Gown: The Ritual Context of the Royal Privileges for the University of Paris», in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages: Papers from «Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages» (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, eds. Marco MOSTERT et al. (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 13), Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, 240-241.

the chancellor and the bishop's court, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the royal provost at the Châtelét.⁵⁷ Specifically, the students were not to be touched by the royal provost. On 28 July, the King reaches Ferrières, and a few days later, he is in nearby Becoiseau at Mortcef, somewhere between the 1st and the 13th of August. If Arnau de Vilanova left the realms of the Crown of Aragon on his horse after 18 July, he probably arrived at Becoiseau somewhere in the second week of August. After he returns to Paris, we find the King at St Denis on 25 August at the ceremony with the University of Paris, where the charter prepared by Thibout is solemnly presented. On 27 August, Thibout seals the royal charter presented on Saint Louis' Day and another document with «Saturday after the feast of Saint Bartholomei».⁵⁸ The next day, 28 August, the Bishop of Narbonne, who helped Arnau de Vilanova the night he was captured, is at the chamber of Parliament.⁵⁹ On 29 August, King Philippe sent a letter to Richard le Neuve, Archdeacon of Lisieux,⁶⁰ outlying Philippe's position on the three-issue conveyed by Arnau de Vilanova at Becoiseau. The letter is signed «Monday after the feast of Saint Bartholomei».⁶¹ The King also sends a messenger to the King of Aragon on the same date.⁶² The archdeacon Richard le Neuve, Archdeacon of Lisieux, is a mediator between the bishop's court and Arnau de Vilanova during the procedures in September.⁶³

57. Taken from Johannes M. M. H. THIJSSSEN, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200-1400*, Philadelphia, 1998, 1-19, esp. 8

58. Paris, Arch. Univers. Paris., theca IV, A. 19, 1, printed in DENIFLE, *Chartularium*, vol. 2, 84-85, no. 612, esp. 85 n. The other document is authenticated in vulgar Latin by «le seel de la prévosté de Paris [Guillelme Thibout garde de la prévosté]. Lan de grace mil trois cens le samedi apres la feste de saint Barthélemi», *Inventaire général des chartes de Saint-Denis*: tome III (Archives nationales, LL 1191), 8, no. 3211 printed on internet:

<http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome3/noticeglobale> (consulted on 19 January 2022). Copy in cartulaire blanc, 1, 218.

59. *Actes du parlement de Paris*, ed. Edgard BOUTARIC, Paris: Plon, 1867, 2, 3, no. 3005. A connection between Arnau and the Archbishop may be rooted in the past. The family of Arnau's former patron Jaspert de Botenac (d. 1288) held part of castle Gruissan from the Archbishop of Narbonne during the second half of the 13th century, and finally sold their part to Archbishop Gilles Aycelin in 1296, M. Germain MOUYNÈS, *Inventaire archives communales, série AA*, Narbonne, Gaillard, 1877, 395-397, esp. 396.

60. As inquisitors on the taxation of the castle of Sault styled with Nogaret as «dominum Symonem de Marchesy et G. de Nogareto, milites», Charles Victor LANGLOIS, *Les papiers de Guillaume de Nogaret et de Guillaume de Plaisians au Trésor des chartes*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1908, 226, no. 119.

61. Paris, Archives nationales, J 915, no. 28.

62. ACA, C, 334 f. 3v. The messenger may have conveyed King Philippe's position.

63. VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 347, 54-60. In March 1300, master Richard le Neuve, the archdeacon of Auge, was in the bailiwick of Lorris, *Les journaux du trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed. Jules VIARD, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1894, 655, no. 4490.

«... et die sabbati mane post festum beati Thome {sic}...»

The capture of Arnau de Vilanova occurred after his visit to Becoiseau and before the procedure at the bishop's court in September. The puzzling thing in Arnau's statement to King Philippe is the date of his release from captivity on 'Saturday after the feast of St Thomas'. The problem is, there is no such feast in August. The benchmark date in the second half of August is the feast of Bartholomew, which marks the end of the summer during the harvest, and the beginning of the academic year is soon.⁶⁴ Apart from the overwhelming facts that demonstrate that Arnau de Vilanova was not in Paris in December 1299, one must understand what day the «Saturday after the feast of Saint Thomas» represents. It is the day after Christmas Day, occurring on the second day of Christmastide. Using «Saturday after the feast of Saint Thomas» for such a day would be anomalous in an official document.⁶⁵ An example of a more feasible way of dating can be found in a financial document of King Philippe, which describes the day in terms of «sabbato XXVI die Decembris in crastino nativitatis domini.»⁶⁶ McVaugh noticed the unusual way of dating and has suggested that the feast of Saint Thomas must be a scribal error in the light of the overwhelming amount of data that contradicts such a date.⁶⁷ A suggestion would be that the copyist's mistake is an example of 'gestalt psychology' in which the complex 'bitho' in Bartholomew in an earlier text was perceived by the copyist as «beati Thome».⁶⁸ A letter of King Philippe to Jaume of Aragon may illustrate this.⁶⁹ The letter of 1300 is dated «lunar post festus beati Bartholomei apostoli», carried by a messenger to Aragon.

The copy of Arnau's statement to King Philippe's court comes out a legal manuscript used by someone in the Episcopal administration, which operated either as a judge delegate or as a judge within the diocesan administration.⁷⁰ A handbook for everyday use in the Episcopal administration could explain some of the inaccuracies. The copy of Arnau's statement in this manual contains many spelling mistakes such as 'Betausel,' and leaves out the 'Apostoli,' which is present in the letter of the French King to Aragon.

64. Examples for the Officialité see *Registre des causes civiles de l'Officialité épiscopale de Paris*, ed. Joseph PETIT, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1919, passim. Examples for the Prévôté see *Corpus Philippicum, actes des officiers et des agents royaux sous Philippe le Bel (1285-1314)*, fiches collected by Robert FAWTIER, presently held at Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.

65. Argument taken from McVAUGH, «Arnau de Vilanova and Paris», 36.

66. VIARD, *Les journaux*, 589, no. 4023.

67. McVAUGH, «Arnau de Vilanova and Paris», 29-42.

68. Adriano CAPPELLI, *Lexicon Abbreviatarum*, Leibzig: Weber, 1928, esp. 32 and 375.

69. King Philippe's letter on Navarre of 29 August 1300, ACA, C, 334, f. 3v. The messenger could have conveyed Philippe's position to the King, similar to Arnau's mission.

70. This would explain the need to have short summaries of canon law text in the bulk material in Paris, BnF, Lat. 17.534 that would get alleged in a court of law (cts. E. Reno).

An example of Gestalt: 'Marcay' or 'Marchi'

The mechanism of Gestalt psychology can be demonstrated with another paragraph of Arnau's statement to the King. In it, there is a name perceived by two distinguished medievalists as «Marcay».⁷¹ However, we know this individual is «domino Symon Marchesi,' who operates regularly in documents between 1299 and 1301 in the company of 'Guillem de Nogaret,' as he does in Arnau's statement to King Philippe.⁷² More likely, the 'aj' seen as «Marcay» is an 'h' in the original manuscript. Likewise, the «C» in Nogaret's name is a 'G.'⁷³

Movement and position of protagonists («On és Arnau?»)»

If the night of Arnau's captivity is placed in the overview of the movement and position of protagonists in August, based on «the feast of saint Bartholomew» as a reference, the result is striking. The capture in a pernicious house is on 26 August, one day after St. Louis' Day ceremony. It is followed by «the Saturday after St. Bartholomew», when the royal provost Thibout seals the document on the jurisdiction of the bishop's court over the University. On 28 August, the Bishop of Narbonne is nearby at the Parliament.

An intermediate overview of successive data springs to mind, based on the above. On 26 August 1300 Arnau decides to leave Paris and is detained by the official of the bishop's court. If so, was this triggered by the ratification ceremony on the day before (Either he gets cold feet, or the faculty is emboldened)? Arnau spends a night in neither an academic nor court setting. On the morning of 27 August, Arnau is released from detention by the Archbishop of Narbonne (while the Royal Provost of Paris seals the ratification document for the delegation of judicial authority to the chancellor and bishop's court over the University). Between September-early October the hearings and tribunal at St. Denis de Passu take place.

71. VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 346, 53 and 351, 193, DENIFLE, *Chartularium*, vol. 2, 88, 616

72. Examples of «dominum Symonem de Marchesio» or «Simon de Marchois» acting together with Guillem de Nogaret, Robert FAWTIER, «L'attentat d'Anagni», *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 60 (1948), 165-166n1, and Robert MIGNON, *Inventaire d'anciens comptes royaux*, vol. 1, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849), 2657, 2690. See also VIARD, *Les journaux*, nos. 3519, 3976.

73. PERARNAU transcribes the Nogaret's initial from BnF, Lat. 17.534, f. 104 as 'C,' (VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 346, 50 and 351, 193). So does Marcelino MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, vol. 1, 739, no. 4; and DENIFLE, *Chartularium*, vol. 2, 90, n. 1. However, it is well established that de Nogaret's first name is Guillaume. Indeed, the Capital letter with a double bar in the ms. can be transcribed as a 'G' according to the examples in CAPPELLI, *Lexicon*, 147.

Arnau's dual status: not one, but two hats when accused of fleeing Paris: academic (Officialité) and diplomatic (Prévôté)

On the day Arnau decided to leave Paris and was arrested, he carried two hats. The hat of a university professor, putting him potentially under the jurisdiction of the bishop's court of Paris. He also carried the hat of a royal diplomat, putting him under the jurisdiction of the provost of Paris at the Châtelét. When he decided, for whatever reason, it was time for him to leave Paris and continue his mission to the Bishop of Toulouse, he was arrested and interrogated. After discussions at the theological faculty, he was accused of fleeing Paris and defended himself by arguing that he was merely continuing his mission as a diplomat on his horse.⁷⁴

Encounters with the University between Becoiseau and 26 August

How do we know Arnau de Vilanova had encounters with the chancellor and members of the University over his thoughts on the end of the world ('fine mundi') before he was arrested? In his legal document to King Philippe's court, he let the notary write that

he had come quickly, gladly, and reverently at each summons of the lord chancellor, as he himself stated in the chapel of St. Denis de Passu [in September], nevertheless you, sirs, I know not with what motive or words, because of purely scholastic acts, called in the Official of Paris... [August].⁷⁵

Proceedings against medieval academics: four tribunals

A study by Thijssen, mainly based on cases from the «Collectio errorum in anglia et parisiis condempnatorum», divides the procedures against medieval academics into four tribunals.⁷⁶

In the first stage, a candidate comes before the consistory of Chancellor and Masters of Theology. A censured scholar pronounced his recantation on the chancellor's order and the other masters in the faculty of theology.⁷⁷ If he

74. BnF, Lat. 17.534, 103v, printed in VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 350, 174-175. I think 'equitaturis' should be translated as 'a mount,' Anne-Marie BAUTIER, «Contribution a l'histoire du cheval au moyen âge», in *L'élevage du cheval*, eds. Robert-Henri BAUTIER *et al.*, 1980, 214, 2. See also the register «equis et roncinis et alus eorum equitaturis», ACA, C, 50, f. 244r.

75. BnF, Lat. 17.534, 105, printed in VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 345, 19-23 and THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 129. Arnau starts his sentence in the paragraph with «Recolens».

76. THIJSSEN, *Censure and Heresy*, 1-19.

77. Quoted from THIJSSEN, *Censure and Heresy*, 9. Basically it came down to a coerced confession.

complies, there are sanctions, and there the procedure ends. If he does not comply, the chancellor brings the case to the representative of the bishop's court, the 'officialité', who has the power to put the accused in jail and bring him before the bishop and the ecclesial court. From there, the accused can appeal to the Pope. There existed a fourth pathway through the forum of the minister general of a religious order and his advisers. It seems Arnau eventually went through all tribunal stages.⁷⁸

Abuse of power vs substance

What is also clear from Thijssen's study are the complaints by the accused. The reviewer Goddu summarises it as

complaints by two highly regarded Scholastics that in some cases of academic censure the proceedings and outcome were marred by envy, incompetence, and the presumption that some fault had to be found to justify the inquiries that had been undertaken.

What especially catches one's eye in these complaints are the observations that the examiners were ignorant buffoons completely lacking in the sophistication and intellectual subtlety required to understand the views and arguments of those under examination.

Goddu continues,

The relevant point here is that the well-defined procedures of medieval universities and related appellate processes seem to have provided little protection against powerful but incompetent authorities.⁷⁹

A physician's prognosis {progignōskein} vs. prophesy {prophēteia}

What strikes are the similarities between the complaints of Arnau de Vilanova and the complaints by his fellow-sufferers in Thijssen's study. Arnau does not set out to be called a prophet. However, the theologians in Paris do not understand his views and arguments as a pragmatic physician who thinks of prognosis and warning.⁸⁰ The theologians argue instead: «You sit in

78. A scenario for Arnau's tactical decursus in the fourth stage, when his affaires became more desperate and he overplayed his hand, is painted in Robert LERNER, «Ecstatic Dissent», *Speculum*, 67/1 (1992), 45-46

79. Andre GODDU, Review, *Isis*, 90/3 (1999), 589, and John F. WIPPEL, Review, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 87/3 (2001), 497-500

80. In Bordeaux (1305), Arnau de Vilanova presented a collection of intellectual works (bundled in Vat. lat. 3824) on the interface between medicine and religion to demonstrate to

the watchtower; you are a prophet».⁸¹ A clear case of projection, one would think. One of them, an English prelate studying theology at Paris, writes about Arnau's warning «... the force of the argument [encouraging people to turn to do good] is quite to the contrary».⁸² It sounds like a physician telling his theologian patient, «Smoking is bad for your health. If you keep smoking, medical statistics predict that you could be dead in 5 years». And then the theologian argues, «you are a prophet; your warning will not change my smoking habits». Arnau complains that the theologians are «... stirred by appetite and rabid motion against a stranger...»,⁸³ and «... gigantum ignorantia [in Paris]...».⁸⁴

Furthermore, when it comes to procedures, Arnau continues to say, «... the process instituted by you and the aforesaid lord bishop is ipso jure invalid, null and void since it lacked foundation and I did not swear to observe it...» Furthermore, he claims, «... Officiale⁸⁵ et Episcopum Parisienses (ad quos iusticie titulus vel alicuius honestatis urgebat eos?)...».

Moreover, these are just a few examples.

Conclusions

The mission and tribunals of Arnau de Vilanova took place in 1300 conform the early observation of Michael McVaugh.⁸⁶ His first tribunal stage was between 13 and 26 August.⁸⁷

the newly elected pope Clement V that he was, above all, a conscious scholar, for which Clement praised him.

81. VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 353, 265-266, and THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 129.

82. BnF, Lat. 17.534 and HENRY OF HARCLAY, *Ordinary questions I-XIV*, ed. Mark HENNINGER, English translation by R. EDWARDS *et al.* (The British Academy), Oxford: University Press, 2008, 21-23, no. 25 and no. 30.

83. THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 131.

84. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3824, f. 110r-v, printed in Barbara SCAVIZZI, «Il *Tractatus Epistolarum Christini*», *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 29 (2010), 883-932, esp. 932.

85. According to one account by Arnau de Vilanova in 1304, the Official was punished by King Philippe as retaliation for his involvement in the diplomatic incident, 'Propter quem excessum postmodum dominus rex Francie dictum officialem privavit in sempiternum omnibus temporalibus bonis, tam paternis quam acquisitis per eum,' Vat. lat. 3824 f. 214v-217v, printed in Josep PERARNAU I ESPELT, «L'Ars Catholicae philosophiae», *Arxiu Textos Catalans Antics*, 10 (1991), 7-223, esp. 215, 741-743. Also printed in Heinrich FINKE, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, Munster, 1902, CXII, no. 27. One could argue that Arnau's legal statement to the French King Philippe IV was not written before, but after the appeal to the Pope.

86. Michael R. McVAUGH, «Further Documents for the Biography of Arnau de Vilanova», *Dynamis*, 2 (1982), 2, 368n.

87. Compare this to McVAUGH, «Arnau de Vilanova and Paris», 31 and 40, n. 36.

The second tribunal stage was between 26 August and [early] October⁸⁸ (by 29 October 1300, Arnau is back in Montpellier,⁸⁹ well in time to dedicate a new set of medical aphorisms to King Philippe IV⁹⁰ and brief Jaume's proctors, after receiving the King's letter of 18 October 1300).⁹¹ Like many fellow sufferers, Arnau complains that abuse of power is more important than substance.

88. The time span for the second tribunal is substantiated by Arnau's remark in the appeal to the Pope: «you do not try to smother in one month», VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 348, 94-107 and THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 131

89. In the accounts of the count of Artois, there is a certificate (dated 29 October 1300) by the knight Simon de Cinq-Ourmes that claims Huet, his brother, was sent to Montpellier to Master Arnau to bring medicine for lord Robert and received a receipt from Garcie of 4 l. 10 s. p., Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, Comptes A 161 (Septembre 1300-décembre 1300); also mentioned in Ernst WICKENHEIM, *Dictionnaire biographique*, Paris: Droz, 1979, 45. This was shortly after Count Robert of Artois and his treasurer Master Thierry de Hérisson witnessed Arnau's appeal at the behest of King Philippe IV, VILANOVA, *Tractatus*, 349, 144-148. An illness had inflicted the count in June when he stayed at Saint Mandé in Bois Vincennes east of Paris, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, Comptes, A162. Robert of Artois was a nephew of Saint Louis, cousin of Chales II of Napels, and second cousin of King Philippe IV. An experienced soldier since the war in Navarre (1276) and the Aragonese Crusade (1285) of his uncle, Philippe III. During the captivity of Charles of Salerno, Robert of Artois, and the papal legate Gerardo Blancus of Parma (Albus, Bianchi), dominus Sabinensis, oversaw the government and administration of the Kingdom of Sicily from the death of Charles I (7 January 1285) until the release of the prince of Salerno at Campfranc on 19 October 1288. The reference to the medicine appears to implicate Arnau returned to Montpellier after the appeal in [early] October. Apparently, after he had given some medical advice to another powerful progenitor in the War of the Sicilian Vespers, once leading the French army in the campaign against Arnau's former patron King Pere in 1285.

90. VILANOVA, *Commentum*, 15, 32

91. ACA, Cartes Reials, Jaume II, caixa 81, n. 1965, printed in MARTÍ DE BARCELONA, *Nous Documents*, 93, no. 8. Related to WILLEMSEN, «Der Kampf», 196-197, no. 1 (wrongly dated to 1299).