

Further documents for the biography of Arnau de Vilanova

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In 1935, drawing on the archival research that eventually resulted in his «La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II» (awarded the Premi Francesc Vives in 1936 by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans), Father Martí de Barcelona published two contributions of the first importance to the biography of Arnau de Vilanova: first, a set of 43 previously unedited documents from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA) making reference to Arnau's career; then, a «Regesta de documents arnaldians coneguts», summarizing the contents of these and 135 other texts known to bear on Arnau's activities (1). Nearly fifty years later, relatively few documents have been discovered that should be added to Father Martí's list, showing how extensive were the archival investigations into Arnau's career carried on during the Catalanian renaissance of the early twentieth century. A new version of the «Regesta» today would add only a few recent publications of archival materials (2) and a tiny number of earlier references overlooked by Father Martí (3).

In repeating Father Martí's efforts by reading systematically through the registers of Jaume II of Aragón in the ACA in search of references to the history of medicine in that period (1291-1327), I have been struck by

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- (1) «Nous documents per a la biografia d'Arnau de Vilanova», *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 11 (1935), 85-127; «Regesta de documents arnaldians coneguts», *Estudis Franciscans*, 47 (1935), 261-300.
 - (2) E.g., BATLLORI, M. (1958), La documentació de Marsella sobre Arnau de Vilanova y Joan Blasi, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 21, 75-119; RODRIGO LIZONDO, M. (1981), La protesta de Valencia de 1318 y otros documentos inéditos referentes a Arnau de Vilanova, *Dynamis*, 1, 241-273.
 - (3) E.g., BETÍ, M. (1917), Noticias de dos manuscrits de l'Arxiu de l'Arxiprestal de Morella, *Bulleti de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 4, 57; GONZALEZ HURTEBISE, E. (1911), *Libro de Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón*, Barcelona, I, p. 366, n. 1639; OLMOS CANALDA, E. (1961), *Los Pergaminos de la catedral de Valencia*, Valencia, núms. 863, 923, 993 —to supplement Martí's own knowledge of the Valencian material.

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the thoroughness of his researches. Nevertheless, the mass of material involved —nearly 500 registers— is so great as to make lapses of attention inevitable. In my reading, I have come upon seventeen additional Arnaldian documents that he did not mention and that to my knowledge have not yet been published, and I have little doubt that there remain others that I have overlooked in my turn (4). I publish mine here as an expression of admiration for the work of Father Martí de Barcelona (5). The number assigned to each document refers to the place it would have if inserted in his «Regesta». I have expanded abbreviations of proper names throughout, except that I have always left «A(rnaldus)» as originally written; and I have referred to monarchs by their Catalan regnal numbers.

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- (4) I have also identified a few typographical and other errors in the «Regesta»; the most important corrections to be made are: #20 = *ACV*, perg. 842 (3315); #22 = *ACV*, perg. 844 (4702); #74 = *ACA*, reg. 258, f. 29v; #83 = *ACA*, CRD Jaume II sin fecha 891; #85 = *ACA*, reg. 235, f. 206; #91 = *ACA*, reg. 236, f. 16v; #93 = *ACA*, CRD Jaume II extra-series 175; #98 = *ACA*, reg. 140, f. 75v; #99 should be dated 5 January 1309 and placed chronologically after #108; #117 = *ACA*, CRD Jaume II extra-series 167, 168; #124 = *ACA*, CRD Jaume II extra-series 170; #125 = *ACA*, CRD Jaume II extra-series 171.
- (5) A biographical account of P. Martí de Barcelona (1895-1936) is in *El Apostolado Franciscano*, año 33, vol. 28, enero 1941, núm. 321, pp. 5-6.

1a

Teruel, 25 August 1284

Pere el Gran allows Arnau (one among many individuals listed) to leave his domains accompanied by horses.

Fuit datum albaranum magistro A. de Villa nova de duobus equis. Datum Turolii, viii^o kalendas septembris.

(ACA reg. 46, f. 226v.)

5a

Valencia, 2 February 1286

Alfons II commands that Arnau be given the last third of his royal grant on the revenues of Barcelona for 1284-85, still unpaid.

Raimundo Alamanni etc. Intelleximus per dilectum nostrum magistrum Arnaldum de Villanova fisicum quod adhuc est sibi ad satisfaciendum in ultima tercia anni transacti illorum duorum mill. sol. Barch. quos habebat et percipiebat singulis annis in vita sua super redditibus Barchinone ratione assignacionis inde sibi facte per dominum regem inclite recordacionis patrem nostrum; quare vobis mandamus quatenus visis presentibus satisfaciatis eidem in tercia supradicta nisi iam inde sibi fuerit satisfactum. Datum iii^o nonas februarii.

(ACA reg. 65, f. 34.)

Arnau had been granted 2000 *solidi* yearly from Barcelonan revenues in 1281 by Pere II («Regesta», #1), but the king changed the source of Arnau's grant to Tarragonan revenues in September 1285 («Regesta», #4). It is thus the last installment of the original grant that Alfons describes as still unpaid.

5b

Valencia, 2 February 1286

Alfons II confirms the arrangement of Pere II by which the source of Arnau's annual grant of 2000 solidi was changed from Barcelonan to Tarragonan revenues.

Noverint universi quod nos Alfonsus dei gracia etc., viso quodam instrumento illustrissimi domini Petri inclite recordacionis regis Aragonum patris nostri suo sigillo pendentis sigillato, in quo concambiabat et permutabat vobis dilecto fisico nostro magistro Arnaldo de Villa nova duos mill. sol. Barch. quos vobis assignaverat quolibet anno in tota vita vestra super redditibus suis Barchinone ut eos a kalendis mensis januarii transacti in antea reciperetis et haberetis singulis annis toto tempore vite vestre super redditibus suis quos in baiulia Terrachone recipiebat et habebat, idcirco gratis et ex certa sciencia laudamus concedimus et confirmamus vobis dicto magistro A^o concambium et permutacionem predictam, ita quod vos dictos duos mill. sol. habeatis et percipiat quolibet anno toto tempore vite vestre de predictis redditibus nostris Terrachone, prout in predicto instrumento dicti domini regis patris nostri melius et plenius continetur; mandantes per presentes emptori vel collectori predictorum reddituum quod de predictis duobus mill. sol. respondeat specialiter vobis vel cui volueritis per tres tercias cuiuslibet anni et quod se obliget

vobis et intret infra manus ut ipse vobis satisfaciad de predictis duobus milibus sol. per tercias consuetas ut in dicto instrumento dicti domini regis patris nostri plenissime continetur. Datum Valencie, iiii^o nonas februarii.

(ACA reg. 65, f. 34v.)

6

The original of this item in the «Regesta», there referred to the registers of the ACA Real Patrimonio, is found in the documents of the Cancillería: ACA reg. 65, f. 115v-116r.

6a

Valencia, 20 September 1286

Alfons II changes the source of Arnau's yearly grant from Tarragonan revenues to censualia in Valencia.

Noverint universi quod nos Alfonsus etc. concambiamus et permutamus vobis dilecto fisico nostro magistro A^o de Villa nova illa duo mill. sol. Barch. quos ex assignacione illustrissimi domini Petri etc. et eciam ex confirmacione nostra debetis recipere singulis annis in tota vita vestra super redditibus nostris quos in baiulia Terrachone percipimus et habemus secundum quod in cartis assignacionis vestre et nostre confirmacionis que a vobis recuperavimus continetur; ita quod predictos duos mill. sol. de cetero habeatis et percipiatis quolibet anno in tota vita vestra super censualibus nostris quos Valencia percipimus et habemus, scilicet in carniceria centum triginta morabatinos et duas maçemutinas censuales et in piscateria triginta quinque morabatinos censuales et in palliria et peliceria triginta quinque morabatinos et quartem partem morabatini et undecim maçemutinas et mediam et in tabulis cambii que sine operatorii tenentur pro nobis in Valencia viginti morabatinos —quod totum censuale ascendit in summa ad ducentos viginti morabatinos et quartam partem morabatini et undecim maçemutinas et mediam qui ascendunt ad racionem novem sol. pro morabatino et septem sol. pro maçemutine ad duos mill. sexaginta tres sol. minus tribus denariis regalibus; concedentes vobis quod in tota vita vestra recipiatis per vos vel quos volueritis totum predictum censuale mandantes per presentes omnibus et singulis qui nobis faciunt et tenentur prestare dictum censum ut ex nunc vobis et nulli alii vel cui volueritis solvant in terminis constitutis predictum censum singulis annis toto tempore vite vestre, vos autem retentis vobis predictis duobus mill. sol. de residuis sexaginta tribus sol. minus tribus denariis respondeatis et satisfaciatis quolibet anno baiulo nostro Valencie, quicumque pro tempore fuerit; mandantes insuper predicto baiulo qui nunc est et pro tempore fuerit quod hoc cambium et permutacionem ac concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent et faciant observari. Datum Valencie, xii^o kalendas octobris.

(ACA reg. 64, f. 119r-v.)

This document is noted by Rafael Gallofre Guinovart, *Documentos del reinado de Alfonso III de Aragón* (Valencia, 1968), #370, together with the two documents following in the register (#371), which implement it.

23a

Teruel, 8 October 1297

Jaume II confirms the exchange of Tarragonan for Valencian revenues as the source for Arnau's annual grant.

Noverint universi quod presentata et ostensa coram nobis Jacobo dei gracia rege Aragonum Maioricarum Valencie et Murcie comiteque Barchinone ac sancte Romane ecclesie vexillario ammirato et capitaneo generali per discretum virum magistrum Arnaldum de Villa nova dilectum fiscum familiarem et fidelem nostrum quadam carta pergamenea illustris et karissimi fratris nostri domini Alfonsi bone memorie regis Aragonum eius sigillo apendicio sigillata, tenoris infra scripti:

(Here follows a nearly verbatim version of document #6a)

Et ipsius carte tenoris diligenter at... co quia nobis innotuit quod prefatus magister Arnaldus temporibus illustrium dominorum regis Petri et regis Alfonsi patris et fratris nostrorum predictorum percepit et habuit dicta duo mill. sol. in predicta carta contentorum ex redditibus seu juribus ac censualibus super quibus fuerant eidem per prefatos reges assignata. Ideoque considerantes quod debitum honestatis atque justicie nos amenet et inducit dictum magistrum Arnaldum non privare concessa sibi gracia per reges prefatos seu eundem ampliori si vellet gracia prosequi et favore, precipue propter impensa per eum dictis patri et fratris nostris satis grata et accepta servicia et que nobis exhibuit et que eciam esperamus nobis per eum exhiberi, in antea graviora eidem concessam gratiam per predictos reges gratis et liberaliter confirmamus, veruntamen quia censualia sive redditus super quibus dicta duo mill. sol. per predictum regem Alfonsum fuerant assignata parcipatur ad presens per alios ex asignacione inde eis facta a quorum manibus comode subtrahi non possent commutantes propterea asignacionem predictam sibi in predictis censualibus sive redditibus factam, concedimus et assignamus ei dicta duo mill. sol. monete predicte habenda et percipienda annis singulis toto tempore vite sue super gabella salis Berriane non obstantibus aliquibus asignacionibus super gabella ipsa factis vel in posterum faciendis, ita quod emptor seu emptores ipsius gabelle quicumque fuerint in principio quiuslibet anni obligent se et intrent infra manus eidem magistro Arnaldo vel eius procuratori quod sibi vel cui voluerit solvant predicta duo mill. sol. de peccunia seu precio gabelle predicte per terminos consuetos. Nos enim per presentem cartam nostram mandamus emptori seu emptoribus ipsis quicumque sint quod prefato magistro Arnaldo seu eius procuratori ipsius gabelle eidem magistro Arnaldo seu procuratori suo aut illi vel illis quibus ipse voluerit de predictis duobus mill. sol. annis singulis in tota vita ipsius magistri Arnaldi per statutos terminos non obstantibus aliquibus factis vel faciendis ut promittitur asignacionibus integre satisfiat. Datum Turolii, viii^o idus octobris, [anno] domini m^o cc^o xc^o viii^o.

Guillelmus de Solanis de mandato domini regis

(ACA reg. 264, f. 101r-v.)

39a

Teruel, 8 July 1300

The king informs Jaume II of Mallorca that Arnau is being sent to the kings of France to discuss the return of the Vall d'Aran.

Illustri et magnifico principi Jacobo dei gracia regi Maioricarum comiti Rossionis et Ceritanie ac domino Montispezzulani patruo suo karissimo Jacobus etc. A magnificencia vestra litteras noviter nobis missas recepimus, receptas legimus, et eis lectis que ipsarum series continebat pleno collegimus intellect.. ad quarum significata vobis taliter respondemus. Iam ante quam ad nos vestre predictae littere pervenissent nos tanquam ... cui de facto vallis de Aran manifestissima iniuria irrogatur cupientes vallem predictam nostro dominio integre restit... .. nostrum ... hoc dilectum consiliarem et familiarem Gaufridum abbatem Fuxiensem ad pedes et magistrum A. de Villanova dilectum fisicum et familiarem nostrum ad Filipum regem Francorum prov...mus destinandos per quos de illata nobis et que facto vallis predictae iniuria speramus restitutionem debitam obtinere. Iugiter collecte quam dicitis homines terrarum vestrarum in Cathalonia solvere vobis intimandum curan... quod nos in reditu viagii Sicilie debitorum plurimum honorati, mandavimus quatenus ... do honori remedium Cathalanis generalem curiam in qua extitit ordinatum quod omnes homines in collectam solvere supradictam et quam nos ut regnorum et terrarum nostrarum princeps et dominus poteramus tam ex causa rationabili imponere nedum in ea voluntate et consilio generalis curie concedunt. Quare rogamus ut ex eo quia ordinationem dicte curie retractare commode non possumus vestra circumspecta serenitas nos demum. Quia peccavistis de status nostro continencia infirmari vobis significamus nos in presenciarum dei clemencia sanitatem corpoream obtinere una cum coniuge et liberis nostris karissimis, precantes attente ut de statu vestro quem prosper ... velitis nos sepe et sepius cum se facultas obtulerit informare. Datum Turolii, viii^o idus iulii.

Bernardus de Aversone mandato regio

(ACA reg. 117, f. 284r-v.)

This folio has been severely damaged, and the text of this letter is consequently often impossible to make out; I have not tried to do more than provide a superficial reconstruction. What remains, however, is an important supplement to existing discussions of Arnau's role in negotiations over the Vall d'Aran. It tends to confirm Father Martí's conclusion («Regesta», p. 270 n. 9) that Arnau was sent to Paris in 1300 rather than 1299, as previous authorities had thought (Paul Diepgen, *Arnald von Villanova als Politiker und Laientheologe* [Berlin, 1909], pp. 12-15; Carl Willemsen, «Der Kampf um das val d'Aran», *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 6 [1937], 150-1; Juan Reglá Campistol, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón y la frontera pirenaica* [Madrid, 1951], I, pp. 90-94).

60a

Zaragoza, 28 April 1302

The king allows Arnau to take a horse with him as he leaves Aragón to go to Rome.

Jacobus etc. dilecto et fidelibus suis vicario Gerunde et baiulo de Figeriis et universis aliis officialibus et subditis nostris ad quos presentes pervenerint, salutem etc. Noveritis nos de speciali gracia concessisse magistro Arnaldo de Villa nova dilecto consiliario familiari et phisico nostro quod possit extrahere de terra nostra et ad partes Curie Romane ducere unum equum; quare vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus nullum eidem magistro Arnaldo super extrahendo equo predicto de terra

nostra impedimentum vel contrarium faciatis nec fieri seu inferri ab aliquibus consenciatis seu eciam permitatis, immo provideatis eidem si necesse fuerit et ab eo inde fueritis requisiti de securo transitu et conductu. Datum Cesarauguste, iiii^o kalendas madii anno predicto.

dominus episcopus

(ACA reg. 123, f. 111.)

In the spring of 1302 Arnau had been called repeatedly and urgently to attend the queen, ill and far advanced in pregnancy; by early April he seems to have arrived at the royal court (see «Regesta», #54-60). That he and the king were beginning to plan for his departure by the end of the month suggests that the child (probably the Infanta Blanca) had been born and that the queen was doing well.

66a

Tortosa, 5 February 1303

At Arnau's request, the king frees Marc Renard of Burriana from the obligation of military service during the life of his father.

Nos Jacobus etc. ob gratiam et preces dilecti nostri magistri A. de Villanova concedimus tibi Marcho Renardi filio Poncii Renardi de Burriana quod dum vixerit dictus pater tuus non tenearis ire in exercitum vel cavalcata nec mittere aliquem alium loco tui, immo sis in vita dicti patris tui ab exercitu et cavalcata franchus quitius et immunis; mandantes per presentem cartam nostram procuratoribus iusticiis baiulis et universis aliis officialibus nostris presentibus et futuris quod presentem concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent. Datum Dertusie, nonas februarii anno predicto.

Bernardus de Aversone, mandato regio

(ACA reg. 200, f. 178 v.)

«Regesta», #46, issued two years before, freed Marc Renard temporarily from military service in Murcia; this now extends that enfranchisement.

70

This item in the «Regesta» from the registers of the ACA Real Patrimonio should actually be dated Tortosa, 24 October 1303. The item is duplicated at that date in the registers of the ACA Cancillería (ACA reg. 294, f. 153): «... quia etiam [vos fidelis thesaurarius noster Petrus Boyl infra presentem mensem octobris] dedistis in precio unius penne albe et alterius genovesie quas dari mandavimus magistro A. de Villanova xcv. sol. Barch.»

71a

Lleida, 12 October 1303

(ACA reg. 201, f. 48.) Unpublished. The document begins: «Recipimus et constituimus sub nostra protectione et comenda et guidatico speciali vos Petrum Bernardi de Monte accuto et A^r de Monte accuto filium vestrum mercatores de

Monte regali ...», and continues formally. Appended to it is the scribal notation, «Bernardus de Aversone mandato regio, facto ad instanciam magistri A. de Villanova.»

75a

Valencia, 1 January 1304

(ACA reg. 334, f. 184.) Unpublished. Jaume II writes to «prudenti viro magistro A. de villa nova dilecto phisico et consiliario nostro» along with many others, asking him to give help and advice as needed to his messengers to the Pope, Bernat Peregrini (prior of the Dominican order in Aragon), Vidal de Villanova, and Guillem de Laceria.

85a

Barcelona, 19 May 1305

(ACA reg. 203, ff. 14v-15r.) Unpublished. The document grants the *scribania* of Vilafranca to Geraldus Petri, and one of its provisions, granted «ad supplicacionem ... discreti viri magistri A. de Villanova», frees him from the obligation of having to exercise the office in person.

89a

Barcelona, 17 July 1305

At Arnau's request, Jaume II grants Ramon Cellerer of Barcelona the right to keep a man and animal to work in his mill at Montcada.

Nos Jacobus etc. ad instanciam et preces venerabilis et discreti viri magistri A. de Villa nova concedimus tibi Raimundo Cellerarii civi Barchinone de gracia speciali quod in tota via tua teneas et possis tenere continue vel quandocumque volueris in molendino tuo quod habes in termino Montecatheno in riaria vocata Ripolleteo pro afferendo blada molenda ad ipsum molendinum unam bestiam cum quodam homine qui ipsam bestiam ducat; mandantes per presentes baiulo Barchinone presenti et qui pro tempore fuerit et universis aliis officialibus et subditis nostris presentibus et futuris quod hanc concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent toto tempore vite tue, et non contraveniant nec aliquem contravenire permitant aliqua racione. Datum Barchinone, xvi^o kalendas augusti anno predicto.

Petrus Lupeti mandato regio facta fuit conscientia domino regi
facta per Raimundo de Monta(n)yana per Bernardo de Aversone

(ACA reg. 203, f. 48v.)

Arnau's interest in a Raimundus Cellerarii is particularly suggestive because of his apparently close relationship with a disciple, Petrus Cellerarii of Daroca (intermittently physician to members of the royal family between 1315 and 1335); see John F. Benton, «New Light on the Patria of Arnald of Villanova», *Viator*, in press. It is further intriguing that «R. Cellerarii» should appear as a witness to a document of 19 May 1294 in which «Bonus Juda de Bello Cayr judeus Barchinone» acknowledged settlement of a debt by «A. de Villanova civi Barchinone» (Archivo de la

Catedral de Barcelona, Manual de Bernat de Vilarrubia 1292-1297, f. 54v). Other references in Vilarrubia's manuals fix this «A. de Villanova» in Barcelona on 6 and 9 June and 23 July 1295 and 23 August 1297; and one in the Archivo General de Protocolos of Barcelona places him there on 9 November 1299. Could this man be the physician? None of these dates would be inconsistent with the data provided by Martí de Barcelona's «Regesta», and there is no good evidence of Arnau's beginning to establish himself in Valencia until 1298 («Nous documents», #6, p. 91).

96a

Valencia, 10 April 1306

The king approves Arnau's sale of the gabelle on the salt of Burriana to Bernard Sanuy and Marc Renard.

Nos Jacobus etc., viso quodam instrumento publico confecto auctoritate Guillelmi de Verneto notario publici Valencie, per quod Bernardus Oliverii clericus procurator venerabilis et dilecti consilarii et phisici nostri magistri Aⁱ de Villanova ex concessione per nos inde ei facta vendidit Bernardo Sanuy civi Valencie et Marcho Renardi habitatori de Burriana totam gabellam salis loci de Burriana que per nos ad violarium eidem magistro est concessa et obligata a kalendis videlicet mensis Januarii proximi transactis usque ad quatuor annos continue venturos ad rationem scilicet trium milium sol. Barch. pro quolibet anno, idcirco vendicionem gabelle dicti salis confirmamus et approbamus et eciam observabimus et observari faciemus predictis Bernardo de Sanuy et Marcho Renardi sub forma et condicionibus contentis in instrumento vendicionis predicte; mandamus itaque per presentes baiulo regni Valencie generali et aliis quibuscumque officialibus et subditis nostris quod vendicionem predictam firmam habeant et faciant per totum tempus dictorum iiii^{or} annorum inviolabiliter observari. Datum Valencie, iiii^o idus aprilis anno predicto.

Bernardus de Aversone, mandato regio

(ACA reg. 203, f. 149v.)

The sale of Arnau's grant on the Burriana *gabelle*, here referred to as accomplished, was prepared for by Jaume's permission of 21 July 1305 («Nous Documents», #26; «Regesta», #87). Bernard de Sanuy and Marc Renard had previously bought the gabelle of Arnau in 1303 (Ramon d'Alos, «Colleccio de documents relatiu a Arnau de Vilanova», *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 6 [1912], 27-28; «Regesta» #67). Marc Renard was still a citizen of Burriana at the end of 1317 (ACA reg. 215, f. 209v); Bernard de Sanuy («civis Valencie» appears in September 1318 as the father-in-law and procurator of G. de Solanis of Barcelona (Arch. Cath. Barcelona, manual of Bernat de Vilarrubia for April-September 1318, f. 236).

123

Perugia, 6 October 1309

(ACA, CRD Jaume II, extra-series 172.) Unpublished. The letter, from the Bishop of Sabina to Jaume II, reads in part: «Circa negotia vero magistri Arnaldi de Villanova, noveritis nos iuxta posse adhibuisse suffragium et tandem extitit salubriter expedit;

demum post expeditionem suam discessit de curia et postmodum audivimus ipsum in Siciliam transivisse.»

124a

Avignon, 26 October 1309

Joan, Cardinal-Bishop of Porto, informs Jaume II that Arnau has made statements that damage the king and his brother Frederic.

(ACA CRD Jaume II, extra-series 169.)

AA, II, 885.

The text printed in Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, is incomplete. The document seems to have been inadvertently omitted from the «Regesta»; the reference to its publication by Finke somehow remained and was placed incorrectly with #124.