

## NEW LIGHT ON THE PATRIA OF ARNALD OF VILLANOVA: THE CASE FOR VILLANOVA DE JILOCA NEAR DAROCA

Though he died wealthy and famous, a distinguished professor, author and physician to kings and popes, Arnald of Villanova was born into obscurity, being, as he said of himself, *homo sylvester, theoreticus ignotus et practicus rusticanus* and *natus ex gleba ignobile et obscura*.<sup>1</sup> For centuries the mystery of the identification of the «new town» which gave him his name has been debated, and without knowledge of that locality the search for further information about his family (and whether they were, as has been suggested, converted Jews), the place of his earliest schooling, and the formative influences of his youth has been frustrated.<sup>2</sup> As so often happens, we know far more of what Arnald achieved than of how he did it.

In a review of the early literature of Arnald's place of origin, Barthelemy Hauréau pointed out in 1881 that both Italy and France had claimed him as a native son, but that «en Espagne Barcelone le donne à Valence et Valence le rend à Barcelone,» a situation which he explained by the question: «Mais n'a-t-il pas été condamné comme hérétique?»<sup>3</sup> Modern research, freer of both national and re-

1 Arnald, *De conservanda juventute*, preface in *Opera* (Lyon, 1504), fol. 86v; and a letter sent to Boniface VIII in 1302, published by Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'Història de la Cultura Catalana Mig-aval* (Barcelona, 1908-1921), 1, 30. The topos of assumed humility may have led Arnald to exaggerate his lack of skill or personal merit, but his comments on his origins would have been inappropriate if his family had been either urban or wealthy.

2 A recent biographical sketch, brief and useful, is Michael McVaugh, «Arnald of Villanova», *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York, 1970-76), 1, 289-291. Fr. Miquel Barllori discusses a hypothesis of Jewish origins in «La documentació de Marsella sobre Arnau de Vilanova y Joan Blasi», *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* (= AST), 21 (1948), 87-88. I am more grateful than I can say to these two scholars for their extensive and generous help during the preparation of this article.

3 Hauréau, «Arnaud de Villeneuve» in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 28 (1881), 30. Hauréau's remark misrepresents Spanish pride in Arnald's origin evident in the work of such authors as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, médico catalán del siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1879).

ligious bias and more determined to stick to the existing texts, has avoided the more extravagant or fantastic claims of the past, but is still far from a consensus on Arnald's place of origin. Today one major school of thought suggests that Arnald came from Villeneuve-lès-Vence or Villeneuve-Loubet near Marseille, an idea strengthened by the demonstrated fact that he had close relatives in that area.<sup>4</sup> Another theory, widely repeated in secondary literature, is that Arnald came from Valencia, since he was called by Pope Clement V *clericus Valentinae diocesis*, held property there, and left a daughter in that region.<sup>5</sup> Each position has attractive features, but neither is based on precise documentation or unambiguous evidence, since a Catalan who died in 1311 could easily have had relatives in Provence and held property and office in Valencia without originating in either region.

The one matter of Arnald's background which is certain is that he was by «nationality» a Catalan. Fourteenth-century authors and manuscripts refer to him as Catalan, and his early editors sometimes called him *Arnaldus Catalanus*.<sup>6</sup> One personal indication of his Catalan background is that the only language in which he wrote besides Latin was Catalan; he was, indeed, one of the earliest major authors in that language.<sup>7</sup> Arnald himself gave oblique confirmation to a hostile statement that he was Catalan, for in his *Tractatus quidam in quo respondetur obiectionibus quae fiebat contra tractatum de adventu Antichristi* he replied to the charge that some said that he had no right to announce the coming end of the world «quia erat de filiis despecte nationis, scilicet chatalanus,» by answering that «Christus non facit differentiam in nationibus».<sup>8</sup>

4 The most detailed exposition of this hypothesis is by René Verrier, *Études sur Arnaud de Villeneuve* (Marseille-Leiden, 1947). In «La documentación» (see above, note 2), Fr. Batllori accepts the possibility that Arnald's family came from the region of Marseille, but suggest that it may then have moved to Catalonia and later to Valencia.

5 In «La patria y la familia de Arnau de Vilanova», *AST* 20 (1947), 5-71, written jointly with Fr. Batllori, Joaquim Carreras Artau severely criticizes M. Verrier and supports the hypothesis of a Catalan-Valencian origin. He points out (p. 12) that the Dominican Francesco Eiximenis in the mid-fourteenth century was the recorded author to claim that Arnald came from Valencia: «Sápies que de Vilanova, qui és la vila en lo Regne de València, fou natural un gran e assenyalat metge qui s'apellava Mestre Arnau de Vilanova...» Further comments on the hypothesis of M. Verrier are given by Fr. Batllori in «Arnau de Vilanova en Italia», *AST* 23 (1950), 95-97.

6 On the «unequivocal evidence» that Arnald was Catalan see Carreras Artau, «La patria», pp. 10-11 and 15.

7 See Arnald's *Obres catalanes*, ed. Miguel Batllori, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1947).

One problem for modern historians is to know exactly what it meant to be «Catalan» in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, for as is well known the count of Barcelona was at the same time king of Aragon and the Catalan-Aragonese empire ruled, among other places, Valencia, Provence, and the territory of Montpellier. The longstanding debate as to whether Lerida was in Catalan or Aragonese territory is itself symptomatic of the problems of what we might call «ethnic identity» in a «multi-national empire». <sup>9</sup> A fourteenth century student at the university of Lerida, itself divided into Catalan and Aragonese «nations», probably took part in discussions on nationality somewhat similar to those which agitated students at the universities of Prague or Lvov in the nineteenth century. If a Catalan family from near Barcelona, let us say, established a home in newly conquered territory in lower Aragon and raised a child to speak not Aragonese but Catalan, should that child be considered Catalan or Aragonese? A difficult question, to which different answers might legitimately be given. If a choice must be made, it might best be determined by whether a given individual found identity more strongly in language and upbringing or in territory.

New information on the origins of Arnald of Villanova has now come to light in a fourteenth-century manuscript of his great synthetic treatise, the *Speculum medicine*. Sometime in the late 1960s the New York dealer H.P. Kraus purchased a composite volume made up of four different works from a Spanish gentleman whose identity has not been revealed by Mr. Kraus. These four manuscripts, each of which once stood alone, were separated, rebound, and described in Mr. Kraus's sale catalogue no. 126. <sup>10</sup> The *Speculum medicine* was pur-

8 Text in Batllori, «Dos nous escrits espirituals d'Arnau de Vilanova», *AST*, 28 (1955), 61; see also Batllori, «Nuevos datos biograficos sobre Arnaldo de Vilanova» in *Actos del XV Congreso internacional de historia de la medicina* (Madrid, 1957), 235-237. The *alii* to whom Arnald here refers probably included his French critics, and in evaluating the adjective *despectus* one should remember that Catalan military success was responsible for Philip III's ignominious retreat from his «crusade» against Aragon in 1285.

9 On the curious conflict over the status of Lérida see Josep Lladonosa i Pujol, *Història de Lleida*, 2 vols. (Tàrraga, 1972-75), 1, 288-291 (I am grateful to Prof. Thomas N. Bisson of Berkeley, Calif. for this reference and much other assistance). On the larger issue of Aragonese-Catalan separatist tendencies, see Jocelin N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229-1327*, *English Historical Review*, supplement 8 (London, 1975), pp. 3-4 and Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1962), 1, 450-451.

10 *Choice Books and Manuscripts* (New York: H. P. Kraus, n.d. 1970) nos. 99, 101, 102, 105.

chased by a Beverly Hills physician, Dr. Irving J. Pincus, and a text of three works of Mesue the Younger (Masawiah al-Mardini) was acquired by the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland. Dr. Pincus then thoughtfully acquired the two remaining manuscripts, Avenzoar's *Liber Thaisir* in the translation of Joannes of Capua and Averroes' *Colliget*, so that three of the four parts have been available to me and my colleague, Dr. Richard Rouse, for repeated inspection. More detailed comments on all four parts appear in an appendix to this article.

The two most closely related texts are those of Avenzoar and Arnald, both written in very similar but not identical hands of the first third of the fourteenth century (though the *Speculum*, which refers to Arnald as dead, must have been copied after 1311). According to Dr. Rouse, both hands show a slightly amateur quality and are not characteristic of a professional *libraria*, but both are decorated with identical colored initials which were probably produced by the same atelier. As Madame M.-C. Garand has pointed out to me, these two manuscripts are very similar to a dated manuscript produced at Montpellier in the early fourteenth century,<sup>11</sup> though given the amount of movement in Catalan territory at this time, it would be hard to state definitively that the manuscripts were not written elsewhere. Some support for an origin in Montpellier or its intellectual milieu is provided by a gloss at the end of the Avenzoar manuscript which records a recipe for a laxative (psillium seed) by the early fourteenth-century Montpellier physician Stephanus Arnaldi.<sup>12</sup>

As an *ex-libris* shows, these two texts, once separate, were later bound together, probably by the end of the fourteenth century, with the Avenzoar first and the Arnald second. At an even later date, perhaps in the early sixteenth century and after the period which interests us, the two other manuscripts, which are probably of Catalan or Spanish origin, were added to the collection, and the four works were bound in the following order: Avenzoar, Averroes, Arnald, and

11 Cf. Paris, Arsenal, MS. 979, Bernard of Gordon's *Lilium medicina*, written at Montpellier in 1305; MS. 872, Arnald's *Regimen sanitatis*, written 1329; and MS. 1031, a collection of four medical treatises written in 1323. These manuscripts are described in Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris, 1959...), 1, pp. 115 and 123, and plates 28 and 34.

12 On Stephanus Arnaldi (or Arlandi!), see Pierre Pansier, «Les maîtres de la faculté de médecine de Montpellier au moyen âge», *Janus*, 10 (1905), 9-10, and John B. Blake, «Commentum super Nicolaum by Stephanus Arlandi: An unnoticed medical incunabulum»; *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 25 (1970), 480.

Mesue. They remained in this form until they were separated by Mr. Kraus.

The information of greatest importance for us appears at the end of the *Speculum medicine*. The text ends with a colophon which states:

Explicit Speculum medicine, editum a magistro Arnaldo de Villa Nova a nomine, \*Catalano, bone memorie, doctore insigni in Monte Pessulano, cuius anima cum angelis gratuletur.

In front of the word *Catalano* a hand which is probably of the late fourteenth century<sup>13</sup> has entered an insertion mark like a capital H, here represented by an asterisk, and to the left and below the *explicit* has added a comment preceded by the same mark:

\*Mentiris, quia ipse fuit oriundus de<sup>14</sup> Villa Nova de Sancto Martino circa civitatem Darocensem in confinibus regni Aragonie versus frontariam Moline, et adhuc vivunt hodie afines sui et de sua parentella, prout sua scripta et res sue ibi adhuc hodie atestantur; cuius discipulus fuit magister P. Cellerarius Darocensis.

This gloss has a precise and categorical quality which stands up to further scrutiny. Daroca itself is on the river Jilóca in the province of Zaragoza, near the western border of Aragon touching on Castille. Villanueva de Jilóca (also on the river Jilóca) is seven km. to the southeast.<sup>15</sup> A charter of Raimundo de Castrocol, bishop of Zaragoza, granted in 1205, noted that the church and clerics of San Martín de la Parra of Daroca held the collation of Villanueva, so that this village could properly be called Villanueva de San Martín.<sup>16</sup> From the point of view of Zaragoza, Daroca is «toward» Molina de Aragón (*versus frontariam Moline*), which stands on the border between Aragon and Castilla to the southwest of Daroca. Even the information about Arnald's student, Master P. Cellerarius of Daroca, finds support elsewhere, for a charter of Alfonso III, given at Daroca in 1328, refers to «magister Petrus Cellerarii in medicina;» other evidence

13 The hand has similarities to that in a manuscript written at Lérida in 1386, Paris, B.N. ms. lat. 15417; see Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue*, III, 425 and plate 117.

14 The abbreviation or letter is unlike any other in the two texts; it is more likely a *de* ligature than a deformed *a*, classical grammar to the contrary.

15 In the late nineteenth century Villanueva de Jilóca supported under 500 inhabitants, mostly from agrarian production; see Pablo Riera y Sans, *Diccionario... de España*, 21 vols. (Barcelona, 1881-1887), 470-471. On the name see Agustín Ubieta Arreta, *Toponimia Aragonesa Medieval* (Valencia, 1972), p. 203, *s.v.* Villanova.(3)

16 Rafael Esteban Abad, *Estudio histórico-político sobre la ciudad y comunidad de Daroca* (Teruel, 1959), pp. 375-376. The *Diccionario* cited in the previous note states that the parish church was dedicated to San Gil.

also links Petrus Cellerarius (who died between 1337 and 1351, presumably at Calatayud) with Daroca.<sup>17</sup> The gloss has the ring of argumentative truth, and if it is accurate, Arnald of Villanova had his origin in the little Aragonese village of Villanueva de Jilóca.

The next question to be determined is who wrote the gloss. In my opinion, and in the view of several distinguished paleographers who have examined photographs, the hand that wrote the gloss on folio 48 recto is the same hand that wrote an erased *ex libris* at the bottom of folio 47 verso.<sup>18</sup> This *ex libris* has been quite effectively removed, probably with a pumice stone, but enough of the iron-based ink remains embedded in the parchment for a combination of ultraviolet photography and computer-assisted image-processing techniques developed at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California to make possible the reading of the inscription.<sup>19</sup> A transcription follows:

Hic liber est Johannis de Exulba,<sup>20</sup> baquallarri in artibus et studentis<sup>21</sup> in medicina, diocesis Cesaraugustane, et continet in universo videlicet nonaginta quattuor folia scripta, in quorum

17 Arx. Cor. Aragón, reg. 431, fol. 237-237v; I am grateful to Fr. Robert Burns for supplying me with a photographic copy. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, 1, 93-94, prints the cognomen as *Tenllerarii*, but the initial letter can as easily be *c* as *t*, the stroke above the first three letters which led the editor to supply an *n* is probably only a decorative flourish, like many others in this chancellery hand, and *Tenllerarii* is not a recognizable name, while *Cellerarii* is. Professor McVaugh has found other evidence on Petrus Cellerarius and is preparing an article about him.

18 The reader is invited to make an independent evaluation of this judgment from the photographs published with this article. Though the similarities seem to me to be predominant, there are slight differences, as if the two inscriptions were written at different times. The gloss on folio 48 is crowded into the margin, and the manuscript may have been held at an awkward angle in order to do so; the *ex libris* is written in the ample space at the bottom of the page and has the expansive character often found when people write about themselves and their possessions.

19 On these procedures, see J.F. Benton, A.R. Gillespie, and J.M. Soha, «Digital Image-Processing applied to the Photography of Manuscripts», *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), 40-55, and Benton, «Nouvelles recherches sur le déchiffrement des textes effacés, grattés ou lavés», *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, année 1978, pp. 580-595. This work was supported by a grant from the President's Fund of the California Institute of Technology.

20 Although I found the reading of *de Exulba* extremely difficult, Professor Antonio Ubieta Arteta of the University of Zaragoza wrote in a letter of Januari 7, 1979, that it could be determined from the enhanced photographs «con toda seguridad».

21 The first three letters of this word have been cancelled by a stroke of brownish ink, of different hue than the back ink of the rest of the writing.

primis xliiii<sup>or</sup> continetur Avenzoar et est Liber Thaisir,<sup>22</sup> tota sua practica. In aliis vero quinquaginta restantibus est tractatus Arnaldi de Villa Nova, quod Speculum nominatur, completus et eiusdem scripture totus; suntque in fine vi folia eiusdem pergameni alba non scripta.

The information given here about the manuscripts is substantially what we find today. Avenzoar's *Liber Thaisir* does contain 44 folios. There are only 48 rather than 50 written folios in Arnald's *Speculum*, and it is not apparent that a conjugate leaf of two folios has been lost anywhere.<sup>23</sup> The foliation is later than the date of the *ex libris*. Following the final written folio of the *Speculum* are two folios which are ruled but otherwise blank, and a gathering of four blank folios may easily have been lost some time after the *ex libris* was written. As stated before, the two texts are written in different hands, but they are so similar that one could readily say of them that they are «eiusdem scripture totus».

What we learn of the owner is that his name was Juan de Ejulve (if the reading of *the Exulba* is correct), that at the time he acquired the manuscript he was a bachelor of arts and a student of medicine, and that he was incardinated in the diocese of Zaragoza. The hamlet of Ejulve is in the diocese of Zaragoza, about 80 km. south-southeast of Daroca, and was so poor at the end the thirteenth century that it did not have to pay an ecclesiastical tax.<sup>24</sup> The closest place to home for a cleric from the diocese of Zaragoza to have studied medicine at that time was Lérida, but it would not be surprising to find an Aragonese medical student at Montpellier, the Spanish college at Bologna, where the gate of Zaragoza still stands, or any one of a number of other centers of learning.<sup>25</sup>

22 The word is normally spelled *Thaisir*. «Al-Taysir» in Arabic means «practical manual».

23 One might expect that a conjugate leaf has been lost from the middle of the fifth gathering, which contains only three rather than the usual four sheets, but comparison with the printed text in Arnald's *Opera* (Lyon, 1504), fol. 27 shows that the text of cap. 88 of the Pincus MS. (*De rebus contra naturam*) is here complete.

24 On Ejulve see Ubieto Arteta, *Toponimia Aragonesa Medieval*, p. 207 *s.v.* Xulb, and José Rius Serra, *Rationes decimarum hispaniae* (1279-80). II *Aragón y Navarra* (Barcelona, 1947), p. 104.

25 If the assumptions about the date of the hand and the association with Lérida are correct, the most likely place to find another reference to the former owner of these manuscripts would be the supplication presented to Benedict XIII in 1394 and recorded in the Vatican Archives *registri delle Suppliche*, vol. 84, fols. 1-22. The role has been published by José Rius Serra in «L'Estudi General de Lleida en 1396 (*sic*)»,

While it would complete our study of the *ex libris* to find other evidence about the owner, the university at which he studied medicine, and consequently the approximate date at which he owned this manuscript and wrote his gloss (apparently he first owned it while he was a student of medicine and still had it in his possession when he acquired his medical degree and crossed out the word «student»), we already have learned enough to evaluate further his information on the place of origin of Arnald of Villanova, if as seems probable, the same hand wrote the gloss and the *ex libris*. If the handwriting is of the late fourteenth century, he wrote his comment on Arnald sixty years or more after the death of the famous physician, and this limitation alone should incline us to caution in accepting his word. On the other hand, he was himself a student of medicine and he came from the diocese in which Daroca and Villanueva de Jilóca are to be found; if he did not know Master Petrus Cellerarius of Daroca personally, he could well have known someone, perhaps one of his professors, who did have living contact with a knowledgeable source of information about Arnald's place of origin in an obscure village outside Daroca. The statement that Arnald's relatives and family still lived at Villanueva de Jilóca and that his writings and property attest the fact of his origin there also suggests a personal source of information. Perhaps there is more significance than first meets the eye to the fact that in 1330 a *conversus* of Poblet named Pere de Vilanova possessed copies of Arnald's writings.<sup>26</sup> What can be said is that the owner of the *Speculum medicine* was in a position to have precise in-

*Estudis Universitaris catalans*, 18 (1933), 160-174 and 20 (1935), 98-141. For other published rolls from Lérida see the bibliography given by José Goñi Gastambide in «Un rótulo de la universidad de Lérida de 1393», *Anthologica annua*, 16 (1968), 351-383. In none of these published rolls have I found a reference to Johannes de Exulba or any other name which comes close to the paleographic characteristics of the *ex libris*, nor is he to be found in Antoni Cardoner i Planas, *Història de la Corona d'Aragó (1182-1479)* (Barcelona, 1973). On royal support of a medical student from Zaragoza at Montpellier in 1381, see Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, 2,249-250. The will of Cardinal Albornoz (who had been archdeacon of Daroca) provided that a medical student from the diocese of Zaragoza should study regularly at the Spanish College at Bologna; see Berthe M. Marti, *The Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 134.

<sup>26</sup> Xavier Ricomá, «Un convers de Poblet defensor d'Arnau de Vilanova», in *Scriptorium Populeti* (Abadia de Poblet), num. 3 (= *Miscel·lània Històrica Catalana. Homenatge al para Jaume Finestres*, 1970), pp. 259-262. There is no reason to think that this *conversus* and Arnald's nephew, Pere de Vilanova, are identical. On the nephew, see Fr. Martí de Barcelona, «Regesta de documents arnaldians coneguts», *Estudis Franciscans*, 47 (1935), pp. 297-298, no. 162.



formation about Arnald and Villanueva de Jilóca and his statement should not be rejected out of hand.

It is an accepted principle of historical criticism that an unsupported witness is insufficient to establish a statement of fact. What is therefore needed before reasonable certainty about Arnald's place of origin can be determined is research in the archives of the region of Daroca itself, work which can best be done by scholars on the spot. If the information can be verified, however, we have before us the possibility of knowing more about Arnald as a man, as well as a new and intriguing set of questions about him.

If it is indeed true that Arnald was raised by a humble Catalan family in a little village near Daroca, one must wonder what economic or personal goals took his parents to the frontier region of lower Aragon. In that region the speech of most of his boyhood playmates must have been Aragonese rather than Catalan, so that Arnald would presumably have been bilingual and his Catalan identification might well be considered a product of his early position as a member of an ethnic or linguistic minority.<sup>27</sup> Enough villages in lower Aragon in the thirteenth century were still inhabited by Moslems<sup>28</sup> so that the young Arnald could have learned Arabic as a living language from the mudejars of Aragon rather than from the more sophisticated commercial speakers of Arabic of the coastal region.<sup>29</sup> His early schooling, he has told us, came from the Dominicans, and possibly he learned the elements of Latin as a youth from the Dominican friars of Calatayud, 40 km. to the northwest of Daroca.<sup>30</sup> And if he

27 On linguistic differences between Catalan and Old Aragonese and the location of the linguistic boundary, see Antonio Giera Gaja, *La frontera catalano-aragonesa* (Barcelona, 1914); the critical review of this book by Menéndez Pidal in *Revista de filología española*, 3 (1916), 75-88; Manuel Alvar, «Catalán y aragonés en las regiones fronterizas», in *Actas y Memorias del VII Congreso Internacional de Linguística Románica* (Barcelona, 1955); Antonio Badia Margarit, *Gramática histórica catalana* (Barcelona, 1951), pp. 50-57 and Alonso Zamora Vicente, *Dialectología española*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, 3, Manales, 8 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1967), pp. 211-215. For advice on linguistic questions I am grateful to Prof. Charles Faulhaber of Berkeley, California.

28 In the *Rationes decimarum Hispaniae*. ed. Rius y Serra, pp. 93-109, ten villages in the diocese of Zaragoza in 1280 were listed as paying nothing «quia sarraceni habitant ibi».

29 Juan A. Paniagua states that Arnald «connaissait parfaitement la langue arabe» in «L'Arabisme á Montpellier dans l'oeuvre d'Arnau de Vilanova», *Le Scalpel*, année 117 (1964), p. 631 and note 3; I am not competent to evaluate this judgement.

30 Hauréau, «Arnaud», p. 33 cites an unpublished letter to the Dominicans of Paris which mentions Arnald's early education by the Dominicans; I assume this is the letter in Vat. Lat. MS. 3824 listed by Fr. Marti as «inèdita» in his «Regesta» (see note

did so, in his youth he could have known personally Martín de Ateca, a friar of Calatayud who later became one of his major theological critics and to whom Arnald referred as one of «compatriotae meae.»<sup>31</sup>

The answers to such questions about his youth can help us to understand better Arnald as a grown man. And if Arnald came from near Daroca, we know something further about his adult character—he did not look back with sentimental nostalgia on Villanueva de Jilóca and the neighbors and family he left behind him. In all his voluminous surviving writing Arnald never mentions Daroca, nor does he provide for any local memorial in his will.<sup>32</sup> If it were not for the chance survival of an angry but informed comment by a fourteenth-century medical student, we would have no reason even to search for evidence of Arnald's origin in Villanueva de Jilóca. Arnald's student Petrus Cellerarius could spend his adult life in Daroca, but once Arnald had shaken the dust of lower Aragon from his feet, he put his place of origin behind him and joined the cosmopolitan world of the Catalan empire.

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26 above), p. 272, no. 51. As far as I can tell, the Dominican house at Calatayud was in the thirteenth century the closest establishment of that order to Daroca.

31 *Antidotum contra fr. Martinum de Ateca* in Vat. Lat. 3824, fols. 237v-254v, cited by Carreras Artau in «La patria», p. 11. On Martín see Laureano Robles, *Escritores dominicos de la Corona de Aragón (Siglos XIII-XV)* (Salamanca, 1972), pp. 96-97, who calls him «un autor a estudiar».

32 The will was published by Roque Chabás, «El testamento de Arnaldo de Villanova» in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la historia*, 28 (1896), 87-90; cf. Martí, «Regesta», p. 297, no. 88. Arnald refers to the Valencian charterhouse of Scala Coeli as being in Catalonia, suggesting that he made no distinction between Catalonia and what we refer to as Valencia.

## APPENDIX

(The description which follow for parts 1-3 and the summary are the work of Dr. Richard Rouse of the University of California at Los Angeles)

Pincus MSS 1-3 + Bethesda, National Library of Medicine, early western MS 79.

Composite medical manuscript now bound as four individual volumes.

## Pt. 1 (Pincus MS 1)

ff. 1-44 (Avenzoar, *Liber Thaisir.*) beg., Inquit translator ex tenebrarum de modo iudaice pravitatis..., ends, ... id cum adiutorio dei excelsi cui est semper fortitudo et eternitas gloria et laus amen. *Explicit liber thaisir medicinarum sapientis abenzoar translatus ex lingua ebraica in latinam ad honorem chatolice fidei et advite augmentum honorabile patris et domini archiepiscopi bracharensis per manum iohannis humilis servi christi de campana qui per dei gratiam in utrum lingua paritus existit deo gratias.*

ff. 44 r-v (Table of chapters to the *Liber Thaisir* with references to folios added in Arabic numerals) beg., Hic sunt capitula practice albensoar et quod interdum alique in capitulis repetit ubi invenies eadem signum ibi tractat de eadem materiam ¶ prohemiale —c— generale in curacione et conservacione, De pustulis capitis, De morbis capitulorum..., ends,... et eiusdem preservatione. *Alleluia Amen.*

Parch.; ff. i + 44; 326 x 235 (ruled space: 246 x 162) mm.; 2 cols., 56 11; ruled in lead; collation: 1-5<sup>8</sup> 6,<sup>4</sup> gatherings with flesh side out; brown ink; written by one person in an uneven catalan book hand (littera textualis); primary initial (15 line) parted red/purple with red and purple tendrils, secondary initials (2 line) alternating in red and purple with tendrils in the opposite color, red paragraph marks; notes for the rubricator in the margins. Marginalia by several hands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among them on f 44,<sup>v</sup> in late fourteenth century or early 15th noting hand, a recipe for laxatives attributed to master Stephanus Arnaldi, an early fourteenth century physician at Montpellier.

## Pt. 2 (Pincus MS 2)

- ff. 1-59 (Averroes, *Colliget.*) *Incipit liber mahunitius qui Averroys dicitur latine.* beg., Quando ventilata fuit super me voluntas per nobile preceptum..., ends,... Et deus nos ab errore eximat et ipsius lumine nostros oculos illuminare dignetur. *Explicit liber mehemet avenstot qui colliget nominatur. Explicit liber averroys deo grattias.*  
 Parch.; ff. 59; 327 x 235 (ruled space 259 x 157) mm.; 2 cols., 56 l1; ruled in lead; collation: 1-4<sup>12</sup> 5, <sup>12</sup> (-12) gatherings with flesh side out; brown ink; written by one person in a small, round, southern French book hand (*littera textualis*). Primary initial of each book (6 line) parted red/blue with filigree, tendrils and full length cascade, secondary initial (2 line) alternating red and blue with filigree and tendrils in opposite color, paragraph marks alternately in red and blue; running headlines in red and blue letters, book number noted in middle of inner and outer margin of each page: L V; notes for the rubricator in margins. Marginalia in at least five hands (1) variant readings in the hand of the scribe, cf. ff. 5, v 10, 17, 28 32, 33, v (2) variant readings and correction by a contemporary hand, ff. 17, r v 18 r v 32, 39, (3) notes drawing attention to subjects treated in the text and adding comments in a hand of the mid fifteenth century which also appears in Pts. 1 and 3 and is distinguished by its *nota* mark, (4) an Italian hand of the fifteenth century, cf. ff. 33 v 48 v, (5) notes by another fifteenth-century writer, 41v, 45, 48, 54v.

## Pt. 3 (Pincus MS 3)

- ff. 1-48 (Arnald of Villanova, *Speculum medicinae.*) *In nomine celestis agni medicina introductionum incipit speculum medicine.* beg., Introductiones appellantur indebite que prima et..., ends,... a cunctis amatoribus veritatis. *Finito libro sit laus et gloria christo amen. Explicit speculum medicine editum a magistro arnaldo de villa nova a nomine catalano bone memorie doctore insigni in monte pessullano cuius anima cum angelis gratuletur.*  
 Parch., ff. 50, contemporary foliation in roman numerals in tens in upper right corner, medieval foliation in arabic numerals 1-48 (49-50 blank) in same corner; 327 x 233 (ruled space: 244 x 160) mm.: 2 cols., 54-55 l1., ruled in lead; collation: 1-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>6</sup> 6<sup>8</sup> 7<sup>4</sup>; ink varies from brown to black; written by one person in an uneven catalan bookhand (*littera textualis*); primary initial (14 line) parted red/blue with tendrils, secondary initials alternately in red and blue with tendrils of the opposite color, red paragraph marks, the decoration is very similar to that of Pt. 1 if not by the same person; notes for the rubricator in margins; marginalia by several hands. Written in Catalan territory in the first third of the fourteenth century.

- Pt. 4 (Bethesda, Md., National Library of Medicine. Early western MS. 79)
- f. A limp vellum wrapper, inscription upside down at bottom, beginning 50 mm. from cropped bottom. First three lines thoroughly erased, followed by:
- (4) (istud?) mihi sui gratia ipse acomodavit. Factum est hoc xx die octobris
- (5) (anno) domini 1400 recuperavit istud librum apud domino magistro Francisco restituendum sibi per dictum scriptum
- (6) (istud v j)unii anno 1401.
- Note: text in square brackets visible only under ultra-violet light.
- f. A<sup>v</sup> Table of contents of chapters from 1 (de aloë) to 53 (de elleboro).
- ff. 1-21 (Mesue the Younger, *Liber de simplicibus medicinis*) beg. *Incipit liber Heben Mesue de simplicibus medicinis*. In nomine dei misericordis cuius nutu sermo incipit gr... et doctrina perfectionem principium verbos Iohannes filii Hamet filii Helii Abdebla regis Damascem. Verbum cecidit... Explicit liber Heben Mesuhe de simplicibus medicinis.
- ff. 22-36 (Mesue, *Antidotarium*) beg. *Incipit Iohannis Damasceni Nastrani filii Mesue Caldei quod est agregatum vel antidotarium elestarum constonum incipit liber tertius*. Sicut in libris nostris ex hiis...
- ff. 36-85v (Mesue, *Grabadin*) beg. (rubric at bottom of f. 36) *Hec est summa secunda in qua ponit medicinas singulorum membrorum egrinibus appropriatis*. (f. 36v) Sanat solus deus languores et de frugalitas solo. There is a change of hands at the end of f. 68 (end of 10th quire); the remainder of the manuscript is without rubrics or decoration. (fol 85v) Explicit practica Hebe Mesue Deo gratias amen. Parch., wrapper + ff. 85; 328 x 235 (ruled space: 000 x 000) mm.; 2 cols., 60-63 11; ruled...; collation: 1-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>4</sup> 6-11<sup>8</sup> 12<sup>1</sup>; written in several hands; no rubrication from f. 69 to the end.

## SUMMARY

The four parts of this manuscript have disparate origins and were probably brought together in the following sequence. Parts 1 and 3 appear to be decorated by the same person or at least in the same place, though they are written by different scribes. The same two parts were probably written in Catalan territory, perhaps at Montpellier, in the first third of the fourteenth century and brought together by the writer of the *ex libris* on f. 47<sup>v</sup> of part 3 which describes a volume consisting only of the *Liber Thaisir* and the *Speculum medicine* and which dates probably from the end of the fourteenth century. Numerous hands annotate the margins of parts 1 and 3 but do not appear in parts 2 (and 4?) Parts 3 (and 4?) were very likely joined to the manuscript in the mid fifteenth century by the physician whose frequent annotations appear in (all four?) parts of the manuscript. Nothing more is known about its provenance. The four parts were sold by H.P. Kraus (Catalogue no. 100 item 126), who had the composite volume divided and bound as four separate volumes in plain parchment wrappers. Parts 1-3 were acquired by Dr. I.J. Pincus in 1970-1972, part 4 by the National Library of Medicine in 1972.