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ARNAU DE VILANOVA:
A CASE-STUDY OF A THEOLOGIZING PHYSICIAN*

Introduction

The functional different hinders our understanding of people and social structures in pre-industrial or transitional societies such as the late-medieval society. Recently, attempts have been made to reevaluate the relationship between the scientific and the theological ideas of various early-modern scientists like Paracelsus, John Locke, La Mettrie and Isaac Newton, who adhering to the Christological doctrine of Arianism and expressing interest in prophetic literature and the Book of Revelation in particular (which led him to determine 1867 as the date of the second coming of Christ) bears some distinct resemblances to Arnau.¹ Without attempting to give Arnau's thought an inner coherence or presenting it as a closed system which it may

* I would like to thank Jean Dunbabin and Richard Smith for their help.

1. On the unity of Paracelsus's vocation as apostle, prophet and healer see C. WEBSTER, *Paracelsus: medicine as popular protest*, in: O. P. GRELL and A. CUNNINGHAM (eds), *Medicine and the Reformation* (London and N.Y., 1993) pp. 57-77. For Newton, see J. E. FORCE, *Newton's God of Dominion: The Unity of Newton's Theological, Scientific and Political Thought*, in: J. E. FORCE and R. H. POPKIN, *Essays on the Context, Nature, and Influence of Newton's Theology* (Dordrecht, Boston and London, 1990) pp. 75-102. Two recent works which try to show how medical concerns shaped an author's views on philosophy, morals, social reform and poetry and conversely how the emerging thought of the Enlightenment and Romanticism was reflected in their medical writings are: H. DE ALMEIDA, *Romantic Medicine and John Keats* (Oxford and New York, 1991) and especially K. WELLMAN, *'La Mettrie'; Medicine, Philosophy and Enlightenment* (Durham and London, 1992). See also an attempt to link Locke's empiricist and practical philosophy to his medical background in P. ROMANELL, *John Locke and Medicine* (Buffalo - NY, 1984).

never have attained or aspired to, I hope to show that an integrated approach to the study of Arnau's medical and spiritual writings may produce not only additional insights into Arnau's personality, but also place him in a long line of scientists who crossed the boundaries of their professional discipline to enter the realm of theology.

Did the apparent disjunction between Arnau's medical and theological careers really exist or is it a historiographical construct? How can his movement between the two vocations be explained at a time in which the barriers separating various scientific disciplines were being raised within the Aristotelian and scholastic tradition,² medicine was taking firm shape as a secular occupation, and society was becoming aware of the benefits of health care and of learned medicine?³ Little can be learned from the short, casual and often formulaic invocations of God which usually appear in the *proemia* or conclusions of treatises or as part of their endings. Arnau's medical texts are devoid of any allusion to a religious interpretation for diseases and rely solely on their natural explanation.⁴ As an art one needed for regulating the

2. Transplanting methods and models from one area of knowledge to another was forbidden, because it could lead to a category-mistake. On the separation of theology from philosophy which suited the social reality of medieval universities and started to erode in the fourteenth century when mathematical consideration was introduced to physics, ethics and even theology, see A. FUNKENSTEIN, *Theology and Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*, (Princeton, 1986), pp. 6, 307-17; *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, eds. L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER, R. FRENCH, J. ARRIZABALAGA and A. CUNNINGHAM (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 12-13, 23.

3. For the most recent analysis of the process described as a gradual drawing apart of the priestly or clerical from the medical function see M. R. MCVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague; Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon 1285-1345* (Cambridge, 1993) esp. pp. 72-75. A starting point for the discussion of the broad questions of religion and medicine from historical, theological, philosophical and sociological viewpoints can be found in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions; an inquiry into religion and medicine*, eds. M. E. MARTY and K. L. VAUX (Philadelphia, 1982).

4. For example, the dedicatory paragraph to *Liber de vinis*, fol. 262^{va} (ascribed to Arnau with some plausibility according to MCVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague*, p. 148 n. 54); the invocation of the eternal wisdom and of the True Teacher who illuminates all those who believe in him with the Truth at the beginning of Arnau's *Speculum*, fol. 1^r; the declaration in the *Aphorismi de gradibus* that only the lovers of the heavenly lamb can attain the fullness of truth in any useful thing, Arnaldus de Vilanova, *Opera Medica Omnia*, ed. L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER, M. MCVAUGH, J. PANIAGUA (Barcelona, 1975) (henceforth *AVOMO*) II, p. 145; the introductory note to *Contra calculum*, fol. 305^{va} and *De venenis* (attributed to Arnau), fol. 216^{vb} (All citations from Arnau's unedited medical texts and those attributed to him are from the 1520 Lyons edition of his *Opera*, unless specified differently). It is now believed that *De venenis* and *Antidotarium* may have been written by Arnau and completed or compiled by Pedro Cellerer his disciple; see MCVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague*, p. 82 and his contribution to this volume. I shall use with caution these sources as part of Arnau's works. For a recent, useful attempt to draw attention to the religious beliefs and philosophical attitudes of physicians on the basis of

non-natural aspects of the human life (*res non naturales*) learned medicine had little to do with religion or theology, either in theory or in practice. Each discipline had its own domains which were clearly marked. Thus by the middle of the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus openly acknowledged that theology, medicine and natural philosophy were clearly separated. He determined that Augustine, not the philosophers provided answers for theological and moral questions; that in medical issues Galen and Hippocrates should be the source of knowledge; and that on topics concerning the natures of things (*naturae rerum*) one should follow Aristotle.⁵

The notion that academic medicine became a perfectly demarcated field by the turn of the thirteenth century created a 'split personality approach' towards the study of Arnau. It regarded a self-imposed compartmentalization of his medical and spiritual activities responsible for his double career. Those interested in his medicine stressed Arnau's portrait as a rational, systematic, Galenic physician who relied on reason, experiment and scientific sources, rejected magic and was utterly absorbed in the medico-scholastic world at Montpellier of the end of the thirteenth century.⁶ When historians were confronted with the apparent contradiction between this image and Arnau the radical prophetic visionary and eschatological reformist, an impermeable barrier between the two sides of his intellectual life was erected as a preferable explanation. Medicine, grounded on a solid, scholastic and scientific basis, was Arnau's profession and it fully occupied his mind. On the other hand, the religious activity that pervaded the last years of his life emerged rather from his heart, lacked a solid basis in theological studies, and was more passionate and hence more audacious and novel. The distinction between medicine which is part of the realm of the mind and religious thought that is in the disordered realm of the heart

proemia for their works see: C. O'BOYLE, *Medicine, God and Aristotle in the Early Universities: Prefatory Prayers in Late Medieval Medical Commentaries*, «Bulletin of the History of Medicine», 66 (1992), 185-209.

5. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super II Sententiarum*, d. 13, a. 2, in: *Opera Omnia* 27, p. 247a (cited also in L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER's introduction to *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, p. 23). Albert's article is part of a discussion about the nature of light. It is entitled: 'Utrum illa lux de qua dicitur *Et divisit lucem a tenebris*, fuerit nubecula lucida, vel corpus, vel forma corporis.' The notion that light is *forma corporis* relies on Aristotle and Avicenna but contradicts Augustine. The argument refers only to the simple case in which the question clearly belongs to one of the disciplines. The demarcation between medicine and natural philosophy until the twelfth century has been discussed by J. J. BYLEBYL, *The Medical Meaning of Physica*, «Osiris» 6, second ser. (1990), 16-41.

6. PANIAGUA, *El Maestro Arnau de Vilanova médico* (Valencia, 1969); ID., *Abstinencia de carnes y medicina*, «Scripta Theologica», 16 (1984), 323-24.

relieved most historians of the attempt to look at both facets in order to find the relationship between them.

It is not my intention to deny the accepted notion that Arnau was a transmitter of Joachimist eschatological ideas, was possibly influenced by Peter of John (Olivi) who lectured at the Franciscan *studium* in Montpellier from 1289, and perhaps also by cabbalistic ideas or methods, or later by various Beguine groups.⁷ I do not suggest that there were any links between the specific theological content of his writing and his medical texts or vice versa. Yet Arnau was regarded by all contemporaries as a physician first and foremost, because his academic training was based only on his medical course of studies taken at the *studium* of Montpellier in the 1260s.⁸ As for theology, there are two contradictory pieces of evidence about his later life: once he speaks of having had only six months of theological studies, another time he claims to have participated in a more structured course in theology at the Dominican school in Montpellier.⁹ Yet it is certain that he never acquired a

7. From the vast literature on each topic I draw reference to the most recent publications which include specific bibliographies. For the Cabbala connection see F. SANTI, *Arnau de Vilanova; L'obra espiritual* (València, 1987), pp. 58, 95-7; M. IDEL, *Ramon Lull and Ecstatic Kabbalah*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 51 (1988), 170-74 at p. 174. On his contacts with Olivi see SANTI, *Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 109 and the various works by R. MANSELLI, *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza* (Rome, 1959), pp. 55-80; *La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova*, in «Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano», 63 (1951). For the Joachimist link see M. REEVES, *The Influence of Prophecy in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 219, 221, 314-17; H. LEE, 'Scrutamini Scripturas: Joachimist themes and figurae in the early religious writing of Arnold of Vilanova', in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 37 (1974), 33-56. For the prophetic context and links between Arnau and Beguine ideas see H. LEE, M. REEVES, G. SILANO, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy; the School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium*, (Toronto, 1989), pp. 27-46, 55-57; J. PERARNAU, *L'Alia informatio beguinorum d'Arnau de Vilanova* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 103-84. R. LERNER, *Ecstatic Dissent*, in «Speculum», 67 (1992), 33-57 especially 42-46 describes Arnau as an example of a new intellectual development in the late s.xiii in which laymen repeatedly claim to apprehend and reach the highest truths.

8. The titles *magister* or *medicus* are always attached to his name. Sometimes other adjectives are added such as *discretus vir* or *familiaris noster*.

9. It was held that Arnau, as a physician with no theological training, could not speak with authority. When the issue came up in the polemic of Gerona in 1303, Arnau declared that he had not only heard theology but also read it solemnly in the Dominican school in Montpellier ('non tantum audivit theologiam sed etiam legit eam sollempniter in scholis fratrum predicatorum Montispezzulani' *Tertia denunciatio Gerundensis*, J. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *La polémica gerundense sobre el Anticristo entre Arnau de Vilanova y los dominicos*, in «Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses», 5/6 (1950/51), p. 55). The term *legere* could mean to lecture and M. BATLLORI in Arnau de VILANOVA, *Obras Catalanes 1*, ed. M. Batllori (Barcelona, 1947) p. 16 and SANTI, *Arnau*, p. 84 interpret this as mere studying with the Dominicans. The second piece of evidence appears in a letter Arnau wrote in 1304 to Pope Benedict XI. There he did not deny an allegation made by his opponents that except for six months of

degree in theology, which would have authorized him to speak publicly on theological matters.¹⁰ I propose to reexamine the notion that Arnau hardly projected his religious views into his medical writings and to check whether he projected his medical thought into his spiritual writings.

In doing this I follow in the footsteps of two scholars who studied Arnau's medical and spiritual texts as a whole. Firstly, Salvador de les Borges attempted to show the convergence of Arnau's religion and medical writings on the moral-ethical level. His study, based on many medical texts which today are believed to be apocryphal, led to the conclusion that Arnau's medicine was subordinate to his religious beliefs. His somewhat forced attempt to Christianize Arnau's medicine is unsatisfactory, yet he deserves credit for being the first to have attempted an integrative study of Arnau's spiritual and medical writings. His observation that some key moral rules and characteristics were common to medical and Christian ethics must be taken into consideration when analyzing Arnau's thought.¹¹ A more recent attempt by Chiara Crisciani to link Arnau's medical and spiritual writings also neglected to differentiate between Arnau's authentic medical writings and those attributed to him years later. As a consequence, her insights into the possible relationships between Arnau's perception of medical epistemology and his peculiar ideas about the *usus pauper*, or between his ideas of perfection in medicine and the *vita evangelica* should be handled with caution.¹² If there was a direct relationship between Arnau's medical thought

theology all his studies were based on the secular sciences 'semper in scientiis secularibus ab infantia quasi vel puericia studui et nunquam scholas theologorum nisi sex mensibus aut circiter frequentavi' in: *De morte Bonifatii*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 213^{va-b} [also in: H. FINKE, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, (Münster, 1902), p. cxc, and ATCA, 10 (1991), p. 213 l. 678-80.]

10. Arnau achieved full recognition as a theologian in the twentieth century when P. GLORIEUX, in *Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1933), pp. 418-39, devoted him 21 pages.

11. SALVADOR DE LES BORGES, *Arnau de Vilanova Moralista* (Barcelona, 1957). On p. 30, e.g., he gives an erroneous impression that Arnau's medical texts approve of the necessity of Extreme Unction in the curing process. This he does on the basis of a text which is patently apocryphal (*De cautelis medicorum* pt. 3). On pp. 50-51 he extensively uses the *Breviarium practice* (another apocryphal text) to show 'Arnau's' adherence to Christian ethics, but undertakes unnecessary acrobatics to explain 'Arnau's' acceptance of therapeutical masturbation.

12. C. CRISCIANI, *Exemplum Christi e sapere. Sull'epistemologia di Arnaldo da Villanova*, in «Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences», 28 (1978), pp. 245-92; on p. 247 n.9 her review of older works which engaged the question in an unsatisfactory manner; at pp. 284-87 she suggests that Arnau's ideas of medical perfection, of open knowledge which enables the *vulgus* to know more than the *sapiens*, of *caritas* as infrastructure for the physician's practice and of the centrality of the *exemplum Christi*, were directly connected to his ideas about evangelical life. On the scant evidence concerning medical practitioners among s.xiii Cathars and Waldensians see W.L. WAKEFIELD, *Heretics as Physicians in the Thirteenth Century*, in «Specu-

and radical Franciscan ideas of poverty, we may question why there is no evidence of medical men contributing in large numbers to the heated debate that surrounded the Franciscans during that period. Nevertheless, Crisciani's study is useful in as much as it draws attention to various aspects which link Arnau's spirituality to his medical background.

Crisciani's allusion to a broader scheme of fall and salvation common to medicine and theology seems to me a better starting point than the Franciscan link, to examine the problem of the relationship between Arnau's medical and spiritual writings.¹³ Hence I shall not argue for a link between Arnau's medical background and the specific content of his spiritual works.

lum», 57 (1982), 328-31. Whilst P. BILLER, *Curate infirmos: the medieval Waldensian practice of medicine*, in: *The Church and Healing*, ed. W.J. SHIELS (Oxford, 1982), 55-77 reached different conclusions. He suggests that to the doings of the apostolic Waldensian brothers one must add care of the physically sick. Whether by so doing they disguised their true intentions, assembled the essential material support for their travelling, or filled a void left by Waldensian exclusion of help from Saints, the medical part of their daily routine remained significant throughout the thirteenth century. I found little evidence of what could be identified as 'medical projection' on the way Arnau discusses the topic. In *Gladius veritatis adversum thomatistas*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 185^{vb}-86^{ra}, he frequently employs categories of body and soul in defining poverty, and the body provides him with numerous analogies. It is essential, he claims, that those who aspire to apostolic *status* not only raise the dead, heal lepers and drive away demons, but also cure the sick. Thus for him there is a direct relationship between the occupation of a physician and practising apostolic poverty. Body and soul are to the human as poverty and renouncing property are for apostolic perfection. Apostolic perfection is achieved only with *usus pauper*, like the body which is perfect only if it has hands and legs. The lack of apostolic poverty is like indecency which results from the lack of beard. Arnau calls for strict observance of the behavioural rules that are derived from the idea of poverty which is merely the basis for practice. Even the consumption of the basest of things such as beans and olives (an allusion to the diet of such spiritual groups) should be performed with due temperance if people are to aspire to evangelical perfection. Yet despite his call for the strict observance of the code of behaviour appropriate to evangelical poverty, he rejects the notion that this code is identical for all. We encounter here again the medical or scientific side of his personality; the life-style, even of those imitating apostolic poverty should be adapted to natural circumstances. Geography, climate, age and health will determine its unique character for every person. '*usus pauper in temporalibus non est determinatus sive restrictus ad indivisibile ymo latitudinem magnam habet secundum diversitatem locorum et temporum ac etiam personarum; proinde medium seu mensura debita paritatis non est eadem in septemtrionalibus et meridionalibus et in yeme et estate et in iuvene et in sene et flegmatico et colerico.*' Ibid., fol. 186^{rb}. Arnau does not sound like a delirious mystic; he is a physician who has crossed the boundary between his profession and the theological domain by applying his medical experience to the description of spiritual matters, but he has not abandoned his original intellectual preoccupation.

13. CRISCIANI, '*Exemplum Christi*', pp. 274, 276, 284-85. On p. 284 she speaks of the physician's daily contact with signs of physical decay and corruption which were associated in the medieval mind with sin. This could easily push the pious physician towards offering his diagnostic and curative skills to spiritual diseases as well.

My hypothesis is that the very fact of his expressing himself so openly in the field of theology, as if he were qualified to do so, may have been directly related to his perception of the role of the physician and the place which the science of medicine occupied. Furthermore, this study of Arnau the vehicle of the 'New Galenism' into the Latin West,¹⁴ may provide us with a further explanation for his distinctive ideas, but more importantly, it may reveal a framework for analyzing the thought of other 'theologizing physicians'.

This discussion is dedicated to a selection of three topics: Arnau's language, his notion of the origin of knowledge and his medical frame of mind.¹⁵ Since I do not argue for an internal evolution throughout the almost thirty years of his intellectual activity, I shall make no effort to cite his writings in the chronological order of their compilation or formation.¹⁶

1. *Language*

Adherence to the extreme forms of semiological theory is not required for the general notion that language and meanings can sometimes actually constitute or create the reality experienced by human beings. Language can no longer be construed simply as a medium, relatively or potentially transparent, for the representation or expression of a reality outside itself. Rather, it is a self-contained system of signs whose meanings are determined by their relations to each other rather than by their relation to some transcendental or extralinguistic object or subject.¹⁷ The historian thus has to explain why certain uses of words and meanings arise, persist and collapse at particular times and in specific sociocultural situations. Since meanings are never simply inscribed on the minds of those to whom they are directed or on whom they are imposed, but are always reinscribed in the act of reception, the task of the historian who attempts to recreate notions,

14. See L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER's and E. SÁNCHEZ SALOR's introduction to *Commentum supra tractatum Galieni de malitia complexionis diverse*, in: AVOMO XV, pp. 17-36; L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER, *Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240-1311) y la reforma de los estudios médicos en Montpellier (1309); El Hipócrates latino y la introducción del nuevo Galeno*, in «Dynamis», 2 (1982), 97-158.

15. The question of how 'Christian' was Arnau's medicine also deserves to be studied in this context, yet I shall not engage it in this article.

16. I deliberately refrain from discussing Arnau's *De usu carniū* which is unique among his spiritual writings in its overt use of medical knowledge for a religious cause. For a full discussion of the treatise see Dianne Bazell's contribution to this volume.

17. See J. E. TOEWS, *Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience*, in «American Historical Review», 92 (1987), 879-907 (a review essay of the ongoing debate between socio/cultural and intellectual historians).

atmospheres, ideas of long past periods, is formidable indeed. On the presupposition that the consumption of language is not a passive assimilation of a purified meaning but is characterized by interpretative activity that involves resistance and evasion as well as subtractive, supplemental and transformative revisions, the historian is expected to come up with a plausible interpretation of the text under consideration.

In the case of Arnau, is there anything in the language he employs in his spiritual writings that suggests possible links with his medical background? Does he introduce to his spiritual language anything that is specifically medical? This we may learn from juxtaposing Arnau's medical and spiritual writings, looking for religious features in the medical texts and medical features in the spiritual texts and locating points of convergence between the two. The language used by Arnau and other authors of medical treatises when they wrote about medical matters reveals the linguistic ground common to clerics and physicians. The interchangeable use of *sanitas* and *salus* (which in the medical texts mean physical health and in the spiritual texts mean spiritual health)¹⁸ shows that at least linguistically, Arnau the physician and Arnau the spiritual mystic are preoccupied with one and the same thing: health. *Peccatum* as a physical defect which causes a disease,¹⁹ *lapsus* as a physical failure which can be corrected by the physician,²⁰ *purgatio* as a curing technique²¹ and even *passio*²² were all key medical words which had acquired strong theological connotations. This was hardly an intentional choice by medieval physicians, since the use of these terms in a medical context predates the Christian period and was part of the language of Classical medicine. However once these terms had acquired a strong Christian connotation, a possible link between the priest and the physician was created, and this linguistic link made it easier for physicians and theologians

18. On the probably scriptural origin of this confusion of words (*Ad Tit.* 2.8) see Arnau's commentary in CARRERAS I ARTAU, *La polémica gerundense*, p. 37. On Arnau's frequent use of concepts such as *sana doctrina*, *sanitas doctrinae*, *sana mens*, *sanus intellectus* and *sanitas* as salvation see *De prudentia catholicorum scholarium*, p. 438; *Confessio Ylerdensis*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 175^{ra}; J. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario espiritual de Arnaldo de Vilanova*, in «Estudios Franciscanos», 49 (1948), p. 393; *Allocutio super tetragrammaton* in: J. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *La Allocutio super Tetragrammaton*, in «Sefarad», 9 (1949), pp. 80, 82, 97. *Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus pseudos theologorum et religiosorum*, in MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 160^{ra}.

19. On the concept of *peccatum humoris* or *humor peccans* see: *Speculum medicine*, fol. 31^{vb}; *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 276^{va}; *De parte operativa*, fol. 124^{ra}; *De conceptione*, fol. 213^{va}. See also the apocryphal *De coitu*, fol. 273^v and *Breviarium*, fol. 172^{ra}.

20. *Speculum medicine*, fol. 23^{ra}.

21. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{rb}.

22. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{rb}; *Speculum medicine*, fol. 31^{vb} which explains the use of the term *passio* as one kind of the accidents of disease or their causes; *De parte operativa*, fol. 123^{ra}.

to express themselves in the domain of the other. By using the term *peccatum* which was so heavily loaded with theological implications, the physician put himself, at least linguistically, on the same level as a priest in that each could be seen as offering a way to heal *peccata*.²³

Physicians perceived their role in religious terms and described medicine as if it were a religious system. Thus there is a clear distinction between the expert physicians and the *laici* who cannot distinguish between fever and other sources of knowledge.²⁴ Medical text books are *scripturae* and those who do not read and master them properly are not only ignorant but also heretical.²⁵ The faithful physician (*medicus fidelis*) introduces another religious attribute to the medical profession.²⁶ The anonymous commentary which accompanies the printed editions of the *Medicationis parabole* defines the medical faithfulness as conscientiousness or loyalty towards the patient.²⁷ That adjective, asserts the commentator, derives from the word *fides* which itself originates from God, who commands that we help each other according to our capacity. *Fidelis* in the medical context thus has a religious flavour which is slightly different from the usual meaning of the word when used

23. Another linguistic construct which introduced a religious influence to a medical discussion is *sanctissimum medicamentum*. It appears in a Ps. Arnau treatise *Remedia contra maleficia*, fol. 215^{va}. It is probably used in this treatise not in its religious sense of sanctity, but of uprightness or scrupulousness. The religious connotation, however, is unavoidable.

24. *De cautelis medicorum*, fol. 216^{ra}.

25. *De Considerationibus operis medicine sive de flebotomia*, in: AVOMO IV, p. 133. M. McVAUGH, *The Nature and Limits of Medical Certitude at Early Fourteenth-Century Montpellier*, «Osiris», 6 (1990), p. 68. See also the *proemium* to *Antidotarium*, fol. 243^{vb} (attributed to Arnau) where the author declares that he is about to unravel the secrets of medicine used so often by the sons of the incarnate truth (*incarnate veritatis*), so that those who are engaged in the practice of healing will be orthodoxically illuminated (*orthodoxe lucidati*). See also *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 276^{rb} where medical knowledge which contravenes the medical scripture (i.e. Galen) is labeled as profane. The vocabulary of medicine was pervaded by religious terminology also in the writings of Henri de Mondeville, the third important medical figure of the period at Montpellier (beside Arnau and Bernard de Gordon). M. POUCHELLE, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 52-56.

26. *Contra calculum*, fol. 305^{vb}-306^{ra}. The term *fidelis* also appears in his spiritual treatises, where it has a purely religious meaning. See *Dyalogus de elementis fidei* in: W. BURGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Katechese im Mittelalter*, in «Römische Quartalschrift (Geschichte)», 21/4 (1907), 163-94 at 173: 'Es tu fidelis? Sum domine. Quare dicis te esse fidelem? Quia habeo rectam fidem. Que est recta fides? Fides catholica...'

27. 'Fidelitas est ut unusquisque faciat alteri quod facere tenetur secundum fidem' *Medicationis parabole*, fol. 103^{ra}; AVOMO VI. 1, p. 35 nr. 4 'Medicus fidelis et sapiens cognitit agnoscendis, quanto celerius potest subvenit egrotanti'. On the concept of *fides* in the Middle Ages see: J. VAN ENGEL, *Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom*, in: T. KESELMAN (ed.), *Belief in History; Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, (Notre Dame and London, 1991), 19-67. The *fidelis medicus* should be added to his list on p. 22.

in a purely religious context. As well as swiftly attending the patient, the *fidelis medicus* must be competent (*peritus*) so as to avoid inflicting harm through his treatment. Arnau thus preserves his instrumental approach to medicine by stressing that *fideltas* must be performed only on the firm foundation of competence (*peritia*) and the virtue of *caritas* which is common to medicine and the Christian faith. Medical ethics are thus enshrined in a religious structure and Arnau sees a fusion between religion and medicine on an ethical rather than on a practical level (of the causes and the cures of diseases). Since the faithful Christian adheres to the correct faith, it is logical to regard the faithful physician as the adherent of the correct medical code of behaviour, which implicitly plays the role of the faith. The precept to be *fidelis* is grounded on the maxims of the faith (Christian and medical), and the usefulness of *fiducia* on the practical level.²⁸

Was the physician's religious attitude relevant to the success of the treatment he provided? In his commentary on *Medicationis parabole*, Arnau links the efficient performance of the physician to his moral and religious disposition. The physician who wishes *utiliter medicari* should acquire a *nobilis appetitus* which is expressed by religious devotion and help to one's neighbour. Only a continuous, unrelenting attachment to God, which creates a *rectitudo intentionis* can ensure useful medical practice.²⁹ Arnau does not explain how this usefulness is manifested, if at all, with regard to the treatment itself. However he states that the faithful physician who persists in that desirable pattern of behaviour will feel its impact on his name amongst the living and on his position with regard to divine Grace.³⁰ Nowhere in the medical texts are there suggestions that the moral/religious behaviour of the patient was deemed to have any repercussion on his physical health.

In the case of Arnau, I argue that this perception of medicine as a religious structure facilitated his leap to the field of theology. This affinity in language (including analytical language as McVaugh has shown)³¹ enabled the physi-

28. More about the physically enervating effect of *fiducia* on the patient can be found in ARNAU's *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 279^{ab}.

29. *Commentum super quasdam parabolas* in: AVOMO VI. 2, p. 155; fol. 272^{rb}.

30. 'splendebit peritia Medici et erunt omnia opera interiora eius postquam ex charitate fiant; nam apud Deum merebitur gratiam, et ab hominibus etiam emolumentum...' *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, (Basel, 1585) col. 1710E; (slightly different in Lyons, 1520, fol. 279^{ra}.)

31. The analytical language used by physicians was sometimes influenced by the philosophical discourse in the faculties of arts or theology. The medical masters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries treated natural-philosophical questions as wholly analogous to those raised in the arts or theological faculties, although of course they arose from very different contexts. Thus even pharmacology could stimulate consideration of metaphysical questions such as the nature of qualitative change. M. McVAUGH, *Introduction to aphorismi de gradibus*, in:

cian to feel at home in the field of metaphysical speculation and it reduced the natural inhibitions of an "outsider" who enters a "foreign" intellectual field; when you master the jargon of the other discipline and when you assimilate its thought-categories, the leap to the new field is always less terrifying.

Arnau was aware of the possible links between medical and theological knowledge. In the concluding aphorisms in *Medicationis parabole* he calls for reducing to appropriate parables the medical aphorisms in the treatise. The lesson of the Book of Proverbs, the Gospel which depicts Christ as *parabolanus* (a talker of parables) and the axiom that a gracious teacher uses perceptible things to make hidden things plain (*ad occulta per sensibilia declaranda*) are the foundations of this conclusion.³² That he had in mind a possible spiritual interpretation of his aphorisms (and perhaps of medicine in general) becomes evident in his commentary on the first aphorism of *Medicationis parabole* and in his first spiritual text. Since abstract things can be understood through the senses and particularly through visible things, all the rules in *Medicationis parabole* can be aptly adapted to spiritual failures. Each of the parables is thus an exemplary model (*similitudo*) for a spiritual cure and contains an additional layer of spiritual knowledge.³³ Arnau simply formulates the principle and does not offer specific spiritual interpretation of any of the medical aphorisms he discusses. But this passage clearly reveals his belief that medicine can deliver a spiritual message.

AVOMO II, pp. 3, 75, 89, 91-92.

32. Examining translations of a given text (especially into a language whose users are of a different religion), may provide essential insight to its religious significance. The omissions, alterations and supplements can hint at those locations which created a sense of discomfort amongst the other people. The c.1388 Hebrew translation of *Medicationis parabole* by Abraham ben Mesulam Abigdor (Arles, c. 1351-1402) conveys the first two aphorisms of the last section (*doctrina*) almost literally. The two last aphorisms constituted a real problem. 'The lesson of the Gospel by the eternal teacher testifies that he himself was a parable-maker' could not be translated for a Jewish readership. The translator thus combined aphorism 3 and 4, and instead of the Gospel he mentioned the extensive use of parables and metaphors in the prophetic literature of the Bible. By doing so, he transformed the meaning of this section which ceases to be a declaration concerning the potential adaptability of the medical aphorisms to spiritual topics. Instead, it becomes an apology why the aphoristic style is so useful for conveying medical knowledge. AVOMO VI.1, 126, 128; on that translation see GARCÍA-BALLESTER and FELIU, *La versió hebrea d'Abraham Abigdor*, in AVOMO VI.2, 98-133.

33. AVOMO VI.2, 153: 'omnes canones hic expressi de medicatione corporalis lapsus, convenienter possunt spiritualibus lapsibus adaptari: nam invisibilia per visibilia designantur. Et ab ista consideratione vocavit supra in titulo canones hic descriptos parabolas. Parabola enim similitudo interpretatur; et unusquisque istorum canonum medicationis corporalis est similitudo vel quoddam exemplar canonis particularis ad medicationem spirituales.'

As early as his first spiritual treatise, *Introductio in librum Ioachim De semine scripturarum*, Arnau expresses the conviction that all knowledge is figural and hence prophetic. Every art and every science expresses a *mysterium* which hides diverse layers of knowledge concerning the creator. Cognition is thus causally linked to prophecy: increased cognition will inevitably lead to increased prophecy. The rules of rhetoric and grammar, the terms of logic and geometry, the laws of mathematics, all produce parts of the *ymago misterii*. The astrologer, the physician and the lawyer can reveal prophetic knowledge via their profession. The physician whom he calls 'salutis amator... ut conferat sanitatem' (and thus decisively proves that he does not distinguish between the two terms), extends the inquiry of the intellect into things natural, non-natural and counter-natural. But by doing so he produces knowledge which is indispensable for the acquisition of health mystically.³⁴ With such notions lurking in his mind, Arnau's entanglement in theology seems almost predictable.³⁵ As I shall show, Arnau's spiritual writings do not demonstrate direct, explicit borrowing of material from medical sources. However it is the style and the general awareness of medicine's spiritual dimension, which provided potential incentive for movement between the two worlds and hence offer further explanation for Arnau's spiritual activity.³⁶

34. 'Hic salutis amator accedit ut conferat sanitatem, videlicet, medicus, qui, rerum naturalium, non naturalium et contra naturam diversitatem enumerans, tantum in ipsis profundat indaginem intellectus quantum acquisitioni salutis misterialiter est necesse iuxta illud Apostoli 'Non plus sapere quam oportet'. *Introductio in librum Ioachim De semine scripturarum*, 48, 57-59 at 58 (difficult reading); Lee, 'Scrutamini Scripturas', 42-48. The distinction between natural, non-natural and counter-natural things was a starting-point of medieval medical instruction. Hence this passage expresses medical theory at perhaps a slightly deeper level than Arnau usually employed.

35. Ramon Llull shared with Arnau a common notion of medicine's spiritual dimension. But while Arnau only implied a spiritual content to medicine, Llull went far beyond him and explicitly allotted the content of his medical theory a metaphoric meaning. Ramon LLULL, *Liber principiorum medicinae*, in: *Quattuor libri principiorum*, with an introduction by R.D.F. PRINGMILL (Paris, 1969) [reprint from the *Opera Omnia*, I (Mainz, 1721)]. See especially *Distinctio X* entitled *Metaphora*. On the book see in *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, ed. and tr. A. BONNER (Princeton, N.J., 1985), vol. II, pp. 1009-1116 (with an English translation) and R. LULLE, *Principes de médecine*, tr. A. LLINARÈS (Paris, 1992) [Collection 'Sapience', 5, ed. B. Ribémont] (with a French translation).

36. Nr. 67 in Arnau's *Testamentum* mentions *Item unum volumen de Vita spirituali et de corporea*. Whilst it is impossible to identify that book, its appearance does suggest that Arnau was interested in the mutual relationship between body and soul. R. CHABÁS, *Inventario de los libros, ropas y demás efectos de Arnaldo de Villanueva*, in «Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos», 9 (1903), p. 192.

How does Arnau employ his medical knowledge in his spiritual writing? Is his pattern of using medicine different from that of other contemporary thinkers, physicians and theologians alike? Here I introduce the concept 'level of medical language', differentiated between 'high' and 'low', which I shall be using henceforth.³⁷ A religious text which I describe as of high-level medical language, includes medical terms and concepts which originate specifically in academic medical discourse, and betrays knowledge that is particularly expressive of a medical background. References in that text to specific medical authorities should automatically classify it as using high-level medical language. A text which uses low-level medical language will contain banal medical terms such as references to organs of the body, to the senses and to diseases, or allusions to the humoral theory; they do not signify any specific medical knowledge and training and could have originated in biblical, philosophical or theological sources. The overall level of medical language in a text should be determined both by the quality and quantity of the terms employed. Thus there may be texts that qualitatively use low-level medical language, yet these terms saturate the text to such an extent that the quantity acquires a qualitative value. By quantity I mean not only the simple density of the use of medical language (per page or per treatise), but also the proportional density (that is the density with comparison to other metaphors used). Furthermore, the context in which the medical language appears should not be ignored. Thus there is a difference between Thomas Aquinas talking about the ensoulment of the fetus (a question where the use of medical language would be expected because embryology is essential to his argument) and his use of medical language in a debate over a strictly metaphysical question. The latter case would be more striking and could serve as evidence for the 'medicinalization'³⁸ of theology.

Can the level of medical language employed by a certain writer serve as a litmus test for his medical background? Or in other words, is the medical language employed by theologizing physicians usually of a higher level than that of theologians who have no particular medical background? This is a question which deserves a comparative study. Here I shall only describe and

37. The term 'level of medical language' is Michael McVaugh's; the following discussion is my development of his initial idea and the outcome of an ongoing dialogue between us on that methodological question.

38. This is not identical to the term 'medicalization' which is often employed by historians of the early-modern period for the tendency to defer to medical expertise, to turn over to physicians the responsibility for judgments, and which implied the exclusion of religious or political deviants. Here I merely mean the adoption of medical knowledge and language for simplifying religious messages.

assess the level of the medical language employed by Arnau in his spiritual writings.

I found a few linguistic constructs in Arnau's spiritual writings which attest to specific medical knowledge. One of them appears in the *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton* (c.1292) where Arnau tries to give a Christological interpretation for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. He asserts that the Hebrew characters of the Tetragrammaton signify the mystery of the Trinity, and attempts to prove it by an analysis of the letters according to three categories: shape (*figura*), meaning (*potestas*) and order within the word (*ordo*).³⁹ The philosophy of language, semiotics and attitude to the Hebrew language here displayed, are of no concern to us. What matters is Arnau's use of medical knowledge in a theological or philosophical context.

Comparing the meaning of the letter 'h' in Hebrew and in Latin, Arnau argues that the shape of the Latin 'h' signifies the Holy Spirit which descends perpendicularly from heaven to touch the upper part of the human curve (*curvitas humana*), that is the spiritual human nature. Spiritual human nature is bent as a result of Adam's Sin, and is likened to a circle in two ways. The first is that like a contagious disease the crooked or corrupt elements of the spiritual nature are endlessly transferred from generation to generation through the biological process of generation of bodies. Once Adam's body was corrupted by an infected soul, all its offspring will also be corrupted *more humano*. The second way uses the same argument but stresses the parallel lines between the spiritual and the corporeal.⁴⁰ For Arnau, the physical human nature, revealed to him also in his work on the human body, discloses the mysteries of spiritual human nature as well. The process of generation starts with the sperm and ends with it. The sperm unites with blood to form the body.⁴¹ From the body, dung is produced. It creates moisture which is appropriate for the growth of vegetation. Plants and then fruits are the results of this moisture. The fruit is used as food which then is turned into chyle.⁴² Blood is formed of chyle and then through the phases of moisture

39. CARRERAS I ARTAU, 'La Allocutio', p. 90.

40. Ibid. p. 93. 'Secundo vero circulum imitatur in generatione quantum ad naturam corpoream. Nam ex spermate et sanguine fit humanum corpus, et ex humano corpore fit fimus, et ex fimo fit humiditas apta vegetationi, et ex tali humiditate fit planta, et ex ea fit fructus, et ex fructu fit cibus, et ex cibo fit chylus, et ex chylo sanguis, et ex sanguine ros, et ex rore cambium et ex cambio fit sperma. Et sic redit secundum speciem ad id quo inchoavit. Similiter ab impotentia membrorum incipit infantia, et ad eandem redit in senio...'. Cf. *Speculum medicine*, fol. 2^{ab}.

41. Here Arnau echoes the Aristotelian notion of generation.

42. Chyle which originally was the extracted juice of a plant, had acquired by the 14th century a medical meaning of a white milky fluid formed by action of pancreatic juice and bile on chyme. (Chyme being the food converted by gastric secretion into acid pulp.)

and transformable matter sperm is produced. These terms used by Arnau quite distinctly echo the academic language of natural scientists who dealt with the issue of generation. The cyclical development of the body is manifest not only in the microscopic level of the sperm, but in the whole stature of the body which starts and ends its existence in a phase of physical impotence. This cyclical development is detected in the spiritual level of discretion; humans start and end their life in a state of spiritual debility and the inevitable intellectual decline which accompanies old age and leads the person to a stage of idiocy can be halted only through the contact of the believer's soul with the Holy Spirit. The physical rules thus decide everything, except for the rare cases in which divine agents intervene.

The biological concept of generation is useful to Arnau when he discourses further on the letter *vav* (equivalent to the Latin 'v'). The letter signifies the Son and Arnau attempts to prove the perfection of the begotten. He who is conceived retains the essence of the conceiver and this is a general phenomenon in the world of animated forms. God produces a perfect entity resembling himself and it draws its essence directly from him. However Arnau is aware of the fact that the *modus generationis* which is at the basis of his discussion may create some logical difficulties; for in a human-like mode of generation, the offspring will contain the essence of both parents and not only of the father - an unacceptable conclusion for believers in the perfection of Christ. Here Arnau borrows from the current approach to the question of conception. The premise for his argument is that God is perfection and thus can produce only through this perfect way. But the manner of generation of the mother is that of an imperfectly reproducing agent, because she does not generate in herself actively but passively, since she reproduces not by herself but through someone else. Since no imperfect manner of generation can be attributed to the offspring of the perfect being, he derives his means solely from the Father whose male mode of conception (unlike all male animals) is perfect and who generates actively and concomitantly in *se* and *ex se*.⁴³ Arnau still echoes here the Aristotelian view which postulated a radical distinction between the male and female contributions to the generation process. It asserted that the woman provides only the passive material (menstrual blood) which the male semen, the sole carrier of the soul, forms into the fetus. The

43. CARRERAS I ARTAU, 'La *Allocutio*', pp. 94-95, at p. 94: 'Quicquid autem ab alio procedit ut ab eo conceptum et habens speciem concipientis, procedit per viam generationis animalium maxime perfectorum. Sed omne quod generatur ab alio et speciem retinet generantis, habet rationem et nomen filii... Igitur cum principium ex principio singulariter perfecte fiat id quod est principium sine principio per modum generationis, ei... conveniet ratio et nomen filii... Sed ratio matris est ratio imperfecte generantis, non generat in se active sed passive, quia non ex se, sed ab alio.'

argument about the passive role of women in the generation process could not have been effective had the Galenic theories of embryology been used in this context. For Galen, to whom the discovery of the ovaries is attributed, asserted that male and female semina contributed equally and in an active manner to the form as well as to the matter of the fetus. Arnau, the vehicle of Galenism, was surely aware of that facet of Galenic medicine, so he seems to have deliberately chosen to use the traditional Aristotelian theories to promote his argument, thus ignoring the potential contradiction between the two theories.⁴⁴ After having rejected the possible influence of the female manner of production on the basis of theories of human generation, Arnau proceeds to differentiate between the role of the male-animal in reproduction and the role of God. Even though male-animals reproduce by themselves (*ex se*) they still have to achieve this in someone else (*in alio*) which is a sign of their imperfection because they cannot provide the generated with all that is necessary for generation.⁴⁵

Arnau does not mention the sources for the theories he expounds and the medical subject matter is intercalated in the spiritual debate in a natural and almost spontaneous manner. He employs generation theories as exemplary models for abstract religious truth and for him the generation process, like all other physical aspects of the body, has no autonomous moral or spiritual meaning or existence. He uses medical knowledge in a neutral way, without mixing it with moral or theological assumptions and thus gives more credence to his 'rational', 'scientific' image among the scholars.

Excess use of anatomical and pathological images characterizes Arnau's spiritual writing. Arnau's texts are saturated with allusions to the body, its specific organs and the senses. The senses of hearing,⁴⁶ sight⁴⁷ and taste⁴⁸ are

44. For the use of Galen's and Aristotle's embryology and physiology by the Franciscan School (Bonaventure and Scotus) and by Thomas and Albert the Great respectively, in the context of the debate on Marial anthropology see K. E. BØRRESEN, *Antropologie Médiévale et Théologie Mariale* (Oslo, 1971), pp. 70-90.

45. It could be useful to check more thoroughly the use of scientific theories of generation in the scholastic debates about the mystery of the perfection of Christ. The lack of theological content in GILES OF ROME, *De formatione corporis* is significant in itself yet should not deter from further study into the topic. M. Anthony HEWSON, *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception*, (London, 1975), p. 241.

46. 'Nam, qui solum auditu corporis percipiunt, aures habent et non audiunt, quia, licet aures habeant corporis, non tamen audiunt auribus cordis' *Ezech.* 12.2; *Tractatus de tempore adventus antichristi et fine mundi*, ed. J. PERARNAU, ATCA, 7/8 (1988/9), 134-69 at pp. 134-5; *De prudentia catholicorum*, in: GRAZIANO DI SANTA TERESA, *Il Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium di Arnaldo da Villanova*, in: «Miscellanea André Combes», (Rome and Paris, 1967), pp. 425-48 at p. 437.

47. Those who do not correctly understand Holy Scripture, are characterized by veiled

particularly popular with him. As each of these senses is connected with a specific bodily organ, they thus enter the domain of the physician. Arnau does not explicitly speak about the physician's inclination or duty to look into the failures of the spiritual functions of those organs, the interior sense of hearing, taste and sight. But his actions and the way he attempts to justify them show that this is exactly what he is striving to do. Arnau's description of intellectual and spiritual phenomena is highly physical. A bent back (*dorsum incurvatum*) is the hallmark of those who indulge in worldly pleasures and always desire terrestrial things.⁴⁹ No one may enter the shrine of God's words where the body of the whole mystery of salvation lies, but through the main door, that is the door of Scripture. This can be done only after the angels have removed the obstacles, stiffness and heaviness, from his understanding.⁵⁰

eyes, blindness, a blinded or coagulated heart and obdurate or deaf ears. Like the physical eye the spiritual one can also be irritated by dust, closed by a growth of flesh, or by blood, turn white due to white spot (*albugo*) or be overshadowed by tumours. '[M]ale vident quorum oculi vel turbati sunt pulvere, vel oppressi carnositate aut sanguine, vel candentes albugine, vel panniculis obumbrati'. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario espiritual*, pp. 394, 399.

48. See his discussion of salt which creates taste (*Matth.* 5, 13-14 'vos estis sal terrae') and is compared to the activity of monks. Salt, in accordance with the role of the monastic communities is to preserve the faithful by the sanctity of their speech and way of life and to render the people "tasteful" (*sapidum*) to the creator. However too much salt ruins the whole dish. Arnau therefore criticizes the excessive numbers of monasteries and monks whose sole preoccupation is the incessant quest for alms. The result is a failing of morality and duty since even salt may lose its power to generate tastefulness amongst the people. *De morte Bonifatii*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 211^{ra}.

49. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, p. 137; cf. Psal. 68, 24 and Rom. 11, 10.

50. *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton*, pp. 83-4: 'obscurati sunt oculi eorum... quia excecaturum est cor eorum, et aures etiam obturate ut audientes verba sacre scripture non intelligant'; cf. Isa. 6.10. Ibid. p. 85: 'Nec aliquis possit ingredi sepulcrum eloquiorum Dei ubi corpus totius misterii nostre salvationis positum est, nisi ab ostio monumenti, scilicet a litera voluminis sacri, removerit lapidem seu duriciem seu intelligendi gravedinem...'. Contrary to the blessed tomb where the body is intact, the pseudo-religious and the hypocrites are compared to white tombs that seem splendid from the outside, but inside are full of bones and filth. See *Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus pseudos theologorum et religiosorum* in: MS Vat. Lat 3824 fol. 149^{vb}. On blindness see Ibid., fol. 152^{ra}. On coagulated hearts see: *Tractatus de Mysterio Cymbalorum*, ed. J. PERARNAU, ATCA, 7/8 (1988/89), p. 88. On the example of the heart as a mill that grinds thoughts and affections which, if pure and of the eternal good are compared to grain, and if temporal are compared with barley see: *Allocutio Christini*, in J. PERARNAU, *L'Allocutio Christini... d'Arnau de Vilanova*, ATCA, 11 (1992), pp. 7-73 (text, 75-117), at 116 (l. 498-503). The state of belief is also described physically and is epitomized by praise, meditation and prayer. Prayer is defined as 'Deum rogare cum erectione puri cordis et inclinatione corporis.' Because the essence of prayer is spiritual, Arnau determines that man should always pray first for the spiritual objects and only later for the physical ones, for the soul is nobler than the body. Here he adheres loyally to the conventional attitude on the body-soul relationship.

Throughout all his treatises the heart plays an important role as a metaphor for the origin and focus of all religious thoughts desires and actions. It is also the centre and core of any spiritual disorder, and the shelter for all the diseased, bestial thoughts which produce wrongful actions. This conventional metaphor, used in the Bible, acquires new significance for Arnau the physician. For as the heart is the origin of corporeal impulse so the desire which rises from it is the prime spiritual impulse. Arnau the Galenic physician, echoes again a medical notion which is of Aristotelian origin.⁵¹ As with the theory of generation, Arnau does not hesitate to use a rival theory as long as it serves his religious argument.⁵² This could be an indication that at least in this case the 'medical' term is not medical at all, but is borrowed from scholastic philosophy or from theologians who used it then.⁵³

Certain organs of the body always have positive association. Thus the womb is the place from which the sinners are alienated, as in biblical language. In this context Arnau introduces two terms *vulva* and *uterus* which are usually used synonymously in religious texts. He distinguishes the two, as behoves a physician who is well familiar with the subtle difference between them (the function of the first is to mix the two seeds, the second is the uterus itself) so that one denotes the Scripture and the other the

Dyalogus de Elementis Catholice Fidei, pp. 176, 182.

51. *Dyalogus de Elementis*, p. 186. 'Nam sicut cor est principium motus corporalis sic desiderium est principium motus spiritualis'. A similar example is given in the Catalan version of *Confessió de Barcelona* from July 1305 in: ARNAU DE VILANOVA, *Obres Catalanes* 1, ed. M. BATLLORI, p. 115. Within the context of providing Scriptural proof for the approaching reign of Antichrist and after having cited 2 *Thes* 2, 1-9, Arnau produces this example which he describes as common among Christians: As from the heart all the powers of corporeal life are issued to all the organs, similarly from it are issued or should be issued all the powers of spiritual life, first of all by example and afterwards by teaching. '...axí com del cor hixen totes les virtuts de vida corporal en tots los membres, tot axí d'aquell hixen o deven exir totes les virtuts de vida spiritual, primerament per exemple, e après per doctrina.' See also *Raonament d'Avinyó*, in: ARNAU DE VILANOVA, *Obres Catalanes* pp. 173, l. 8-9; 174, 178, 193; 201, l. 5-18.

52. One should note that in *De diversis intentionibus*, fol. 36^{vb}-37^{ra} Arnau makes a scholastic attempt to harmonize the two approaches, by showing that Galen was forced to reach his conclusion by the necessity of nature and that this conclusion did not oppose the Aristotelian one because both spoke of different types of primacy. Whilst Aristotle spoke of the first principle (*principium primum et originale*) Galen, being interested in the *principalitas manifestativa* of those powers as far as they be grasped by the senses, spoke of the active manifestation of the various powers of the body. This is first shown in the other organs. He thus accepts the Galenic scheme yet confirms that the principal power of life could well be located in the heart; concordance is thus restored. On that debate see GARCÍA-BALLESTER, *Arnau de Vilanova*, pp. 148-50.

53. See J. LE GOFF, *Head or Heart: The Political use of Bodily Metaphors in the Middle-Ages*, in: *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Pt.3, ed. M. FEHER ET AL. (N.Y., 1990), 12-27.

Church. Similarly Arnau makes the motherly bowels of compassion (*viscera matris*) refer to the great care of Jesus for the faithful people. In a later treatise against the Thomists, Arnau uses this organ in a negative context; according to him, he is motivated to write the treatise by the desire to reveal the dung in their bowls (*stercora viscerarum*).⁵⁴

This is only a selection of individual organs and senses employed by Arnau as analogies and metaphors. But are they specifically medical? If examined individually none of these allusions to a bodily organ or sense proves specific medical knowledge on the part of the speaker. In a culture which stressed sense perception and gave sensory experience priority over intellectual judgment, sensual religious language was not uniquely medical.⁵⁵ Clerics who had no medical background used similar and even more sophisticated anatomical similes and metaphors. Yet, their density in Arnau's spiritual treatises, their spontaneous intercalation within the text, and the fact that they constitute the overwhelming source of figurative vocabulary, clearly create a link to his professional preoccupation with the body. I suggest that these linguistic characteristics hide deeper philosophical ties between medical occupation and theological speculation and that these ties induced Arnau the physician treating the physical body to offer treatment for spiritual ailments as well.

Does the body as a product of divine creation further spiritual speculation? In *Allocutio Christini* Arnau reveals some of the philosophical presuppositions which seem to be linked to his profession. The knowledge of God is the key for sharing his beatitude and it can be achieved by human understanding and reason (*intellectus, ratio*). This knowledge can inflame the

54. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, p. 134.

55. J. HUIZINGA, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1955) ch. 14, pp. 192-201. For the use of Huizinga's concept of 'religious sensibility' see U. ECO, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, 1986) *passim* and esp. pp. 4-16. Here he discusses the sensual response to the aesthetic qualities of nature from the twelfth century onwards. See C. CLASSEN, *Worlds of Senses: Exploring the Sense in History and across Cultures* (London and N.Y., 1993), pp. 20-22 (for the medieval olfactory symbolism), 56-60, 122-26 (on thermal symbolism among the Maya culture which reflects classic theories of humoral medicine introduced to the New World by the Spanish conquerors); L. VINGE, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition* (Lund, 1981) [*Acta regiae societatis humaniarum litterarum Lundensis*, 72], pp. 47-70 (on the medieval imagery of the five senses); A. SYNNOT, *Puzzling over the Sense: From Plato to Marx*, in: D. HOWES (ed.) *The Varieties of Sensory Experience* (Toronto, 1992), pp. 61-76 at 64-69 (on the ambivalent Christian attitude to the senses). Maimonides (1135-1204) and Profiat Duran (1360-1414), both practising physicians, reflect the sensory underpinning of Jewish thought and show that thirteenth and fourteenth century Spanish Jewry was nothing but uniconic. See K.P. BLAND, *Medieval Jewish Aesthetics; Maimonides, Body and Scripture in Profiat Duran*, in «Journal of the History of Ideas», 54 (1993), 533-59.

soul with love towards God (*incalescere eius animus ad amandum Deum*) and in the case of a king create the disposition to share with God his quality of supreme justice. Arnau treats here the soul like physical matter which needs the quality of heat in order to function properly, namely to be guided to love God. There are two ways to gain this knowledge; the first and the commonest in this world is to acquire knowledge about God and his virtues by examining created things (*per creaturas*), the second and probably the nobler one is through Scripture (*per scripturas divinas*).⁵⁶ He then proceeds to discuss the extent (*mensura*) of the love due to God and the utility and advantage that one draws from it. This corporeal, almost quantitative handling of such a spiritual matter is typical of Arnau the scientist who aims at experience and quantification.⁵⁷ The conclusion is that God loves man beyond measure, and should likewise be loved by him. The fruit of this love is security and prosperity. When discussing the world of the created things Arnau mentions *membrorum decentia* and *robur corporis* together with various intellectual faculties like discretion, subtlety, wisdom and prudence, as intrinsic characteristics of the human being which epitomize the benefits and love bestowed by God on man, and thus should evoke similar love toward God on the part of man.⁵⁸ Thus scrutinizing the body and its organs can lead to loving God and ultimately to knowing him. It provides man with the necessary data which will enable him eventually to reach the desirable religious conclusion. If asked how bodily as well as spiritual health may be acquired, the answer would be:

'si vis salutem corporis possidere serva temperamentum. Et si vis salutem anime consequi, serva nobilitatem quam nemo servare potest nisi solum operetur illa que tantum conveniunt gradui sue altitudinis aut sublimioris nature.'⁵⁹

The well being of the body and the soul go hand in hand and the physician who defined himself as *minister nature* employs nature not only for his medical treatments but also for explaining abstract, religious ideas. It must be

56. 'Cognoscit autem homo deum in presenti vita primo per creaturas... Secundo per scripturas divinas... Unde quicumque voluerit inflammari ad amandum deum diligenter in creaturis debet contemplari dignitates divinas, sed diligentius in scripturis divinis studio meditationis se ipsum exercitare.' *Allocutio Christini*, pp. 81-88.

57. The subsequent description of the state of beatitude follows the same pattern. After stressing that it is a state which transcends all senses, the short description that he gives is wholly sensual. It is a state in which 'corpus glorificatum induitur veste luminis...' *Allocutio Christini*, p. 91, l. 156 (MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 220^{ra}).

58. *Allocutio Christini*, p. 85, l. 62-64).

59. *Allocutio Christini*, pp. 98-99, l. 264-67.

stressed that though the human body opens Arnau's discussion, it is not the only natural phenomenon which if scrutinized closely may lead to religious insights. The fact that Arnau takes a negative attitude to the body in one of his last treatises (written under the influence of Beguine notions) confuses the issue but does not undermine the above reading of his texts.⁶⁰

Discussion of specific organs inevitably leads to discussion of the whole body which Arnau frequently uses as a descriptive category for every collective unit he writes about. Depiction of the Christian faith, Christ, or Antichrist as bodies was again not Arnau's invention. As before, each of these metaphors on its own could be employed and indeed had been employed by non-medical religious thinkers. It is their concentration in Arnau's work which makes it plausible to suggest that his 'corporeal spirituality' is connected to his preoccupation with the human body. Faith is a body of knowledge and is literally so treated by Arnau. There are fourteen articles of faith like the fourteen separate joints in the hand necessary for sensation.⁶¹ Christ and Antichrist are described as the heads of antithetic, competing bodies, composed of organs such as the believers on one side and the followers of Antichrist (among whom he often mentions the Jews) on the other. This time this bodily metaphor corresponds with the Galenic notion of the brain's role in controlling the movement of the organs through the nerves.⁶² The clergy is described as a body afflicted from head to heels (soles to vortex in the medieval construct) by love of temporal things. The effect of this love is

60. *Epistola ad priorissam de caritate*, in: MANSELLI, *La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova*, pp. 73-4. In an *exemplum* in the treatise which is devoted to the idea and practice of *caritas*, he equates the excessive care of an abbess to her body with a sign of the sinful way of life, based on desire for vain glory and total addiction to temporal or corporeal life. Her attitude, like that of secular females, is the hallmark of her failure to lead a proper exemplary evangelical life. In his later treatises he regards the excessive preoccupation with physical health which leads even the regular clergy to seek medical advice from non-Christian physicians, as illustrative of their blasphemous behaviour. This seems to be a development of Arnau's very last years; such rejection of the body would seem peculiar in the case of a practising physician. This apparent change of attitude in Arnau's later spiritual writings may be due either to his increasing distance from the medical setting (the faculty at Montpellier, where we cannot show that he taught after 1300) and its discourse, to an attempt at self-justification by speaking unlike a physician, or to the influence of the spiritual circles he was affiliated with, a hypothesis I tend to favour. But even at this stage he did not abandon the overwhelming use of metaphors and analogies associated with the body.

61. *Dyalogus de elementis catholice fidei*, p. 173. 'Quare vocantur quatuordecim articuli fidei? Quia sicut in una manu sunt quatuordecim articuli ad sensum distincti, sic in una fide catholica quatuordecim credenda principaliter proponuntur.'

62. 'Nam in corpore, quod recte formatur, caput precedit membra, e contrario vero in corpore monstruoso.' *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, ed. J. PERARNAU, ATCA, 10 (1991), p. 72, l. 235-36.

compared to the effect of a leech which sucks the body until all moisture is drained from the organs.⁶³ The perception of the Christian community as a body allows him to use the imagery of amputation for corrupt organs. Speaking of the corrupt rich and the necessity for capital punishment under certain circumstances, Arnau compares the rich to a gangrenous organ that should be severed from the body. The removal of the corrupt part should be radically executed so that it will no longer be able to corrupt the body by action, by advice or even by memory.⁶⁴ Since the Christian community is a body, fluid flows through it. In the case of corrupt bodies it is pestiferous venom; conversely the heads of salubrious Christian bodies are filled with marrow (*medulla*) which in theological language of the period usually denoted grace.⁶⁵

The analogy of the body is the pivot on which Arnau develops more-substantial argument and this is one of few places that reveals an influence of his medical background over the content of his non-medical writings. Thus for example, he grounds the universal right every Christian has to pronounce on theological matters on the image of Christ's body. If each baptized person becomes an organ of Christ's body, and if through baptism the door is open for the Holy Spirit to distribute at its own discretion the powers of knowledge, science and health, then no one can deny to physicians the right to reveal what has been given to them by virtue of divine gift, whether or not it has been sanctioned by the authority of recognized masters.⁶⁶

Arnau's political radicalism was also influenced by his broader perception of man's place in nature as that of an animal of a peculiar species. Every man

63. Ibid., p. 92. 522-25. 'Et quoniam a planta pedis usque ad verticem amor temporalium occupavit corpus sacerdotale, sanguisugam preparavit in Siculis, que non cesset a capite sugere totum corpus, quousque caput singulariter ebibat membrorum humiditates...' The Sicilian reference is obscure and may be connected with the Sicilian Vespers as Perarnau suggests there.

64. *Raonament d'Avinyó*, pp. 193-4.

65. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario*, p. 398.

66. *Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus pseudoteologorum et religiosorum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 148^{ra}. 'clamat enim apostolus quod quicumque baptisati sumus in christo membra sumus unius corporis, scilicet christi; quod inquam corpus uiuit per spiritum sanctum qui membris distribuit ad ministerium sermonem sapientie et sermonem scientie et fidem et gratiam sanitarum et operationem uirtutum et cetera sicut uult. Si ergo magistralis inflatio sibi appropriat id quod apostolus dicit spiritum sanctum distribuere membris christi sicut uult, nonne per tales inflatos doctrina irritatur apostoli et medici negantur esse de corpore christi et esse fratres eorum in christo? Nam si medici baptisati de corpore christi sunt constat quod uiuunt per spiritum christi... quia si per spiritum christi uiuunt, scientia et sapientia dei dantur eis secundum mensuram donationis christi et non secundum uoluntatem et auctoritatem magistralis inflationis.'

with political authority should refrain from injustice for the well-being (*salus*) of his soul as well as of his dignity. His vigilance to preserve justice should be an activity of the mind (*mens*) and he should meditate constantly on how to avoid stifling and injuring justice, as if it were a body. This vigilance should also be corporeal, for the prince will have to visit and be physically present wherever it is necessary to control his officials. Consequently respect towards the poor is an essential characteristic of the just prince who shares their nature. The message Arnau preaches is that of equality. This attitude seems to be related to his medical occupation because the human body with its perfection and defects is basically the same for all men.⁶⁷ Therefore in every political system there should be an absolute preference for the public good over the private one of the prince. It is the prince's duty to honour and reward the deserving, to direct or suppress those who require it, and to remove those who are incorrigible from the community 'tamquam membra putrida ceterorumque corruptiva'.⁶⁸

Arnau alludes frequently to diseases when he writes of his critics, from tumours and moles to malignant cancer, from sterility to madness, from catarrh to lethargy. These diseases are characterized by malignancy, conta-

67. *Allocutio Christini*, p. 109, l. 391-95. 'Semper igitur debet princeps veritatem cognoscere et servare scilicet quod licet deus fecerit eum in suo principatu magis honorabilem et magis honoratum pauperibus, tamen non est per naturam melior ipsis cum ex eadem materia et eodem modo sint geniti pro ut ipse nec minus etiam dilecti sint a deo quam ipse...'

68. *Allocutio christini*, p. 114, l. 455-54. Medicine and politics are connected not only theoretically but also in practice. In a letter from c. 1310 to Frederic III of Sicily, Arnau asserts that imitation of Christ makes it necessary for the Christian king to visit the major hospital which is situated in his domain, three times a year (at the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost); during these visits he should give alms to the needy people. Similarly the queen should imitate Mary by performing acts of charity and humility. Among other things, four times a year she should visit a hospital and console its patients. Furthermore Arnau advises the ruler to abstain from sexual intercourse with his pregnant wife until she has delivered and has been purged. Physical contact during pregnancy is religiously unacceptable because it causes mutual pollution and because it may be detrimental to the complexion and composition of the fetus. The king is therefore expected in that case to discipline his body by being continent in revering God. *Informació espiritual*, in: Arnau de VILANOVA, *Obres Catalanes I*, ed. M. BATLLORI, pp. 227-31. Text also in M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles III*, (Buenos Aires, 1951), pp. lxxxviii-xcvii. Rejection of superfluities of food, drink and clothing and establishing a hospital for the poor are more proposals made by Arnau with medical motives. *Informació espiritual*, p. 238. *De belemosina et sacrificio*, in: J. PERARNAU, 'Dos tratados "espirituales" de Arnau de Vilanova en traducción castellana medieval', in «Anthologica Annua», 22/3 (1975/6), p. 615. 208-209. In 1301 Arnau gives to Jaume II political advice explicitly as a physician and in analogy to medical principles, and recommends for the benefit of body and soul that he choose the way of *caritas* in international relations (in the context of the deteriorating relationship with Frederic of Sicily). H. FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia*, vol. I, (Leipzig, 1908), p. 10.

gion and incurability. They are employed as metaphoric types and I have found no detailed clinical description of them. Hence it is not possible to learn from the use of these metaphors anything about actual diseases in that period. If my reading of this subtext is correct, Arnau's references to disease, infection and pestilence, matters on which he is expert, reflect another face of the functional transference of the theologizing physician and perhaps are designed to lend authority to his theological views.

As I have concluded before, here too the level of medical language Arnau employs is quite low if taken trope by trope. It also was quite conventional; twelfth-century thinkers had frequently equated erroneous religious ideas with diseases, and cited earlier examples of this.⁶⁹ However, analyzing Arnau's use of disease as a whole, the picture emerges of a physician diagnosing spiritual diseases and claiming to be able to cure them. Arnau regards the vocabulary of disease, pestilence, inflammation, poisoning, bodily corruption and mental instability as particularly useful in attacking those he condemns as pseudo-Christians and his opponents in general. Thus the theologians of the University of Paris and the Bishop of Paris who supported them in their campaign against Arnau in 1299/1300 are suffering from *sterilitas mentis*, probably as incurable as the physical state.⁷⁰

As time passes, Arnau becomes more vitriolic and bitter in his criticism of certain elements of the Church. The pestilential persons (*Prov.* 29.8) in *Ars Catholicae Philosophiae* (1302) he defines as 'quasi pestilentiam ingerentes, que est corruptio morbi generaliter opprimitur incolas aut fructus necessarios vite communiter vastans'.⁷¹ The root of their evil is an *appetitus immoderatus* for vain glory and they are afflicted by seven malignant spirits.⁷²

69. R.I. MOORE, *Heresy as Disease*, in: W. LOURDAUX and D. VERHELST, *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th c.)*, (Leuven and The Hague, 1976), pp. 1-11. Moore shows that the adoption of the belief that heresy was to the soul what leprosy was to the body also explains the apparent parallels in recommended treatment (seclusion and expulsion).

70. *Protestatio facta coram domino rege Francorum*, in: MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* III, p. Ixxxiii. The bishop's misbehaviour in this case is for Arnau so outrageous that even craziness, weak sense of discretion or utmost insensitivity and stupidity would not excuse it. See also in *Interpretatio de visionibus*, *ibid.*, p. liv-lv where he describes the clerics as *omnino steriles* with reference to spiritual aspects of life. The whole treatise conveys a picture of the Church as a corrupt and sick structure. *Languores, maculae, corruptio doctrine, malignitas, pestis* are repeatedly used throughout the interpretation of the dreams of the Aragonese kings. In an exchange of letters in the beginning of 1308 between Jaime II and Arnau on the 'pestilence of the Templars', Arnau speaks of a much graver danger to the body of the Christian community affecting it from head to heel. A Pope who does not fulfil his duty to fight every deviation from Evangelical truth is compared to a sterile fig tree. H. FINKE, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. II, (Münster, 1907), pp. 82, 94-8.

71. *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, p. 57. Leprosy appears as characterizing Arnau's critics in 1303/4 in his anti-Thomistic treatises *Denunciatio tertia facta Massilie cum Carpinione*, in: MS

During the heated debate on Arnau's eschatology which was initiated by the Dominicans of Girona, Arnau calls those who misinterpreted him and Scripture *vel heretici vel insani*; throughout his polemic at Girona the motif of insanity together with impurity and corruption of the mind occupies a major place. This may be the result of accusations waved at him as if he were 'phantasticus aut insanus'.⁷³ It will become a common trait of all his future treatises.⁷⁴ The causes of mis-interpretations can vary and only a person of corrupt intentions should be condemned as *iniquus*. Where erroneous thoughts arise from *infirmetas corporis vel per victum mentis* the case is different. Speaking in 1304 about his Dominican opponent Martinus de Atheca, Arnau determines that 'nisi per insaniam aut litargiam excusaretur... certum est quod inique arguit et non iuste.'⁷⁵ Arnau seems to be implying that insanity and health reasons could be accepted as legitimate pleas in judicial litigations. However, it is evident that he regarded his opponents as fully responsible for what they claimed. This justified him continuing his bitter attack on them throughout the treatise.⁷⁶

In the scathing attack he wages on the Thomists in 1304, Arnau speaks of the ignorant mockers who have become diseased animals and whom 'cognoscemus eorum oculos esse morbosos vel in morbo invidie vel cuiusquam malicie quia non possunt lucis beneficium tolerare.' Held up by excessive folly they abhor the 'sanam et catholicam expositionem scripture

Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 204^{ra}.

72. *Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus pseudos theologorum et religiosorum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 151^{ra}. The mentioned spirits which are sometimes called vices include: *praesumptio, ambitio, cupiditas vel avaritia, ypocrisis, invidia, obstinatio, perfidia*.

73. *Epistola nuncupatoria tractatus philosophia catholica*, ed. J. PERARNAU, ATCA 10 (1991), p. 199, l. 113.

74. *Eulogium de notitia verorum et pseudo-apostolorum*, in: CARRERAS I ARTAU, *La Polémica Gerundense*, pp. 33, 37. In *Prima denunciatio Gerundensis* he speaks of his opponent, that 'nisi per amentiam excusetur, non tantum dolosus est, sed etiam pestilens, quoniam mentes eorum qui nequeunt iudicare de dictis eius infatuare satagit ac inficere.' Ibid. p. 51. Similarly he writes of those blasphemers whom he calls vipers and serpents, 'fundentes aut evomentes de suis visceribus venenum perniciosum. Set nulli de numero catholicorum cadere possunt in tam profanam et inpiam perversitatem, nisi possideantur ab insanie spiritu vel nisi sint heretici...' *Tertia denunciatio Gerundensis*. Ibid. p. 56.

75. *Antidotum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 244^{ra}. On Martí de Atheca, confessor to the King of Aragon who in 1304 wrote a book attacking Arnau's eschatological ideas, see KAEPPELI, *Scriptores* III, pp. 106-107; SANTI, *Arnau*, p. 126. The *Antidotum* was directed at the Bishop of Mallorca and was written at the end of 1304 or the beginning of 1305, possibly in Barcelona.

76. There is no evidence in legal cases of the Crown of Aragon that establishing mental incompetence required a medical determination. The medicalization process of mental diseases seems to take off only towards the end of the century. MCVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague*, pp. 230-35.

divine'.⁷⁷ In *Antidotum*, the treatise which is perhaps the most thoroughly saturated with images of sickness, while *morbis* and *ebrietas* are possible causes for the outrageous opinions of his opponents, Arnau determines that disease rather than distilled wine explains their behaviour. Thus he makes them fully responsible, since spiritual disease, like physical, is caused by deviation from the correct regimen. Disease (*egritudo mentis*) disables their mental capacity to reach or accept the truth. Arnau diagnoses it accurately as the prime cause for their behaviour and then concentrates his criticism on the behavioural flaws which cause it.⁷⁸

He compares the corrupting effect of the academically trained intellectuals to a spreading cancer which corrodes the bodily organs.⁷⁹ The belief that words may affect the soul spiritually like a cancer, a disease which even in early Christian times had acquired the reputation of absolute malignancy without any prospects of cure, was not peculiar to Arnau. He may have drawn that metaphor from the *Glossa Ordinaria* which he frequently used, or from contemporary use of the metaphor by clerical authors. However the choice of the metaphor itself is significant because it highlights the fact that the ends of Arnau the physician and Arnau the theologian converge. He fights disease both on the spiritual and on the physical plane.⁸⁰ *Tumor superbiae* is the metaphor Arnau uses for that sin when discussing the obstacles that hinder the learned members of the faculty of arts from searching for the truth.⁸¹ Being aware of one's origin and of the miseries and defects of one's nature is the first stage in removing that tumour. It will disappear only when

77. *Gladius veritatis adversus thomatistas*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 183^{vb}-184^{ra}, 191^{vb}. Excerpts and historical remarks see in: F. EHRLE, *Arnaldo de Vilanova e i Thomatiste*, «Gregorianum», 1 (1920), 475-501; fragment from the treatise on the *usus pauper* in: CRISCIANI, 'Exemplum Christi', pp. 288-92.

78. *Antidotum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 253^{ra}. 'Nichilominus est insuper valde compatiendum egritudini sue mentis...' (fol. 254^{ra}) '...dico quod hec oblivio processit a morbo et non a mero' (254^{rb}).

79. *Per ciò che molti*, in: MANSELLI, *La religiosità*, p. 98. 'Lo loro parlare si spignie innanzi come il cancro; cioè coronpe li fedeli comme la infermità del cancro rode le membra.'

80. See *Glossa Ordinaria* to 2 Tim. 2, 17 [Lyons, 1589, VI:741] which provides three different foci to the disease. The fourth canon in the Council of Tours (1163) describes the Albigensian heresy thus: 'in partibus Tolosae damnanda haeresis dudum emersit, quae paulatim more cancri ad vicina loca se diffundens, per Guasconiam et alias provincias quamplurimos jam infectit'. *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 21, col. 1177. On the use of the word 'cancer' in Old English to suggest mainly long-standing ulcers that physicians found difficult or impossible to cure see: P. THOMPSON, *The Disease that We Call Cancer*, in: *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. S. CAMPBELL, B. HALL, D. KLAUSNER (Toronto, 1992), 1-11.

81. *Introductio in librum Ioachim De semine scripturarum*, p. 58. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario*, p. 402.

the present phase of pilgrimage ends. Is this the origin of Arnau's obsession with eschatology? If there is no cure for infirmity in this world, one should look for it elsewhere, and this he does.⁸²

The corrupt, false religious who maliciously avoid or even fight divine truth, are not the only ill people. Malignant, infectious diseases are only one kind of infirmity;⁸³ there is a less virulent disease which nevertheless needs treatment. This is lethargic sleep (*somnium litargicum*) from which sufferers can only be awakened by the sharp sound of the trumpet.⁸⁴ Arnau equates the mental state described as *intelligendi gravedo* (slowness in understanding) with heaviness of the limbs or catarrh, thus transferring a spiritual state into a physical one.⁸⁵ He describes the reform of the Church for which he has campaigned from 1304 as the removal of a stain or a mole from the face of the bride of Christ.⁸⁶

For all these diseases Arnau comes up with a therapy which will restore health (*sanitas* or *salus*). Arnau's language implies that the salvation of souls is like a physical process of cleansing (*mundatio*) which is attained in two phases; the first, the cleansing of corrupt spirits, the second, the cleansing of corrupt flesh. The salubrious and useful knowledge contained in his treatises offers an assured route to salvation. Arnau the physician can diagnose sickness, detect its causes, and also provide the means to overcome it. The *Antidotum* is an antidote not only against the venom emitted by the Dominican Martinus de Atheca but against all Arnau's opponents who are struck by malignant spirits and pour out poison everywhere, and whose rabid bites he counteracts with medicine.⁸⁷ Christianity should be purged and

82. *Dyalogus de elementis*, p. 188. 'peccatum veniale quod in presenti vita non potest omnino vitari propter infirmitatem nostram, et ideo per ipsum retardatur hic fervor karitatis. Sed in patria ubi tota nostra infirmitas erit absorpta, fervebit ad plenum karitas et continuo, quia neque peccato veniali neque aliqua infirmitate vel defectu nostro fervor eius poterit impediri'.

83. *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton*, p. 93. 'Et primo quantum ad infectionem peccati, nam ex lapsu anime primi parentis incidit corpus in infectionem. Et ex infectione corporis orta ab anima generantis contagiata est postmodum anima generati cuiuslibet more humano.' The malignancy of disease should not be confused with the inherent weakness (*infirmitas*) which characterizes human existence due to Original Sin. Like many theologians, Arnau compares the effect of sin on the soul with the effect of poison on the body. The spiritual nature of humans has been bent or corrupted by Original Sin. The fall of Adam's soul infected his body and poisoned it. This infection was then transferred to his offspring by contagion.

84. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario*, p. 396. *Tractatus de Mysterio Cymbalorum*, p. 56.

85. *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton*, p. 85.

86. *De morte Bonifatii*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 213^{rb}; ATCA, 10 (1991), 212, l. 650-667

87. *Antidotum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 248^{rb-va}. In the Castilian version of *De belemosina et sacrificio*, p. 623, l. 490-93 Arnau explicitly asserts that he attempts to heal all human infirmities. 'esto todo dize por dar a entender las circunstancias de la hunmanidat con la qual quiso sanar e guarescer nuestras enfermedades todas hunmanales...' And in *Tractatus quidam*

Arnau seems to think that he knows the way to do it. While he frequently mentions various types of infirmity in his theological writings, he also discusses the means to avoid them. Just as in the physical world, discipline of souls (*regimen animarum*) is essential to gain eternal salvation; if it is not preserved, the inevitable results are verbal infections diffused by preaching sermons and spread through libidinous insanity.⁸⁸

It is not surprising, therefore, that the bishop's duties are defined in terms of the physician's. In *Confessio Ilerdensis* from 1303 which sums up his criticism concerning the regular clergy, Arnau tries to recruit the Archbishop of Tarragona to fight his enemies, and calling the archbishop Christ's vicar in his diocese, Arnau asserts that he should 'gregem suum verbo et exemplo de moribus informare ac de fidei veritate instruere, necnon curare de morbo sive languore spirituali'.⁸⁹

Arnau shares with everyone else in that period the notion that disease is a system of signs which can be read and translated in a variety of ways. Yet he uses the vocabulary of disease as short metaphors and utterly ignores the sin-disease link that theologians and preachers were so fond of employing. This is in accord with his medical writings which portray a strictly natural etiology firmly in keeping with the Hippocratic legacy. Such an approach contradicted the belief that disease was a result of direct divine intervention that could be explained in terms of the patient's moral behaviour. His notion of etiology thus prevented him from creating any linkage between moral behaviour and actual physical disease.

Sociologists of medicine who deal with the relationship between the natural and cultural aspects of bodily dysfunction, distinguish between disease which is some deviation from a biological norm, illness which is the personal experience of unhealth, and sickness which is a social role expressing the public dimension of unhealth.⁹⁰ By using the term *morbus* (most commonly used for disease in medical texts) in spiritual context, Arnau

the author defines thus Arnau's motives for writing theology: 'sed faciebat zelo salutis animarum et evangelice veritatis promovende, qui zelus essentialis decet esse cuique fidelium.' MS Roma, Arch. Carm., AGOC, III Varia 1 fol. 60^{rb} (also in M. BATLLORI, *Dos nous escrits espirituals d'Arnau de Vilanova*, in «*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*», 28 (1955), p. 16).

88. The term *libidinosa insania* describes the pseudo-religious and the pseudo-prophets who preach sexual promiscuity. *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis*, in: MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los Heterodoxos III*, pp. lxvi-lxvii. In *Raonament d'Avinyó*, pp. 170, 174 (c. 1310) Christianity in general is defined as *al regiment del hom* and it includes not only the moral behaviour of the individual and especially of the prelates who are supposed to teach and provide the example, but also the hierarchic structure of Church government.

89. MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 178^{va}.

90. B. S. TURNER, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 206-207.

differs from the clerics who used the term *infirmetas* when moralizing about diseases. I suggest that this is a further indication for importing medical concept into spiritual context and for Arnau's medical approach to spiritual problems. Arnau neither discusses the body systematically nor treats it as a mystical object, but spontaneously uses it to describe religious phenomena. This, along with his frequent use of metaphors of specific organs, may reflect his medical background and the physician's preoccupation with the human body. He uses the body and its organs as a storehouse of examples and retains, in general, their simple physical characteristics. Many of the bodily images Arnau uses are based on verses from Scripture and may have their origins there rather than in his medical experience. Yet the quantity and the context of the terms employed for description and explanation make it unlikely that Arnau's medical background did not affect his religious thought. As a physician he extends his field of interest from the human body to the spiritual body. Thus although few of Arnau's medical figures employ any knowledge which can be described as a product of academic medicine, the high density of relatively banal metaphors of the body employed by Arnau, led me to characterize him as a user of high-level medical language. As I have hinted, the human body supplied even those without medical education with popular metaphors. What seems to distinguish Arnau's mode of expression from theirs is the spontaneous fusion of physiological metaphors and allusions with the actual spiritual content, and his almost total reliance on this type of imagery. He does not use manuals and encyclopaedias for his figurative language and his anatomical imagery flows in an unforced way. It thus creates a direct link to his medical profession which provided him with the linguistic, analytical and conceptual tools he needed to theologize comfortably. Thus, spontaneity should be added as a crucial variable when determining the level of medical language employed by a writer.

2. *Parallels between Arnau's medical and spiritual epistemology*

Does the scientific profession of medicine exert any influence on Arnau's religious thought beyond the linguistic links I have shown so far?⁹¹ Here I do not attempt to discuss in full Arnau's theological or medical epistemology; I merely wish to draw attention to features common to both.

In his spiritual writings Arnau enumerates among those who have access to the deeper divine knowledge, the wise, the prudent and the humble, and

91. See CRISCIANI, '*Exemplum Christi*', p. 284.

then adds a fourth category, the charitable. *Caritas* is a prerequisite for receiving understanding (*intellectus*) of Scripture.⁹² Yet this *caritas* which is grasped by and discussed through physical categories (injustice is the result of the cooling down of *caritas* and thus is a malfunction⁹³) was repeatedly cited as a most desirable characteristic of a physician also in Arnau's medical treatises.⁹⁴ If, therefore, perfect physicians are by definition charitable as Arnau asserted, then the door to divine knowledge is open to them. Though this is not said explicitly, it can be inferred from reading his spiritual as well as the medical texts.⁹⁵ When discussing the idea and practice of *caritas*, Arnau's terms of reference and examples reflect his medical background. It is the state of health which serves as the best test for *caritas* or its absence. Arnau's chief criticism of false clerics and monks centres on their failure to promote *caritas*. In health they care more for their own temporal advantage and that of their next of kin and personal friends rather than for the honour of God (this by being obsessed with acquiring benefices and dignities). In times of disease they attend to their relatives and friends but betray their vocation to cure the spiritually sick by preaching patience and remembrance of Christ's passion, and they are content to procure only carnal treatment. When a member of their order falls ill they even abandon him totally and prefer leaving the monastery under the pretext of attending their parents to helping the one who should be helped first according to the rules of Christian love.⁹⁶ The common virtue of *caritas* shared by perfect physicians and righteous clerics implied the physician's access to divine knowledge and superior understanding, and it is on this that I shall now elaborate.

92. 'Sciebant etiam, quod habentibus caritatem datur intellectus sacrorum eloquiorum, non habentibus autem aufertur etiam ille quem videntur habere teste domino in Matheo.' *Presentatio facta Burdegaliis*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 257^{vb}.

93. CARRERAS I ARTAU, *Del epistolario*, p. 401.

94. See the prologue to *De venenis*, fol. 216^{vb} where the author presents his discussion of theriac as an act of love since it is directed at preventing its evil effects when misused; *Liber de vinis* fol. 264^{ra} which ties the moderate use of gold-wine to *caritas*; CRISCIANI, 'Exemplum Christi', p. 274.

95. Christian love (*caritas*) together with poverty (*paupertas*), humility (*humilitas*) and modesty (*prudencia/castitas*) should be the pillars of those who aspire to live the evangelical life. *De zona pellicea*, MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 262-3 (also in: J. PERARNAU, *Troballs de tractats espirituals perduts d'Arnau de Vilanova*, in «Revista Catalana de Teologia», 1 (1976), pp. 508-9). For a discussion of *caritas* within the concept of family see in: D. HERLIHY, *Family*, in «American Historical Review», 96 (1991), 1-16.

96. *Epistola ad priorissam de charitate*, in: MANSELLI, *La religiosità*, pp. 60-76 at p. 65. Arnau devoted this treatise which was condemned in 1316, to *caritas*. In it, illness and health are among the temporal goods, and are the focal point for the discussion of Christian love.

In a recent article, Robert Lerner has offered a possible explanation for Arnau's recurring appeal to direct revelation and miracles in his spiritual texts:⁹⁷ it was a conscious attempt of an unauthorized religious speculator to create legitimacy for his writings when his affairs were becoming desperate and after he had realized that intrinsic merit would not suffice to acquire acceptance. This is why the claim to privileged insight appears in *Ars catholicae philosophiae* from 1302 and not in *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi* (c. 1288-1300). I shall suggest another possible (and less sinister) explanation for Arnau's use of the 'inspiration argument' in his spiritual writings. Namely, that it was a continuation of his belief that medical knowledge can be the product of direct divine revelation.

According to McVaugh, Arnau developed in most of his scientific works a pragmatic instrumentalism when discussing the origin of medical knowledge. Stressing the primacy of principles of practice (*doctrina operativa*) over knowledge of general scientific truths (*doctrina cognitiva*), he emphatically tried to separate medicine from science, to restrict it to the realm of *ars* and to stress sense-knowledge rather than broad theoretical generalizations.⁹⁸ Paniagua's interpretation of Arnau's epistemology⁹⁹ also stressed the role of experimentation and rational reasoning and played down the role of revelation which has been removed outside the medical art in *Speculum medicine*.¹⁰⁰ There, Arnau concluded that no human teaching (*mortalis doctrina*) can provide the physician with the desired certainty when he must determine the complexion of food and medicines. Therefore knowledge acquired through reason and experiments is essential. However, in this specific incidence Arnau does not rule out the possibility of acquiring medical knowledge through revelation; he merely excludes it from this particular discussion concerning the ways for reaching absolute knowledge of chemical complexion ('noticia de viribus complexionatorum'). The two ways he suggests - taste ('per considerationem saporum') and investigating the actual effect of the material of the body ('per considerationem impressionum quas

97. LERNER, *Ecstatic Dissent*.

98. MCVAUGH, *The Nature and Limits of Medical Certitude*, pp. 68ff. This debate refers in particular to Arnau's *De intentione medicorum*. Arnau's 'practical theology' as is reflected in his *Ars catholicae philosophiae* shows that similar feature characterized his theology. Arnau invented an art which would convert his theoretical thought into practice. See PERARNAU's introduction in ATCA, 10 (1991), p. 25ff.

99. PANIAGUA, *El Maestro*, pp. 85-86; IDEM, *Abstinencia de carnes*, pp. 323-24.

100. 'Quod enim scitur reuelatione facta per substantias separatas, excedit facultatem humanam et sub arte non cadit. Sed constat quod nullius mortalis doctrina sufficit medicum ubique certificare de viribus complexionatorum; quapropter ad habendum de ipsis certitudinem ubique necesse est ut ad propriam recurrat experientiam; sed illa nullis modis exercetur melius quam praedictis; ergo patet propositum.' *Speculum medicine*, fol. 22^{rb}.

relinquit in corpore') leave no room for any other source of knowledge. What Arnau merely says is that revelation is not a relevant topic when discussing such a practical question in the medical art. Hence I shall argue that concurrent with his basic instrumentalist approach, Arnau leaves some place for the notion that medical knowledge originates from divine revelation. His placing of revelation beyond the boundaries of the medical art in *Speculum medicine* does not eliminate it, either when he discusses medical science or when he takes up more practical questions. Furthermore, this characteristic of his epistemology, if proved, should not shatter Arnau's image as a rational, instrumentalist physician. Arnau's medical epistemology is found scattered throughout his writings, especially the *Repetitio super canonem vita brevis*. For the purpose of my argument I have selected only those parts of his epistemology which form an important common denominator between his spiritual and medical thought.

Physicians of Arnau's period employed a fundamentally Augustinian approach, insisting on a source of knowledge higher than experience or scholastic logic and expressing this in largely formulaic invocations of God and divine power in medical texts.¹⁰¹ Yet Arnau seems to be more specific than that. In *Medicationis parabole* Arnau proves the divine origin of medical knowledge not only by the first verses of *Ecclesiasticus* 38, but also by *James* 1,17.¹⁰² As medicine is by definition good, its end being good, it has to have a divine origin. When discussing the meaning of *Ecclesiasticus* 38.2 he declares that the physician acquired his knowledge from the supreme Good ('ad hanc doctrinam scribendam fuit informatus a summo bono'). This divine source can be a general, common influence of God who is the source of every truth ('modum communis influentiae vel generalis'). Thus it is obvious that whoever teaches any truth was taught by God. It is the instinct of the eternal truth that moves him. But equally, says Arnau,

'potuit informari a Summo Bono secundum modum influentie particularis in qua Deus propria bonitate dignatur, cum vult imprimere notitiam alicuius veritatis et circa eam illuminare notabiliter mentem eius, ut sit minister veritatis illius et ut canalis a fonte propinans aquam pilis et alveis aut piscinis'.

101. In addition to note 4 above see also the apocryphal (?) *De epilepsia*, fol. 312^{ra}, 314^{vb}.

102. This is part of Arnau's commentary on the first canon in his *Medicationis parabole* which says: 'Omnis medella procedit a summo bono'. Arnau then adds: 'Sumit autem exordium hic auctor ab altissimo, scilicet primo fonte cuiuslibet boni quod est Summum Bonum.' *AVOMO* VI. 2, pp. 53-54.

Thus God elects particular people to be the vessels of the truth, and the chosen ones act as divine agents, as ministers of the Lord.¹⁰³ Since the whole context of the discussion is the interpretation of *Ecclesiasticus* 38 and the divine source of medicine, it must be the physician who is in Arnau's mind. Arnau concludes the discussion by asserting that only the eternal wisdom knows why this person and not the other has been chosen for the task. Arnau ends his commentary with an *exemplum* which explains the divine 'private influence' that induced him to write the *Medicationis parabole*. He describes a vision of a person sitting on a rock at a river-bed. He inserts a finger into the flowing water which opens up to a room full with treasures stored in various vessels. He picks *per visionem* a small basket heavily loaded with gold 'quot sunt in hoc opere amphorismi'. The next day, besprinkled with new light, he starts writing with wonderful incredible speed. And he concludes:

'Similiter potuit auctori huius operis contigisse, quod si taliter contigit tunc recte posset exponi quod per medelam intellexit doctrinam medendi quam ad vitandum ingratitudinem digne cognoscit se recepisse a Summo Bono.'¹⁰⁴

Arnau's occasional allusions to a divine source of medical knowledge could indeed reflect a commonplace shared by other physicians or a rhetorical convention applicable to all sorts of knowledge.¹⁰⁵ However his picture of the physician as a chosen agent of God moves clearly in a different direction. In *Parabola* I.16, which deals with the knowledge needed for effective pharmacology (*proprietas incognita iuuantium et nocentium*), Arnau mentions revelation together with *experimentum* as a possible source of knowledge when syllogism and reason do not provide a solution. He defines *proprietas* as

103. *Commentum super quasdam parabolas*, AVOMO VI. 2, p. 1541. 20-25; see *Ibid.*, pp. 334-37 where Paniagua and Gil-Sotres link this exceptional spiritual outburst in Arnau's usually rational medical texts to his attested divine revelation in the summer of 1301 at the Papal villa in Scurcola (FINKE, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz*, pp. clx-clxi). This link is connected to their suggested date for the commentary allegedly composed shortly after the *Speculum* which may have been completed as early as 1301. If this possible date is correct, it is another reason for taking its religious content more seriously since it cannot be dismissed as belonging to the later stage of Arnau's medical publications (1305 and beyond) which were affected by his growing religious interests. The notion of the physician as a servant of God has classical origins as well. See O. TEMKIN, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, (Baltimore and London, 1991), p. 183.

104. *Commentum super quasdam parabolas*, AVOMO VI. 2, p. 155, l. 2-5.

105. *De considerationibus operis medicine* was written 'gratia revelante et auxiliante virtute' AVOMO IV, p. 267; *Ansidotarium*, fol. 243^{va-b} ends a prologue loaded with religious messages asking the eternal wisdom to throw open the written avenues to his plentiful treasure.

hidden power (*virtus occulta*) since it cannot be known simply by human reason but by accidental experiment or some kind of revelation (*nisi enim experimento casuali vel aliquo modo revelationis*). The reappearance of this notion in at least two other medical treatises makes it impossible to dismiss it as the result of a momentary lapse of mind or as merely a rhetorical device.¹⁰⁶

The question of course turns on the meaning of revelation. Arnau provides the answer in the commentary on the *parabole*. It has been suggested¹⁰⁷ that he felt the need to distinguish between the two types in order to overcome the originally ambiguous formulation of *revelatio*. The term encompasses two kinds of revelation. One is from God and it is conceded only to a few. The other is human and all physicians must pay attention to it. This human revelation is acquired by interrogating, the patient and his attendants.¹⁰⁸ Thus revelation as a source of general medical knowledge does not automatically make every physician into a divine agent and the use of the term in *Repetitio super canonem vita brevis*¹⁰⁹ seems indeed to refer to human revelation, since Arnau introduces it in discussing the contribution of the *vulgus* to the physician's clinical knowledge. However in light of Arnau's commentary on Aphorism I.1, one cannot utterly reject divine revelation as a possible source of medical knowledge, especially where the hidden (i.e. that cannot be perceived by the senses) properties of compound medicines

106. In *Speculum medicine*, fol. 6^{vb} Arnau speaks of the effect of coral (*corallum*) on the stomach: 'nisi enim experimento casuali vel aliquo modo revelationis sciretur corallum habere determinatum aspectum ad stomachum non posset ullo modo ratione cognosci.' *Medicationis parabole*, in AVOMO VI. 1, p. 31. 'Proprietas incognita ratione vel sillogismo, revelatione vel experimento iuvantium et nocentium innotescit'. A similar idea is also found in *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 276^{ra}: 'Nam cum notitiam proprietatum non possit haberi per rationem, sed tamen experimento vel revelatione, et experientia et revelationes sunt communes vulgo et sapientibus, possibile est ut proprietatum noticie prius habeantur a vulgaribus quam ab aliis', and in *Antidotarium*, fol. 243^{vb} where God reveals through experiment the occult powers of composite medicines: 'Experimento enim innotuit deus largifluus servis suis effectus aliquos compositi.'

107. AVOMO VI. 2, p. 126 (García-Ballester's and Feliu's introduction to the Hebrew version of Abraham Abigdor).

108. *Commentum super quasdam parabolas*, AVOMO VI. 2, p. 160, l. 6-12. 'Et primus est revelatio, que prout fit a Deo paucis conceditur, sed prout fit ab homine debet communiter a medicis observari. Nam prudens medicus debet suum patientem diligenter interrogare vel assistentes ut ei proprietas indicetur illius. Tali etiam revelatione, humana scilicet, multarum medicinarum proprietates individuales multis innotuerunt.' GARCÍA-BALLESTER and FELIU, *La versió hebrea*, in AVOMO VI. 2, p. 126 and J. A. PANIAGUA and P. GIL-SOTRES, *Estudios de su Contenido y Notas al Texto*, in: AVOMO VI. 2, p. 282 hold the view that only the second type of *revelatio* is to be understood in Arnau's texts.

109. See note 106. In *Repetitio super can. Vita brevis* fol. 279^{vb} Arnau uses the verb 'revelare' to denote the physician's duty to tell those attending the patient (*attendentes vel amici*) whenever the disease endangers his life.

are concerned; hence the ambiguity of the term remains. Divine revelation is certainly not the main or usual source of medical knowledge, but Arnau explicitly conceded that he was affected by it when writing the *Parabole* and accepted it as a general possibility. It may not be a coincidence that the Hebrew translator of the *Parabole* drops the option of revelation as a possible source of knowledge. In fact he alters the meaning of this aphorism and states that if syllogism and experiment do not provide knowledge, reason will. I am cautious about that reading since we do not know which Latin MS the translator used. Perhaps he used one of three Vatican MSS or any other MS related to them that do not include the *revelatio* clause. However since the translator accommodated the two last aphorisms in the *Parabole* to his Jewish readership,¹¹⁰ it is not implausible to assume that he did so with aphorism I.16. The need to alter the text probably derived from his Jewish readers' incomprehension of the notion of the physician as a divine agent with direct access to divine knowledge.¹¹¹

Arnau sees the end of acquiring knowledge as a spiritual one. All sciences share one common use (*utilitas*) which is the procurement of the soul's perfection; this serves as a preparation for eternal beatitude. The absolute usefulness of medicine, which employs the useful aid of other sciences and hence exceeds them in merit is qualified by the degree of perfect certitude it achieves. Unlike the *topici* who produce *opinioniones* and the *sophistici* who want to be regarded as wise and are not really interested in truth, physicians produce *certitudo*.¹¹²

The commentary on *Parabola* I.16 specifically states that divine revelation is not a common source of medical knowledge.¹¹³ Similar limitation appears at the end of a discussion of the ways of turning wine and other fruits into laxative medicines in *Liber de vinis*. The author stresses that though these ways are known to only a few people, they should not be admired as

110. *Medicationis parabole*, AVOMO VI. 1, p. 128.

111. AVOMO VI. 1, p. 30. García-Ballester and Feliu who interpret Arnau's *revelatio* as denoting solely human information which the physician collects from the patient or people surrounding his bed, reject the possibility that the translator deleted the *revelatio* clause intentionally and prefer the different MSS option. GARCÍA-BALLESTER and FELIU, *La versió hebrea*, in: AVOMO VI. 2, pp. 125-26.

112. See Arnau's discussion of *scientia naturalis* whose subject is the physical human body in *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 276^{vb}; Ibid. fol. 277^{rb-va}: 'omnes scientiae communicant in una utilitate, quae est acquisitio perfectionis humanae animae in effectum praeparatoris eam ad futuram felicitatem... igitur huius scientie ex merito est in se ut ipsa sit excellentior super omnes scientias... quod nos habemus viam ad stabiliendum primum principium, non ex via testificationis sensibilibus, sed ex via propositionum universalium... intentio ultima in hac scientia est cognitio gubernationis Dei altissimi et cognitio angelorum spiritualium...'

113. AVOMO VI. 2, p. 160.

miraculous, because nothing happens by chance ('nihil est forte'). The man who knows the nature and powers of simple things can produce effects which will seem miraculous. Thus only those ignorant of the medical teaching (*magisterium*) should be astonished by this type of concoction. The physician thus holds a powerful position over his clients; he can make it seem as if he performs miracles. The author (possibly Arnau) concludes:

'Beatus igitur ille medicus, cui deus dat scientiam et intelligentiam, quia est nature socius. Et non absque causa dictum est in scientia Salomonis: 'Honora Medicum etc., etenim illum deus creavit'. Sed heu multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi... Ideo bene diffinit (sic!) quidam dicens: Medicina scientia est, quae nescitur; Deus autem benedictus faciat nos scire et intelligere, et secundum suum beneplacitum operari'.¹¹⁴

Hence only few of those holding the title of physician have really been elected by God.

Was medical knowledge regarded as open knowledge, *i.e.* a body of transparent knowledge which could be learnt by everyone intellectually equipped for it? In *De simplicibus* Arnau determines that learned physicians compose a closed group, not only in their control of a vast amount of human knowledge, but also in their possession of a secret element.¹¹⁵ The secret element of medicine is natural in character, not magical; it is based on influencing the blood equilibrium of the body through quantitative alterations, and on affecting the passions of the soul (*passiones animae*) by creating confidence in the physician's ability to heal. Thus the very belief in the secret powers of the physician is a part of the therapy. This again conferred on secular medicine another element parallel to a religious phenomenon, the *confidentia*. As with religion, medicine demands a belief in its power, and offers one, accurate (*certus*) solution to the illness (the equivalent of guaranteed salvation).¹¹⁶ Mastering its secrets will enable the physician to offer better medical treatment for the physical side-effects of anger, love, fear,

114. *Liber de vinis*, fol. 263^{rb}; Cf. *Matth.* 22, 14. *Eccles.* 38, could be interpreted by physicians in a more radical manner. Henri de Mondeville determined that the demand to honour the physician because of his necessity indicates that God alone does not cure disease as some believe. POUCHELLE, *Surgery*, p. 44.

115. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{ra-b} where he speaks of opening the door to the secrets of medicines and to the hidden modes (*modum occultum, viae occultae*) according to which they seem to affect the body.

116. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{va-b}. Arnau claims that John of Damascus and Galen said that from the clinical point of view, one ought to maintain a minimal level of hope in the patient and that sometimes hope is the most effective cure.

pleasure, hope and despair, since medicine is much stronger than any passion of the soul.

Here medicine converges with necromancy, divination and augury; all have secret powers which affect the imagination and the judgment and all employ their power to create trust among their clients.¹¹⁷ Therefore it is not enough to read the books that prudent physicians have written in the past, for already they had acknowledged the secret aspect of medicine and thus the limits of the medical knowledge in their possession. In fact, sometimes true knowledge (*noticia rei*) can originate from the *vulgus* or the *parvus medicus* rather than from the *sapientes*.¹¹⁸ Thus reason alone cannot always produce knowledge; experiment, experience and revelation are legitimate sources of medical knowledge and everyone may have access to them. In the context of a broader discussion about the difficulties in acquiring full medical knowledge (*integra scientia*) due to the shortness of life, Arnau claims that there is a choice of sources:

'multa enim sapientes a vulgo recipiunt; sicut patet per Aui. in v et per Rasim in experimentis et per Galienum in de simplicibus medicinis. Nam cum notitia proprietatum non possit haberi per rationem; sed tamen experimento vel reuelatione et experientia et reuelationes sunt communes vulgo et sapientibus possibile est ut proprietatum noticie prius habeantur a vulgaribus quam ab aliis'.

Obviously every piece of knowledge acquired from the *vulgus* should be examined by reason and experiment before it is applied.¹¹⁹ The option of

117. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{vb} 'cum istis enim philosophi fecerunt res valde pulchras; et dicerem tibi quod super his fundatur una scientia secretorum quam philosophi nigromantiam et diuinatio et augurium et si recoleres de potentia quam asscripsit Anaxagoras imaginationi et estimationi et illud quod Auic. dedit ei de posse tu non debes verere quin in his sit maximum secretum et qui non credit fleat super se.'

118. Similar notion exists in Arnau's spiritual writings. On the basis of *Matth.* 11, 25, Arnau explains to Boniface VIII why divine secrets have been revealed to him: a physician who deals with excrements, rather than to those theoretically qualified to deal with theology. 'Etenim tua sapientia non ignorat quod ille qui abscondit secreta sua sapientibus et prudentibus parvulisque revelat, mira et maxima per contemptibiles operatur. An ego vero sim pre ceteris contemptibilis atque parvulus, per hoc discere. Nam, cum sim coniugatus, utique sum inter catholicos infimus quoad statum. Cum autem ut medicus sim stercorem contemplator, constat me fore vilem officio...' *Epistola nuncupatoria tractatus philosophia catholica et divina ad Bonifacium VIII*, in *ATCA*, 10 (1991), p. 198, 49-54.

119. *Repetitio super can. vita brevis* fol. 276^{ra}; *Liber de vinis*, fol. 264^{va} tells of wine which induces urine and is called *vinum alkekengi* or *vinum de aristologia*. The author tells of a cardinal who could not urinate for three days and no medicine could liberate him from that condition. Swollen and desperate he goes to *parvus medicus*, drinks from the special wine concocted for him and is immediately relieved of that medical problem (urinating a whole basin of a fountain

receiving knowledge through revelation and experience makes it therefore theoretically possible for everyone to have access to medical secrets. Those fools (*insipientes*) who read in the books of the medical authorities who have acknowledged the secret element in medicine, yet deride these authorities, refuse to accept the fact that medicine is beyond healing a headache, abscess or fever.¹²⁰ This declaration illuminates Arnau's notion of the role of medicine, and might explain the confidence with which he expressed himself on purely religious issues. These critics should first heal the coarseness of their mind before they start to understand what the old wise men of medicine wrote and meant. So at the basis of the belief in a divine source of medical knowledge lay the recognition that though not all practising physicians enjoyed the gift of divine knowledge, everyone could be exposed to that knowledge at God's will. Thus parallel to being an active member of the university-system and the bookish culture which limited the access of outsiders into the medical profession, Arnau leaves an open door for unqualified people to make their own contribution to the curing process.

Consequently Arnau refers to Hippocrates in order to substantiate his claim for the existence of a secret part in the art of medicine which should not be wilfully divulged to the public. What is the key to this secret knowledge? Here Arnau is less clear; from the viewpoint of someone who already has that special knowledge, he asserts that the wise investigator (*homo sapiens et investigans*) will find out for himself these secrets and share this gift of philosophy (*donum philosophiae*) with those who already have it, provided that he is worthy of it (*dignus est*). Arnau gives no clear indication of what this merit depends on. It seems that the intellectual capacity to search and understand these secrets is what renders the person fit to receive them. Consequently, Arnau rejects profit as a motive for study or acquisition of knowledge. He who learns in order to gain material profit is compared to an aborted child who was born to an imperfect end. The end of learning, in this case medicine, must be the knowledge of God (*cognitio Dei*).¹²¹

(*concha*) full. The author concludes: 'Ex quo solo experimento medicus ille cum parva scientia et pauper factus est magnus et dives et multis quidem deus dat gratiam magnam, et affert utilitates et econtra. Et totum est quia iudicia Dei abyssus multa.' CRISCIANI, *Exemplum Christi*, pp. 271-73 links this open knowledge model to Arnau's political and religious radicalism and the concept of the *simplices*.

120. 'valde elongati sunt a secretis medicine, et non volunt audire, nec credunt, quod ad medicinam spectet nisi curare dolorem capitis, aut apostema aut febrem. Et ipsi deberent prius curare seipsos de grossitie intellectus, donec possent intelligere ea, quae nostri senes in medicina nobis scripserunt.' *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{va}.

121. *Medicationis parabole*, AVOMO VI. 1, p. 29. In *Antidotarium*, fol. 243^{va}, the divine origin of medicine gives it a superior status to all other sciences – a notion which was not only a deviation from the traditional medieval hierarchy of the body of knowledge, but also was

This belief in the divine origin of medical knowledge and the close relationship between God and the physician as his agent links Arnau the physician with Arnau the spiritual mystic. For when the God/physician relationship is proclaimed (this time not as an exemplary metaphor) then the ground for a broader definition of the physician's role and mission is prepared. Whilst one cannot argue that the content of Arnau's spirituality emanates from his medical profession, the presence of God as one of the sources of medical knowledge in Arnau's medical writings and its implication for the medical profession shows that a substantial religious element was constantly present in Arnau's medicine. This refinement of Arnau's scientific and instrumentalist image introduces a common denominator between Arnau the physician and the spiritual prophet: both regarded themselves as divine agents, the former implicitly and the later explicitly.

It would be wrong to conclude from the above discussion that an air of mystic piety engulfed Arnau's medical texts, for the divine source of medical knowledge was subsidiary to many human sources. Arnau was the last to ignore the crucial importance of authorities and he regarded the ability to read the Hypocratic and Galenic texts properly, as a prerequisite for the physician who was following the way of the medical truth.¹²² Yet he was fully aware of their fallability. The test of the validity of a medical theory was therefore not the identity of its creator, but its practical effects. This gave the physician, despite his basic conservatism, room for change and innovation. So, more than authority, experience, observation, rational and trustworthy scrutiny (*fidelis rationabilis scrutinium rationis*)¹²³ played a major role as sources of medical knowledge.

This approach towards the sources affected physicians' attitudes towards innovation. On the one hand physicians normally prescribed as a major

incompatible with any religious text: 'ac ipsa preciosior scientiis cunctis existens, exaltans capita suggestium ubera eius in conspectu regum et porrigens fructum frondium suarum in conspectu magnatum, quae etiam necessaria egris sanandis amplexanda, et honoranda a sapientibus videtur, prout spiritus edocet agyographorum.' Cf. *Repetitio super can. vita brevis*, fol. 277^{rb-va} (see note 112). Other sciences were sometimes regarded as gifts of God based on Matth. 10, 8, and within the context of the debate whether knowledge could be sold (*i.e.*, whether teachers could demand fees from their students.) This is not to be mixed with the belief in direct, divine origin of medical knowledge which I have shown above. See: G. POST, K. GIOCARINIS and R. KAY, *The Medieval Heritage of a Humanistic Ideal: Scientia donum Dei est, unde vendi non potest*, in «Traditio», 11 (1955), 195-234.

122. The *prothomedicus* Hypocrates and Galen as the prince of physicians appear in *Contra calculum*, fol. 306^{ra}; *De considerationibus operis medicine*, in: AVOMO IV, p. 133. Bernard de Gordon used the same attributes when speaking about these ancient physicians. L. DEMAITRE, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon; Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto, 1980), p. 112.

123. *Contra calculum*, fol. 306^{ra}.

therapeutic device the maintainance of habits (*consuetudo*) governing not only diet but all aspects of everyday life. Habits were regarded as laudable and were to be adhered to even when unpleasant or unuseful. However the adherence to habit should not be obsessive since there are cases in which habits must be changed.¹²⁴ In his *Contra calculum*, Arnau conservatively discourages the faithful physician from indulging in new recipes (*nova experimenta*), because innovations tend to introduce danger. He pays tribute to the ancient authorities of the medical profession, Hippocrates and Galen, for nothing is more certain than ancient authorities and the approved truths of the past. Yet this does not preclude him from highly esteeming new scientific contributions by contemporary physicians. Despite his reverence for Hippocrates the *prothomedicus* and Galen the *princeps medicorum* who lived before the advent of Christ,¹²⁵ Arnau (who must legitimize his own medical novelties) recognizes that they may have erred, their experiments may have been faulty, and the simple application of their results may thus be fatal. The passage of time creates defects in the doctrine of the *antiqui* for like the body, knowledge also ages and needs constant renewal. The work of the *moderni* is thus necessary and essential. Therefore there is no cause for surprise when the *moderni* can achieve what the *antiqui* failed to do. They use the experience of the ancient authorities and adapt it to the contemporary level of understanding.¹²⁶ Here Arnau was conforming to standard opinion among medieval physicians who adhered to an image of science that encompassed ideas of the 'new' and of increase by accretion.¹²⁷

124. Thus the anonymous fifteenth-century author of *Commentum super Regimen Salernitanum*, (Basel, 1585) col. 1940F-41A first praises the habit, but then suggests that one should not be addicted to one specific habit since it is sometimes necessary to change habits.

125. This emphasis on their antiquity could be an attempt to enhance their prestige; however, from the context in which it appears, it could hint at the need to adjust them to the new times.

126. 'Nec mirandum Christo vivente, si per modernos agitur quod adimpleri non potuit per antiquos. Proinde ergo, sic moderatis antiquorum experimentis, ac suis dogmatibus ad nostrum intellectum conversis...' *Contra calculum*, fol. 306^a. Here, Arnau compares the aging process of the microcosm and macrocosm and finds it similar; in both, the more advanced and extended the aging process is, the worse is the state of the weakened nature. See also CRISCIANI, 'Exemplum Christi', pp. 267-69.

127. For more examples of this approach see DEMAIRE, *Doctor Bernard*, pp. 118-20; CRISCIANI, 'Exemplum Christi', pp. 267-69; POUCHELLE, *Surgery*, pp. 199-200 (about Henri de Mondeville). The traditional medical approach regarded sleep in the middle of the day as harmful both for the body and the mind. But while the 'primi inventores medicinae' rejected it, we the *moderni*, says the author of *Commentum super regimen Salernitanum*, fol. 130^b, think that daytime sleep should not always be disparaged. Five conditions are necessary in order to render sleep in the middle of the day acceptable. It must be habitual, it should not be immediately after the meal, the head should not be lowered, the nap should not be long, and

The same elements, namely divine inspiration, reverence towards authorities side by side with acknowledging open knowledge to all and positive attitudes to the *moderni*, characterize Arnau's perception of theological knowledge. He offers a model of knowledge which differs radically from the prevalent one, challenges the magisterial authority of the Church and is incompatible with her claim for a monopoly over theological thought. This model is strikingly similar to Arnau's model of medical knowledge described above.

Arnau agrees that knowing God through Scripture is necessary for eternal salvation and is thus most useful. Utility together with reason justify even innovation (*novitas*) such as the calculation of the exact time of the coming of Antichrist. Foreknowledge will ease the inevitable hardship accompanying this period, since everyone will be able to prepare himself properly by adapting his private behaviour to the special circumstances, and also by creating the necessary defence against the cunning and fraud of his slanderous critics.¹²⁸ In the case of the ignorant and illiterate this knowledge could be gained through the mediation of those who are learned in Scripture, namely the clergy. Yet those who are capable should study the texts themselves, for it is always better to be able to teach oneself and others than to be taught by others. Arnau thus stripped from the Church one of her most sacred duties and privileges, the monopoly over the teaching of Scripture. Implicitly, as far as learning and teaching Scripture are concerned, at least for the able person, the Church is a liability. As the whole treatise is dedicated to Jaume II King of Aragon for the education of his children, Arnau intends that everyone, including the laity, should read Scripture independently. If one accepts Perarnau's notion that the text is rather an introduction or initiation into the way of life of various groups of spirituals (Beguines who were all of lay origin) in Provence and Catalonia, then the import for the laity of the call for universal learning becomes even more significant.¹²⁹

the awakening should not be abrupt. For a full analysis of scholastic medicine's concept of progress and increment see: C. CRISCIANI, *History, Novelty, and Progress in Scholastic Medicine*, in «Osiris», 6 (1990), 118-39, esp. 125-27, 135-37.

128. 'novitas ratione suffulta et utilis non est horrenda sed potius amplectenda' says Arnau in his complaint to Philip the Fair King of France when he tells him of the event of 1300. *Protestatio facta coram domino rege Francorum*, in: MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos*, vol. 3, p. lxxx. On the utilitarian approach see e.g. *Carpinatio*, in: MS Var. lat. 3824 fol. 195^r. In *Tractatus quidam*, Arnau or one of his associates proudly groups himself with Ramon Llull as the defamed *nuntii moderni*. MS Rome, Arch. Carm., AGOC III, Varia 1, fol. 65^{rb}, also quoted in BATLLORI, *Dos nous tractats*, p. 68. On the concept of *modernus* in 14th century thought see W. COURTENAY, *Antiqui and moderni in Late Medieval Thought*, in «Journal of the History of Ideas», 48 (1987), 3-10.

129. *Dyalogos de elementis*, pp. 191-3. 'Ex quo patet quod ad salutem humani generis

Engaging in theological matters is inextricably bound up with the question of authority. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi* was the main cause of Arnau's first collision with the faculty of theology in Paris and with Pope Boniface VIII.¹³⁰ The main error of which he was accused was that of announcing the exact date of the coming of Antichrist. Of all future events Arnau regarded this as the most necessary and useful to know in advance, since Antichrist would threaten the Church with deception. Superficially this treatise has nothing to do with Arnau's medical background, for what does eschatology have to do with medicine? Yet I think that in this treatise there is a particular, though subordinate, subtext which derives from Arnau's medical background. The message in the treatise was more subversive than a mere prophecy of the exact date of the coming of the Antichrist. Relying heavily on Biblical prophetic books, Arnau declares that God provides humans with watchmen (*speculatores*) who, by virtue of their ability to see and understand the perplexities of the future, should sound the trumpet to awake the drowsy souls. Possessing divine knowledge and thus the key to spiritual discipline (*regimen*) conferred upon them by individual or universal revelation, the watchmen are a channel through which the *Doctor eternus* supplies the *virtuosum remedium* for the cure of humans.¹³¹ They can cure the disease of ignorance by supplying men with the salubrious knowledge communicated to them through Scripture. Arnau reinforces this medical

necessarium est quod aliqui studeant diligenter in Sacra Scriptura. Et iterum etiam patet ex dictis quod melius est proprio studio habere noticiam documentorum Sacre Scripture, quam traditione alterius quia melius est se ipsum et alios posse instruere quam ab aliis instrui' (at p. 193). PERARNAU, *Dos tratados "espirituales"*, pp. 548-53.

130. It is now believed to have been composed as early as 1288. SANTI, *Arnau de Vilanova*, p. 58. On the medical circumstances of the vision which induced him to write that treatise see his later reply to his critics (after 1305) in *Tractatus quidam*, MS Roma, Arch. Carm., AGOC III, Varia 1, fol. 60^{rb} and BATLLORI, *Dos nous tractats*, pp. 60-61. According to Arnau's (or one of his associates') testimony, it was in a state of acute physical suffering (severe pain to the head and the legs as well as chest condition) that the divine word was transmitted to him and freed him from his physical feebleness. The description of the disease with which he was afflicted and the notion that lying on the spleen may cause hallucinations are not particularly professional. Similar 'medical' scenarios frequently appear when laymen and women describe the moment of revelation which legitimizes their prophetic activity. Hence this paragraph cannot bear much weight in the debate on Arnau's authorship of this particular treatise. On the polemic about the authorship of this treatise see Perarnau's and Potestà's contributions to this 'I Trobada...'

131. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, pp. 164-5. There on pp. 138-41 he discusses one of the characteristics of that regimen which should lead to salubrious prosperity. Rational fear of death has a salubrious effect on the spirit of those who are affected by it. Obstinate people who do not fear death are branded as mad, while Catto's lesson of the danger of the fear of death is bypassed by the introduction of the terms *discretus* and *indiscretus timor*.

setting of the watchmen's activity with another when he speaks of the necessity to mix the wine of secular felicity with the water of the fear of death, so as to prevent drunkenness and to temper the intoxicating effects of life lest men be inflated by pride.¹³² Who are these *speculatores* amongst whom he numbers himself? Ordinary watchmen are the prelates and those who possess cures of souls, i.e. priests; nevertheless all those who preach and have some part in the Church of the prophets may be *speculatores*. In the *Presentatio* of Bordeaux in 1305 he expresses the same idea but with a nuance which underlines the therapeutic effect of the pursuit of theology by non-qualified laymen. Even though the guardianship (*custodia*) over the Evangelical truth belongs by virtue of authority only to prelates and judges who were appointed canonically, nevertheless the revelation and exposition of any wound or injury to the truth is entrusted to any of the believers without distinction of sex, age, and status. The only restrictions are that they will do it in a catholic manner, and that the faithful will have the necessary intellectual capacity to receive it.¹³³

In order to reveal the state of moral infirmity of any group of people, every faithful member of the Church is asked and ordered to speak out. Arnau thus opens the door for an alternative channel of learning beside the Church. All those who scrutinize Scripture are the Lord's watchmen even though they were not appointed as preachers by the due authority.¹³⁴

132. 'Cum ergo ignari patiantur indigentiam notitiae salubris, quae reposita est in horreo sacri voluminis, tenetur ille, cui communicata est, eisdem ad salutem communicare, ne vitium avaritiae vel negligentiae... possit eidem imponi'. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, p. 136, l. 104-108. This knowledge is described as *frumentum sapientiae Dei*, to be shared with neighbours when they need it; this is true for real grain as well as for spiritual. The wine analogy is on p. 137, l. 135-38. On ignorance together with pride (*elatio cordis*) as illness, and on water as a metaphor for love and humility functioning as an antidote against drunkenness, blindness and ignominy see: *Presentatio facta Burdegaliis* in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 259^{rb}.

133. 'Quamvis custodia veritatis evangelice solum ex auctoritate conveniat prelati et iudicibus canonicis institutis, tamen denunciatio vulnerum et omnis lesura ipsius apud custodes communis est quibuscumque fidelibus, nulla differentia sexus vel etatis aut status vel conditionis aliquem eximente. Nam omnis fidelis habens usum rationis potest et debet catholico moderamine denunciare quoscumque falsarios vel adversarios evangelice veritatis.' *Presentatio facta Burdegaliis*, in MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 260^{rb}.

134. 'Et licet speculatores ordinarii sint prelati et curam animarum habentes, unde et de apostolis, quorum vices prelati gerunt, ait beatus Petrus: 'Speculatores facti sumus magnitudinis eius', nihilominus etiam speculatores existunt omnes missi ad predicandum, qui vices gerunt in ecclesia prophetarum... Quicumque scrutantur sacra eloquia, speculatores domini sunt ad populum suo modo... Unde, licet ad clamandum non sint ex auctoritate ordinaria destinati, quia tamen divine veritatis hauriunt cognitionem, per ipsam debitores efficiuntur Deo et proximo.' *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, pp. 135-6, l. 73-98.

The result is the collapse of Ecclesiastical academic control over learning.¹³⁵ This has substantial practical implications over Arnau's behaviour. He constantly lures his opponents to an open debate and commits himself to responding.¹³⁶ He proclaims that the authoritative gloss does not contain all the meanings of Scripture and accepts a plurality of interpretations.¹³⁷ The belief that the understanding of divine truth is the product of a divine concession or gift, helps him to reach that conclusion.¹³⁸

135. By academic control I refer mainly to the faculty of theology in Paris and to the various Dominican schools. Arnau does acknowledge the Church as 'tota auctoritas universalis regiminis...', and commits himself not to dispute it but to seek her judgment like a boy who finds coins and brings them to his mother who will decide how much they are worth. *Protestatio facta Perusii*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 216^{vb}-17^{ra} (also in ed. PERARNAU, ATCA, 10 (1991), p. 217, l. 840-51). Arnau's scheme imposes some limits on learning of Scripture though they are not institutional and the people decide whether they are within them or not. The interpretation must not oppose faith or morals and must adhere to the basic rule of catholic interpretation as Augustine formulated it. *Antidotum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 246^{ra-b}. It should also be motivated by *caritas* and not by *curiositas*. He classified himself as one of the simple men, laymen, outsiders, who notwithstanding the opposition of professional theologians write and teach divine truth (his models for imitation are St Peter and St John who, though academically unqualified, received divine information about the end of the world. Furthermore Balaam, Agabacus, the children of St Philip and St Francis were all outsiders who received the divine word directly. *Raonament d'Avinyó*, p. 209. *Epistola ad priorissam de caritate*, p. 75. Thus the fact that he was tonsured in an early stage of his life did not make him part of the clergy. He clearly saw himself as a layman.

136. See e.g. *De morte Bonifatii*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 213^{ra} (also in ATCA, 10 (1991), p. 212, l. 634-40.)

137. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, p. 164, l. 1301-304. This is an argument similar to the one he used when speaking about the status of medical authorities. On the basis of *Dan.* 12, 9-10, Arnau openly says in *Protestatio facta coram domino rege Francorum*, in: MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos III*, p. lxxxii: 'nec est inconveniens aliter nunc exponi quam exposuerunt nostri patres... Cum igitur Scriptura predixerit quod multi expositores transirent per eam multipliciter exponendo, tamen docti a spiritu sancto solum intelligent veritatem et nisi sit in... potestate hominis prohibere spiritum sanctum, quin spiret ubi voluerit...' At the end of a long debate on his interpretation of *Dan.* 12, 11, the conclusion is unequivocal: 'proprium privilegium eloquiorum dei est quod sicut ipse uno intuitu videt plurima sic uno eloquio vel sermone plurima significat, unde qui volunt quod per sacra eloquia tantum unum intelligatur bublericos potius quam theologos se ostendunt.' *Gladius veritatis adversus thomatistas*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 183^{va}. One of the main conclusions of *Carpinatio poetrie theologi deviantis* from 1304 (MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 200^{vb}) is that 'glossa communis non continet omnes sensus scripture qui sunt de intentione dei sicut etiam omnes sacri doctores communiter clamant.' And in *Antidotum*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 245^{va-b} he says: 'sed scientia per que verba docet expresse quod multos intellectus et multas expositiones poterat habere secundum rationem scientie que est sincera cognitio veritatis.'

138. 'Propterea dixi et etiam dico, quod quicumque diceret medico christiano: Intromitte te de medicina et non de theologia, non solum ostenderet se ignarum catholice veritatis sed etiam falsarium ipsius. Nam sacra scientia communis est omnibus fidelibus

Thus common traits connect Arnau the physician who believed in the divine origin and usefulness of medical knowledge, and who argued for a partially open model of medical knowledge, and Arnau the spiritual speculator who attributed exactly the same characteristics to theological knowledge. The inclination to extend the characteristics of medical knowledge to other fields of knowledge, particularly religious speculation, was potential and not essential. Whether this would happen obviously depended on other variables connected to the personality of the physician and the cultural context. However this affinity certainly created a comfortable starting point for a physician who regards himself as a divine agent with access to divine knowledge and to natural secrets, to assume the role of a divine agent on much broader terms. He apparently took this step by way of a logical structure which I have alluded to as his 'medical frame of mind' - that is his instinct to diagnose and to offer a safe and final therapy to a (spiritual) disease. What is more natural than to apply to spiritual medicine the features and rules which characterize physical medicine? Thus his belief that medical knowledge may sometimes be open to the *vulgus* is transferred to the domain of spiritual medicine when he claims open access for the *simplex* to public religious debate on grounds of divine inspiration. If medical authorities can err, can fail to provide true knowledge and need constant reassessment and adjustment, so also should theological authorities be reassessed and extended or supplemented when necessary.

3. *The medical frame of mind*

In interpreting Arnau's language I have suggested that he perceived spiritual activity as a functional transference and as a natural extension of his medical preoccupation. The proof of the existence of such a 'medical frame of mind' needs more concrete evidence.

Discussing the healthy mental composition of the believers, Arnau offers the following signs by which they can be recognized; their language is salubrious, and they remain immune to the poisonous words of pestiferous people. They can heal the sick by the laying on of hands.¹³⁹ The sick are the

secundum mensuram donationis christi et solum illi appropriant eam sibi.' *Presentatio facta Burdegaliis*, in: MS Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 260^{ra}.

139. Arnau does not refer here explicitly to the priestly role, though surely the choice of the metaphor which is based on *Mark* 16, 17-18, was intended to suggest it. Every true believer can participate in this act of healing by promoting the conversion of sinners through good examples. *Dyalogus de elementis catholice fidei*, p. 174: 'sanatio egrorum per impositionem

non-believers and the duty to heal them is entrusted to every believer. Arnau thus extends what was usually thought of as the priest's role to everyone.¹⁴⁰

Yet despite these external signs of spiritual health, a serious problem of identification remains, since true believers (the righteous elect) and sinners (diseased people who ravage the city of God) coexist almost inseparably on this world. How is it possible to distinguish the *salubres* from the *pestilentes* so as to prevent possible error, contagion and lethal wounds?¹⁴¹

Because it is a question of life and death for the elect, this distinction must be demonstrative, infallible and certain, for all other types of knowledge will be *cognitio sterilis*. Arnau suggests two models to be imitated: the builder and the physician. Both work according to a rule which enables them to solve problems infallibly. The builder applies a rule to test the suitability of stones to a given construction. Similarly the physician uses the guiding notions of complexion and composition which enable him to measure accurately how far the patient conforms to or deviates from ideal norms. He thus is able to know without doubt whether a person has physically declined, and he also is able to recognize his qualities infallibly. Furthermore, he can prescribe treatment with a great amount of certainty. Using the concepts of complexion and composition he can measure accurately the value of every food and every medicine.¹⁴² The stress on the absolute importance of correct medical diagnosis, the search for certainty and the belief that it can be attained to a large extent are ideas which appear in many other medical books.¹⁴³ Knowledge and prudence are at the basis of the claim for the physician's certainty; Arnau creates a parallel to it in the spiritual world.

manuum, id est conversio peccatorum vel pravorum hominum per exempla bonorum operum.'

140. See *Glossa Ordinaria* on *Mark* 16, 18, [IV:662] which stresses that 'per hoc animae suscitantur non corpora' yet expectedly interprets the object of verses 17-18 as denoting Church officials only.

141. *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, pp. 57-9. See the fourth (out of twenty four) rules which summarize that treatise: 'Si ad potissimum electorum ceteri homines comparentur, absque dubio cognoscetur an sint salubres aut pestilentes.' Ibid., p. 157 l. 1544-45.

142. *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, pp. 59-60, l. 30-43: 'Medicus etiam, tam in iudicio corporum sanabilium quam corporum salubrium pro canone directivo seu regula prestatuit oculis sue mentis corpus in meliori formarum, ita videlicet quod illud corpus absque dubio fore dicit optime constitutum in compositione atque complexionem, quod in omnibus illius circumstantiis conformatur eidem. Lapsus vero indubitanter cognoscit esse vel a temperamento complexionis vel ab elegantia compositionis vel ab utroque, quod eidem sensibilibiter est difforme. Certus est etiam quod ille cibus aut medicina temperatam habet complexionem, cuius applicatio dicto corpori per se nullo tempore correpugnat. Et secundum maiorem vel minorem difformitatem corporum ceterorum ad illud aut maiorem vel minorem applicabilium repugnantiam, lapsus eorum a temperamento scit artificiali certitudine mensurare'. This is repeated as the second rule of Arnau's *Art*: 'Imitatione domificatoris et medici, cognoscuntur infallibiliter homines pestilentes.' Ibid. p. 157, l. 1537-38.

Arnau the physician and Arnau the religious enthusiast who diagnoses the sickness of Church and society with absolute certainty are thus linked together. The spiritual zealot, as if extending the medical profession to the spiritual level, is using a rule, showing prudence and skill, and offering ways of judging how spiritually ill the patient is, and what treatment may help. Arnau's insistence on calculating the exact date of the coming of the Antichrist should also be understood in this context. The basis of this claim for certitude is the superior knowledge he possesses, which gives his art both a theoretical and practical efficacy. Arnau's art of diagnosis and therapy for the spiritual infirmity of mankind, also leads him to stress the real, practical consequences of the ideas he professes, paralleling his perception of physical medicine in which speculative science and practical art are inextricably bound together. The method Arnau the physician and Arnau the spiritual eccentric employ is the same, the justification for acting is similar, the aim, health, is the same. Arnau believes he is therefore able to diagnose accurately the moral or religious complexion of people whom he divides into three main groups: those who are healthy (*salubres*); those who are ill (*morbidi vel egroti*) and sin because of an imbalance in their moral or religious complexion and carnal infirmity or because of ignorance of the truth, and thus do not corrupt or infect anyone but themselves; and the *pestilentes* who sin out of pure hatred towards Christ.¹⁴⁴ The ability to talk about the soul using medical categories complies with Arnau's acceptance of the Galenic theory of the soul according to which the power of the soul (*virtus animae*) is the complexion which emanates from the harmonious mixture of elements (*miscibilium armonia*).¹⁴⁵

143. At the basis of the medical method was the belief that the art of medicine permits certainty, and that correct observation supported by familiarity with the authorities' experience would lead to the achievement of the final end, *ie.* good health. *De considerationibus operis medicine*, AVOMO IV, pp. 133-34; McVAUGH, *The Nature and Limits of Medical Certitude*; on medical certainty in the ancient period see: V. NUTTON, *From Medical Certainty to Medical Amulets; Three Aspects of Ancient Therapeutics*, in «Clio Medica», 22 (1991), 13-22.

144. *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, p. 73. 1. 249: 'Qui enim delicto preveniuntur propter complexionis malitiam seu veritatis ignorantiam non pestilentes dicuntur, sed morbidi vel egroti.' Jews and judaizers, for example, he regards among the diseased elements of society because they obdurately act out of hatred toward the person of Christ. On the use of the term 'complexion' in discussing behavioural flaws see *De zona pellicea* in: PERARNAU, *Troballa de Tractats*, p. 510. The reason for the opinion of the *rectores ecclesiae* not to issue a formal prohibition on wearing the *zona pellicea*, may also be *infirmis complexionis* (the other reasons mentioned include *malitia*, *murmur consciencie* and ignorance). He, who despite the specified prohibitions wears the leather girdle is obdurately proud and presumptuous and is either melancholic or seduced by the illusion of sophist education. Melancholy, as a type of mental disorder, is thus an explanation for a religiously erroneous behaviour.

145. In *De diversis intentionibus medicorum*, fols. 36^{ra}-38^{va} at 38^{va-b} which discusses the nature of the soul and explains how philosophical and medical truth can be harmonized, Arnau

This approach which links together body and soul into one physical entity was rejected by Aristotle, and by many thirteenth-century theologians concerned with the immortality of the soul, yet it permitted the Galenic physician to treat the soul as well. Galen of course was interested in the effect of the soul on the functioning (*opus, operatio*) of the organs.¹⁴⁶ For Arnau it is only a small leap to try and cure infirmities of the soul which have nothing to do with the well-being of the body. As a physician he knows what is necessary for the sustenance of corporeal life, namely a moderate consumption of food or clothing according to changing personal and seasonal circumstances. In addition, as one who claims to possess the key to understanding Scripture, he can offer the way to spiritual health or even perfection; parallel to the use (*usus*) of physical substance for the preservation of basic good health, he suggests the use of Scripture as the most essential path to perfection.¹⁴⁷

Arnau's medical works confirm this broad definition of medical jurisdiction. Defining cure or remedy (*medela*) as 'beneficium sanationis quod viventi exhibetur in aliquo lapsu, vel corporale si lapsus fuerit corporalis, vel spirituale si lapsus fuerit spiritualis',¹⁴⁸ Arnau undermined the clear-cut boundary between the physician of the body and the physician of the soul. Both cures which at first sight seem to be separate, have a divine cause and are applied to the living person. Yet these cures are linked in a way which implies potential access of the physician to the domain of spiritual cure. Literally the teaching (*doctrina*) contained in *Medicationis parabole* applies to physical flaws. Its object is the living human body. But living includes both the physical and the spiritual aspects of life. Hence it is implied that the medical text may be relevant for the cure of the soul and that the physician may contribute to its wellbeing. Of course, by providing spiritual cure,

introduces four cases of apparent disagreement between Galen and Aristotle and then resolves the contradiction by showing that both approaches are acceptable since the presuppositions of the speakers were different. On the text see MCVAUGH, *The Nature and Limits of Medical Certitude*, *passim* and esp. pp. 68-69.

146. L. GARCÍA-BALLESTER, *Soul and Body, Disease of the Soul and Disease of the Body in Galen's Medical Thought*, in: *Le Opere Psicologiche de Galeno* [Atti del Terzo Colloquio Galenico Internazionale, Pavia, 10-12 Settembre, 1986], P. MANULI, M. VEGETTI (eds.) (Naples, 1988), 117-52 and esp. 119, 129.

147. *Ars catholicae philosophiae*, p. 126, l. 1041-45. 'Ad vite vero sustentationem est necessarius moderatus usus alimentorum et tegumentorum, secundum circumstantias personarum et habitationum et temporum. Ad spirituales vero perfectionem, qua scilicet mens in Deum plenius erigitur, est necessarius usus divinarum Scripturarum.'

148. *Commentum super quasdam parabolas*, AVOMO VI. 2, 153. See also the proemium to *Antidotarium*, fol. 23^{va} which describes the divinely created medicine 'necessitate sanationis corporis et animae mortalium utilissima'.

Arnau did not claim to bring spiritual salvation to the patient as did the priest. He merely hinted at the potentially spiritual level of a medical text (*Medicationis parabole*) and the possibility of adapting it for the cure of spiritual flaws. As we shall see the spiritual aspects of medicine were usually limited and never transcendental. However, the notion that medicine could be useful for the health of the soul was bound to create ambiguity as to the exact boundaries between spiritual and physical medicine.

Medical theory itself warranted the physician's access to certain aspects of the human soul. A similar notion appears in *De simplicibus* which is largely dedicated to adapting simple medicines to specific organs and conditions. Since illness exerts influence in a hidden or a natural mode not only upon the body, but also upon the mind and the soul, the art of medicine relates to all three fields, whether directly or indirectly. Medicines thus influence the disposition of members of the body, the memory, the sight, the intellect and even the feelings such as love since 'Ad omnia enim ars medicinae habet ingenium, nam bonitas intellectus ad bonitatem sensitivae virtutis sequitur.'¹⁴⁹ To illustrate the wide-ranging effects of the art of medicine, Arnau mentions the useful effect of medical treatment on the *bonitas intellectus*. Among other things he introduces a medicine which causes the patient to cheer up:

'vocatur laetificativa, quia aggregat omnia confortantia membra principalia, et sanguinem clarificantia, et generantia bonum sanguinem et spiritum. Secundum hoc etiam potes dicere, quod quedam medicina ducit ad paradisum, quia est composita ex disponentibus sanguinem ad misericordiam, pietatem, mansuetudinem et benignitatem, quibus mediantibus sequitur bonus appetitus ad bona opera; et quedam incitat amorem, quia auget sanguinem laudabilem clarum in quanto et in quali et privat ipsum a melancholia et phlegmate, que sunt cause solitudinis, que prohibet conversativam et curabilitatem et amorem...'¹⁵⁰

By keeping the brain free of superfluous humours and unhealthy vapours, and by purifying the blood and spirits, the physician strengthens the brain and the sensitive powers and thus enhances the faculties of the mind. That medicine influences the soul goes without saying, but here Arnau goes beyond the usual idea of medicine as a protection against indispositions of the soul such as melancholy, phlegm and heroic love. He offers clinical treatment which will have an effect on the character of the patient and will endow him with the ideal traits of mercy, piety, gentleness, benignity, and

149. *De simplicibus* (Basel, 1585) col. 378D; cf. Lyons 1520 fol. 242^{rb} which offers a slightly different version.

150. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{va}.

thus indirectly can lead him to paradise in a metaphoric sense. Medicine can cause people to love and to feel loved; by purifying the blood it ignites the appetite and mutual desire. But medicine can also influence the religiosity of the patient and is regarded as a major tool for those who lead a monastic life. Hence it is not only the moral philosopher who is concerned with the production and expression of psychological states. Physicians, though usually studying the emotions insofar as they lead to physiological, sensible changes pertaining to the health of the body, have the knowledge and the power to affect the accidents of the soul on a much broader front.¹⁵¹

The power of the physician to influence the character of the patient by changing the complexion of the blood through medical intervention, renders him theoretically omnipotent in regard to all other humans. This extraordinary power is enhanced by the secret aspects of medical knowledge.

'Facit igitur medicus de avaro prodigum, de casto luxuriosum, de timido audacem et generaliter, sicut mutat complexionem sanguinis necesse est mutare sequentes inclinationes, et complexiones ipsius; et haec sunt secreta ipsius ultima artis medicinae.'¹⁵²

Discussion of the physical effects of the various accidents of the soul was an integral part of many medical text-books. Occasionally it consisted only of practical advice, but it could include a more ambitious attempt to legitimize the physician's jurisdiction in this field. Let us look for instance

151. 'Quedam facit castum, religiosum, quia inclinat sanguinem ad frigiditatem et paucitatem, quo facto non appetit coitum, nec mulieres, nec ludum nec cantus nec similia, et ut generaliter dicatur, potes cum medicinis scire dispositionem sanguinis ad quamcunque qualitatem, et tota differentia morum hominis fit ex sanguine calido, frigido, humido et sicco, et cum medicinis predictis scis etiam facere circa hominem omne quod vis'. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{va}. Further on he concludes: 'Radix ergo agendi secreta medicinalia circa corpus est ut attendas circa sanguinem minuendum aut augendum et operaberis omne quod voles'. The second secret root of medicine is 'confidentia et generaliter anime passiones quas debes imprimere in mentes hominum'. On the primary status of blood in pharmaceutical medicine see *De simplicibus*, fol. 240^{ra}. McVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague*, p. 147.

152. *De simplicibus*, fol. 242^{va}. A slightly different argument, but with identical results is conveyed in the apocryphal *Regimen Sanitatis* (Basel, 1585) col. 702A; 'Sicut accidentium animae correctio ad philosophum moralem pertinet, ut anima bonis habitibus informetur, sic ad medicum spectat correctio accidentium ut corpus hominis in sanitate debita conservetur. Quot enim modis alteratur ex necessitate corpus, tot sunt procurationis genera et quia animae accidentia ex necessitate alterant corpus, correctio eorum ad medicum spectat et eorundem moderatio.' The overlap here (Galenic in character) is between the physician and the moral philosopher; the physician cares for the accidents of the soul in so far as they influence the body, because there is a direct relationship between evil moral habits (*mali mores*) and harmful bodily complexion (*malitia complexionis*). The relationship is natural and instrumental in character and not moral or transcendental.

at Arnau's explanation of anger which, incidentally, is also one of the seven deadly sins. In his *Regimen sanitatis ad inclitum regem Aragonum* he says that accidents of the soul which affect the physical body should be medically treated when their influence is harmful. Anger which causes over-heating of all the organs and of the heart in particular, confounds reason and rational behaviour. It thus should be avoided unless it is directed against unlawful matters and actions. Sadness (*tristitia*) cools down and dries out the organs and thus is also detrimental to good health. It should be avoided and neutralized, unless it is part of a penitential process. This provides another example of the influence of Christian ideas on medical therapy. Licit pleasure (*gaudium*) and honest comforts are therefore useful to relieve and rejuvenate the soul.¹⁵³

As I have already said, Hippocratic medicine was psychosomatic in so far as conditions of the body were recognized to affect mental states and to be affected by them.¹⁵⁴ Arnau's psychosomatic approach was therefore neither original nor unique in his time.¹⁵⁵ But it is another factor which could explain why in Arnau's time a physician who regarded his profession as transcending the body encroached on the clerical domain.

4. *The defense of the theologizing physician*

In reply to his opponents' frequent demand that he should devote himself to medicine and not theology, Arnau also makes some explicit declarations about the status of the physician within the religious debate. The arguments he uses differ from time to time, but all suggest that he, at least, failed to see a distinct boundary between the disciplines. In *Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus pseudotheologorum et religiosorum* he concludes that to ask physi-

153. *Regimen sanitatis ad inclitum regem aragonum*, fol. 83^{rb}. A much fuller discussion of the same issue appears in the apocryphal *Regimen sanitatis* (Basel, 1585), col. 702B. On *accidentia animae* see in McVAUGH, *Medicine before the Plague*, pp. 146-47.

154. TEMKIN, *Hippocrates*, p. 13. On the Classical roots of such an approach see pp. 8-17. GARCÍA-BALLESTER, *Soul and Body*, pp. 137-52 and especially pp. 141, 142-5, 147, where the treatment of the passions of the soul, wrath, fear, grief, envy, violent lust, excessive vehemence in loving or hating, and of anger in particular are discussed.

155. Bernard de Gordon found in psychosomatics a justification for his concern with ethics and applied psychosomatics in explaining and treating diseases. Though apparently a deeply pious man, he often based his ethical thinking on psychosomatics and natural reasons rather than on authority or pious considerations. Thus he gave a medical, not an ascetic, argument against drunkenness, and explained monastic silence by the need to concentrate on eating. DEMAÎTRE, *Doctor Bernard*, pp. 166-8.

cians to avoid theology amounts to blasphemy. For him Christ incarnates the fusion between the two aspects of health; forbidding physicians to engage with theology amounts to criticizing Christ, who was given by God as a medicine to humanity and who simultaneously performed acts of healing and expounded theology. Furthermore, Jesus himself did not prohibit such dual activity and even among the Evangelists (he implies Luke) one was hailed as a physician. Finally he returns to the universal argument that by being organs of Christ's body, baptized physicians are infused with the Holy Spirit which is the source of all knowledge and science and also of health.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, when Arnau approached the newly elected Pope Clement V in August 1305, he said that Christ did not exclude physicians from understanding Scripture, nor did any of the apostles tell Luke when he was writing the Gospel and the Acts to confine himself to medicine and not to engage with theology. Gaining full understanding of the divine word depends solely on divine will; he whom God deems worthy to know his secrets, will know them. On the basis of *John* 3.8 (*spiritus ubi vult spirat*) and 6.45 (*omnes fideles sunt docibiles*) he conveys his attitude to universal learning.¹⁵⁷

Arnau nowhere asserts that a physician should indulge in theology as a physician. In fact, in *Tractatus quidam* he, or one of his associates, explicitly determines that it is unsuitable for a physician to deal with theology by virtue of being a physician. Here the author recites the various arguments

156. MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 147^{vb}-148^{ra}: 'Illa enim blasphemiam non uos tangit solummodo sed uniuersitatem sanctorum. Et primo deum patrem et spiritum sanctum, qui Christum exposuerunt humano generi ut medicinam et medicum, et qui de ipso dicunt: 'Honora medicum quod propter necessitatem creauit ipsum altissimus'. Nunquid uidetis quomodo per istos altissimus blasphematur? Specialiter etiam hec blasphemiam Christum uulnerat seu sagittat. Nam ipse ab intelligentia scripturarum medicos non exclusit cum inter evangelistas connumerauerit medicum cuius laus ut ait apostolus est per omnem ecclesiam in evangelio quod scripsit et actibus apostolorum. Nec minus ista blasphemiam uituperat totum collegium electorum et etiam totam ueritatem misterii saluatoris. Clamat enim apostolus quod quicumque baptisati sumus in Christo, membra sumus unius corporis, scilicet Christi. Quod inquam corpus uiuit per spiritum sanctum qui membris distribuit ad ministerium sermonem sapientie, et sermonem scientie, et fidem et gratiam sanitatum et operationem uirtutum et cetera, sicut uult. Si ergo magistralis inflatio sibi appropriat id quod apostolus dicit spiritum sanctum distribuere membris Christi sicut uult, nonne per tales inflatos doctrina irritatur apostoli, et medici negantur esse de corpore Christi, et esse fratres eorum in Christo? Nam si medici baptisati de corpore Christi sunt, constat quod uiuunt per spiritum Christi, ait enim apostolus 'si quis spiritum Christi non habet hic non est eius', quod si per spiritum christi uiuunt scientia et sapientia dei dantur eis secundum mensuram donationis Christi et non secundum uoluntatem et auctoritatem magistralis inflationis.'; for his reply to the marriage argument (the sacrament of matrimony and St Peter as precedence) see *Tertia denunciatio Gerundensis*, p. 55. See also *Presentatio facta Burdegaliis* in: MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 257^{va}, 259^{rb-va}.

157. *Protestatio facta Burdegaliis*, MS Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 257^{va-vb}.

the critics used against him, his ideas and the methods in which he divulged his message. On the traditional argument that a physician should concentrate on medicine and not theology the critics against whom the treatise is directed say: 'sicut fabrorum est tractare fabrilia... sic medicorum medicinalia' and thus echo the notion that medicine is to be classified among the mechanical arts. Arnau agrees that 'fabro ut faber est, et medico ut medicus est, non convenit tractare divina', but stresses that they both have the right to deal with divine questions as faithful catholics, who are organs of Christ's body.¹⁵⁸ It could be possible to argue that this puts an end to my quest for links between Arnau's medical background and his spiritual activity. Yet could Arnau have provided another argument that would have satisfied his critics? Surely he could not concede that he claims the right to theologize because he is a physician, an unacceptable argument to any fourteenth-century clerical audience. Thus when read in the context of his defence, this sentence, whether uttered by Arnau or only reported by one of his associates, cannot be interpreted as an unequivocal denial of any relationship between Arnau's medical background and his spiritual activity. Moreover, from what follows in the text, Arnau does just the opposite and provides arguments why it is religiously acceptable for physicians to theologize. He cites the medical dimension of Christ's activities as conveyed in Ecclesiasticus 38 and similar precedents among authorities of the early church. In addition to Luke he also mentions Fabianus and Sebastianus as physicians who dealt with theology.¹⁵⁹ He then attempts to prove that denying physicians the right to treat theological matter because they are physicians, amounts to a blasphemy against the whole Church which even accepted the prophecies of an infidel, soothsayer and impious person like Balaam. Claiming that a moral flaw which stains God's minister renders the content of his utterance (which may be true) objectionable, is equivalent to accusing the Church of having committed grave errors in accepting these prophecies. Thus, Arnau thinks that the identity of the prophet and even his religious convictions should be wholly irrelevant to the validity of the prophecy.

Arnau even regards this transgression of boundaries as a divine commandment and puts forward an original interpretation of Ecclesiasticus 38. Through an allegorised interpretation of Genesis 12.1, where God orders Abraham to leave his home and country, Arnau advises leaving the secular

158. MS Roma, Archivio generale dei Carmelitani, AGOC, III Varia 1, fols. 62^{vb}-63^{ra} (also in BATLLORI, *Das nous escrits*, pp. 62-63.)

159. The medical background of Fabian is not part of his recognized life. It seems that he was introduced in this context because according to Eusebius, *Hist. Ecl.*, VI, xxix, Fabian was elected as pope in spite of being a layman and a stranger. His feast-day (20 January) is shared with Sebastian who is also a patron against the plague.

sciences into which one was born and by which one was nourished, and turning to theology. To deny that universal right, is to contradict evangelical teaching and to act out of zeal for corporeal rather than spiritual profit by honouring someone for his physical occupation rather than for his spiritual. He thus interprets Ecclesiasticus 38 as ordering honour for the human physician who should be engaged in both aspects of the medical profession.¹⁶⁰ The inter-changeable interpretation for Ecclesiasticus 38 (in line with the *Glossa Ordinaria* which explained verses 1-9 as applying to the physical and the spiritual physician) is thus used by the theologizing physician as an incentive and a legitimizing factor for theological speculation.

Conclusion

So fusion rather than disjunction is what I have found between Arnau's medical and spiritual writings. Arnau kept his medical science largely insulated from supernatural concerns; magical therapies hardly appear there and Arnau was hostile to alchemy.¹⁶¹ Yet even in their scientific form Arnau's medical writings have important religious implications. Much more significant was the impact of his medical background on the way in which he expressed his spiritual ideas and to a lesser extent on their content. There is nothing medical about his eschatology or his Franciscan-like reformist ideas. But his movement to the theological field was also influenced by his medical background. For he did see a medical purpose in contemplating spiritual

160. 'Nam qui debuit ut vir evangelicus dicere: egredere de domo tua... hoc est: relinque omnes ciencias seculares, in quibus natus es et nutritus et intende sacris eloquiis, dixit: intromitte te de medicina et non de theologia et honorabimus te, quibus verbis non solum pervertebat evangelica documenta, set ab agro theologie parvulos Christi nitebatur excludere, cupiens ipsum agrum singulariter cum gigantibus possidere. Palam etiam confitebatur quod non zelus Christi vel salutis animarum set corporum regnabat in eo, cum ob commodum corporum et non spirituum ministro comuni sponderet honorem. Simulque sprevisset exemplum Pauli qui Magistratus in theologia sublimiori scola quam parisiensi comendavit omnes studium evangelicum, neque suasit ei potius studium medicine corporalis quam theologie.' *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis*, in: MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Historia de los Heterodoxos* III, p. lxxi.

161. The results of recent research into the alchemical corpus attributed to Arnau are no longer unequivocal. Historians of medieval alchemy promote the view according to which the idea of a 'universal medicine' which purges body and soul can be integrated with the authentic corpus of Arnau's spiritual writings. Only systematic codicological study will be able to substantiate or refute this view which contrasts with Arnau's specific anti-alchemical utterances. See M. Pereira's contribution to this volume.

matters - to ensure the spiritual health of his audience. His medical frame of mind was founded on four essentials:

1. Medical language, which he partly shared with the clergy and which thus enabled him to perceive his art as a quasi-religious system.
2. His conviction that medicine and medical knowledge could deliver a spiritual message giving its practitioners access to secret spheres of knowledge.
3. His emphasis on the virtue of Christian love (*caritas*) as characteristic of the perfect physician. This allowed him to approach divine matter.
4. His definition of medicine that allowed him to treat the soul and its passions. Originally he confined this to the soul's effects on the body, but eventually he expanded it beyond that limit. Thus he could offer medical treatment to improve the patient's adaptability to monastic life-style.

This medical frame of mind was expressed in the following ways:

1. A high-level medical language characterized by dense medical imagery (i.e. anatomy and pathology), intercalated spontaneously into the text without moralizations. This type of imagery was overwhelmingly dominant as a source of figurative language.
2. The use of the physical body as a starting point for discussing the spiritual body. Arnau extended his professional preoccupation with purging the body of its malignant humours to the mystical body of the Church which he diagnosed as diseased and to which he offered remedies that would guarantee its full recovery. He also offered cures for unbalanced mental composition or complexion and suggested means for maintaining healthy souls. The therapeutical certainty which characterized his spiritual cure may have derived from the medical certainty so important in his medical texts.
3. Arnau maintained that divine revelation was a possible (though not very common) source of medical knowledge, and regarded the physician as a specially chosen divine agent who was a vessel of medical truth. This assumption was probably subconsciously linked to Arnau's self-portrait as a watchman who had special access to divine knowledge and who could cure the disease of human ignorance.
4. As a theologizing physician Arnau saw himself following in the footsteps of Christ and Luke, Cosmas and Damian, all of whom provided both spiritual and physical health.

I have not established a causal relationship between Arnau's medical background and his spirituality. What I have shown is that the two aspects of his intellectual life were never disconnected and that his medical background facilitated his movement to the clerical domain. Whether this pattern was peculiar to him, or a wider cultural phenomenon which applies to other medieval physicians, is a question which seems worthy to pursue.