

MARGARIDA D'ERILL HOSPITALLER OF ALGUAIRE:
1415-1456¹

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Most of the military-religious orders accepted women members; only the Templars were, with some exceptions, opposed to female membership, while by contrast the Order of Santiago accepted married men and women². The Hospital had a tradition of charitable service to the sick which was reflected in its veneration of Santa Toscana of Verona and of Saint Ubaldesca of Pisa, but those two devoted women were never members of the Order³. After 1187 there was scarcely any sign that women who were fully-professed Hospitaller sisters acted as nurses in hospital wards⁴. Jaume I of

¹This article is offered in memory of Regina Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, fellow historian of the military orders and friend since her days in Rome during 1969/70; it uses some references to the royal chancery registers which she herself provided. This work was made possible by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol's generous transcription of the document published in appendix, while Pierre Bonneaud kindly provided various references to Fr. Ramon Roger d'Erill.

²Alan FOREY, *Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, "Studia Monastica", XXIX (1987), pp. 63-92; Francesco TOMMASI, *Uomini e Donne negli Ordini Militari di Terrasanta*, "Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter", ed. Kaspar ELM-Michel PARISSÉ, Berlin, 1992, pp. 177-202.

³Gabriele ZACCAGNINI, *Ubaldesca, una Santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII-XIII*, Pisa, 1995.

⁴FOREY, *Women*, pp. 67-69; Anthony LUTTRELL, *The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530*, "The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick", ed. Malcolm BARBER, Aldershot, 1994, pp. 74-75. Before 1187 in Jerusalem the sick were fed "a fratribus et sororibus domus ac peregrinis nobilibus" and the "sorores domus" visited wet nurses who were feeding babies: Benjamin KEDAR, *A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital*, "The Military Orders, Welfare and Warfare", ed. H. NICHOLSON, Aldershot, 1998,

Aragon's daughter Sancha was said to have served the pilgrims anonymously in the "hospital" at Acre, where she died before 1275, but she was evidently not a professed sister⁵. The Hospital's female houses varied considerably: the commandery at Genoa was ruled by a male commander but contained nine sisters who in 1373 outnumbered its seven or eight brethren⁶; San Bevignate at Perugia was a foundation in *jus patronatus* established in about 1324 by a rich merchant for women seeking a monastic retreat⁷; the royal foundation at Buckland in Somerset was reported in 1338 to have fifty *sorores*, possibly including some who were not fully professed⁸, and the convent at Beaulieu-en-Quercy had a noble and pious sister who became Saint Flor soon after her death in 1347⁹. These women did not fight or serve the poor and sick¹⁰ but they were professed religious who took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Their formal functions were those of prayer, accompanied by silence and fasting. They did not always pay the *responsiones* or dues they owed to the Order's priors or, with some exceptions¹¹, attend the chapters of their regional priory. Attached to most

pp. 20, 25. At Acre there was a "domus hospitalis in qua habitant sorores hospitalis" by 1219: *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: 1100-1310*, 4 voll., ed. Joseph DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Paris, 1894-1906, nos. 1656, 2781, 2993.

⁵Nikolas JASPERT, *Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty: the House of Barcelona in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, "Across the Mediterranean Frontiers - Trade, Politics and Religion: 650-1450", ed. Dionisius AGIUS-Ian NETTON, Turnhout, 1997, pp. 107-112. Jaume I's natural sons Ferran Sánchez and Pedro Fernández were at Acre in 1269: Francesc CARRERAS I CANDI, *La Creuada a Terra Santa*, "Congrés d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó", I, Barcelona, 1909, pp. 106-138; Stephen RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, III, Cambridge, 1955, p. 331.

⁶Anthony LUTTRELL, *Gli Ospedalieri a Genova dall'Inchiesta del 1373* (forthcoming).

⁷Francesco TOMMASI, *Il Monasterio femminile di San Bevignate dell'Ordine di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano (secoli XIV-XVI)*, "Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia: la Chiesa di San Bevignate a Perugia", ed. Mario RONCETTI ET AL., Perugia, 1987, pp. 53-78.

⁸Text in *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Vilanova for A.D. 1338*, ed. Lambert LARKING, London, 1857, p. 19.

⁹Anthony LUTTRELL, *The Spiritual Life of the Hospitallers of Rhodes*, "Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter", ed. Zenon NOVAK, Torun, 1993, pp. 83-84.

¹⁰An apparent exception, requiring further investigation, was at Bargota in Navarre where it was said in 1441 that there had once been many Hospitaller sisters but where there remained four *moniales* who were *idiote e indocte*: Carlos BARQUERO GOÑI, *Las Relaciones entre Rodas y los Hospitalarios navarros durante el siglo XV (años 1400-1480)*, "Medievalismo", V (1995), pp. 181-183.

¹¹Anthony LUTTRELL, *The Structure of the Aragonese Hospital: 1349-1352*, "Actes de les Primeres Jornades sobre els Ordes Religioso-Militars als Països Catalanas (segles XII-XIX)", Tarragona, 1994, pp. 320, 328; *infra*, p. 229.

female houses were a number of donats, *consorores* or other women of varying status and description who were not professed but who lived under a form of obedience to the Hospital; some wore a "semi-cross" on their habit and were received on their death bed as full sisters with benefits of burial and future commemoration in prayer¹².

The Hospital had a number of women's houses in the Hispanic kingdoms. The most important, at Sijena in Aragon, was a royal foundation which was protected by successive monarchs, some of whose ancestors were buried there. Sijena had its own version of the Hospital's rule and it enjoyed extensive landed estates, incomes and exemptions. Technically under the jurisdiction of the *Castellán de Amposta*, as the Hospitallers' Aragonese prior was known, in practice it was largely regulated by the crown, especially between 1321 and 1347 when King Jaume II's unpredictable daughter Blanca was its prioress. The sisters played an important role in helping to maintain the Hospital's support from the crown and nobility. At Sijena the prioress controlled the male commander and a number of priests, some of them Hospitaller brethren, and through her procurators she managed much administrative, financial and other business. The convent was often involved in litigation with neighbours or subjects and in jurisdictional quarrels with the Castellan of Amposta, while it experienced disputed elections and other internal confrontations. The noble ladies of Sijena enjoyed a comparatively comfortable aristocratic life with their own incomes, rooms and servants¹³. They allegedly numbered over thirty in 1351¹⁴.

In Catalunya there was a small and poor community of Hospitaller sisters at La Rápita near Tortosa¹⁵, but the main female convent, founded by Marquesa de Cervera in about 1250, was at Alguaire, some 14 kilometres north of Lleida, where it occupied an extensive enclosure¹⁶. Following the

¹²TOMMASI, *Uomini*, pp. 187-190; cf. Lorenzo TACHELLA, *Le "Donate" nella Storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta*, Verona, 1987.

¹³Augustín UBIETO ARTETA, *El Real Monasterio de Sijena*, Huesca, 1992; Regina SÁINZ DE LA MAZA LASOLI, *El Monasterio de Sijena: Catálogo de Documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1994-1998; both works list earlier literature.

¹⁴Text in LUTTRELL, *Structure*, p. 320.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 320; Joaquín MIRET Y SANS, *Les Cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1910, pp. 589-590.

¹⁶IDEM, *Notícia Històrica del Monestir d'Alguayre*, Barcelona, 1899; Maria Mercè COSTA, *Els Necrològics del Convent d'Alguaire*, "Martínez Ferrando, Archivero: Miscelánea de Estudios Dedicados a su Memoria", Madrid, 1968, pp. 117-147; Prim BERTRAN I ROIGÉ, *Les*

creation of a separate Hospitaller Priory of Catalunya in 1319, Alguaire received its own statutes in fifty chapters approved by the Master of Rhodes and the chapter general in 1330. The house was to be subject to the Prior of Catalunya who had powers to confirm, and thus in effect to veto, the *prioressa* who was elected by the conventual sisters. A commander, in charge of temporal business, was to be a male Hospitaller *frater* chosen by the sisters and owing obedience to the prioress but appointed by the prior; the prioress or a deputy was to attend the prior's annual chapter; and no property was to be alienated and no *sor* or *donada* to be received without the prior's licence. In theory the convent was to provide the prior with military service and with a tenth of its annual incomes¹⁷. The sisters naturally had need of priests who might be either professed Hospitaller brethren or lay priests.

Like many nuns, these professed Hospitaller sisters frequently enjoyed personal incomes derived from royal grants¹⁸, from family properties, investments or inheritances producing an annual payment¹⁹, or from monies received from *censals* allotted by the prioress²⁰. The sisters had the use of personal possessions which were technically the property of the house and supposedly reverted to it, but which in reality were their own *joyes* or in Latin *jocalia*, some items bearing their family arms. With licence from the prioress, a sister could make a type of testament known as a *despropio* which transferred some such properties or incomes to other sisters, who were often members of her own family, or even to persons who were not sisters; other possessions passed to the convent, especially when

Ordinacions del Convent d'Alguaire, "Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña", XVII (1977), pp. 25-55; all three use materials in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Archivo del Gran Priorado [AGP].

¹⁷Catalan text *ibid.*, pp. 45-55.

¹⁸Examples from Sijena in SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, I, nos. 192, 260, 273, 276, 365, 415-416, 418, 426, 594, 696; II, no. 365.

¹⁹*Infra*, pp. 234-235; at Sijena, SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, I, nos. 185, 267, 306, 385, 413, 434, 482, 490, 493, 585, 590-591, 628, 732, 747, 752, 811; II, nos. 135, 159, 180, 225, 238, 303, 314, 322, 352, 374, 408, 409; cf. TOMMASI, *Monasterio femminile*, p. 61.

²⁰At Sijena, SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, I, no. 740; two other examples from Sijena, where the recipient gave a notarized receipt, in Anthony LUTTRELL, *Hospitaller Life in Aragon: 1319-1370*, "God and Man in Medieval Spain: Essays in Honour of J. R. L. Highfield", ed. Derek LOMAX-David MACKENZIE, Warminster, 1989, p. 109.

there was no one to inherit them²¹. This system evaded the commitment to poverty and came close to the payment of entrance fees or monastic dowries, but it acted none the less to support individual sisters and eventually to enrich the whole house.

The statutes of 1330 contained the formal obligation for the sisters to eat in the common refectory and to sleep in a common dormitory²², but fully-professed Hospitallers at Alguaire had their own room or *cambra*, apparently with beds in it²³; at Genoa a chamber was shared between two sisters²⁴ while at Beaulieu the future Saint Flor had her own room²⁵. Some sisters had an attendant novice or *escolana*²⁶ and a maid or *mosa*²⁷. Goods listed in *despropis* at Alguaire included iron, copper and other kitchen utensils, and sisters could presumably eat privately in their own rooms²⁸. They did not live in strict clausura but had opportunities to travel away from the monastery on official, royal or family business, for reasons of health or for other motives²⁹. In addition to the requirement for noble birth, literacy was a condition of entry for full sisters³⁰ and they possessed liturgical and other devotional books³¹. In 1382 the king called for two sisters from Sijena to teach Queen Sibil·la to read³², and a portrait of Sor Isabel de

²¹*Infra*, pp. 234-235. On *jocalia*, which were not "jewels", *ibid.*, pp. 109-110; the statutes of Alguaire allowed the commander to keep animals on the convent's lands *per sos loyes*: BERTRAN, *Ordinacions*, p. 51 [where the "(sic)" is superfluous].

²²*Ibid.*, p. 43.

²³*Infra*, pp. 241-242, 245. In 1400 it was proposed to build two rooms at Sijena, one for Sor Juana Cornel: SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, I, no. 364.

²⁴LUTTRELL, *Ospedaliari a Genova* (forthcoming).

²⁵IDEM, *Spiritual Life*, pp. 83-84.

²⁶*Infra*, pp. 234-235; SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, II, nos. 272, 323,

²⁷*Infra*, pp. 234-235.

²⁸Eg. texts of 1455 and 1466 in MIRET, *Notícia*, pp. 32-34.

²⁹*Infra*, p. 229; at Sijena, SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, I, nos. 237, 473, 475, 480, 530, 559, 841, 901-902, 920.

³⁰*Infra*, p. 225. Their learning did not necessarily include Latin. In 1332 the Prioress of Sijena had a bible in Catalan: *ibid.*, I, no. 546. The rule of Sijena was translated into Aragonese, with gloss and variants, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century: *Biblioteca de Catalunya: Catàlog del Museu del Libre Frederic Marès*, ed. Anscari Manuel MUNDÓ, Barcelona, 1994, pp. 9-10.

³¹*Infra*, p. 234

³²Salvador SANPERE Y MIQUEL, *Les Damas d'Aragó*, Barcelona, 1879, pp. 69/70 n. 1.

Aragón of Sijena, who died in 1434, showed her reading a book with a monocle in one eye³³.

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The papal schism of 1378 provoked complications and disputes in the Catalan priory, especially as King Pere adopted a policy of *indiferència* towards the divided papacy which allowed the crown to intervene in the priory's appointments and affairs. The election of an Aragonese pope as Benedict XIII in 1394 led to an increase in papal interferences and provisions which seriously demoralized and impoverished the Catalan Hospital³⁴. At Alguaire there was a problem in 1379 when the Prior of Catalunya and his chapter agreed, at the request of Sor Romia de Vilanova, who had been prioress since 1348, and of her sisters, to replace their commander, Fr. Pere de Vilanova, who held the office of Drappier at Rhodes and was said to be too busy with the Master's affairs: "no pot entendre en lo regiment dela comanadoria d'Alguayre et aço per molts fahens q.ll ha a fer per lo senyor Mestre del Espital"³⁵. When Sor Romia de Vilanova died on 31 July 1389³⁶ Queen Yolande wrote to the sisters, and to the Master of Rhodes and the Prior of Catalunya, seeking the election of Sor Timbor de Queralt, a sister at Alguaire³⁷, but it was Sor Agnès de Montpaó who succeeded as prioress.

Years later, on 17 June 1415, the prior summoned Sor Agnès de Montpaó and three or four elder sisters or *ansianes* to his chapter in July³⁸. On 24 May 1414 Sor Agnes had written requesting the prior, Fr. Gonsalvo de Funes, to appoint Fr. Ramon Roger d'Erill, Commander of Barbens nearby, as Commander of Alguaire, and on 26 July 1415 she wrote to the new prior, Fr. Jofre de Canadal, seeking her commander's reappointment,

³³Chandler R. POST, *A History of Spanish Painting*, VIII part 2, Cambridge Mass., 1941, pp. 520-521.

³⁴Anthony LUTTRELL, *Le Schisme dans les Prieurés de l'Hôpital en Catalunya et Aragon*, "Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya, les Illes i el País Valencià", Barcelona, 1986, pp. 107-113; cf. Joseph DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la Mort de Philibert de Naillac: 1310-1421*, Paris, 1913, pp. 182-183, 240, 323.

³⁵AGP 537, fol. 50.

³⁶Text in COSTA, *Necrologis*, p. 137.

³⁷Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó [ACA], reg. 2038, fol. 25v-26.

³⁸AGP 566, fol. 128.

which the prior granted on 29 July, observing however that the prioress' sealed letters did not include a proper procuration from her convent. In 1416, following a request made by the prioress on 18 August, the prior licensed Fr. Ramon Roger or Fr. Francesch Guosol to receive into the Hospital a priest named Prullans who was to conduct mass, hear confessions and give other sacraments to the sisters, according to custom³⁹. Meanwhile, on 13 September 1415 Sor Agnès de Montpaó, having summoned the subprioress Sor Sibil-la ça Guardia and two other sisters, Sor Constança Dalçamora and Sor Blanquina de Vilallonga, handed them her seal of office and died. On 20 September at least fifteen other named sisters elected Sor Constança de Masdovelles as prioress, and on the day following she and the sisters' procurators, Sor Constança des Pomers and Sor Blanquina de Vilallonga, appeared before the prior at l'Espluga de Francolí to seek his confirmation of the election according to the rules of 1330. On 22 September the prior instructed the Commander of Alguaire to install the new prioress⁴⁰.

On 22 September 1415 the prior also licensed the new prioress, at her request, to receive the noble Margarida d'Erill, providing that she was legitimately born, sound of limb and instructed in letters —*instruida en letras*; she was to be received and given her habit by Fr. Ramon Roger, who was her cousin, or by some other commander belonging to the priory⁴¹. The Barons of Erill had long been powerful in Catalunya. Fr. Ramon Roger was the son of Bernat Roger d'Erill, who died in 1387, and of Elionor d'Orcau, who lived until 1432; Sor Margarida was the daughter of Bernat Roger's brother Arnau and of Blanquina d'Areny⁴². By 1426 Margarida had inherited the family lordships of Selgua, Terreu and Castell d'Areny⁴³. Fr.

³⁹AGP 566, fol. 123-123v; 651, fol. 383v-384v. Many texts in AGP 566 and 651 appear in both Latin and Catalan, the latter apparently the language of the originals written in the convent.

⁴⁰AGP 651, fol. 803-804v [datable because 13 September 1415 was Friday]. The obituary book recorded Agnès' death at 12 September: COSTA, *Necrologis*, p. 124. Josep LLADONOSA I PUJOL, *Història de la Vila d'Alguaire i el seu Monastir Santjoanista*, Alguaire, 1981, p. 71, lists 16 sisters in 1381.

⁴¹AGP 651, fol. 806v.

⁴²Mercedes COSTA-Armand DE FLUVIÀ, *Erill*, "Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana", VI, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 71-73, with family tree.

⁴³Joaquím MIRET Y SANS, *La Casa senyorial d'Erill*, "Anuari Heràldic", Barcelona, 1917, p. 156, without source; Margarida probably inherited Selgua from her brother Pere Arnau, Lord of Selgua, who died in 1426.

Ramon Roger may have been nearly forty years old since he was already a Hospitaller in 1395 when he was licensed to travel to Rhodes⁴⁴. In 1404 he authorized two other brethren to accept for him the first commandery to become vacant⁴⁵. He performed one or more periods of service at Rhodes; on 2 August 1406 he was appointed to the Commandery of Majorca and in September he was licensed to leave Rhodes to govern it⁴⁶. On 10 May 1409 he was granted the Commandery of Barbens, some 30 kilometres east of Alguaire, which was vacant through the death of Fr. Pere de Pomers, and he then received a new licence to leave Rhodes and go to govern that commandery⁴⁷. Probably he returned to Catalunya soon after, since he was there in August 1412⁴⁸ and May 1413⁴⁹.

Before taking her vows, Margarida may have been a novice, perhaps at Sijena⁵⁰. Exactly what happened after her reception became a matter of dispute, but by Easter 1417 she was pregnant. The facts were obscured in a haze of gossip and denunciations which revealed a state of laxity at Alguaire and Sijena. According to her cousin Fr. Ramon Roger, she told an assembly of all the sisters at Alguaire that she had only had one lover, Fr. Ramon Roger, that he had taken her virginity by force, and that he was the father both of a child who was at Belianes, a place within his commandery of Barbens, and also of her unborn child. Her cousin, however, claimed that she had told her father, before all the sisters, that Luis d'Aragal⁵¹ had taken her virginity and that she had married him, with a certain Joanna de Parotych as witness. That seems a surprising confession, since a secret marriage would have invalidated her reception into the Hospital.

⁴⁴Valletta, National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of St. John [Malta], Cod. 329, fol. 11v.

⁴⁵Barcelona, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Guillem de San Martí, Llibre comun de Guillem de Guimerá [communicated by Pierre Bonneaud].

⁴⁶Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 59v.

⁴⁷Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 66-68v, 165.

⁴⁸Martí DE RIQUER, *El Poema de Arnau d'Erill contra su sobrino Fra Ramon Roger d'Erill*, "Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona", XIX (1961-1962), pp. 206-207.

⁴⁹*Colección de Documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, III, Barcelona, 1848, appendice pp. 70-71.

⁵⁰Fr. Ramon Roger, admittedly biased, mentioned Margarida's relations with a chaplain at Sijena, only some 50 kilometres from Alguaire, and that Sor Violant de Lobets of Alguaire had been there too: text *infra*, pp. 243-244. Sor Francesquina de Carcassona, later Prioress of Alguaire, was at Sijena in 1389 and 1421: SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, II, nos. 303, 408.

⁵¹A Luis d'Aragal became governor of Cagliari in 1433.

Matters were certainly complicated, as was clear from a tirade covering both sides of six folios which Fr. Ramon Roger delivered to the prior, Fr. Jofre de Canadal, and to three other brethren at Barbens on 16 July 1417 and which he had had notarized. As Fr. Ramon Roger was himself under accusation, his protestations and insinuations were naturally suspect, but the numerous questions he demanded be put to many of those concerned implied a very different story. He alleged that in twelve years Sor Margarida had had five lovers. The first named was a certain Pere Marty; the second, Tomás de Luch, a chaplain at Sijena where Margarida may have been as a novice; the third, the priest Vicent Fuster, a cousin of Sor Violant de Lobets; the fourth, another priest Johan, evidently the chaplain at Alguaire named Espils who was allegedly the father of Margarida's unborn child; and the fifth, the student Guitart, whom she had known at the family possession of Celgua. Sor Margarida was said by Fr. Ramon Roger to have confessed at Barbens to himself and to his mother that Pere Marty had been the first to seduce her; that had occurred at Sijena where, so Fr. Ramon Roger insinuated, Pere Marty had also entered Violant de Lobets' room through the window, seducing her and threatening to kill her if she told anyone.

The multiple interrogations proposed by Fr. Ramon Roger were designed to establish his own innocence and to demonstrate that Sor Margarida and others were lying in order to save the priest Espils; possibly he hoped to raise so many awkward questions that any faults of his own would be overlooked. Fr. Ramon Roger demanded that Margarida be taken away from Alguaire and placed under the prior's care in order to prevent the prioress and Sor Blanquina de Vilanova from changing the baby when it was born for another which would look more like himself. Fr. Ramon Roger had been summoned from Barbens and by Palm Sunday, 4 April 1417, he was at Alguaire where many discussions and confrontations took place. He claimed that Sor Blanca de Tores had spoken with Espils and had told Margarida to wait for a month, after which all would be well. After speaking to Margarida, Sor Blanquina de Vilanova had refused for several days to make any comment, while Espils had said "what shall I do, madona?" The chaplain of Margarida's father had come to seek Fr. Ramon Roger's permission to counsel her, and an aunt of Margarida had spoken with her and with Marya Tolona, apparently her maid, in the sunshine in a courtyard.

Fr. Ramon Roger initially befriended Sor Margarida so that, according to him, she had even declared herself more indebted to him than to her own father. It was her cousin who took her urine to Lleida where a doctor judged that she was indeed pregnant and refused to bleed her. Margarida denied her pregnancy but lowered her head and looked at the ground; she also gave various *joyes* or possessions to the chapels of Santa Maria and of San Salvador in the convent's church⁵². She refused to speak to Pere Marty when he came to see her, on the unconvincing grounds that he had once beaten her brother. To procure an abortion she took a purge and a herb called *ruda*, which the maid Marya said had been provided by Sor Blanquina de Vilallonga. Fr. Ramon Roger's questionnaire implied that on certain nights Espils did not sleep in his own room or in any of the chaplains' chambers, that his footprints were in the kitchen, that he had slept in Margarida's bed and that its sheets were soiled and her dress stained with blood. All of this, and more, was alleged in Fr. Ramon Roger's protestations⁵³.

Subsequently Fr. Ramon Roger was removed from the Commandery of Alguaire. On 6 October the king informed the prior that he had received a complaint from Fr. Ramon Roger about a serious quarrel with the prior which may have resulted from the scandal at Alguaire; Fr. Ramon Roger had appealed to the pope but, despite that appeal, the prior had taken action, contrary to the Hospital's customs and statutes, against Fr. Ramon Roger and his goods, causing him great damage. The appeal, made to Benedict XIII, had been blocked by an ordinance forbidding any obedience to that pope, and the king instructed the prior to take no action against Fr. Ramon Roger⁵⁴. However on 21 October the prioress was protesting against the prior's removal of Fr. Ramon Roger from the Commandery of Alguaire, a move which the prior had decreed after consultation with Hospitaller brethren resident at Barcelona. She claimed that Fr. Ramon Roger had done her house "infinite good" and that his loss would damage it, insisting as ever

⁵²Sor Blanquina de Vilanova was sacristan of San Salvador's chapel in about 1415: AGP 651, fol. 805.

⁵³AGP 651, fol. 759-764: text *infra*, pp. 237-249.

⁵⁴ACA, reg. 2560, fol. 114. This situation may have embarrassed the prior to whom Benedict XIII had in 1415 granted the expectation of the priory: AGP, Armari 7, Carp. 26 Espluga Calva, no. 42. Papal provision could be blocked by the Master or the king. In about 1415, before he became prior, Fr. Jofre de Canadal, attempting to exchange commanderies, wrote "no dupta q.les prouisions de nostre senyor papa no sint bastants": AGP 761 loose sheet.

that the regulations of 1330 prevented the prior from interfering⁵⁵. The prioress and her sisters, manoeuvring perhaps to avoid any full-scale investigation of their activities, were probably supporting Fr. Ramon Roger, despite the affair of Sor Margarida, in their determination to resist the prior's interference with their choice of commander, but eventually, faced with his removal, they made a new choice. From Valencia on 23 October 1417 King Alfons wrote to the prior demanding that Fr. Ramon Roger should not be confirmed as Commander of Alguaire; the king had earlier requested the position for Fr. Joan de Vilafranca but, on hearing that the prioress and her convent had elected Fr. Galceran Çarrocha, he instructed the prior to confirm him⁵⁶. On 17 November, at his chapter at l'Espluga de Francolí, the prior addressed a letter to the prioress, who was present there with some of her *dones*, agreeing to appoint Fr. Galceran Çarrocha, Commander of Torres, for one year despite the technical irregularity that he already held another commandery. The prior warned the prioress not to act in such a way that she could be accused of disobedience⁵⁷.

Not all the sisters at Alguaire were satisfied with their commander. In a letter written in or before mid-October 1417, Sibil·la Despuig, Constança des Pomer, Violant Centelles, Francesquina de Plegamans, Sibil·la de Oriola, Constança Dalçamora, Jaufredina Moncada, Elvira de Josa and Violant de Lobets, requested the prior to reject the prioress' petition for Fr. Ramon Roger's confirmation and to give them instead another commander. Without alluding to Sor Margarida, these nine pointed out that the 1330 settlement stated that the prior should confirm a commander chosen by the convent as well as by the prioress; they admitted that the prioress and some *conventuals* wanted to keep Fr. Ramon Roger, but they did not. The appointment was supposed to be for one year only and to be made to a Hospitaller who, unlike Fr. Ramon Roger, had no other commandery. Fr. Ramon Roger had incurred great expenses with many costly journeys on his own business to Lleida and elsewhere. He was supposed to have two squires, one valet and three horses but often he had four or five horses. The nine

⁵⁵AGP 651, fol. 384v-385v.

⁵⁶AGP 651, fol. 386.

⁵⁷AGP 566, fol. 132-132v.

declared that his administration was very harsh —*molt rigorós*— and that its continuation would be most damaging⁵⁸.

On 26 December 1417 the prioress Sor Constança de Masdovelles wrote, in Catalan and using her own wax seal, to the prior. While admitting that the prior had told her, in the presence of the Commanders of Mas Déu and Barcelona and of Sor Blanquina de Vilallonga, that he and his chapter had agreed that Fr. Ramon Roger should no longer rule at Alguaire after 15 August for reasons which she disliked, she repeated that it was for the convent to propose and for the prior and chapter merely to confirm the appointment. She asserted that the petition sent by some of her *dones* contained false and malicious complaints and that the majority agreed with her; Fr. Ramon Roger had ruled them well to the convent's great profit⁵⁹.

Meanwhile Sor Margarida's disgrace was advertised by Margarida's father Arnau d'Erill who, apparently late in 1417, challenged his nephew to armed combat. It may have been the sisters' support for Fr. Ramon Roger which led his uncle to take this step. Later, probably in about October 1418, Arnau accused Fr. Ramon Roger in a curious poem composed in Catalan as a *letra de batalla* in twenty-nine verses of eight lines, every verse commencing *O tu traydor*. The poem was full of studied insults. Arnau lamented that he had himself knighted his nephew; he spoke scathingly of him as a Hospitaller who carried the Hospital's cross and wore golden spurs. He declared that he had behaved badly with the sisters at Alguaire: "O tu traydor, mal guardist ta comanda e les dones qui son dins en Alguayre". Arnau's second, poetic challenge, made shortly before 1 November and some eleven months after initial arrangements for the combat, mocked Fr. Ramon Roger for taking lessons in sword play from a certain Johan Ferriol in the queen's palace at Barcelona and for his cowardly failure to appear as cited: "no has gossat a la plasa venir". His uncle had fixed the size of the field and placed a term of one year for the duel, apparently to be fought at Montpellier, but Fr. Ramon Roger had written claiming that he was short of time, that the judge chosen by Arnau would not be impartial, and that he himself needed permission from his religious superior to take part in a duel. Arnau's poem proclaimed that his nephew would be a figure of shame at

⁵⁸AGP 651, fol. 385v-386: text in MIRET, *Notícia*, pp. 27-28 [Latin version, with further names, at fol. 266v-267v.

⁵⁹AGP 662: original sheet dated 26 December without year.

Rhodes and at Constance, remarking that he was said to be going into exile: "m'an dit que tu pendràs exill"⁶⁰.

Sor Margarida had provoked a serious crisis within the community at Alguaire where lax discipline had created an atmosphere of hysteria as the protagonists blamed each other and sought to defend their own reputations. There may well have been others in the house, Sor Violant de Lobets for example, whose virtue was under suspicion. Sor Margarida herself had perhaps had a number of lovers, her cousin quite possibly at some point among them, and she may even have been unsure who had fathered her unborn child. Her only defence was to allege that she had been subject to force. The attitudes of the prioress and the other sisters were ambivalent. For some at least, initial hostility to Fr. Ramon Roger turned to support, apparently in reaction to interference from the prior, while Margarida's problems were gradually engulfed in wider considerations, such as the long-standing dispute over the prior's powers to intervene at Alguaire and the validity of appointments made by Pope Benedict XIII following the election of Martin V at Constance in November 1417.

Fr. Ramon Roger was at Constance on 18 February 1418⁶¹, perhaps to appeal against the prior before the Master of Rhodes, Fr. Philibert de Naillac, who was there. He must have returned to Catalunya where for some reason he was put in prison under the Governor of Catalunya; on 13 October 1418 Joan Eymerich stated that some three months earlier he had given a safe conduct for five days to Fr. Ramon Roger who was at Molins de Rei and needed to go to Barcelona; subsequently he was given other safe conducts to leave Barcelona⁶². This imprisonment may have been the result of Fr. Ramon Roger's quarrel with the prior and his appeal to Benedict XIII. He was at Constance in February and was unlikely to have been associated directly with the Catalan nobles who held an illegal assembly at Molins de Rei and who then, on 23 March, sent messengers to

⁶⁰Text and discussion in DE RIQUER, *Poema*, assuming Fr. Ramon Roger's guilt; line 58 (*Tots Sants*) indicates a date before 1 November. In line 13 ("Tu est confes per ta carta pubblica") it remains unclear what had been confessed.

⁶¹Riccardo PREDELLI, *I Libri Commemorativi della Repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*, III, Venice, 1883, p. 383.

⁶²ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomaticas, Alfonso V, Caja 23 no. 407.

Valencia where the king arrested some of them⁶³. Fr. Ramon Roger may, however, have been at Molins de Rei seeking assistance from friends or family who may have been among the rebels.

The scandal at Alguaire passed. On 9 May 1418 the prioress informed the prior that Fr. Galceran Çarrocca had performed well as their commander and requested his reappointment⁶⁴. Sor Margarida apparently remained at Alguaire; she was alive in 1426⁶⁵ and died on 6 October 1456: "Obijt dona Margarida d'Eril Ayn MCCCCLVI"⁶⁶. Her father's poem had taunted Fr. Ramon Roger with the prospect of exile to Constance and Rhodes⁶⁷, and Rhodes did provide a convenient retreat since the Lieutenant Master governing there in 1419 and 1420 was a Catalan, Fr. Antoni de Fluvià, who from 1421 to 1437 ruled as Master of Rhodes⁶⁸. There on 6 July 1422 Fr. Ramon Roger leased his commandery at Barbens for three years; on 22 February 1423 the Master authorized him to leave Rhodes and on 15 March he granted him the titular Commandery of the Duchy of Athens and Negroponte. By June 1424 his commandery was that of Sykaminon, which was on the island of Negroponte, and in that month he was back in Catalunya where he attended the prior's chapter at l'Espluga de Francolí. On 27 May 1427 he was being sent from Rhodes on a mission to Sicily and to the Aragonese king. By May 1428, when he was at Rhodes, he had been appointed Drappier, the post allotted to the senior Hispanic officer on Rhodes and one whose holder often became Prior of Catalunya; he had to renounce Sykaminon but kept Barbens. On 20 July 1428 he was *retentus ad manus* of the Master and thus exempted from his prior's jurisdiction. In February 1429 Fr. Ramon Roger was quarrelling over Barbens with other members of the Hispanic *langue* at Rhodes⁶⁹. On 9 June 1430 he witnessed

⁶³Jerónimo ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel CANELLAS LÓPEZ, V, Zaragoza, 1988, p. 504.

⁶⁴AGP 631, fol. 386v.

⁶⁵MIRET, *Casa señorial*, p. 156.

⁶⁶Text in COSTA, *Necrologis*, p. 141.

⁶⁷DE RIQUER, *Poema*, lines 22, 152.

⁶⁸Constantin MARINESCU, *La Politique Orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, Roi de Naples: 1416-1458*, Barcelona, 1994, pp. 45-70.

⁶⁹Malta, Cod. 346, fol. 94-94v; Cod. 347, fol. 101-102v; Cod. 348, fol. 90-90v, 93-93v, 95-96, 203v-204v.

a treaty agreed there between the Aragonese crown and the Egyptian sultan⁷⁰. Earlier, on 9 August 1427, the king had instructed his officials not to interfere with Fr. Ramon Roger's Catalan incomes⁷¹. Alfons wrote to him at Rhodes on 21 March 1431 about the vacant Commandery of l'Espluga de Francolí which the king wanted for Fr. Berenguer de Fontcubert⁷², but by February 1432 Alfons had accepted homage for that commandery from the proctors of Fr. Ramon Roger, to whom the Master had granted it on 3 May 1431⁷³. By September 1432 Fr. Ramon Roger was dead⁷⁴. His career had been deflected but not entirely ruined by the scandal at Alguaire.

The prioress Sor Constança de Masdovelles died on 30 December 1421⁷⁵, and was replaced by the subprioress Sor Blanquina de Vilallonga⁷⁶ who had been involved in Sor Margarida's problems in 1417. The new prioress faced another scandal in 1422 when Sor Francesquina de Plegamans and Sor Sibil·la de Oriola fled from the house *per motius assats juvenyls* and were deprived of their habits. The two had been among the nine sisters who wrote protesting against Fr. Ramon Roger in 1417. Sor Francesquina de Plegamans repented and her habit was restored, but when she asked to have back her rooms, *vnes cases sues*, which had in her absence been given to Sor Isabel Darger, the prioress refused to hand over the keys. Sor Francesquina appealed to the prioral chapter which discussed the matter in the light of similar cases at Rhodes and declared that by right *lo dit alberch* was to be handed back to Sor Francesquina; on 12 June 1422 the prior instructed Fr. Guillem de Guimerá, Commander of Lleida, to go to Alguaire to enforce this decision⁷⁷.

There were occasional sexual scandals in virtually all branches of the Church. Among Hospitallers, Fr. Ramon d'Empuries, later Prior of

⁷⁰ZURITA, *Anales*, V, p. 771, wrongly ascribed to 1413 in *Obras Completas del Doctor D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals*, III, Barcelona, 1890, pp. 336-337.

⁷¹ACA, reg. 2789, fol. 99.

⁷²ACA, reg. 2581, fol. 95v-96; the word *Drappier* was cancelled and replaced by "lochte de Maestre de Rodes".

⁷³ACA, reg. 2582, fol. 171v-172.

⁷⁴ACA, reg. 2583, fol. 140-140v.

⁷⁵Text in COSTA, *Necrologis*, p. 147.

⁷⁶Subprioress in 1420: AGP 651, fol. 387.

⁷⁷AGP 566, fol. 136: text in MIRET, *Cases*, pp. 426-427.

Catalunya, was accused in about 1314 of fathering many children, of raping women and of homosexual crimes⁷⁸. The Castellan of Amposta and future Master of Rhodes, Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, had at least four illegitimate children by several mothers who were legitimized in 1360⁷⁹, and the elder Fr. Guillem de Guimerà, who died as Prior of Catalunya in 1396, had two illegitimate daughters⁸⁰. The Hospitaller Prior of Portugal Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira reportedly had at his death bed no less than eighteen children, one of whom succeeded him as prior⁸¹. In 1386 Fr. Ferrand de Siscar, Commander of Gardeny, was accused of "moltes e diverses obres desonestes e de mal exemple" in the house of the Franciscan sisters at Lleida⁸². In 1361 the king legitimized a natural son of Fr. Fortuner de Glera, proctor and later Commander of Sijena⁸³. Irregularities evidently occurred also in the female houses at Alguaire and Sijena⁸⁴.

Events at Alguaire reflected a general laxity permitted to rich women who may have had little religious vocation and who enjoyed their own individual incomes, separate rooms rather than communal dormitories, and personal maids and comforts, while their conventual buildings and church were quite lavishly furnished⁸⁵. At Sijena a *despropio* drawn up by Sor Isabel de Olzinelles in 1433 listed thirteen devotional books, chests bearing her arms, silver plate, basins, sheets, a dining table and other furniture; there was mention of her *cambras* or rooms, of 250 *sueldos* of Jaca in annual *censales*, of clothes she left to her priest and of money for Isabeleta, her *moça et seruenta*. Much of this, including her *cambras* and part of her

⁷⁸Text in Joaquím MIRET Y SANS, *Sempre han tingut béch les Oques: Apuntacions per la Historia de les Costumes Privades*, I, Barcelona, 1905, pp. 38-46.

⁷⁹Text in José VIVES, *Juan Fernández de Heredia, Gran Maestre de Rodas: Vida, Obras, Formas dialectales*, "Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia", III (1927), p. 173.

⁸⁰Josep Maria SANS, *Guillem de Guimerà*, "Arrels: Miscel·lània d'Aportacions Històriques i Documentals de l'Espluga de Francolí", III (Espluga de Francolí, 1989), pp. 34-36.

⁸¹FERNÃO LOPES, *Crónica de D. João I*, I, ed. Antonio SÉRGIO, Barcelos, 1983, p. 71.

⁸²Text in SANPERE, *Damas*, pp. 52-53.

⁸³SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, II, no. 132.

⁸⁴Allegedly Sor Margarida d'Urrea, prioress at Alguaire from 1505, was the illegitimate daughter of the Archbishop of Tarragona and her own illegitimate daughter, also a sister at Alguaire, was the daughter of Margarida's father the archbishop: MIRET, *Sempre han tingut béch*, I, pp. 75-81.

⁸⁵Josep LLADONOSA I PUJOL, *L'Art decoratiu al Monestir de Santa Maria d'Alguaire, a través dels Llibres de Visites dels Grans Priors de Catalunya*, Lleida, 1985, surveys the late-medieval remains.

censales, she left to her niece Sor Leonor de Olzinelles, also a sister at Sijena, and to an *escolana* of Leonor; after that the *cambras* were to pass to a member of her family if there was one at Sijena or, failing that, to the convent⁸⁶. Similar inventories of *joyas* and *mobles* or moveable goods were drawn up at Alguaire by Sor Blanquina de Cortida in 1455 and by Sor Salvadora de Cortida in 1466; they too left *censals*, books, chests with their family arms, clothes, beds, mattresses, sheets, towels, plate, candlesticks and iron and copper cooking utensils. Sor Blanquina had more than one *mosa* or maid and two beds or *lits de repòs*. Sor Salvadora bequeathed a dowry to a maid, and some items she left to her cousin Sor Blanquina. Her executors, Isabel de Vilallonga and Isabel de Vilanova, were to pay for her funeral expenses, burial and prayers, and to distribute the goods left to her by her parents and others. She made various bequests to Françoy de Cortida. Sor Salvadora had twelve *lliures* of *sous censals* as an annual pension on incomes from Almenar. She had the *mobles* and *rendes* left to her by a cousin, possibly Sor Blanquina de Cortida, and part of what she had received from that cousin was to go to yet another cousin, Sor Isabel de Vilallonga⁸⁷.

These sisters, many of them from noble families, were not leading a simple ascetic life. For example, Sor Isabel de Aragón bequeathed her rooms to her *escolanas*, Sor Isabel de Figuerola and Sor Violant d'Argentonà, on condition that they did not wear skirts or trimmings or paint their faces, but Sor Violant failed to observe these restrictions and in 1447 she had been expelled from the rooms⁸⁸. These women spent a comfortable life in what had become virtually a hereditary aristocratic club. The problem was not that sisters were allowed to travel outside their convent but that, as the Dominican Humbert of Romans had already pointed out in the late-thirteenth century, female enclosure was a sham and actually provided a safe haven for the enjoyment of carnality⁸⁹. Those with access to the sisters' private rooms were in particular the convent's priests and various male members of the Hospital. In 1505 the prioress possessed an old rule and other old and new

⁸⁶AGP 660, fol. 1-2.

⁸⁷Texts in MIRET, *Notícia*, pp. 32-34. The obituary book records only a Sor Isabel de Vilallonga dying on 20 September *M.D. XXXXIII*, possibly an error: text in COSTA, *Necrologis*, p. 140.

⁸⁸SÁINZ DE LA MAZA, *Sijena*, II, no. 465.

⁸⁹Cited in Peter LINEHAN, *The Ladies of Zamora*, Manchester, 1997, p. 16.

regulations of the Order⁹⁰; the sisters knew their rules but their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience were not always strictly observed.

⁹⁰Text in MIRET, *Notícia*, p. 62.

APPENDIX

1417, July 16.

Fr. Ramon Roger d'Erill's Protestations

AGP 651, fol. 759-764.

A la informació que vós, molt reverent senyor, devets pendre en deffensió del blasme e infàmia que és posada sobre mi, frare Ramon Roger de Eryll per na Margaryta de Eryll e les consintent e [j]aients ab ella són les coses segens, soplicant a vós, senyor, que per descàrech meu e per trobar la veritat ab diligència vostra senyoria vulle pendre los testimonis segens en la fforma que·s seguex:

Primerament, sie interrogat en Johan lo capellà que està al monestir, lo qui anave ab mastre Vicent, si com jo dix en taula, lo jorn de Rams, les paraulles generals, si sap que n'Espils, lo prevere, se absentàs.

Ítem, si sap qui li escriví que viengés.

Ítem, de part de qui·s fféu la letra ne si la fféu él.

Ítem, com vench lo jorn de Pàsquia, del preïch de la perla preciosa, la qual ere trencada, per quinya sichnifficança o dix.

Ítem¹ per qui o dix.

Ítem, si dix ha taula aquel jorn matex que él, qui ere prevere, devie ffer obres de prevere, parlant del preïch de la perla que avie ffeyt.

Ítem, si dix n'Espils que no era él lo qui l'avie trencada.

Ítem, si si és conffesat n'Espils.

Ítem, si mi so jo conffesat.

Ítem si, en la senmana de Pascha, jo l'aparty dient ly que a mi ere stat dit que per mi avie dit de la perla trencada, en sa consiència si estave en veritat, e sí·m dix que en sa consiència que no·u avie dit per mi.

Ítem sí em dix en quel rahonament que n'Espils ere stat paoruch e que·l hagués scrita la letra que vingués.

¹There follow three words deleted: *bendix? per mi*.

Ítem, quinyes són les paraules que ly fforen trameses a dir en la letra.

Ítem, si dix a² n'Espils lo disapte vespre de Pàsquia en taula, com ffahiem [ororona?] que mal punt s'ere levat, que s'encolgués, ne perquè o dehie³, e si lavòs lo dit n'Espils li [do]nà del colze dient li que calàs.

Ítem si sap ni a ohit dir que·l càrech que és dat a mi del prenyat si·s ffeyt per desencusar n'Espils.

Ítem, si sab que d'abans que se digués les paraules generals jo agués agut noves ab n'Espils ne si li avie de res menaçat.

La priora d'Alguayre sie enterrogada si avie oyt dir que jo agués dites les paraules generals.

Ítem, si sap que n'Espils se·n absentàs.

Ítem si sap que li ffos ffeita letra que vingués ne de part de qui anà la letra.

Ítem, si·m dix perquè jo avie dites les paraules per n'Espils e què m'avie ffeit e jo si li respòs que no avie nomenat nengú, que les digés més per él que per altre, mes qui la coha avie de payla poc avie de ffoc.

Ítem, com jo ffui vengut de Barbenç, la senmana de Pasquia, si·m dix que li·o digués perquè avie desplaer e si jo li respongí que no per res.

Ítem si·m dix lavós que no·m donàs desplaer de res que ohís ni que vehés.

Ítem, perquè ho dehie ne quinya ere la rahó.

Ítem, si après que madona Blanca de Vilalongua agué parlat de part sua ab na Margarita d'Eryll si estech alscons jorns que no li volie dir res.

Ítem perquè ho ffahie.

Ítem com lo capelà de mossèn Arnau vench a sa ffilla que anàs a hel per la sospita que avie aguda mossèn Arnau, si·m dixé què li·n conseyllave, si li darye lycència.

Ítem, si ly responguí jo que sobirana ginya me ffarie que ly donàs licència, e si ffe e no·u volie, que no me·n ffarye plaer ni desplaer.

Ítem, ceien aquel rahonament, me dix que no s'esmaginave que per coses de mosèn Arnau agués aver desplaer.

Ítem, perquè ho dehie ne quinya ere la rahó.

Ítem, com parlà ela e madona Blanquina de Tores ab n'Espils en la cambra, que no hi avie nengú, quinyes paraules li dix après que madona Vilalongua ach parlat ab na Margaryta d'Eryll, e lavós n'Espils dix: " e què ffaré jo, madona?"

Ítem, si na Banqua de Tores dix lavòs que esperàs hun mes, que tost serie pasat.

²dix a interlined above *sap a*, deleted.

³ne *perquè ho dehie*, interlined.

Ítem, per quinya rahó dix n'Espils "què ffaré jo"? ne na Blanca de Tores perquè li dix que esperàs hun mes.

Ítem qui·n ffou tot lo rahanament.

Ítem, si sabie abans que·s divulgua na Margaryta de son prenyat, si sabie que ffos prenyada.

Ítem, com na Vilalonga dix davant ela e davant mi que per ventura na Margaryta ere prenyada e jo volie-ho caregar a qualque capelà, enperò que ela sabie de cert que no ere prenyada, que de son temps avie agut no avie gayre, e que dona prenyada no avie de son temps e com ac li digés les paraules, perquè estech ab lo cap bax, guardant en terra, ne si lavòs ela ho sabie.

Ítem, en quinya manera o sabie ne per qui.

Ítem, si·m demanà moltes veguade quant se tendrye capítol.

Ítem, per quinya rahó o demanave tant sovín.

Ítem, si sap que aquest càrech ne inffàmia del prenyat de na Margaryta nengú aje trachtat ab la dita Margaryta⁴ que·m ffos posat per desencaregar n'Espils e dar lo càrech a mi.

Ítem, perquè, com ela fféu desencusar a n'Espils davant mi, perquè no m'anave consolan ne que sy que dygés de mi perquè auia requesta no volch obtenprar, ans me negà dient que no·n farye res.

Ítem, si sap per quinya rahó à donat totes ses joyes a Senta Maria e a Sent Salvador ne si és stat entre eles que ho hi donàs.

Ítem, si sab les paraules del prehich de la perla trencada perquè·s digueren.

Ítem, sobre aquestes coses matexes⁵ sie interrogada madona Blanca de Vilalongua.

Ítem, quins parauls ly dix a na Margaryta com parlà ab ela a hun de part com jo ffuy vengut a Barbenç ni de part de qui ne què li respòs la dita Margaryta.

Ítem, si⁶ dix davant mi com jo ffuy vengut que més avie que agrahir a mi que a son pare e que més ere tenguda a mi.

Ítem, per quinya rahó o dehie⁷.

Ítem perquè dix davant mi que pux que ela ere quítia de n'Espils, que no s'estarye que no·s ffes ab él.

Ítem, perquè ho dehie.

⁴There follows *que·l*, deleted.

⁵*matexes*, interlined.

⁶There follows *sy*, deleted.

⁷There follows a deleted letter.

Ítem, perquè dix lavòs que si ela⁸ ffos d'ela que·s lunyare de mi, encara que jo ffos son pare, e tot açò ffou en la senmana de Pàsquia, com jo ffuy vengut de Barbenç.

Ítem, sie interrogada la prioresa se dix perquè jo no me·n anave, que eles sageren dat recapte al prenyat ne perquè incolpave nengú .

Ítem, per quinya rahó o dehie, car jo no la n'avie pregada que hi donàs recapte.

Ítem, madona Alianor de Monterguyll sie interrogada sobre les esposicions de la prioresa.

Ítem, axí matex madona Geraldona de Muntpahó sie interrogada sobre les dites sposicions.

Ítem, madona Blanca de Tores sobre les dites sposicions sie interrogada.

Ítem, sie interogada na Geraldona de Muntpahó si dix axí matex perquè jo no me·n anave, que eles hi hageren dat recapte⁹.

Ítem, sie interrogat ffrare Valero, l'ermità¹⁰, si·m dix que n'Espils avie agut pahor de les paraules generals que jo dix lo jorn de Rams ne quinyes fforen les paraules entre él e mi ne quinyes paraules li dix la prioresa.

Ítem, sie interrogat mastre Pau de Lunel com jo li amostry la oryna de na Margaryta de Eryll a Leyda què·n dix que jutgave la oryna.

Ítem, què ly responguí jo.

Ítem si·m demanà si avie agut de son temps molt avie.

Ítem si li dix jo que e com sabie.

Ítem, si com él muntà là sus, abans que prengué la¹¹ purgua, si li demanà a na Margaryta si avie agut de son temps.

Ítem, après pasat alscons jorns, jo aní¹² a Leyda, volent-se sagnar la dita Margaryta¹³, el dit mastre Pau no·u volie e, per la cuyta que ela mentenie, jo sí demané per quinya rahó stave que no volie que·s sagnàs, el dit mastre Pau dix que per rahó de sa fflaquesa.

Ítem, sie interorogat si nengú li à dit ne jo que tyngué retret de la conexença que avie aguda en la horyna de son prenyat, après que él me dix que la dita oryna jutjave que ffos prenyada.

⁸*ela*, interlined above *jo*, deleted.

⁹Whole sentence added partly between lines, partly in margin.

¹⁰*l'ermità*, interlined.

¹¹There follows *horyna*, deleted.

¹²*aní*, interlined.

¹³*la dita Margaryta*, interlined.

Ítem, si com jo li tramety la horyna, après de sa purgua, què·m tramès a dir per sa letra, que prou avie purgat e que no li·n darye més e açò per la rahó que·m avie dita.

Ítem, quinya ere la rahó perquè ho volie dir.

Ítem, sie interrogat en Turmeda, lo capelà jove qui està al monestir, si li demany jo¹⁴ la senmana que él tenye qui estat¹⁵ a matines lo dichmenge per lo maty e lo diluns per lo maty, la hu après l'altre, e·l dit Turmeda respòs me que n'Espils¹⁶.

Ítem, si sap ni a hoyt dir que no dormís en sa cambra ni en nenguna d'aqueles dels capelans¹⁷ aquels dos vespres¹⁸.

Ítem, sia interrogada na Margaryta d'Eryll si com jo aguí amostrada la horyna a mastre Pau, si jo li dix que dehie mastre Pau¹⁹ que la horyna jutgave que ere prenyada.

Ítem, si·m dix que no ere.

Ítem, si·m negà tots temps que no here prenyada ffins que ela·m dix que·l s'avie sentit viu.

Ítem, si jo li amostry dues vegades lo gaç de la hu²⁰ e de altre persona seent o de n'Espils²¹ e·ls lançols banyats, dient ly: "mala fembra, gardat vostra viltat".

Ítem, altre jorn, abans de dinar, ela muntant se·n desús e jo n'isquí a la porta de la cambra dient a na Marya, la qui està ab ela, on ere e la dita Marya me dix que damunt, que no·s sabie què·s ffahie e jo anant me·n a dinar e n'Espils no·s trobave, lo qual cercave l'escolà e jo si li amostrí en la cohineta dos peus humits d'om, la fforma en terra que·s semblava²², dient ly que aquels eren de n'Espils, dient li: "mala ffembra vil, les vostres malvestats tot jorn se demostrarien", ne que·m respòs.

Ítem, si com jo ffuy estat a la porta demanant a na Marya què ffahie e me·n ffuy partit, si muntà desús na Marya dient ly que jo·y ere stat, que dupte avie agut que jo no muntàs e que·ls agués trobats abdós.

¹⁴jo, interlined.

¹⁵estat interlined above *s'ere levat*, deleted.

¹⁶There follows, deleted, *de ffeyt lo dit n'Espils no jach en sa cambra ni en nenguna de les altres dels capelans e com ffou la dy*.

¹⁷d'aquels dels capelans, interlined above *dels di calans*, deleted.

¹⁸There follows *Item*.

¹⁹mastre Pau, interlined.

²⁰hu, interlined.

²¹seent o de n'Espils, interlined.

²²la fforma en terra que·s semblava, interlined.

Ítem, les paraules que dix madona Blanca de Vilalongua a ela, com jo me·n ffuy anat a Barbenç, com parlaren a hun de part en la sua cambra, quinyes fforen.

Ítem, ela què ly respòs.

Ítem, après que jo ffuy tornat de Barbenç, si·m dix que pus avant jo no la veurye après que jo·m ffos partit d'Alguayre²³.

Ítem, perquè m·o dix ne per quinya rahó.

Ítem, com ela ffon exida del rahanament²⁴ que agué ab na Vilalongua e sa tya e mia li dix que bona color avie, que més valie que no lo plorar, si ly respòs que ela plorave com se volie e se·n stave com se volie.

Ítem, per quinya rahó o dix.

Ítem, hun jorn que jo la trobí al sol ab sa tya e na Marya, als corals, après de dinar, e jo reptant la perquè estave al sol, ela si·m respongué que per no hi poch estar ela, axí com jo, que venye de la porta, on ere anat ab en Bertomeu de Fflix e ab Miró, e com ho sabie ela que no m·i avie vist anar ne criatura de dins lo monestir.

Ítem, qui lo·y avie dit.

Ítem, se dix na Marya, après com jo li responguí com ho sabie ela e la dita Marya dix que sabie dadevinar.

Ítem, com vench l'endemà per lo matí, si li dix davant sa tya qui loy avie dit que jo here anat al sol e se·m dix que na Marya e jo, demanant ho a na Marya davant ella, si respòs que no·u avie dit ni aquel jorn après dinar no·m avie vist ffins que jo les trobí al sol.

Ítem, si sabie jo²⁵ en nenguna manera etant en casa de son pare, abans que vingés al monestir per éser d'orde, on son pare la accompanyà, si ere stada corompuda sa verginitat per om del món carnalment, si m·o avie dit ne si o sabie jo ne si jamés ly·n parly.

Ítem, si jamés jo sabí que ffos sa virginità corompuda carnalment ffins Alguayre, que ja avie estat alí bé hun mes e era vestida d'orde e s'acosta al mes de l'encaure.

Ítem, si·m dix lavòs, jo interrogant-la e demanant ly que avien jagut carnalment ab ela cinch òmens e que la hu ere Pere Marty e l'altre lo capelà de Sexena²⁶, Tomàs de Luch el l'altre²⁷ ffrare Vicent Ffuster, lo qual és pres a

²³après que jo·m ffos partit d'Alguayre, interlined.

²⁴There follows *e exin tota*, deleted.

²⁵jo, interlined.

²⁶There follows *l'altre*, deleted.

²⁷There follows *e l'altre*, repeated.

Muntblanch, cosí de Violant de Lobets, e l'altre ffrare Johan, del qual ere la criatura, e l'altre Guitart, l'estudyant, que vench a Celgua²⁸.

Ítem, si jo li ffiu ffer sagrament sobre lo cos precyós de nostre Senyor que ab nenguns d'aquests no parlarye, per tolre-la de mal.

Ítem, si vengué Pere Marty Alguayre, dient a na Vilalongua Pere Mart que digués a na Marguaryta de Eryll que hun parent seu la demanave que la volie veure e dix ly que avi nom Pere Marty.

Ítem, si, com sabé lo nom que él ere, que no·l volch veure, ans se n'anà damunt la claveria e se·n anà a la cambra.

Ítem si lo dit Pere Marty la esperà, estant-se ab la senyora ma mare.

Ítem, com lo dit Pere Marty se ffou partit de la senyora, ela sí devalà daval.

Ítem, si la senyora li dix que Pere Marty l'avie sperada, dient-li que jamés no se·n hirye ffins l'agués vista.

Ítem, si respòs ela que [no·l] la veurye, metent scusa que a Pere Arnau, son germà, avie batut estant petit.

Ítem, si com la senyora ly dix a Pere Marty que no la podie veure, dient-ly la rahó de son ffrare, com l'avie batut, si respòs Pere Marty que no here aquela la mare del macyp.

Ítem, si aquestes paraules ly retragué la senyora.

Ítem, si a Barbenç ela confesà, present mi, a la senyora que s'ere jaguda carnalment ab Pere Marty, lo qual l'avia aguda puncela.

Ítem, si Pere Marty entrave per les ffinestres de la sala, a Sexena²⁹ e si la y trobà Violant de Lobets.

Ítem, si la dita Violant de Lobets dix a ela que·u trametrie a dir a son pare.

Ítem, si lo dit Pere Marty entrà de dins en la cambra, on trobà Violant de Lobets hi ela jaent el lit de nit e fféu aparés que matàs Violant de Lobets e li dix que si jamés ne parlave que él la matarya.

Ítem, en quin loch³⁰ amprengheren que li foregés ne qui hi ere consenta, si lo meté ela de dins o qui.

Ítem, sobre aquesta deposició³¹ sie interrogada Violant de Lobets e què·n sap de Pere Marty e si és axí com damunt és dit³², e axí matex del capelà de Tomàs de Luchx, ne si la guarda sie stada corompuda.

²⁸There follows *e de*, deleted.

²⁹*a Sexena*, interlined.

³⁰*en quin loch* interlined above *on*, deleted.

³¹There follows *seba*, deleted.

³²*si és axí com damunt és dit*, interlined.

Ítem, Violant de Lorde sie demanada del capelà Tomàs de Luchx e axí matex Antoni de Lorde, son ffrare, que dix a don Pedro de Castre que no ffes lo matrimoni de son ffill ab ela, car él sabie que hun capelà de Sexena s'ere jaguda ab ela.

Ítem, com ho sap nè en quinya manera.

Ítem sie interrogada³³ na Margaryta de Eryll si abans que jo·m partys d'Alguayre, si ela dix per manament de la priora, en virtut de santa obediència davant totes les dones del monestir que digués de qui ere lo prenyat e si ela respòs que de mi ere aquel qui tenye e la criatura que ere a les Belianes e que jamés criatura del món no avie agut a ffer carnalment ab ela sino jo e que jo la avie aguda puncela e açò per fforça.

Interogada si a dit a son pare davant totes les dones³⁴ que mossèn Luys d'Aragal l'avie aguda puncela e que la avie sposada e daçò ere testimoni Johanna de Parotych.

Ítem d'aquestes sposicions sien demanades les dones del monestir.

Ítem sie demanada si avie³⁵ ffeit res ne mengat per traure la criatura.

Ítem si la ruda que jo la trobí mengant ab mel, qui la·y avie aduyta.

Ítem, qui la portà de Balaguer, la ruda.

Ítem, si com na Marya la portà e jo demané-li de qui ere la ruda, se la dita Maria me dix que de madona Blanca de Vilalongua.

Ítem si·o dix na Marya a ela que aquela scusa avie mesa.

Ítem sie interrogada na Marya, qui està ab ela, si m'a hoyt dir que jo reptars a na Margaryta que de nit avi jagut ab ela n'Espils e amostrant-li los molles³⁶ de abdós d'él e d'ela en lo lit.

Ítem, sie interrogada d'aquel jorn que jo les trobí al sol si ela dix que d'adevinat sabie com m'avie dit que jo venie de la porta del sol, on ere stat ab en Bertomeu Fflyx e ab Miró, com jo li demany qui lo·y avie dit.

Ítem, perquè ho dix ne per quinya rahó.

Ítem, si jo li demaní davant na Margaryta e la tia que si o avie dit ela a na Margaryta e si ela respòs que no, que non m'avie vist depux que avie mengat ffins que jo les trobí al sol.

Ítem, si sab qui lo·y dix a ela a sa maestra.

Ítem, si diu que ela lo·y dix , qui lo·y avie dit ne com o sabie, com ela no·m agés vist e mengave encara.

³³*interogada* interlined above *demanada*.

³⁴*les dones*, interlined.

³⁵*savie* with the *s*, deleted.

³⁶There follows *Item*, deleted.

Ítem, sie interrogada si lo jorn que cercave l'escolà a n'Espils, si jo vinguí a la porta de la cambra de na Margaryta d'Eryll e demané-li on era.

Ítem, si·m respòs que damunt.

Ítem, si li demaní què ffahie.

Ítem, si·m dix que no·s sabie.

Ítem, si jo li dix que si ffahie oració e si respòs que och.

Ítem, que sie interrogada si ere ver que ffes oració.

Ítem, si tantost com jo ffuy partit delà simuntà desús alà on ere na Margaryta d'Eryll.

Ítem quinyes paraules li dix.

Ítem, si li dix que jo here stat daval e que avie agut dupte que jo no muntàs.

Ítem, qui ere desús ab ela ne què ffahie.

Ítem si a jagut n'Espils ab ela de nit.

Ítem, de qui eren banyats los lançols là on jahie na Margaryta.

Ítem, com lavòs ffes encara grans ffredós, si bé·ns eren en maig.

Ítem, si ela³⁷ avie molt qu sabés que ffos prenyada.

Ítem, com o sabie.

Ítem, si li avie suyllada neguna camisa de sanch esent alí la tya de Barbastre.

Ítem per què³⁸.

Ítem, si³⁹ sab que s'agués ffeyt res perquè n'isqués la criatura.

Ítem, qui aportà la ruda de Balaguer.

Ítem, com ela la portave al monestir e jo li dix de ffora a la porta de qui ere la ruda.

Ítem, si·m respòs que de madona Blanca de Vilalongua.

Ítem, on la portà, si la portà a sa cambra o a la de Vilalonga.

Ítem, perquè la volie.

Ítem, si sap que na Margaryta ne mengàs ab mel.

Ítem, si li dix ela que la ruda ffos bona per affolar.

Ítem, si sap que menjàs res per la criatura e exir-ne.

Ítem qui·l tramès l'om que aportàs la ruda de Balaguer.

Ítem, si sap de cert qui la aje enprenyada.

Ítem, car ela o deu saber, qui nit e jorn stave ab ela perquè soplich a vós, senyor, que aquesta dona sie streta en manera que la verytat isque a lum e jo no sie

³⁷There follows *sabie*, deleted.

³⁸*Ítem perquè*, interlined.

³⁹There follows *savi*, deleted.

increpat a cort, car en altra manera la dona qui és contenta no diu la veritat ab interrogacions planes.

Ítem sie interrogat en Bartomeu Fflyx aquel jorn que jo he hel anam ab Miró a la porta per ffer guardar la porta, si mengà⁴⁰ nengú ab mi sinó él e n'Espils.

Ítem, com jo·m leví de taula si anam a la porta jo e hel e Miró.

Ítem, si encontram nengú que·ns vés anar a la dita porta.

Ítem, si negú no·s vehé sino n'Espils, que vench ab nosaltres ffins là on stan los cans.

Ítem, si en lo parlador avie nengú que·ns agués vist, si sab ni à hoyt dir que aquest blasme me sie posat desús per desencusar n'Espils.

Interrogat si hoyt prehicar⁴¹ en Johan de la perla trencada.

Ítem, interrogat⁴² quinyes fforen les paraules que·n dix ne en quinya manera.

Ítem, sie interrogat ffrare Ffrancesch de Gòsol si hoyt dir a na Geraldona de Muntpaó e a la prioresa perquè jo no me·n anave, que eles s'ageren dat recapte al prenayt e que perquè n'avie incolpat nengú, com jo prenguí comiat de la prioresa⁴³.

Ítem, ffrare Ffrancesch de Gòsol sie interrogat quinyes fforen les paraules generals que jo dix.

Ítem si hi eren tots los capelans e tots los de casa.

Ítem, si sap ni a hoyt dir que n'Espils se·n assentàs.

Ítem, si nomení nengú més hu que altre.

Ítem, si m'a oyt ffer requesta a la prioresa que demanàs a na Margarita e manàs, en virtut de santa obediència, que li demanàs si jo avie ffeyt pecat de luxurya ab ela.

Ítem, si·m dix que no·u voli ffer.

Ítem, si ach conexença que parcialment si agués la prioresa⁴⁴ més per desencusar n'Espils e per donar lo càrech a mi.

Ítem, si lavós, present la prioresa, jo prenent son comiat, me dix que ela à.n.i manat, en virtut de santa obediència, que digués de qui era lo prenayat que tenye na Marguaryta ne si avie jagut carnalment ab ela nengú.

⁴⁰*mengà* with the *a*, interlined.

⁴¹There follows *ne*, deleted.

⁴²There follows *quiss*, deleted.

⁴³Whole sentence interlined and partly written in the margin.

⁴⁴There follows *Item*, deleted.

Ítem, si dix la dita prioresa que ela respòs que no ere d'altre lo prenyat sinó meu e que jo la avie aguda punçela e que altri no avie jagut ab ela carnalment ne avie conegut⁴⁵ altre sinó a mi per pecat de luxúria.

Ítem, quinyes paraules li dix jo ne què li responguí, si li dix que dotze ayns avie husat de pecat de luxúria ab molts e açò per sa conffesió a my dita la dita Margaryta.

Ítem, si sap que en Climent digués que n'Espils avie jagut hun vespre ab él, que s'era aturat alí, com en Johan tenye la senmana, e que lo dit Johan avie anat a Leyda e que·l pregà que li digués matynes.

Ítem, sobre aquesta sposició sie interrogat deens en Climent sie ere la senmana de en Johan com n'Espils si aturà⁴⁶ o si ere de Turmeda e sie interrogat quants vespres hi dormí.

Ítem, car lo dit en Climent me dix que no·y avie jagut sinó hun vespre.

Ítem sie interrogat n'Espils sobre les coses que toquen a hel, tant de son absentar com del jaure com de totes les altres coses que en aquests interrogatorys són, axí com estan o en altra manera que a vostra senyoria sie spedient de⁴⁷ traure la veritat a lum.

Ítem, sie interrogada la senyora ma mare si na Margaryta li dix davant mi en Barbenç que Pere Marty s'era jaguda ab ela a Sexena e l'avie aguda puncela.

Ítem, que com Pere Marty vench Alguayre com na Margaryta no·l volch veure e si li dix que per rahó de son germà, que l'avie batut, no·l volie veure.

Ítem, si com ela ho dix a Per Marty, si li⁴⁸ dix que no hera aquella la mare del macyp.

Ítem, si sab ne a oyt dir que molts sacraments aje trencats sobre lo cos de nostre Senyor.

E de totes aquestes coses ací espanyficades damunt e daval⁴⁹ hi escrites e d'altres, si necessary seran, soplich a vós senyó e requí per deute de justícia, que vostra senyoria incerch ab diligència en manera que la veritat sie trobada, en manera, senyor, que sia ffeyta justícia. E soplich e requir a vostra senyoria que⁵⁰ na Margaryta de Eryll vingue en vostre poder e lunyada del poder en què està e açò, senyor, per dues rahons, la primera si és que la dita Margaryta diu e à dit per

⁴⁵ *conegut* in ms.

⁴⁶ There follows *ne*, deleted.

⁴⁷ There follows *et*, deleted.

⁴⁸ *li*, interlined.

⁴⁹ *damunt e daval*, interlined.

⁵⁰ There follows *la*, deleted.

induchçió de aqueles qui regesen lo monestyr e del sperit maligne⁵¹, ço és de la prioresa e de na Blanca de Vilalonga per rahó de lur servidor n'Espils e per desencusar aquel e dar lo blasme a mi hi estant en lur poder jamés per la sua bocha no diriya la veritat axí com és, car tots temps li ffarye dir ço ara dyu; la segona si és que la prova de qui és prenyada la dita Marguaryta e l'al s'aporte, ço és la criatura, que té qui demostrarà la verytat⁵² a qui senblarà, si senblarà a mi o al capelà Espils e stant en lur poder la criatura porye éser cambiada, car axí com li àn ffeyt dir qui és meu lo prenyat, axí matex són apareyllades de canbiar la criatura o de anar per altra fforma e per açò, senyor, soplich vostra senyoria e requí per deute de justícia⁵³ que la dita Margaryta vinge en vostre poder, axí com sots tengut de justícia de ffer-ho e axí matex requer vostra senyoria que sie presa na Marya Tolona, qui està o stave lavós ab la dita Margaryta de Eryll, e açò streta⁵⁴, e de aquesta e d'aquestes soplicacions e requestes requir vós, notari, que me-n prengats carta púpblica.

Ffuit presentatum presens caternum suplicacionis et requisicionis reverendo domino priori Cathalonie, die veneris XVI iulii circa horam vesperorum, anno a natiuitate Domini M^oCCCXVII^o, in loco de Barbenç, per⁵⁵ nobilem fratrem Raymundum Rogerii d'Erillio, presentibus testibus honorabilibus fratre Petro Medici, fratre Ffrancischo d'Arderich et Jacobo de Torrent, domicello.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum et sumptum a finali capitulo sive clausula quorundam interrogatoriorum requisicionum et soplicacionum oblatorum⁵⁶ et⁵⁷ presentatorum cum publico instrumento⁵⁸ reverendo ffratri Jaufrido de Canadal, priori Cathalonie, per nobilem fratrem Raymundum Rogerium de Erillio, preceptorem de Barbencio in dicto loco de Barbencio⁵⁹, die XVI^a mensis iulii, anno a nativitate Domini M^oCCCCXVII^o⁶⁰, presentibus pro testibus honorabilibus fratre Petro Medici, fratre Ffrancisco d'Arderici, ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis

⁵¹*e del sperit maligne*, interlined.

⁵²*la verytat*, interlined.

⁵³*per deute de justícia*, interlined.

⁵⁴*e açò streta*, interlined.

⁵⁵There follows *honorabilis*, deleted.

⁵⁶*oblatorum* interlined above *datorum reverendi*, deleted.

⁵⁷There follows *cum*, deleted.

⁵⁸*cum publico instrumento*, interlined.

⁵⁹There follows, all deleted, *presentibus pro testibus fratre Petro Medici, fratre Ffrancisco d'Arderic et Jacobo de Torrent, domicello. E de totes aquestes coses etc.*

⁶⁰There follows *de quibus requisivit*, deleted.

Iherosolimitani et Jacobo de Torrent, domicello⁶¹ cuiusquidem clasule sive capituli tenor sequitur in hunc modum. E de totes aquestes coses.

RÉSUMÉ

Dès longtemps, les membres de l'Ordre religieux-militaire de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Rhodes admettaient des femmes parmi eux. Elles étaient religieuses professes engagées avec les vœux de pauvreté, chasteté et obéissance. En 1415, la noble dame Marguerite d'Erill fut acceptée à la maison féminine d'Alguaire, en Catalogne dont le Commandeur était son cousin, l'Hospitalier Fr. Ramon Roger d'Erill. Quand, peu après, Soeur Marguerite devint enceinte, Fr. Ramon Roger fut accusé d'en être le responsable et de ce fait en dérivait un grand scandale par tout le couvent. Dans l'intervalle, le père de Soeur Marguerite, Arnau d'Erill, défia son neveu à un duel moyennant un long et amer poème. Tandis que la vérité de cet affaire se maintient obscure, le scandale illumine l'état de la discipline que prévalait au couvent. Fr. Ramon d'Erill demeura le rest de sa vie à Rhodes où il mourut le 1432, en tant que Soeur Marguerite vivait jusqu'à 1456 dans une maison que devint un confortable auberge pour les dames aristocratiques de la Catalogne.

SUMMARY

Membership of the military-religious order of the Hospital of St. John, based on Rhodes, had long included women who were fully-professed religious bound by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. In 1415 the noble Margarida d'Erill was received into the female house at Alguaire in Catalunya where the commander was her cousin, the Hospitalier Fr. Ramon Roger d'Erill. When Sor Margarida became pregnant soon after, Fr. Ramon Roger was accused of being responsible and there ensued a lengthy scandal in which extensive gossip circulated within the convent; meanwhile Sor Margarida's father, Arnau d'Erill, challenged her cousin to a duel in a long and bitter poem. While the truth of this affair remains obscure, the scandal threw considerable light on the disciplinary and other conditions prevalent within the convent. Fr. Ramon Roger spent most of the rest of his career on Rhodes, where he died in 1432, while Sor Margarida lived on until 1456 in a house which functioned as a comfortable hereditary hostel for aristocratic Catalan ladies.

⁶¹There follows *cuiusquidem*, deleted.