Amigas and Amichs: Prostitute-Concubines, Strategic Coupling, and Laboring-class Masculinity in Late Medieval Valencia and The Mediterranean

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The *hostelera* Marí Fernández was no stranger to the secular authorities of late medieval Valencia. In October 1377, she, along with Marí Ximenes, Andreu Peres, and Berenguer Miquel, all hosteleras and hostelers, showed up to pay the fine of 11 sous for keeping the door of their establishments open at night, which was against the city's ordinances.[2] She appears again in 1381, this time identified as a *fembra publica*, whose infraction was to flaunt her concubinous relationship by "keeping an *amich* publicly in the brothel."[3] For this misdemeanor, her fine was slightly more significant: she paid 16 sous and 6 dinars. In 1383, Marí Fernández is back in the registers as a *hostelera,* and she is not the one in conflict with the authorities, rather, it's a woman named La Chica, a *fembra peccadriu*, who has been fined for illegally living with her *amich* in Marí's hostel.[4] In trouble again in 1397, Marí was fined 5 sous and 6 dinars for hitting Elvira Gallega, a *fembra del bordell*, in the head with a rock. In this final mention, Marí is identified as the *amiga* of Joan de Vega and a *fembra del bordell*.

Marí Fernandez stands out in the Kingdom of Valencia's *Mestre Racional*, royal registers that identify the crime, the offender, and pecuniary punishment, for several reasons.[5] First, her longevity. She showed up initially in 1377 as a businesswoman and she was still, quite literally, in fighting shape twenty years later. Second, the range of appellations or descriptions affixed to her name highlight the overlaps and disjunctures we are interested in fleshing out. She was a *hostelera*, which could just be a hosteler,

but here clearly denotes a brothel-keeper. She was also a prostitute, tagged in the documents as both a *fembra publica* and a *fembra del bordell.* Finally, she was an *amiga* or concubine, in a longer-term relationship with Joan de Vega. As a *hostelera,* Marí hosted at least one prostitute who was also an *amiga*. So Marí Fernández, who was, based on her non-Valencian last name, likely a migrant to the port city, was also a prostitute in a brothel, a concubine, and a brothel keeper. She was, in short, a woman who lived many identities, all associated in some way with sexual relationships between men and women outside of marriage.

Marí's range of identities and her concubinous union with Joan de Vega interests us as historians of gender and sexuality in the Middle Ages. We come together here as medievalists working in Mediterranean archives on separate book projects: one on concubines and the other on prostitutes.[6] A fortuitous overlap in the archives made us aware of a shared query. As our individual research progressed, we noticed again and again a coalescence between these two identities. In 1409 in Marseille, for example, the two women Bella and Valsona, both of whom were identified as a *concubina* and also a *mulier falhita* living in the brothel, were fined 60 sous each, alongside their male companions, for the crime of committing adultery on an "honest street" where good and morally upright people lived.[7] Like Marí Fernández and La Chica in Valencia, the women in Marseille disregarded the city's orders and blurred the line between practicing a trade and a private sexual relationship. When they blended their identities as prostitutes and concubines, whether in a designated space for prostitution that was meant to be free of such personal arrangements or in neighborhoods meant to be free

of prostitution, prostitute-concubines triggered a punitive response from city and royal officials. That punishment did not fall uniquely on the women in these relationships; city officials were determined to target the sexual activities of lower-class men and diminish their masculinity.

This article explores the moments when a woman in the sex trade entered into an exclusive relationship with a man, from the perspective of the couple and the individual man and woman. It argues the dual role of prostitute-concubine worked to the advantage of both partners in the relationship. Prostitutes gained power and financial stability and, through their gender labor,[8] low status male partners broadcasted their masculinity and participated in a social economy that depended on their control over women.

While not all concubines were prostitutes, a prostitute could be kept as a concubine. Concubinage offered women some control over their lives--the people with whom they had sex with, the places where they resided, and the decision to take a temporary break from the sex trade. As concubines, prostitutes employed this social custom to their own advantage for reasons that went beyond immediate economic self-interest--social mobility, social status, and affection--to reasons that had the potential to improve their lives when living in port city communities beset by violence, poverty, and ephemeral human connections. Foreigners, immigrants, and lower-status men also benefited from their unions with prostitutes in ways that pertained to their masculinity, particularly for men who did not have the resources to marry. Concubinary unions involving prostitutes

demonstrate that authorities were not only regulating the sexual lives of sex workers but were also policing the sexuality of men at the lower levels of medieval society. Because patriarchy creates a hierarchy of masculinities where some men are dominant over other men, patrician men among their city's legislators sought to distance their concubinous relationships and themselves from the masculinity of foreign and laboring-class men. Our focus on prostitute-concubines highlights the mobility of low status women in the Mediterranean. We use a Mediterranean framework that views the region as an intense zone of commercial and cultural exchange and interaction that produced a common but "distinct Mediterranean culture" that was intelligible to all who traveled its sea,[9] especially in port cities connected to trade routes where prostitution was rampant and the presence of foreigners was constant. Women were part of the region's interconnectivity and they, like many of the itinerant lower-class men, migrated along trade routes in search of work, created their own communities, and looked for opportunities that would improve their situation, which could include enjoying mutually affectionate relationships and temporary halts from servicing multiple clients on a daily basis.

A major source for this article are the registers of the *Mestre Racional* from Valencia. The registers of this court, which levied fines against Valencians who had transgressed the city's ordinances, survive almost uninterrupted from 1367-1402 and nearly every register has a section devoted to the offenses of "errant women," which included prostitutes who were also concubines.[10] While the archives from other Mediterranean port towns document prostitute-concubines in their notarial registers and criminal

records, none do so with the depth and specificity of the Valencian municipal material. Yet Valencia, a port city with a significant migrant population, where prostitution was legal and regularly policed, and used a legal system based in Roman law, shares important similarities with Barcelona, Marseille, Palermo, and Mallorca, the locations of the other archival material we bring to bear in this article. Mediterranean port cities were bursting at the seams with foreign sailors and merchants and immigrants who left their rural villages in search of work in the fourteenth-century. The population of Venice, with over 100,000 inhabitants, was constantly restocked by migrants from outside the lagoon.[11] Valencia was a city with a population of 40,000 to 45,000 that eclipsed Barcelona in the fifteenth-century as the central port of the Crown of Aragon.[12] Other port cities, such as Marseille and Palermo were smaller at around 25,000 but the co-mingling of inland immigrants and people from Iberia, the Balearic islands, Italy, and the coast of southern France still took place.[13] Given the similar dynamics and immigrant population in port cities across the region, our comparative methodology takes advantage of the extant sources while our orientation as Mediterraneanists pushes us to look for cultural continuity across those cities.

Blurred Boundaries Between Prostitution and Concubinage

The temptation for scholars of the Middle Ages to lump together promiscuous women, prostitutes, and concubines is a hard one to resist.[14] Such a conflation might at first appear logical: these were women who lost a degree of respectability because of their involvement in disreputable sexual relationships. However, the experiences of women who had sex outside of marriage were not uniform, nor did such a path follow only one

trajectory with a predetermined outcome that denied them respectability or entrance into the marriage market. The field of medieval women's history has moved beyond this simplistic view of medieval sexual attitudes where every woman who had sex outside of marriage was considered a "whore" and destined for a life of prostitution.[15] Differences existed between a sexually active singlewoman, a sex worker, and a kept woman. Although the label of "whore" could insult or condemn any woman who deviated from socially respectable behavior, premodern people understood that an unchaste woman engaged in sexual intercourse was not the same as a prostitute who had sex for money, that a prostitute was not a concubine, and that a concubine was not necessarily a wife.[16] Therefore, placing these women under one umbrella obscures the distinctiveness of their lives and lived experience.

Mediterranean society's recognition of the difference between a prostitute and a concubine dated back to the Roman world. Promiscuity defined the prostitute. The transient encounters in the trade of prostitution sharply contrasted with the long-term stable sexual relationship that characterized concubinage.[17] A concubine was held to the promise of fidelity to her sexual partner in return for financial support that was intended to last a predetermined length of time. Such a relationship was neither sporadic nor casual. Concubinage could offer women respectability and social advancement because a concubine might marry her domestic partner, which was common among the peasantry and lower classes. Or, in situations where an well-to-do man kept a lower status woman, a concubine might receive a gift at the end of the relationship so that she could contract a marriage with another man who was closer to her in social status than her sexual partner. As women who practiced serial monogamy,

a concubine was judged less harshly than a woman in the sex trade. By design, the sexual interactions of a prostitute were not meant to be exclusive, personal, or long-term.

Throughout much of the medieval Mediterranean, especially in prosperous urban centers and port cities, prostitution was regulated: cities established municipal brothels or licensed them, hired brothel keepers, passed legislation to limit the clientele to unmarried men and penalized those who were banned from the brothel--married men and clergy. Cities and towns profited from the revenues associated with taxing or fining those who participated in the trade.[18] Prostitution became a profession for rural and urban poor women who migrated to Mediterranean ports in hope of improving their situation but were more often than not caught in the never-ending cycle of poverty. Indeed, prostitution accorded women a recognized legal status, albeit an ignoble one, and sex workers were still part of a community with social networks and economic ties that stretched beyond the underbelly of a port city.[19]

Similarly, concubinage was common in many regions of medieval Europe and widespread throughout the Mediterranean because it catered to the wealthy, the middling, and the poor. Peasants and non-elite city folk alike used concubinage in lieu of marriage when they lacked the resources to contract and observe the ceremonies involved in forming a legitimate marital union.[20] Church law condemned concubinage because it could too easily mimic marriage and the privileges and respectability that went hand-in-hand with the marital state. However, canon lawyers and episcopal officials were willing to countenance such unions among the unmarried as long as it

quickly transitioned to a legitimate marriage.[21] Not everyone who entered into a domestic partnership, however, planned to make it a permanent one. The patriarchal society of the Mediterranean was especially tolerant of bachelors and elite married men using concubinage as a sexual outlet.[22] Predictably, the medieval Church considered concubinary relationships without the intent to marry base illicit unions formed only for sexual pleasure, and as such it could punish the offenders with a fine or, as a last resort, with excommunication.[23] In general, however, both secular and church courts could be anemic in their pursuit of concubinary couples, particularly when the male partner was from elite society, and the attention accorded to stamping out such a ubiquitous practice among the laity was often sporadic and short-lived.[24]

The prevalence of concubinage in everyday life prompted cities and their officials to regulate its visibility in order to ensure moral respectability. Municipal legislation, particularly in southern Europe, frequently prohibited married men from keeping a concubine because this form of adultery was especially threatening to the welfare of the marital household. City statutes in Valencia, Barcelona, and Mallorca fined men for engaging in a concubinary relationship outside of their marriage.[25] For the unmarried, on the other hand, city statutes did not ban concubinous unions but aimed to make them less public and more discreet. The city of Valencia left it up to neighbors to decide if they wanted to tolerate a concubinary couple in their midst. A 1355 statute dictated that if a kept woman (**not** a *fembra publica*, i.e. prostitute) who lived among “good people” caused fights and scandal, then it was up to neighbors to complain to authorities so that she would be removed from the home.[26] The relative silence about such relationships in the Mestre Racional suggests that neighbors chose, for the most

part, not to bring them to the attention of the Valencian authorities; this tells us that concubinary relationships in and of themselves were not understood as destabilizing or problematic.

The records from Valencia, Barcelona, Marseille, and Mallorca expose the official struggle to maintain the distinction between prostitution and concubinage because it not only affected their bottom line but was a way to demonstrate that they were vigilant in keeping public disorder and immorality in check.[27] Prostitution was far more visible on the streets, by the waterfront, and in the marketplaces of cities than concubinage, especially when elite and middling-level men had the wealth to hide their concubinous unions in private homes, and thus authorities could claim that they were carrying out their duties to maintain social order. Despite the efforts of authorities to sanction prostitute-concubines, the appeal of such relationships for women and their low status partners is evident in their willingness to pay the fines, over and over again. Contained in those payments was an assertion that certain poor men and women were crafting their relationships to suit their circumstances, despite the financial pressure city elites and their officials exerted to keep them in the discrete categories of prostitute and client.

Prostitute-Concubines: How Slippery Were These Labels?

In late medieval documents across the Mediterranean, numerous and diverse labels speak not only to the overlap between a professional prostitute and a woman who was kept as a concubine but also convey a range of terms and meanings that illustrate a nuanced understanding of women's sexuality. The insult of "whore" could be hurled at any woman and such contempt was expressed through Latin and vernacular words that

held this meaning, such as *puta, putain,* and *bagassa*. A “whore,” after all, did not charge for sex. The term used for a prostitute (*meretrix*) was different from that of a “whore,” and usually conveyed the sinfulness or waywardness of her profession, which is seen in words like *fembra peccadriu* and *fembra errada*. Words that accentuate the public nature of her sin, such as a “mulier publica” who made herself available to all men, are also common.[28] Even the uncommon term “*vil de son cors*”--in thrall to her body--signaled the wickedness of women who were believed to be controlled by their passion for sex.[29]

The language of concubinage, however, was gentler and underscored the domestic nature of the relationships. Many of the terms used in place of the word concubine (*concubina*) point to her function: a lover (*amasia*), friend (*amica* or *amiga)*, hearth mate (*foccaria*), or domestic servant (*pedisseca* or *ancilla*).[30] There were also shades of meaning behind other words that cast suspicion on women because neither their honor nor their body could be considered above reproach. Living a “*mala vita*” (dissolute life) could mean not only that a woman was unchaste but that she drank too much, frequented taverns, and was too often found in the company of shady characters or criminals. A woman could also be called “suspect” (*mulier suspecta*), or designated a defamed or dishonest woman (*difamata, mulier falhita,* or *mulier inhonesta*), or considered vulgar (*vilis mulier*). These words could be used to describe a prostitute or a concubine but did not directly indicate that the woman **was** a prostitute or a concubine.[31] Indeed, such terms could be used to describe any woman. Precision was not the goal when using such language against women: insult and judgement was the objective. The creative capacity for slandering women through their sexual status meant

there was slippage in this vocabulary; the categories were not always concrete. To no one's surprise, the language of women's sexuality encompassed an array of female behavior that while typically considered unpalatable at the same time reflected the socio-economic reality that many women fell into a spectrum of sexual situations to survive.[32]

While the medieval terminology lacks precision, our decision to label the women prostitutes is deliberate. When we encounter them in the documents, they are sex workers working from a brothel or penalized for not doing exactly that. Many medieval women made money through sex; only some of them made a career as a prostitute. Due to the nature of the sources, the women we focus on were professional prostitutes, associated with a legally-regulated brothel, whose career, however temporary, brought them into contact or conflict with municipal authorities because of their shift in status from prostitute to concubine.

The question is: how could a prostitute be a concubine when promiscuity is implicit in sex work and monogamy was expected of a concubine? When women in the sex trade were kept by a man who expected fidelity, that is exactly what occurred. This phenomenon was troubling to secular officials who banned concubinage to sex workers because, for them, a prostitute in a licensed brothel could not be tied to one man alone. She was, by definition, a woman whose body was available to many men, unlike a concubine who limited access to her body to just one man.[33] While prostitute-concubines and the men in their lives navigated between and around blurred lines and

fuzzy categories, authorities benefited financially when *amigas* and *amichs* stepped outside of the rigid boxes the municipal statutes demanded.

Consider that in Valencia the *Mestre Racional* registers reveal that over 400 prostitutes and 280 men, from 1367 to 1402, were fined for being an *amiga* or an *amich*.[34] Out of the 1032 individuals who appear in the registers for penalties dealing with prostitution, 63% of the court's prostitution traffic concerned prostitutes and their clients engaged in a concubinous relationship.[35] Although the extant sources do not permit a statistical example from Barcelona, that city's *Mestre Racional* registers indicate that policing prostitute-concubines was also a concern to municipal authorities.[36] A number of prostitutes (*fembras peccadrius*) were identified in Valencia's registers not by their first or last name but by their concubinary partners. While the "amiga de Johan Chico," the "amiga de Pere Lobregat," and the "amiga d'En Stanyol," were fined for keeping their *amich* in the brothel, the fact that they were identified as belonging to particular men indicates that their relationships were not only known to the community but had a degree of standing that enabled people to recognize they had formed a union.[37] Foreign men from all parts of Iberia and the Mediterranean, such as the port cities of Seville, Biscay, Murcia, Lisbon, Pisa, Genoa, Marseille, and Mallorca, appear as the *amichs* of prostitutes in criminal records and many of the prostitutes themselves were immigrants.[38]

We see the same phenomenon of migration with premodern prostitutes who entered into concubinous unions with men in Barcelona and in other Mediterranean cities and ports.[39] A few examples illustrate the mobility of prostitute-concubines within the

Mediterranean. On 19 May, 1369, the suberguer of Barcelona received a payment from Na Orieta, the *amiga* of one Ferando de Vich, who had been fined for slapping Na Domina, a *fembra pecadora,* born in Valencia.[40] The geography referenced here is worth lingering over. Na Orieta's place of origin is not mentioned, but her lover was from Vic, a town approximately forty-five miles north of Barcelona. Na Domina hailed from Valencia, which is 190 miles south of Barcelona along the Mediterranean coast. Similarly, notarial documents from fifteenth-century Perpignan detailing the sums of money owed to a brothel keeper show that the prostitute Béatriu (la Valenciana) was kept by the man Almussarra, the prostitute Joaneta (la Francesa) was kept by Pedro Aragonès, and the prostitute Agnès (la Catalana) by En Prats.[41] When women migrated to the port cities and set up as sex workers, they also created opportunities for themselves when they entered short-term concubinous relationships with the men they met in their new cities.

Once coupled in a concubinous union, however briefly, prostitute-concubines had someone with whom to share her financial responsibilities. On the island of Mallorca, the notary Joan Castel recorded the payment that Pere Guerau made to the brothel keeper Gaspar Belochis on behalf of his concubine Caterina to cover her food and drink.[42] In Corleone, a town thirty-five miles outside of the port city Palermo, Rosa, a *mulier meretrix* and one Johan Sardinyo signed a year-long rental contract for a room in a *fondaco* on 19 May, 1470. The notary Gambotta's laconic act leaves much room for speculation. Was Johan perhaps a migrant from Sardinia, another of the Crown's Mediterranean insular territories? The notary did not label Rosa a concubine, but the

longevity of the contract and the fact that the room was rented to the couple *as a couple* suggests that for at least that year, the two were partnered as an *amich and amiga.*[43]

The women identified as both *amica* and *fembra publica* from Valencia and the scattered examples from other Mediterranan ports collectively assert the frequency with which prostitutes became concubines. It is worth our time, then, to think through why this was so.

Cui bono? Reciprocity and Affection Within the Concubinary Couple

We were in the Arxiu del Regne de Valencia together, on the second-to-last day of a month-long research trip, when we first started leafing through and then frantically photographing the *Mestre Racional* series. The language encoded in the paper registers jumped out at us. Over and over again, we saw couples designated as *amichs* and *amigas* running afoul of the municipal statutes. This was standard language assigned to concubinous couples living their marriage-like relationship without the benefit of a recognized marriage found not only in Valencia's legal code (*fueros*), court records, and in witness testimony but also in notarial records from other Mediterranean port cities, indicating it was common parlance for a concubinous relationship found in the region. But the language also resonates within the framework of friendship, which perhaps we were particularly attentive to as we, two historian-friends, were working side by side in the archives.

Scholarship on friendship in the premodern initially focused on friendship between elite, religious men, and more recently has included friendship between women.[44] Whether

writing about friendship between men or between women, scholars have highlighted the overlap between affection, friendship, and erotic connection.[45] That overlap is useful here, as we see the concubinous relationships between men and their prostitute-concubines labeled as the relationship between friends, which, in the middle ages, was imbued with an erotic charge.[46] The concept of medieval friendship was also, critically, infused with the notion of parity: friendship existed between equals, or at least between mutually dependent people. Friendship could be the key to survival.[47]

This nexus intrigues us in our investigation of *amichs* and the prostitute-*amigas*. We will argue below about the ways in which the benefits of such relationships are distinctly gendered: the women have access to protection and some degree of economic security while the men could perform their masculinity. But we want to begin with the couple itself, and linger for a moment over the possibilities that the language of friendship points to for the reciprocal advantages within a concubinary relationship. Throughout this article, we'll offer multiple examples of men who were fined for keeping their *amigas* in a bordell or hostel. And so too were prostitutes fined for keeping their *amich* in the same place.[48] Sometimes, the record itself emphasizes the couple, when both the *amich* and *amiga* were fined together. One such example is the couple Bartomeu Crespi and the *fembra peccadriu* Johanna, who paid 22 sous for being "*amich* and *amiga*, staying in the public brothel."[49] The economic sanction fell on both partners, whom the authorities recognized as a unit, equally responsible, equally sanctioned.

We don't want to overread the language of the *Mestre Racional.* In the contemporary world, it is not uncommon to refer to a sexual partner as a friend, and we can

understand that relationship differently than a platonic friendship between two people. Given the emphasis on reciprocity within medieval friendship, however, it seems that the mutuality implied by calling the concubinous couples *amich* and *amiga* is worth our attention. A fuller exploration of the dynamics of concubinous relationships between poor men and prostitute-concubines is the focus of this article's final section; here we want to flag how such relationships enabled economic as well as emotional interdependence. Women and men living at the lowest end of the economic spectrum came together as prostitute-*amich* couples. Even vagabonds and *persona miserable* are identified as *amichs*. In many cases, their fines were reduced in light of their poverty. Bartolomeu Urgelles, whose profession wasn't noted, and the *hom mundari* or vagabond Bartolomeu Andrés were both fined for keeping their *amigas* in Valencia's brothel, and the record states that both were "hom pobre," or poor men.[50] For some very poor *amichs,* gambling contributed to their financial insecurity. A man like Joan Alfonso, from Castille, was labeled a vagabond in 1387 when he was fined 110 sous for gambling and, in 1385 and in 1388, he was identified as a *persona miserable* and fined twice for keeping an *amiga*, indicating that while Joan lived on the economic margins of society he still had money to gamble and his fortune improved enough that he could on occasion afford a prostitute-concubine.[51] Perhaps after a bad throw of the dice, when his pockets were particularly light, he counted on his *amiga* to support him. It is hard, from the evidence of the *Mestre Racional*, to be absolutely certain whose income was supporting the couple. Rather than seeing the *amichs* as the golden ticket, however temporary, out of the brothel, the language of friendship turns our attention to the possibility of mutual aid and support.

An example from Valencia illustrates how such a couple might mutually support each other, especially when the couple was financially precarious. We will return to explore further the matrix of low economic standing, prostitute-concubines, and gender identity. Here, we want to focus on the "the mutuality of benefit" conferred within a concubinary couple.[52] In 1388, Martí García and Johanna Rodriguez appear in the registers as one of two concubinary couples (the other was Martí Alfonso and his *amiga* Beatriz) who were vagabonds and quite impoverished; the court noted that they were "persones miserables."[53] Johanna and Martí appear to have been traveling together before arriving in Valencia; some point earlier in their journey they had decided to combine forces or had left home together when they migrated in search of work. At that time, Johanna was not labeled a sex worker, but simply an *amiga*. Eight years later, in 1396, however, Johanna Rodriguez was then identified as a prostitute in the bordell and she was now the *amiga* of Joan Cubelles, a recent Christian convert.[54] At least in the eyes of the municipal authorities, Johanna had improved her economic status by the time she had paired up with Joan Cubelles, as she was labeled neither a *vagabunt* nor a *persona miserable* at that later point. Martí García disappears from the registers of the *Mestre Racional*, suggesting that he may have moved on from Valencia when Johanna remained in the city. There is so much about this earlier relationship that we cannot know. Yet we'd be remiss if we didn't raise the likelihood that during her concubinous relationship with Martí, Johanna's labor and economic contribution was necessary to keep the poor couple afloat. In concubinous relationships involving the insolvent, *amichs* and *amigas* shared companionship and also economic hardship. Travel was lonely, uncomfortable, and cost precious coins. It could also be dangerous for a lone

voyager.[55] It was as much to Martí's advantage to partner up with Johanna, as it was for her to share a life with him. Johanna and Martí's relationship serves as a reminder that a prostitute or an *amich* may have had a past history with their lover, especially as they moved in and out of each other's lives over a period of time. More importantly here, however, Johanna and Martí's relationship illustrates how some concubinary couples, even temporary ones, engaged in mutual support to ensure the survival of each partner. And isn't that what friends do?

Over and above the benefits to the couple, concubinary relationships involving prostitutes conveyed particular advantages to the individual prostitute and *amich* that had the ability to significantly impact their lives. What were the benefits to becoming an *amiga* for a prostitute? Clearly there was some benefit or we wouldn't see so many women doing it. We suggest prostitutes became *amigas* for a combination of reasons. It was a strategy for the prostitute to control who had access to her body. It was an opportunity to develop deeper affective ties with one man, and it captured the hope that she might be able to leave sex work behind. Prostitutes were certainly aware that concubinage might have been a step up from servicing multiple clients a night in the brothel or a step out of the sex trade.

Across Mediterranean port cities we find prostitutes who found an advantage to entering into a concubinary relationship. Women in the sex trade recognized that even short-term monogamous relationships provided a break, both physical and financial, from the pressures of servicing multiple clients within the brothel system. Paula Clark has written about a contract between a former prostitute in Venice, Margarita, and her partner

Micheletto who, in exchange for "liv[ing] with him, serving him, and looking after his property," promised to let her keep the balance of a 100 ducat loan.[56] While Clark does not label this a concubinous relationship, referring to it rather as a "relationship resembling that of an informal marriage,"[57] Margarita modeled the possibility of concubinage as a path out of, or at least temporarily away from, prostitution. Her contract revealed both the economic benefit and also the social and affective possibilities concubinage opened up for prostitutes.

Margarita was likely unmarried, but not all prostitutes who explored concubinage were. For married women, concubinage could provide an escape from a troubled marriage, or could become a source of financial support. Jana Byars suggests that for some women in early modern Venice, "the lines between prostitute and concubines and wife were slim indeed;"[58] given the mobility of people in the Mediterranean, women in concubinary relationships were frequently abandoned spouses. In fact, sometimes both partners in a concubinous union were married to other people, as we see in Valencia, when a couple where only the male partner Jacme Egualada was named, was fined the significant sum of 158 sous.[59] Single status, then, was not a requirement either for prostitutes or concubines. While we don't know her name, we learn of "a certain woman prostitute" in Turin in the 1420s who had contracted marriage with Enrico Scii.[60] Margarita, a *meretrice casalenga*, or "prostitute housewife" is another example of a woman who supplemented her family's income by selling sex in Ferrara, and ended up paying for that decision with her life, when her lover's son murdered her.[61] This murderous outcome was not typical, and for unhappily married prostitutes, concubinage offered

what it provided other married women--a way out of a loveless, disappointing, or abusive marriage.

For the prostitutes involved in concubinous unions, the temporary economics of such relationships must have been part of their attraction. For Margarita in Venice, the exchange of fidelity and wife-like attention for loan forgiveness certainly made the contract appealing. Even if such concrete sums were not possible, when their concubinous partner was a man at the lowest end of the economic spectrum, prostitutes would have been more likely to receive additional small gifts of clothing or food or even decorations for their rooms in the brothels from an *amich* whom they saw with regularity than a client with whom they transacted only once. The women could keep those items, sell them, or use them as collateral for loans. And things given as gifts of course had more than economic value. They were physical tokens of ephemeral emotions, proof a woman could hold in her hand of her lover's esteem.[62] Given the sources left to us, understanding the emotional bonds between prostitute-*amigas* and their lovers is not straightforward. Yet it is necessary to grapple with the possibility of emotional connections in order to understand the risks and the benefits for prostitutes who are also concubines.

Scholars have nodded to this ephemeral notion of affection between prostitutes and the men with whom they were in frequent contact. In Venice, Clark has suggested that the very officials who policed the prostitutes developed affections for them, which often prompted them to relax their oversight of the women.[63] In early modern Rome and Bologna both the professional and personal alliances between sex workers and police

(*sbirri*) have been documented. These relationships flourished because of the close contact between the two communities, and also because both prostitutes and police labored in disparaged professions.[64] That city officials in Barcelona recognized the potential for fraternization can be seen in 1324 and 1345 statutes that prohibited married and unmarried sheriffs (*saigs*) not only from drinking in taverns and gambling but also from keeping a *fembra publica* on pain of a whipping and losing his office.[65] If encounters in the course of their professional lives can serve as a foundation for scholarly speculation about affection or even love between prostitutes and the officials charged with controlling their lives, we suggest we must consider affection, though difficult to document, as an important factor in the decision prostitutes made when signing on, however fleetingly, as an *amiga*.

Especially for those relationships that lasted over time, like that of Na Valenço and En Peret, who were cited as a couple over the course of five years, we must imagine that something more than meagre economic benefit connected them. For unmarried prostitutes, a concubinous relationship enabled a “trying out” of marriage, perhaps with someone with whom she could envision sharing her life in a more permanent way. Part of that trying on was the development of affective ties, the comfort of having another person to share the worries or the triumphs of the day. This would have been especially important for a woman whose profession was scorned and whose choices, of place to live, of clothes to wear, of streets to wander, were constrained, at least in theory, by municipal statutes and social censure.[66]

Such relationships were not, however, an immediate way out of a life of prostitution, even if that was the ultimate goal. In Lucca, the transient nature of concubinous relationships with sex workers is evident in the example of Lucchesa and the priest Bartó where a court case from 1330 reports that Lucchesa, a *publica meretrix*, had been the "concubine and lover" (*concubine et amazia*) of the priest for many months prior to his violent death. Although emotive expressions concerning the relationship between a prostitute and priest are missing from this case, we know that the couple had lived together and that Lucchesa went to the court to testify that five men were responsible for his death. Three years after Bartó's demise, Lucchesa remained tied to her profession. It is unlikely that Lucchesa's experience was unique.[67] Laboring and lower-class men had shorter life expectancies that were reduced due to work accidents, poor health, poverty, and living in a violent society where interpersonal violence was rampant in urban cities.[68] Their fortunes waxed and waned and with that, so too did their ability to take on a concubine. Economic constraints and sometimes bad luck explain why prostitute-concubines continued in the sex trade or stayed in the brothel even when, as we assume, the status of the concubine was higher than that of the prostitute. The likely low-economic status of the male lover, which we'll discuss below, coupled with the prostitute-concubine's own limited earnings constrained their choices of a home base for their union. And a concubinous union did not mean that the couple lived together every day. The male lover was often a foreigner to the city of the brothel rather than a co-resident.[69] A relationship that began between a prostitute and client and developed into one between an *amich* and *amiga* was one predicated on pragmatism and hope:

that the *amich*, even if he was itinerant might come back and provide for her outside of the brothel is one such wish that undergird such relationships.

Prostitute-Concubines and an Exercise of Their Power

When a prostitute took a concubinous partner, she was not passive in her life's pathway, nor isolated from affection and care with a partner. Making a commitment to a lover was a strategic choice that opened up at least a narrow window of social mobility, sexual autonomy, and the exercise of power. Historian Marie Kelleher has challenged us to think beyond actions that constitute public power, to consider how medieval women's quotidien exercises of agency had the "potential to affect one's destiny" and the "ability to take action that has the potential to affect the destiny of others." Women could bend others to their will through persuasion, influence, or even force.[70] Her avenues for affecting destiny, whether her own or others, however, were not open ended, but premodern women, including those in the sex trade, had options. While historians debate the utility of the concept of the patriarchy, anthropologist Deniz Kandiyoti's theory of "the patriarchal bargain" is important to our conversation because of her contention that women in patriarchal societies must "strategize within a set of concrete constraints." That women's actions were shaped by their class, social status, and ethnicity, helps us think through the boundaries that limited the power of poor women to influence either their own destiny or others.[71] Marí Díez, who appeared multiple times before the Valencian municipal authorities, shows us what that kind of bargaining might look like for low-status women in the medieval Mediterranean. When

we first encountered her, she was identified as a *fembra peccadriu* living in the establishment of hosteller Joan Gil, and her transgression was keeping an *amich* in her room.[72] A few folia later, Marí, still called a *fembra peccadriu*, was again in trouble with the law, because two unnamed women (*fembras*) had denounced her for having two husbands.[73] Marí was a prostitute, a concubine, and a bigamist. Her three identities suggest she was also adept at negotiating space for herself to maneuver out of situations that were not to her liking. She left one marriage and joined herself in another, she participated in a concubinous partnership, and she made money through sex work in a brothel. Likely her trajectory was not progressive, moving towards an ever more stable and socially sanctioned role. Rather, the movement of her life was a zig-zag and took place within a framework that limited her choices, as a woman and as a sex-worker, but she was not without choice.

The prostitute-*amigas* in the late medieval Mediterranean took risks and made choices to maximize their own well-being, and perhaps even their erotic lives. In her analysis of fifteenth- and sixteenth English song lyrics, Carissa Harris has identified "fictive women's voices" that "educate women about how to identify, pursue, and reflect on their desires, and they provide scripts to negotiate for their own pleasure."[74] The audience for the lyrics were the sexually active low-status singlewomen who made up one tenth of England's population in the fifteenth century.[75] Like their English counterparts, the women in this study made deals for their own pleasure. Concubinage afforded prostitutes an opportunity to negotiate a relationship with one man rather than multiple, and, within that relationship, the possibility of speaking up for her own desires, whether

erotic or material. We suggest that when a prostitute became a concubine, she was claiming a degree of power within her relationship with her lover or with the hosteller to whom she owed rent. When they chose a concubinous relationship, even an unhappy one, prostitutes were able to explore what life as part of a married couple might be like. In so doing, prostitutes developed a different skill set: participating in the maintenance of a household and nurturing, even if for a short time, an affective relationship with one man. The quasimarital toolbox the women developed was transferable, as we see from the prostitutes who were in serial concubinous relationships.

When a man provided financial maintenance and expected a degree of sexual monogamy, this concubinous relationship was coded as *amiga/amica* and *amich*. Based on the evidence, prostitute-*amich* relationships were relatively short-term compared to other concubinous unions that could last more than a year and closely resembled marriage. There are, of course, a few long-term exceptions we've noted, but their temporary nature speaks more to the economic hardships of people at the bottom levels of society than anything else. Although the extant documents are mostly silent on the type of support the men offered, we have some hints that the *amichs* took over their *amiga's* payments to their hostaller.[76] How else would the prostitute survive if she were not receiving customers and had to pay the brothel for her upkeep? A relationship with an *amich* provided some level of economic security. Indeed, evidence from seventeenth-century Rome shows that prostitutes linked the loss of an *amich* with economic vulnerability.[77] The over four hundred women in Valencia's *Mestre Racional* from 1367 to 1402 and the many more who appear in Barcelona's *Mestre Racional* are identified as an *amiga* who had an *amich* collectively tell us that forming the

concubinary relationships with men may have been critical to a prostitute's long-term survival.[78]

Prostitute-Concubines and the Masculinity of Lower Status Men

Why would a man choose a prostitute as his concubine? The answer lies in the socio-economic status of men who needed to bolster their manhood. The men in Valencia who were fined for keeping prostitute-concubines in a brothel or hostel tended to be transient (i.e. foreigners and seamen) and from the lowest economic levels of society. They included working class artisans, weavers, tailors, textile workers, barbers, tavern keepers, mule-drivers, farriers, porters, long-distance transporters, butchers, furriers, a cauldron-maker, a carpenter, and the tollman who guarded the "pobla."[79] There were, of course, exceptions to this trend, including a number of clerics, notaries, domestic servants, a servant at the king's palace, law enforcement officials, and a public official (*corredor*), named En Trilles and his *amiga* Caterina.[80] But these men did not belong to the staunchly middling or elite levels of society. A lower-class clientele was common throughout the brothels and hostels of the Mediterranean, especially for those who were young, unmarried, or passing through.[81]

In contrast, patrician men and well-to-do bachelors had the means to maintain a respectable concubine in a separate abode or even in their own home, or had access to servants and enslaved women, so they were not frequent patrons of establishments that catered to men of the lower classes. It was indicative of their social status and wealth

that they could keep women for their exclusive access and comfort. Merchants and elite men also rented out houses or gathered together in a courtesan's home to enjoy gambling, feasting, and the company of women.[82] What is more, a range of brothels existed, some more luxurious and elegant than others that were meant for higher-end clients and were likely to escape the attention of public officials.[83] The historian Tessa Storey has argued that the homes of courtesans in early modern Rome functioned as spaces for the men who frequented to create a public and social identity, together with their friends and acquaintances. She notes that "as long as a courtesan's clients were all men of similar social status there was no conflict of interests," but should a man of a lower social group visit, then the courtesan's home and the honor of her clients was considered "tainted."[84] Men at the lower end of the social scale also worked out their social identities in group settings, though in less tony environs. Rather than in private homes and with higher status concubines or courtesans, lower status men depended on public brothels and prostitutes as *amigas* to forge their identities. Such men could command neither the exclusivity nor the extravagance of caring for a long-term concubine, so they fashioned their concubinous relationships with the women available to them.

Concubinage was widespread among the elite and patrician classes, and lower status men made this social custom work for them, but status, profession, and rank of the male partner clearly made a difference. Society was more forgiving of such relationships when the wealth and status of the *amich* afforded him protection from the law, the space and location where the association took place were more luxurious, and the social standing of the woman one became involved with was higher. It is not a coincidence

that men of the nobility and the bourgeois are absent from the registers of the *Mestre Racional*. Patrician men, jurists, notaries, and rich merchants were powerful groups in port cities where commerce and trade dominated the economic landscape. In the late medieval period, the Consell de Valencia consisted of sixty to eighty men. In Barcelona, 205 men comprised the Consell de Cent. These legislative bodies included some nobility, but were mostly comprised of an elite citizen class of men with wealth.[85] The very men who made the laws were invested in separating themselves from those they viewed as less masculine. Civic manhood extended the patriarchal authority and governance of the patrician class from their households to society at large and included the surveillance and punishment of sexual behavior outside of marriage to maintain public order and moral standards. In places like Valencia, Barcelona, and London, city statutes regulated prostitution but much of this attention also included the discipline and control of men who were rowdy and too frequenlty indulged their carnal appetites.[86] Men at the top of the patriarchal hierarchy sought the subjection of not only women but also men whom they regarded as inadequate and inferior.[87] The laboring-class, poor, and immigrant men who were fined for participating in concubinous unions with prostitutes, were exactly the men whose masculinity the city elites marginalized.

Impoverished immigrants and lower-status men traveled in similar circles whether they were drinking, gambling, or seeking out the company of prostitutes. Their preferred establishments of sociability were already subject to the scrutiny of authorities hyper attentive to the violence, armsbearing, theft, or clandestine prostitution that often took place in neighborhoods catering to the urban poor and migrant communities. It was thus easier for authorities to police the sexuality of lower-class men, and their focus on this

social group was less likely to cause conflict with men who had greater clout in the city.[88] While wealthier neighborhoods also had their fair share of violent behavior, they were less likely to be the site of the petty crimes that attracted the attention of police-like officials.[89] Men with wealth were able to cloak their concubinous unions in respectability and their privilege did much to protect them from secular and ecclesiastical censure. Lower-status men did not have this advantage because their concubinary relationships with prostitutes took place in public spaces, such as taverns, brothels, and hostels, sites prone to conflict and rowdy behavior.

While municipal officials had a financial interest in policing concubinous relationships involving prostitutes, such vigilance also signals their attempt to control the sexuality of lower-class men. It was less complicated for city authorities to regulate the sexuality of poor men than wealthy ones because they were more easily targeted than the "good men" (*prohoms*) of the city whose ranks municipal authorities aspired to join. Such an approach to circumscribing the masculinity of lower class men is seen in legislation from Valencia that in 1372 and again in 1390 that prohibited any man from keeping a prostitute as an *amiga* anywhere in the city and any prostitute from having an *amich* under penalty of a sixty sous fine or a whipping.[90] However, city councillors recognized that the 1372 law had done little to deter the concubinary relationships between sex workers and their *amichs*.[91] To the second prohibition in 1390, the Consell of Valencia added another deterrent: it ordered that any man who kept a *fembra publica* as his *amiga* must continually wear a hood with a yellow cowl or face a penalty of five morabatins of gold.[92] Such a statute bolstered the masculinity of patricician men like the city councillors at the expense of poor men. Here let us note the interest of the

Valencian authorities in creating not only a legal penalty for a man whose concubine was a prostitute, but a visual marker that would make such a man and such a relationship immediately apparent to all who shared the city streets with him. The statute suggests both a grudging recognition that the custom of keeping a prostitute-concubine was common, and an elitist distaste for the practice.

Without a doubt, the act of maintaining a concubine was tied to the expression of masculinity. Men at all levels of society attempted to advertise their manhood and sexual prowess by participating in this aspect of male culture in the Mediterranean. The late age of marriage for men in southern Europe contributed to a cultural acceptance of bachelors who channelled their sexual energy to prostitutes, concubines, and lower-status women they could woo in casual sexual dalliances.[93] Moreover, men asserted their masculinity through sex acts that proved the fitness of their body through "the production and ejaculation of semen [which] symbolized overall virility."[94] Men like Pietro Mocenigo, the seventy-year old doge of Venice, advertised that he slept in bed with two "young and beautiful" Turkish slave women whom he used as concubines.[95] Given the importance of broadcasting an active sexuality, the performative nature of gender identity meant that women functioned as objects that gave men status; keeping a concubine increased a man's worth in the eyes of other men.[96] In effect, the presence of concubines in the public and private lives of men bolstered their "gender authenticity" as men who could acquire, dominate, and show off their woman to other men.[97]

According to Emlyn Eisenach, maintaining a concubine "demonstrated important noble attributes: wealth, leisure, and the patrons ability to establish and maintain dominance

over the rest of society, particularly the lower orders."[98] For unmarried professional men of the middling level, concubinage was a marker of their social status (that very much mimicked the practice of elites) and became a way for young men to transition from social adolescence to social adulthood by taking on the responsibilities of caring for a concubine and any illegitimate children from that union. Concubinage provided the men with a starter family where they could practice adult masculinity and show their readiness for marriage.[99] Wealthy men also benefited from the spare heirs these unions produced--in terms of patrimony and a projected image of virility that enhanced a father's reputation. High rates of infant mortality meant that many legitimate sons did not survive to inherit but a bastard son could easily be legitimized.[100] While foreigners, immigrants, and laboring men felt the same pressures to perform their masculinity via sexual alliances with women, a concubinary relationship with a prostitute, for many, was as close to marriage as they would come.

Economic opportunity enticed many single men to work in the textile trades or in industries like ironwork and leatherwork, but a significant number ended up in low-skilled and low paid trades, in domestic service, or as day laborers. The low status men who kept concubines in the brothel or hostel could not afford to keep a concubine in her own abode due to their poor wages. Their financial situation was likely to vacillate between extreme poverty and periods of modest gain when they had some money in their pockets. Add to this a segment of laboring-status single men who lived with other single men in tenements or were housed with their employers or a relative, and a significant population of unmarried men did not have the option of living independently with their concubines.[101] In fact, many who spent their entire life-cycle as domestic

servants in cities would never acquire the resources to marry. For those able to contract marriage, the process of securing a spouse was delayed until the age of twenty-seven or later because impecunious men lacked the means to establish a household.[102]

That the mariners and itinerant laboring men who drifted in and out of town sought to form a relationship with a prostitute points to more than a level of practicality. To some, it was an emotional attachment formed during their period of stays in the city, and it was also a sign of the pressures of masculinity. While wealthier men and professionals journeyed throughout the Mediterranean with their concubines or set up a concubinary union while staying long-term in a port city, it makes sense that men who traveled, especially lower-status laborers who worked on shipping vessels, would set up an informal arrangement with a prostitute in the brothel when he was in port for an extended period of time.[103] For example, in 1387 Francois, a mariner from Barcelona kept Na Constança, a *fembra peccadriu*, as his *amiga*, and María de Burgos and her sailor the "vagabond" Pere Rubí were each fined eleven sous for being "amich e amiga."[104] Over the years men like Anton Cort and Pere Rubí probably developed "favorites" in the brothel and consistently returned to the same women time after time. Caterina and Pere Boix, as *amiga* and *amich*, appear together in April and June of 1382, suggesting that they were a couple for at least three months.[105] The hostalera and prostitute Na Valenço is identified as the *amiga* of En Peret in 1378 and 1383, indicating that they maintained a special relationship over more than five years.[106] It is impossible to know whether these couples were involved in a concubinary union consistently over five years, but it seems likely that an *amich* and *amiga* negotiated the

duration of their union depending on how long the man could provide support or how long he planned on being in town.

Limited economic resources did not free lower status men from the cultural pressures of masculinity, here performed through a concubinous relationship. Keeping a concubine in a hostel or forming a temporary union with one in a brothel was better than not having one at all. As concubines traded their fidelity for material support, men with limited means to offer that material support would not have been desirable partners for some women. This should not lead us to assume, however, that a woman would not have wanted to partner with a poor man. Some monetary support was preferable to none. As we argued above, the relationship between a low status man and a prostitute-concubine was mutually beneficial. Presumably even poor men helped their *amigas* with the fees paid to the hosteller, and likely these were lower than rent for a room or a house in a more prosperous or "respectable" neighborhood. So from the perspective of the poor *amichs* interested in a relationship that had more social recognition than an occasional sexual encounter, but whose economic situation made it challenging to support the financial burdens of marriage and a family, a concubinous relationship with a prostitute would have met more than one of his needs. If a lack of resources made a marriage impossible, he could have companionship with one woman, at least for a while.

Because poverty could work to demasculinize laboring men in the eyes of those who had attained the markers of adult masculinity--governance over a household, a wife, children, and servants--we propose that a concubinary relationships with a prostitute was even more necessary to the gender identity of lower-status men.[107] Hierarchies of

masculinity existed that placed wealth, refined dress and manners, the possession of horses and expensive weapons, education, profession, guild leadership, carrying out the duties of civic engagement, exercising the role of a paterfamilias, and dominance over subordinates (such as masters over journeymen and apprentices) as a distinction that marked the well-to-do as more masculine than lower-status men.[108] Vagabonds and the working poor who could not even support themselves or a family were feminized by contemporary ideas associating laboring men in urban societies with irrationality, laziness, and moral weakness. Sharon Farmer has shown that clerical authors in western Europe likened poor men, especially those who begged, to women because they believed these men wore makeup to fake their ailments, cried false tears to gain sympathy, and used deception like the female sex to live a life of idleness. Even men who practiced manual labor in cities and did not beg were ranked lowest in terms of masculinity compared to preachers and the mendicant orders who performed spiritual work and the merchants and knights who carried out civil work. Poor men who labored with their bodies, then, were coarse, undignified, and prone to criminal behavior.[109] This perception of men who used their bodies for work is similar to elite views of peasant men who were frequently depicted as grotesque animals, dull and brutish.[110]

Across Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the participation of men from the middling classes in governance, guilds, town or city building projects, and in the larger urban economy resulted in an increased valuation of men, such as lawyers, bankers, merchants, artisan-entrepreneurs, and mercers, who were key to the urban economy, particularly in the financing and moving of goods across trade networks.[111] This emerging bourgeois crafted a masculinity and honor that was tied to being viewed

as “hardworking, financially independent, responsible, and smart; he headed and provided for a well-run household” because “he was a good businessman and good householder.”[112] Such men of business, as well as royal and city administrators, stood in sharp contrast to the lower-status men on construction sites, on docks and in shipyards, and the unskilled laborers on city streets and in workshops and warehouses because their affluence, public engagement, and influence translated into a higher status on the masculinity spectrum.

The perception that many low-skilled laboring men embodied an immature and disruptive masculinity can be seen in late medieval Marseille where men who drank, gambled, quarreled excessively, associated with “low-lifes,” frequented brothels, and spent too much of their time in taverns were considered by the court and city society to be men of ill fame, spendthrifts, and failures. Such men could barely make a living from their own labor and what little wealth they acquired was “badly managed.”[113] Spending money on immoral activities marked men as immoderate, reckless, and unmanly. Associating poor working men and vagabonds with crime, disorder, disease, and laziness was also common in Italian cities, such as Florence, Verona, and Venice.[114] In Valencia, city statutes from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lumped together the idle (*ocioses*, i.e. unemployed), vagabonds, beggars, brawlers, and fighters as undesirables that should be expelled from the city because they were seen as a drain on economic resources and the cause of much violence and disorder. Immigrants and the poor counted were included here, many of them seen as “false beggars” (*falsos mendigos*), who could work for a living but are described as “not wanting to serve masters nor in any other manner work as they are able to.”[115]

During the famines and the economic insecurity of the late medieval period, men at the bottom levels of society would have moved in and out of unemployment, underemployment, and periods of full unemployment, which means that at different moments in their life they were identified as beggars, itinerant workers, or low-skilled physical laborers. Therefore, a lifestyle associated with some degree of poverty and vagrancy marked indigent men with a masculinity that was less than. The intersections of poverty, sex, and vagancry can be seen in men like the "vagabunt" Joan Vidrier who appears with his *amica* Na Marí García, a *fembra peccadriu* who was fined separately for living outside of the city brothel, along with the "vagabunt" Bertran Troxon and the prostitute Margalida, who are both identified as "persones miserables."[116] While many of these men appear in short-term relationships with sex workers, they also show up in court for swearing, gambling, fighting, and attacking women, such as Martí Lopez, an "hom vagabunt," who was fined for beating Teresa, a *fembra peccadriu*, a woman who is not identified as his *amica*, and the "hom vagabunt" Martí Fernandeç for injuring a woman with his weapon.[117] One can imagine that as the Justice of the Court presided over cases with his officials in attendance, they looked out at a sea of laboring-class men, many of them immigrant and underemployed. It was easy, then, to view the turbulent behavior of poor and working-class men that caused disorder within the city--and what this class-based masculinity represented--as different from their own.

Indeed, the men belonging to the Consell of Valencia[118] and the lieutenant governor of Mallorca branded this kind of manhood as inferior when they passed a statute that required *amichs* who kept a prostitute-concubine to wear a hood with a yellow cowl as a sign of difference--in the same way that Jewish men and prostitutes were expected to

wear distinctive clothing.[119] Such a move was meant to feminize lower-class men and identify them with the weak, degenerate bodies of Jewish males and the licentiousness of female sex workers.[120] While both the 1390 Valencian and Mallorcan decree applied to "all men" whose *amiga* was a prostitute, the Valencian statute singled out foreigners and hostelers who functioned as pimps in their establishments (*hom estrany o privat hostaler alcavot*), indicating that the patrician men of Valencia were furthering distancing their ideal manhood and their sexuality from that of base men, particularly the foreigners and businessmen who catered to the criminals, vagabonds, and itinerant laborers associated with Valencia's problems. The language of various Valencian statutes dealing with immigration and poverty further confirm this association between a disreputable manhood with foreigners, indolence, and mendicancy: "molts vagabunts e ocioses privats e stranys," "l'ociositat dels vagabunts," and "estrangers e vagabunts."[121] In a 1391 letter to the king, the Consell de Valencia informed that due to violent disorder in the city, they had ordered that troublemakers, men described as: "aquells hòmens...quis trobarien bregoses, vagabunts e de mala vida e inhonesta conversació" to be arrested.[122] Poor men, therefore, could not claim the same level of manliness as socially adult men who achieved the *paterfamilias* characteristics of a dominant masculinity.[123]

That lower-status men were considered less manly by bourgeois, elites, and clerical authors does not mean that within their own social milieu the *paterfamilias* markers of masculinity held the same sway, in part, because they were largely unattainable. Given that not all men can enact "a strong version of masculine dominance," the gendered hierarchies of a society nevertheless require that "all other men position themselves in

relation to it" so that they still "benefit from the patriarchal dividend."[124] An overlap between hegemonic and complicit masculinities will always exist if hegemonic patterns of manhood are dominant and effective at subordinating both women and men. Engaging with prostitutes and maintaining a concubine were experiences and processes that reinforced a man's gender identity and his claim to a place in the hierarchy of men.[125] Drinking, hanging out in taverns, gambling, playing sports, carrying weapons, and using violence to defend their honor and status were also traits of secular manhood that lower-class men performed to situate themselves within a configuration of hegemonic ideals of masculinity. When Domingo Navarro, a poor man (*persona miserable)* decided to settle his disagreement with the *vagabunt* Bartolomé Ynanyes with a brandished knife, he was fined 11 sous for the infraction.[126] And Pedro de Santo Domingo, also a *vagabunt*, was fined the much more significant sum of 60 sous when he pulled a knife on his social superior Romeo Scheve Ferrer of Valencia, although it was reduced to 11 sous, likely because of his poverty.[127] Only elite men were permitted to carry swords openly, and so Pedro, Domingo, and other poor transient men were violating class boundaries when they acted on their masculine prerogative to settle their disagreements with weapons. Because of their lower class status, in other words, the city's statutes and elite judges penalized poor men who were not heads of households for expressing their masculinity through armed violence. Yet when they carried the contraband, vagabonds and the impoverished asserted their claim to masculinity, even if they had to pay a fine as a tax.

Armed aggression with men was one marker of poor men's masculinity and public expressions of heterosexual desire were another.[128] Men "adopt a position of

complicit masculinity," Kim Phillips notes, because "this model of masculinity is essential to the success of homosociality, which requires that men place themselves on a continuum of acceptable manly rules."[129] Because lower-status men could not achieve the markers of masculinity that defined propertied and wealthy men, they used their relationships with *amigas* in brothels and hostels not only to advertise their virility to other men but also to fit into a spectrum of masculinity that worked best in their social context. Although men who could not claim the attributes of a *paterfamilias* were in danger of being effeminized and infantilized as physically adult men who were not full-fledged adults, their concubinary relationships that mimicked marriage, albeit in a very loose form, validated their gender-identity.

That working-class men, such as laborers, transient workers, humble artisans, and sailors, frequently appeared before the royal court in Valencia and Barcelona for offenses such as gambling, carrying weapons, fighting, and keeping a prostitute as a concubine indicates that their behaviors were important to their construction of masculinity within their social group. Although appearing before a court and paying a fine was not a desirable outcome for a poor person who lost wages and time at work, such an appearance had more than one meaning for a lower-status man that had nothing to do with economic loss, shame, or embarrassment. In *Undoing Gender*, Judith Butler has theorized that "sexuality is never fully captured by regulation…..it can exceed regulation, take on new forms in response to regulation, even turn around and make it sexy. In this sense, sexuality is never fully reducible to the 'effect' of this or that operation of regulatory power" because "it can also be mobilized and incited by constraints, even sometimes requiring them to be produced again and again."[130] We

suggest that lower-status men may have experienced a moment where their illicit activity of forming concubinary relationships with prostitutes became a form of legitimization in the court, a mark of membership among men who conformed to the hegemonic practice of an active male sexuality and a cultural custom of keeping a concubine. It is possible, after all, for people to experience conflicting emotions, such as chagrin and defiance, at the same time because "complicity and resistance can be mixed together" in the performance of gender identity.[131] Like the homosocial bonding that took place in a brothel or tavern or the act of soliciting a prostitute on the street, being brought before the court became an episode that confirmed that they belonged to a cohesive social group and took part in secular manhood.

Scholarship on the masculine identity of lower class men in modern times has shown that defying existing power structures "is worn like a badge of masculinity in the work and social environments they inhabited," which becomes a way to compensate for their subordinated status.[132] Sociologists who study gender and the penal system have argued that crime, for the disadvantaged, becomes a "social practice invoked as a resource, when other resources are unavailable, for accomplishing masculinity."[133] Although most laboring men were not spending time in jail for keeping a prostitute-concubine, nevertheless, they may have experienced a sense of satisfaction in flouting the law and displaying a belligerent attitude toward authorities and the court for everyone to see. Secular courts in the medieval Mediterranean often took place in very public settings. In Marseille, the court convened outside in the city's market place and, in Candia, proceedings took place in the main piazza where spectators could observe the ongoings of the court as they watched ships sailing into the harbor.[134] Even in

places like Valencia and Barcelona, where the court met indoors in the Casa de la Ciutat, courtrooms were in city centers--bustling quarters where men brought up on charges of supporting a prostitute-concubine might well run into others in front of whom he was proud to defiantly broadcast this information.[135] A recalcitrant performance in public, moreover, may have earned offenders even more respect from their peers.

Laboring and transient men were more than just clients who passed quickly through Valencian establishments; they incorporated the hostels, brothels, and taverns into their lives as places of sociability that also functioned as spaces where their masculine identity could be performed.[136] Given that city inhabitants could appropriate urban spaces that promoted their social status, economic interests, and wealth, scholarship has shown that new housing developments in cities, gardens, markets, guild halls, buildings that housed public officers, and parish churches and their pews, were urban spaces in the late medieval and early modern period that could reinforce political, gender, and socio-economic identities.[137] The connection between brothels and hostels catering to lower-status men and their concubinary relationships with prostitutes suggests that these establishments imparted an urban identity that likewise marked the masculinity of working-class men. This would have been particularly true for immigrants and foreign sailors who clustered in areas of town with people who shared the same origin, language, profession, and socio-economic background.[138] In this environment, the locations of sociability that attracted men from the lower levels of society where they could eat, drink, and make known their sexual affairs to their male community were obvious places for the public demonstrations of manhood. Gender performativity is, after all, about the repetition of acts that are understood in part because they are

culturally sustained over a period of time.[139] As men whose masculinity was deficient compared to those who held property, wealth, social standing, and had a household to govern, working-class men compensated in other areas that were easily identifiable as masculine--and in this case, in the sexual conquest of women. Like all men, they were invested in finding ways to shore up their claim to manhood and a concubine, even one who was a prostitute, could be important to showing off their temporary prosperity and virility. And the brothels and hostels of Mediterranean port towns were the spaces that offered poor, laboring, and migrant men a place to stay, the undivided attention of his female companion, and easy access to his social network from the neighborhood.

Conclusion

The brothels and hostels of the port towns of Barcelona, Valencia, Palermo, Marseille, and Mallorca housed and fed the concubinous relationships between men and prostitutes who hailed from these places and the hinterlands surrounding them. Their relationships ebbed and flowed with the tides of the sea that connected the port towns. The ghost of the Mediterranean sea hovers in the background of all of their travels, of their connections and their disconnections. It is perhaps more obvious when we think of the sailors who sailed into ports on its waves but so too did the women who entertained them in the brothels, and who traveled on the roads miles in from the sea's shores. The prostitutes Agnes la Catalana and Beatriu la Valenciana took such roads on their journey to Perpignan, where Beatriu encountered her *amich* Almussara.[140] The sea itself also brought the women from one Mediterranean space to another. In 1448, for example, the prostitute Catalina arrived on a ship from Naples in the port of Barcelona

with her *amich* Nicholas, accompanied by another prostitute Madelena.[141] The sea's movement is echoed in the mobility of the population of the Mediterranean region. The relationships between low status men and women that we have explored cannot be understood apart from that ghostly apparition.

Prostitutes like Johanna la Grega, or Johanna the Greek, came from other corners of the Mediterranean and found work in the port city brothels of Marseille, Barcelona, Valencia and beyond.[142] So too did they find companionship and connection with the vagabonds and day laborers who came to drink, throw dice, and commune in the cities' hostels. If even a fraction of the foreign men with prostitute-concubines actually wore the yellow cowl mandated by the Valencian and Mallorcan authorities, we must imagine a swath of yellow would dot the urban landscape of those towns. We cannot understand the widespread social practice of concubinage without expanding our gaze to include the men and women at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder who participated as they could in the practice, but also adapted it to make it work for their mobile life styles and their pocket books. While the municipal authorities worked hard to penalize and delegitimize the masculine identity of the poor laborers, foreigners and vagabonds, those men and the women they partnered with did not accept that estimation. No matter the brevity of their relationships, Mediterranean prostitutes and their concubinous *amichs* found in each other a partner with whom they could challenge the authorities' attempts to shut them out of an avenue to companionship, mutual aid, and participation in a marriage-like institution.

Throughout this article, we have argued that the set of benefits conferred on a concubinous couple involving a prostitute must be considered from at least three perspectives: the benefit to the *amich*, the benefit to the *amiga* and the benefit to the couple itself. The municipal authorities who sanctioned these relationships did not, of course, share the same understanding of the benefits. Rather, punishing the *amichs* and their prostitute-*amigas* was both an economic opportunity and a chance to police the sexuality of poor men, thus drawing a distinction between their masculinity and that of the patrician class. That the enforcers of the law themselves sat uncomfortably in the space between the men of the Consell and the men whom they fined for keeping prostitutes as their concubines is one of the intriguing tensions that merits further exploration. Our focus here has been on the couples themselves; prostitute-concubines enabled their *amichs* to claim and perform their masculinity, while *amichs* provided a respite for their *amigas* accustomed to servicing multiple clients at a time. A concubinous relationship allowed prostitutes some control over their sexual lives. When couples like Na Valenço and En Peret repeatedly paid fines for being an *amich* and *amiga* in the bordel, they claimed the identity and benefits of mutual support, economic interdependence, and affection. Prostitute-concubines, though constrained by poverty and legal censure, show us how low status women throughout the western Mediterranean negotiated relationships to their own advantage. In telling their story, we bring to the forefront the necessity including women, especially poor women, in our understanding of the mobile Mediterranean. Their migration over land or sea and their opportunities to set up new lives for themselves is an untold story, one we've begun to tell here.

[1] In the spirit of true co-authorship, our practice is to take turns as first author.

[2] Archivo Real de Valencia, Mestre Racional (Hereafter ARV, MR) no. 5969, fol. 20r. (1377). Manuel Carboneres, *Picaronas y alcahuetas o la Mancebía de Valencia. Apuntes para la historia de la prostitucíon* (Valencia, 1876), 50.

[3] ARV, MR no. 5972, fol. 16v. (1381). The text reads "Item rebe de Maria Fernandiç fembra publica per ço com fon atrobada que tenia amich publicament en lo dit bordel feta compositio present lo fiscal per i fº . mig. xvi sol. vi den." She appears more often as Marí than María in the documents.

[4] ARV, MR, no. 5974, fol. 3r. (1383).

[5] The office of the *Mestre Racional* was in charge of managing the Crown of Aragon's finances throughout its kingdoms and newly conquered territories, which included the County of Barcelona and the Kingdoms of Valencia, Mallorca, Sicily, and Naples. The registers of the *Mestre Racional* record the payments of offenders to the municipal and royal authorities for violations of the city's ordinances.

[6] For more on our practice of collaborative research and writing, see "Finding Amica in the Archives: Navigating a path between strategic collaboration and independent research," *The American Historical Review* 126, no. 3 (2021): 1154-64.

[7] Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (ADBR) B 1944, fol. 314r-v.

[8] Prostitutes and concubines performed what the sociologist Jane Ward has called "gender labor," which is the "affective and bodily efforts invested in giving gender to others," so that an intimate lover or companion can "achieve the varied forms of gender recognition they long for." See Jane Ward, "Gender Labor: Transmen, Femmes, and Collective Work of Transgression," *Sexualities* 13, no. 2 (2010), 237.

[9] Brian A. Catlos, "Why the Mediterranean?" in *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, ed. Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita (New York, 2017), 1-18, at 6.

[10] For an overview of the various criminal jurisdictions operating in late medieval Valencia, see Rafael Narbona Vizcaino, "El Justicia Criminal. Una corte medieval valenciana, un procedimiento judicial," *Estudis castellonencs*, no. 3 (1986), 287-310.

[11] Frederick C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 18-20; Andrea Zannini, *Venezia città aperta. Gli stranieri e la Serenissima XIV-XVIII* (Venezia, 2009), 29-42.

[12] In Valencia and Barcelona, most immigration came from within the Iberian peninsula and from outposts, such as Sardinia, Mallorca, and Sicily, within the Crown of Aragon's Mediterranean empire. Paulino Iradiel, *El Mediterráneo Medieval y Valencia: Economía, Sociedad, Historia* (València, 2017); Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La Inmigración en la Valencia Medieval," *Temas Valencianos* 41 (1975): 3-24; Enrique Cruselles Gómez, "La Población de la Ciudad de Valencia en Los Siglos XIV y XV," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 10 (1999): 45-84; Dana Wessell Lightfoot, *Women, Dowries and Agency* (Manchester, 2013), 15-16, 20, 71, 105; Teresa-Maria Vinyoles i Vidal, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400* (Barcelona, 1985), 82.

[13] Henri Bresc, "Palermo in the 14th-15th Century: Urban Economy and Trade," in Palermo and the Mediterranean at the End of the Middle Ages, ed. Annliese Nef (Leiden, 2013), 236; Daniel Lord Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille* (Ithaca, 1999), 43, 48; Francine Michaud, *Earning Dignity: Labour Conditions and Relations During the Century of the Black Death in Marseille* (Turnhout, 2016), 34.

[14] For example, in the section "Els prostíbuls," Josep M. Martí i Bonet often labels women prostitutes when they are identified only as concubines in the Latin. Too easily he exchanges one identity for the other without really considering what is being reported about women's sexuality. In many instances the women are described as sexually involved with multiple men but are not identified as women who had sex for money, which clearly appears in other instances when the Latin states that a certain woman "meretricatur cum multis." He is simply identifying sexually promiscuous women or concubines as prostitutes when the sources do not ascribe such a profession. Martí i Bonet and Leandro Niqui, *Glossa a Ponç de Gualba. Visites Pastorals, 1303-1330* (Barcelona, 2017), 133 n. 754, 134-137. See also Brian Pullan's *Tolerance, Regulation and Rescue: Dishonoured Women and Abandoned Children in Italy, 1300-1800* (Manchester, 2016). DO WE NEED PAGE NUMBERS HERE? I DON'T THINK SO—whole book issue.

[15] See Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2012); Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Philadelphia, 2006), 66-71; Michelle Armstrong-Partida,"Priestly Wives: The Role and Acceptance of Clerics' Concubines in the Parishes of Late Medieval Catalunya," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (2013): 166 – 214. A number of medieval queens in the early medieval period started out as the king's concubine. See Chapters One and Two of Theresa Earenfight's *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2013); Chapters Three, Four, and Five of Suzanne Fonay Wemple's *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981).

[16] Ruth Karras has emphasized that many different attitudes about sex coexisted in medieval society because it was not a homogenous culture across medieval Europe. Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*, 3rd edition (New York, 2017), 3-4. For scholarship that shows the complexity of premodern attitudes toward women's

sexuality, see Chapter One and Three of Allyson M. Poska's *Women & Authority in Early Modern Spain* (Oxford, 2005); Cordelia Beattie, *Medieval Single Women: The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), 40-41, 47-51; Marie A. Kelleher, *The Measure of Woman: Law and Female Identity in the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010), 98-103; Emlyn Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona* (Kirksville, 2004), 135-139, 142, 152-154, 160-162, 165-166, 170; Karma Lochrie, *Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't* (Minneapolis, 2005); Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love Between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literatures* (Philadelphia, 2008).

[17] James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), 23-25, 40-47; Ruth M. Karras, "Prostitution in Medieval Europe," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York, 1996), 243-260. For concubinage in the Roman world, see Susan Treggiari, "Concubinae," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 49 (1981): 59-81; Beryl Rawson, "Roman Concubinage and Other De Facto Marriages," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104 (1974): 279-305; Anise K. Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World* (New York, 2016), 62-96; Karras, *Unmarriages*, 16-18.

[18] Paula C. Clarke, "The Business of Prostitution in Early Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015): 419-64; Leah L. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago, 1985); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford, 1988); Aymat Catafau, "La soumission de prostituées à Perpignan dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle," in *Hiérarchies, subordinations et insubordinations en Roussillon et en Provence du Moyen Âge au XIXe siècle*, ed. Christophe Juhel (Perpignan, 2019), 107-124.

[19] This particular dynamic is a focus of McDonough's ongoing research on prostitution in the medieval Mediterranean, so a few brief examples will suffice here. In port towns across the North/Northwestern Mediterranean, prostitutes hired notaries to write their wills (see for example Archivio di Stato di Genova, Notai Antichi, 496, fol. 155v-156r (1400)); they acted as the executors of wills (See Arxiu Històric des Protocols de Barcelona, 53/4 Jaume de Trilla fol. 72r (1399)); and as legal guarantors (See ADBR 3 B 96 fol. 141r. (1380)). These transactions brought them into regular contact with officials and institutions outside of the municipal brothels.

[20] M. Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Clandestine Marriage, and Gender in the Visitation Records of Fourteenth-Century Catalonia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26:2 (2017): 207 – 238; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*: *The Promised Land of Error, trans. Barbara Bray* (New York, 1979), 139-178; John Hine Mundy, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1990), 19-20, 69-79; Sara Luperini, "Il gioco dello scandalo. Concubinato, tribunali e comunità nella diocesi di Pisa (1597)," in *Trasgressioni. Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV-XVIII secolo)*, a cura di S. Seidel Menchi e D. Quaglioni (Bologna, 2004), 383-416; Jana Byars, *Informal Marriages in Early Modern Venice* (New York, 2019), 6, 8, 22-25, 30-31.

[21] Canon law defined the exchange of present consent as the foundation of a legitimate marriage. Unions that bypassed the public betrothal, the reading of the banns, and the solemnization process were considered clandestine marriages. In the mountains and rural parishes of Catalonia, peasants used concubinage as a trial run before committing to marriage.

[22] Karras, *Unmarriages*, 69, 72-79; M. Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Illegitimacy, and Fatherhood: Urban Masculinity in Late Medieval Barcelona," *Gender & History* 31, no. 1 (2019): 1-25; Núria Silleras-Fernández, "Money Isn't Everything: Concubinage, Class, and the Rise and Fall of Sibil·la de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87)" in *Women, Wealth, and Power in Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010): 67-88; Simon Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015); Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*, 142-151; Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley, 2005); Donald Weinstein, *The Captain's Concubine: Love, Honor, and Violence in Renaissance Tuscany* (Baltimore, 2000); Jana Byars, "The Long and Varied Relationships of Andrea Mora and Anzola Davide: Concubinage, Marriage, and the Authorities in the Early Modern Veneto," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 667-690; Alexander Cowan, *Marriage, Manners, and Mobility in Early Modern Venice* (New York, 2016), 117-134; Tessa Storey, "Courtesan culture: manhood, honour and sociability," in *Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sara F. Matthews Grieco (Burlington, 2010), 247-273. Other works that illustrate the prevalence of concubinage in Iberia, include: Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "A una mesa y una cama: Barraganía y amancebamiento a fines de la Edad Media," in *Saber y vivir: Mujer, antigüedad y medievo,* ed. María Isabel Calero Secall and Rosa Francia Somalo (Málaga, 1996), 127–54; Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "Las relaciones extraconjugales en la sociedad castellana bajomedieval," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 16 (1986): 571-620; Flocel Sabaté, "Evolució i expressió de la sexualitat medieval," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 23 (1993): 163-196. See also f.n. 106.

[23] James A. Brundage, "Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law," in *Sexual Practices & The Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (Amherst, 1994), 118-128; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 369-370, 444-447.

[24] Attitudes toward concubinage among the unmarried began to change in the fifteenth century and, by the sixteenth-century, many cities passed legal statutes that banned the practice but did little to curtail it. The Council of Trent did not prohibit lay concubinage until 1563. See Brundage, "Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law," 127; Gabriele Martini, "La donna veneziana del '600 tra sessualità legittima ed illegittima: alcune riflessioni sul concubinato," Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti CXLV (1986-1987): 301-339; Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*,136-137; Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 44-45, 106-107.

[25] In Valencia: "Item que null hom, havén muller, no gos tenir concupina o druda sots pena de LX sous, e, si serà maridada, que córreguen la vila segons fur, e que nungú nols gos logar casa sots pena de XX sous." See *Llibre d'establiments i ordenació de la*

ciutat de València, ed. Ferran García Oliver and Antoni Furió (València, 2007),166. In Barcelona, the *Consell de Cent* mandated that a married man could not keep a *concubina* or an *amiga* under penalty of 100 sous. See Roger Benito Julià, *La prostitució a la Barcelona Baixmedieval (segles XIV-XV),* (Tesi doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona, 2018), 83. For Mallorca, see E. K. Aguiló, "Ordinacions generals del governador Johan Aymerich, 1493" *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana* 4 (1892), 205-206. For Iberia and the Mediterranean, see also María del Carmen García Herrero, "Prostitución y amancebamiento en Zaragoza a fines de la Edad Media," *En la España Medieval* 12, no. 1 (1989), 315-317; María Teresa López Beltrán, "En los Márgenes del Matrimonio: Transgresiones y Estrategias de Supervivencia en la Sociedad Bajomedieval Castellana," in *La Familia en la Edad Media*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Nájera, 2000), 349-386; Byars, *Informal Marriages*, 72-73; Brian Pullan, "Prostitution, Sin, and The Law" in *Tolerance, Regulation and Rescue: Dishonoured Women and Abandoned Children in Italy, 1300-1800* (Manchester, 2016), 33-39; Didier Lett, "'Femmes Tenues' et 'Femmes Connues'. Concubinage et Adultère Dans Trois Statuts Communaux Marchésans du XV Siècle," in *Splendor Reginae. Passions, genre et famille*, ed. Laurent Jégou, Sylvie Joye, Thomas Lienhard et Jens Schneider (Turnhout, 2015), 169-178; Anna Esposito, "Adulterio, concubinato, bigamia: Testimonianze dalla normativa statutaria dello stato pontificio (secoli XIII-XVI)," in *Trasgressioni. Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia*, 38-39.

[26] [...] "fon ordenat per lo dit Consell, que les fembres escuseres qui estaran en carreres, on estaran bones gents, que a requisicio dels vehins ne sien gitades sens alcun rescat de diners, en tal manera, que a aquelles sia feta asignacio o dins la qual, haia buydada la carrera. Et si non fara que encontinent, passat lo dit terme, lo Justicia li faça tancar les portes e li faça gitar la roba en la carrera." Carboneres, *Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la Mancebía de Valencia*, 30.

[27] The fines were "affordable" when compared to other infractions, yet significant if added up, year after year. Here is just one example: in 1384, the authorities collected roughly 723 sous, six dinars from the *fembres errades*, and 3549 sous, one dinar from all of the other infractions combined. In Valencia, prostitute-concubines and their *amichs* were responsible for roughly twenty-percent of the overall income from policing criminal activity for that year. See ARV, Mestre Racionale no. 5984, fol. 44r. (1384).

[28] Another variation on this theme is "fembra publique" found in Valencia's *Mestre Racional*. See, for example, ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5974, fol. 7r., 8r. (1383). This language is also seen in Venice. See Clarke, "The Business of Prostitution in Early Renaissance Venice," 432-433.

[29] This phrase appears in the records of both Marseille and Valencia. In Valencia it is written as: "era avol de son cors." See ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5976, fol. 2r. (1386).

[30] In Palermo, a woman engaged in a concubinous relationship might also be identified as a *ganea*. Far less common is the custom to identify a concubinary couple as a *drut* and *druda*, which is mostly seen in juridical documents in the Crown of Aragon. More

often than not, only the woman appears in the document as a *druda*. See, for example, *Llibre d'establiments i ordenació de la ciutat de València*, ed. Ferran García Oliver and Antoni Furió (València, 2007),166; Bienvenido Oliver y Esteller, *Historia del derecho en Cataluña, Mallorca y Valencia: Código de las Costumbres de Tortosa*, vol. 2 (Madrid,1878), 350, 352.

[31] Unless, of course, it is specified that such a woman lived in a brothel (*mulier falhita in prostibulum*) and then her reputation as a false or defamed woman could be based on more than simply her profession but on other behaviors, such as drinking, thieving, gossiping, or using injurious words.

[32] Other scholars have noted the broad range of terminology used to describe prostitutes, concubines, and women whose sexual lives did not measure up to the standards of their neighbors or secular and religious authorities, highlighting the challenge of being able to identify with certainty their status. See, for example, Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society,* 50; Ruth M. Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York, 1996), 11-12, 27-29; Elizabeth S. Cohen, "Back Talk: Two Prostitutes' Voices from Rome c. 1600," *Early Modern Women* 2 (2007), 97-99. For a discussion of terms used to describe women's sexuality throughout Iberia, see Eukene Lacarra Lanz, "Legal and Clandestine Prostitution in Medieval Spain," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 79 (2002), 277-278; Pablo Pérez García, "Un aspecto de la delincuencia común en la valencia pre-agermanada: la 'prostitución clandestina' (1479-1518)," *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* no. 10 (1991), 19-21. For a discussion on the language used to indicate a concubinary relationship in Venice, such as *amica* and *mia donna,* o terms such as *donne del mondo* or *donne del vile conditione* for prostitutes, see Byars, *Informal Marriages in Early Modern Venice*, 27-30, 105.

[33] This definition of prostitute is indebted to Ruth Karras in *Common Women,* 138.

[34] The section of each *Mestre Racional* register that deals with prostitution usually specifies that the fines are remitted to the official by "homenes qui tenen amigues i ffembres qui tenen amichs." See ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5975, fol. 38r. (1384). Carmen Peris counted 371 prostitutes who were fined for keeping an *amich* in Valencia's *Mestre Racional* from 1367 to 1399. M. Carmen Peris, "La prostitución valenciana en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV," *Revista d'historia medieval*, no. 1 (1990), 183. However, our study considers three more registers that cover the years 1400 to 1402. Many more registers for the fifteenth-century exist, which means that this number could be significantly higher than four hundred.

[35] Peris, "La prostitución valenciana," 183.

[36] Men in Barcelona also paid fines for keeping their concubines in the brothels. See, for example, the fines paid on 20 January and 25 February 1370 to the subverguer of Barcelona. ACA, Real Patrimonial, Mestre Racional, no. 1548, unfoliated. This register

is in very bad condition and sadly the names of the men and women involved are not clear.

[37] ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5974, fols. 2v., 5r.v. (1383); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5970, fol. 17v. (1378); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5975, fol. 29r. (1384).

[38] This statement is based on our archival research in Valencia, Barcelona, Marseille, Mallorca, and Palermo. Examples of foreign men in Valencia can be found in ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5968, fol. 26v. (1376); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5973, fol. 23r. and 27v. (1382); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5980, fols. 13v., 14r., 30r. (1388); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5981, fols. 18v., 19r. (1389); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5983, fol. 50v. (1394); ARV, Mestre Racional, no. 5985, fols. 28r., 31r., 31v., 68v. (1397). Men from the region of Castile also appear frequently as *amichs*, indicating that traveling and working men without ties in the city formed bonds with prostitutes.

[39] Prostitute concubines and their *amichs* also appear in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó's Mestre Racional series, particularly registers no. 1547 (1369-1372), no. 1551 (1409-1413); no. 1476 (1431-1432), no. 1479 (1462). Prostitutes in fifteenth-century Bologna and in seventeenth-century Rome were likewise known to have relationships with men who were called their *amico fermo* (firm friend). See Vanessa McCarthy and Nicholas Terpstra, "Residence, community, and the sex trade in early modern Bologna," in *Sex, Gender and Sexuality in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Nicholas Terpstra (New York, 2019), 60, 61-62; Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 165-167. Storey considers these relationships different from concubinious unions. Based on her description, they are more like "regulars," who provide more financial support than simply paying for sexual acts; a prostitute could have more than one *amico fermo* at the same time. McCarthy and Terpstra, however, recognize that prostitutes could form long-term relationships with their *amico fermo* that offered them not only financial protection but also companionship. Although Jana Byars does not discuss at length the phenomenon of lower-end prostitutes who entered into concubinary relationships with their clients, a few examples appear in *Informal Marriages*, 22-23, 41.

[40] ACA, Real Patrimonial, Mestre Racional, no. 1547, fol. 9r.v. (1369).

[41] Catafau, "La soumission de prostituées à Perpignan," 110, 119-121. Both Catafau and Carmen Peris have assumed that the *amichs* of prostitutes were their pimps. And yet the sources clearly use the language of concubinage; the amichs "kept" the prostitutes. The assumption that the *amichs* were pimps living off the women makes the sex workers passive and takes away any strategy or choice for the women. It also does not make sense that the women would be fined for the men acting as their pimps. Officials were fining the couple, so it is clear the courts viewed their relationship as a concubinous one. What is more, the registers consistently show that bawds (*alcahueta* / *alcavot*) were punished with much higher fines. These men are not identified as *alcavots* nor are they fined the amounts seen among those labeled procurers. It also seems unlikely that a prostitute would have a number of pimps in a given month or year considering that certain women show up repeatedly with different *amichs*. While it is likely that some men may have attempted to pimp out their prostitute-concubine, it

seems unlikely that hostellers would have put up with pimps taking a cut from their business. See Peris, “La prostitución valenciana,” 193-196.

[42] Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), no. 2585, fols. 108v.-109r. (3 June 1466).

[43] ASP, Notai Defunti G. Gambotta, Stanza V, Register 77, nf. Henri Bresc, who also cited the couple Rosa and Johan (although he transcribed his last name as Sandinyo, a transcription we dispute), notes another rental to one Gerio de la Sperachia and his *amasia*, the prostitute Disiata, but we were unable to locate the acta that he cited. For the discusson of both these couples, see his “La prostitution médiévale en Méditerranée ocidental. De la ‘liberté’ à l’enfermement,” in *Les femmes entre violences et stratégies de liberté. Maghreb et Europe du Sud,* edited by Christiane Vauvy, Marguerite Rollinde, and Mireille Azzoug, (Paris, 2004), 263.

[44] For friendship between men, see among others, Alan Bray,*The Friend*; Brian P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250* (Ithaca, 1998, 2010); the special edition of Viator 38, no. 2 (2007) The Theory and Practice of Friendship in the Middle Ages; Ruth Mazo Karras, “David and Jonathan: A Late Medieval Bromance,” in *Rivalrous Masculinities: New Directions in Medieval Gender Studies*, edited by Anne Marie Rasmussen, (Notre Dame, IN 2019), 151-173; Roberto J. González-Casanovas, “Male Bonding as Cultural Construction in Alfonso X, Ramon Llull and Juan Manuel. Homosocial Friendship in Medieval Iberia,” in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, (Raleigh, 1999), 157-192; Richard Sévère, "Galahad, Percival, and Bors: Grail Knights and the Quest for "Spiritual Friendship"," *Arthuriana* 25, no. 3 (2015): 49-65. For friendship between women, see Joanne Findon, "The Other Story: Female Friendship in the Middle English Ywain and Gawain." *Parergon* 22, no. 1 (2005): 71-94. For heterosexual spiritual friendships, see H.M Canatella, “Long Distance Love: The Ideology of Male-Female Spiritual Friendship in Gocelin of St. Bertin’s *Liber Confortatorius*,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 19:1 (January 2010), 35-53.

[45] See, for example Judith M. Bennett, “‘Lesbian-like’ and the Social History of Lesbians.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9:1-2 (January/April 2001) 1-24 and E. Ann Matter, “My Sister, My Spouse: Woman-Identified Women in Medieval Christianity,” in *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on* Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality, edited by Matthew Kuefler, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 152-67; Robert Mills, “Gender, Sodomy, Friendship and the Medieval Anchorhold,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, Volume 36, Number 1, 2010, 1-27; Tom Linkinen, *Same Sex Sexuality in Later Medieval English Culture,* (Amsterdam, 2015), 254-280; Matthew Kuefler, “Male Friendship and the Suspicion of Sodomy in Twelfth-Century France,” in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages* edited by Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, (Minneapolis, 2003), 145-181.

[46] Brain McGuire, “Jean Gerson and the End of Spiritual Friendship,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe,* edited by Julian Haseldine, (Stroud, 1999), 229-250; Antonella Liuziza Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia: Historical, Legal and Literary Perspectives* (London, 2014), 187-191.

[47] On the necessity of friendship, see Eva Osterberg, *Friendship and Love, Ethics, and Politics: Essays in Mediaeval and Early Modern History, (*Budapest, 2010), 48-50.

[48] See, for example ARV, MR, no. 5974, fols. 2v, 3r, 3v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r (1383); ARV, MR, no. 5975, fols. 38r, 38v, 40r, 40v, 45v, (1384); ARV, MR, no. 5976 fol. 3r, 5r, (1386); ARV, MR, no. 5977, fol. 7r (1385); ARV, MR, no. 5979 fol. 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 15r (1387); ARV, MR, no. 5980, fols. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r (1388); ARV, MR, no. 5981, fol. 17r. (1389)

[49] ARV, MR, no. 5979, fol.14v. (1387): Item reebe xxx agost de Bartomeu Crespi e de Johana fembra peccadriu per tal com eren amich e amiga stants en la dita pobla comuna. For examples of other couples fined together see ARV, MR, no. 5980, fols. 12v, 13r, 14r, 14v, 15v (1388); ARV, MR, no. 5981, fol. 18r, 18v (1389).

[50] ARV, MR, no. 5970, fol. 34r. (1378).

[51] ARV, MR, no. 5977, fol. 7v. (1385); MR, no. 5979, fol. 20r. (1387); ARV, MR, no. 5980, fol. 12v. (1388). The fine for gambling, 110 sous, was significantly more than the fine of 7 sous and 8 dinars or the fine of 16 sous and 6 dinars he received for keeping an *amiga*.

[52] The term is Jana Byars's, who argued this is a central characteristic of the long-term unmarried couples she studies in early modern Venice. See her *Informal Marriages*, 8.

[53] ARV, MR, no. 5980, fol. 15v. (1388).

[54] ARV, MR, no. 5984, fol. 62v. (1396).

[55] In a 1334 letter to the king, Valencian officials reported that there was great danger traveling the roads to and from Valencia due to armed bandits who attacked by day and night and were known to kill people. Agustín Rubio Vela, *Epistolari de la Vàlencia medieval*, vol. 1 (Vàlencia, 2003), 271, document no. 134. For the dangers of travel, see, for example, Montserrat Piera, "Vulnerable Medieval Iberian Travellers: Benjamin of Tudela's *Sefer Ha-Massa'ot,* Pero Tafur's *Adanças e viajes* and Ahmad al-Wazzan's *Libro de la cosmographia et geographia de Africa,*" in *Remapping Travel Narratives (1000-1700): To the East and Back Again,* edited by Montserrat Piera, (Leeds, 2018), 63, 79-80, 81; Hourari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages,* translated by Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 84-89, 93-95, 241-42; Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World,* (Philadelphia, 2014), 66-72.

[56] Clark, "The Business of Prostitution," 455.

[57] Clark, "The Business of Prostitution," 455.

[58] Byars, *Informal Marriages,* 22.

[59] ARV, MR, no. 5972, fol. 20r. (1381).

[60] Sophie Lazarevic, "La prostitution à travers les comptes de châtelains et quelque sources normative (Vallé d'Aoste, de Suse et Valais, XIVe et XVe siècles," (Thèse de Maitrisse en histoire, Université de Lausanne, 1997), Appendix 2, 20.

[61] Diane Yvonne Ghirado, "The Topography of Prostitution in Renaissance Ferrara," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60:4 (December, 2001), 407.

[62] In a seventeenth-century court case from Bergamo where the prostitute Arsilia sued her *amic* to receive compensation for their three-year relationship, Arsilia noted that during that time her *amic* had gifted her with "three pairs of shoes, a pair of low-heeled slippers, and a few coins." See McCarthy and Terpstra, "In the Neighborhood," 61-62. Tessa Storey provides a detailed description of the gifts that prostitutes in seventeenth-century Rome received. Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 167, 170-171. See also J.A. Baird, "On Reading the Material Culture of Ancient Sexual Labor," *Helios* 42:1 (2015), 165-167. For a literary analysis of gift-giving between lovers in medieval literature, see E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undress: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture,* (Philadelphia, 2014), 48.

[63] Clark, "The Business of Prostitution," 428.

[64] Cohen, "Back Talk," 101; McCarthy and Terpstra, "In the Neighborhood," 62.

[65] The 1324 statute: "Item que tot saig qui beva en taverna o juch a graesca o a riffa o qui tenga fembra a sabut pus haia muller que sia escobat et gitat del offici." Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB), Consell de Cent, Llibres del Consell 8, fol. 21r.v. (1324, January 12). Many thanks to Marie Kelleher who not only brought this statute to our attention but shared her images with us. The 1345 statute: "Dels saigs que non tenguen fembra publica. Item que negun saig qui haia muller no gos essert alcavot ne tenir fembra publica ne altre." See Benito Julià, *La prostitució a la ciutat de Barcelona*," 157.

[66] For sumptuary constraints, see James Brundage, "Sumptuary Laws and Prostitution in Late Medieval Italy," *Journal of Medieval History,* 13:4 (December 1987), 343-355; *Les statuts municipaux de Marseille*, edited by Régine Pernoud (Paris and Monaco, 1949), "De meretricibus," 170; *Llibre d'establiments i ordenació de la ciutat de València*, no. 280 "Que nenguna fembra pública no gos entrat en la ciutat abrigada", 261-2; For spatial constraints, see *Les statuts municipaux,* "De probhibitione facta Judeis et meretricibus ne sint in stupis diebus probibitis," 171 and AHCB, Consellers, Miscel.lànea, 1 C V-13/1.1, "Ordinatio feta sobre enclosure de les fembres publicas en la semana santa," 1373; AHCB Consellers, Miscel.lànea 1, no 31, letter of Alfonso III, 1330; AHCB Consell de Cent, Llibre de Consell 12, "De vils fembres" fol. 19r. (1332) and AHCB Consell de Cent, Llibre de Consell 13, "Vils fembres," fol. 22r. (1333). See too, Roger Benito Juliá, "La prostitución y la alcahuetería en la Barcelona bajomedieval (siglos XIV-XV) *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 32 (2008), 11.

[67] Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Potestà di Lucca, Inquisizioni, no. 4709, unfoliated (1330). This case takes up the entire second quaderno of the register.

[68] Archaeological evidence reveals that for adult and adolescent males living in urban environments accidents at work were common, such as arm, leg and nasal fractures, severe arthritis, knee injuries, damage to joints and cartilage, and head injuries. Urban dwellers also suffered from infections and respiratory diseases--sinusitis, visceral rib lesions, and tuberculosis. The bodies of adult men and youths also show that interpersonal violence was common. See Mary Lewis, "Work and the Adolescent in Medieval England ad 900-1550: The Osteological Evidence," *Medieval Archaeology* 60, no. 1, 139, 144, 145, 148, 152-156, 161-163; Anne L. Grauer and Andrew G. Miller, "Flesh on the Bones: A Historical and Bioarchaeological Exploration of Violence, Trauma, Sex, and Gender in Medieval England," *Fragments* 6 (2017): 38-79; Maryanne Kowaleski, "Medieval People in Town and Country: New Perspective from Demography and Bioarchaeology," *Speculum* 89, no. 3 (2014), 584, 587, 589-592; Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, 2002), 20, 29, 32-33, 35, 88, 90-104.

[69] This was true in port cities throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. Bresc, "La prostitution médiévale en Méditerranée occidental. De la 'liberté' à l'enfermement," 263-4. See Joanne M Ferraro, "Making a Living: The Sex Trade in Early Modern Venice," *The American Historical Review* (February, 2018), 37; Karras, *Common Women*, 36, 55, 76; Maryanne Kowaleski, '"Alien" Encounters in the Maritime World of Medieval England," *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 99-100, 103.

[70] Marie A. Kelleher, "What Do We Mean by 'Women and Power'?" *MFF* 51, no. 2 (2015), 109-10. Allyson Poska has also stressed that "women had the opportunity to act independently, to achieve success, and exert power and authority in many aspects of their lives." See Poska, "The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe," *Gender & History* 30, no. 2 (2018): 354-365 at 355. For a recent study of medieval prostitutes and an analysis of their "complex subjectivity," see Jamie Page, *Prostitution and Subjectivity in Late Medieval Germany,* (Oxford, 2021), Introduction.

[71] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender and Society* 2:3 (September, 1988), 275. For a critique of patriarchy in favor of attention to interactions between multiple systems of domination and oppression, see Margaret Hunt, "Relations of Domination and Subordination in Early Modern Europe and the Middle East," *Gender & History,* 30 no. 2 (2018), 366-78. While Hunt dismisses patriarchy as offering only a static and partial view of premodern systems of domination and subordination, she recognizes the concept of bargaining within those systems as "important and influential" (at 369).

[72] ARV, MR, no. 5974, fol. 7r. (1383).

[73] ARV, MR, no. 5974, fol. 17v. (1383).

[74] Carissa Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies*: *Transgressive Talk and Sexual Education in Late Medieval Britain,* (Ithaca, 2018), 151.

[75] Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies,* 153.

[76] See n. 42 and n. 43.

[77] Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 165. During the course of their three-year relationship, the *amic* Pasulini had purchased his prostitute-concubine Arsilia two licenses for prostitution in Bologna. Vanessa McCarthy and Nicholas Terpstra suggest that amics paid for these licenses and that it was a sign of "commitment on the part of the men." McCarthy and Terpstra, "In the Neighborhood," 62.

[78] See n. 34.

[79] ARV, MR, no. 5974, fols. 4r. and 16r. (1383); ARV, MR, no. 5975, fol. 40r. (1384); ARV, MR, no. 5976, fols. 2v., 3r.(1385); ARV, MR, no. 5977, fols. 7r., 7v., 8r. (1385); ARV, MR, no. 5976, fol. 5r. (1386); ARV, MR, no. 5979, fols. 5r., 14r., 15r. (1387); ARV, MR, no. 5980, fols. 4r., 6v., 14r. (1388); ARV, MR, no. 5981, fol. 18r. (1389); ARV, MR, no. 5982, fol. 10r. (1393); ARV, MR, no. 5983, fols. 51v., 52r., 53r., 61r. (1394); ARV, MR, no. 5984, fols. 63r., 63v., 65v., 66v., 67r., 69r., 71r., 73v., 74v., 75r., 76r., 76v., 103v. (1396): ARV, MR, no. 5986, fol. 47r. (1399); ARV, MR, no. 5987, fols. 26v., 27r., 30r. (1400); ARV, MR, no. 5990, fol. 129r. (1402).

[80] ARV, MR, no. 5974, fol. 17r. (1383); ARV, MR, no. 5977, fol. 6v. (1385); ARV, MRl, no. 5976, fol. 20r. (1386); ARV, MR, no. 5979, fols. 12r. and 13v. (1387); ARV, MR, no. 5980, fols. 17r., 28v. (1388); ARV, MR, no. 5981, fols. 17r., 20r. (1389); ARV, MR, no. 5983, fols. 51v., 53v., 61r., 61v. (1394); ARV, MR, no. 5984, fol. 50v. (1396); ARV, MR, no. 5985, fol. 37r. (1397); ARV, MR, no. 5987, fol. 30r. (1400). See also, Peris, "La prostitución valenciana," 194-195.

[81] Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, transl. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford, 1988), 20-26, 38-42, 46-48, 104-106; Rossiaud, "Fraternités de jeunesse et niveaux de culture dans les villes du Sud-Est à la fin du moyen âge," *Cahiers de histoire* XXI, no. 12 (1976): 67-102; Richard C. Trexler, La prostitution florentine au XVe siècle: Patronages et clientèles, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 6 (1981), 994-995; See also Ottavia Niccoli, "Rituals of Youth: Love, Play, and Violence in Tridentine Bologna," in *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150-1650*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto, 2002), 75-110.

[82] Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*, 18: Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 208; Byars, *Informal Marriages*, 39-42; Ferraro, "Making a Living," 37; Ferraro, *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 2001), 106-113. Foreign merchants in London were known to prefer keeping a concubine to "paying the one-time services of a prostitute." See Karras, *Common Women*, 78. Catherine Lawless mentions that Florentine merchants were known to keep concubines in foreign cities. See "Women on the Margins: The "Beloved" and the "Mistress" in Renaissance Florence," in *Studies on*

Medieval and Early Modern Women: Pawns or Players?, ed. by Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (Dublin, 2003), 119.

[83] Clarke, "The Business of Prostitution in Renaissance Venice," 437 and n. 76: Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 205-208, 209.

[84] Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 205-206, 215, 216-219.

[85] María Milagros Cárcel Ortí and José Trenchs Odena, "El Consell de Valencia: disposiciones urbanísticas (siglo XIV)," *En la España medieval* 7 (1985), 1486-1487; Carme Batlle i Gallart, *El "Llibre del Consell": Font de Coneixement del municipi i de la societat de Barcelona del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 2007), 33-43; Damien Coulon, "Ruling Class and Long-Distance Trade in Barcelona at the End of the Middle Ages," in *Urban Elites and Aristocratic Behavior in the Spanish Kingdoms at the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2013), 133-142.

[86] Shannon McSheffrey, "Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Governance, Patriarchy, and Reputation," in *Conflicted Identities & Multiple Masculinities, ed. Jacqueline Murray* (New York, 1999), 243-278; Stephanie Tarbin, "Civic Manliness in London, c. 1380-1550," in *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent (Surrey, 2011), 23-46.

[87] Androniki Dialeti, "Patriarchy as a Category of Historical Analysis and the Dynamics of Power: The Example of Early Modern Italy," *Gender & History* 30, no. 2 (2018): 331-342.

[88] In Verona, Eisenach has also noted that the concubinary unions of non-noblemen who were without the power and protection of the privilege of noble status were easy targets for authorities. Even parish priests were reluctant to confront or report the concubinous unions of elite men to ecclesiastical authorities. Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*, 146, 172-173. Police in Bologna often raided the homes of prostitutes who lived together. See Vanessa McCarthy and Nicholas Terpstra, "Residence, community, and the sex trade in early modern Bologna," in *Sex, Gender and Sexuality in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Nicholas Terpstra (New York, 2019), 60.

[89] The office of Justicia Criminal in Valencia was an elected position that went to a member of the city's oligarchy. A dozen *saigs* (sheriffs), agents, and a number of *capdeguaytes* (civil guards) were under his command. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, "La justicia municipal en el reino de Valencia (ss. XIII-XV)," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 18 (2012-2014), 350, 354. For more on medieval policing, see William M. Bowsky, "The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287-1355," *The American Historical Review* 73(1) (October, 1967), 1-17; Joanna Carraway Vitiello, *Public Justice and the Criminal Trial in*

Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age (Leiden, 2016,) 50-53; Gregory Roberts, *Police Power in the Italian Communes, 1228-1326* (Amsterdam, 2019).

[90] [...] "establit e ordenat que daci avant emper tots temps alcun hom estrany o privat hostaler alcavot o altre de qualsevol ley condicio o estament sia no gos o presumesca tenir o haver per amiga alguna fembra en alcuna pobla de les avols fembres. Ne hay tampoch gos o presumesca tenir o haver per amiga en alcuna partida de la dita ciutat o del terme de aquella alcuna fembra publica ço es liurant son cos a altres publicament. E semblantment alcuna fembra standat de la dita pobla, ne altra fembra publica ço es liurant son cos a molts publicament en la Ciutat o en son terme no gos o presumesca tenir or haver alcun amich special ne cert per alcuna manera manifesta o amagada. [...] axi hom com fembra sostendra a pena grans açots discorren per tota la Ciutat quantes vegades contrafara." The penalty of whipping was amended a few months later to that of a fine or a whipping if the fine could not be paid. Carboneres, *Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la Mancebía de Valencia*, 30-33. We found no examples of such a high fine for this transgression. Rather, the typical fine was twelve sous.

[91] In the 1390 statute, the Consell laid the blame at the door of police officials who failed to observe the law: "Empero per atreviment dalcuns o per neglicencies dels honrats Justicies en lo criminal, lo dit stabliment, no es estat tro aci fermanent observat." Carboneres, *Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la Mancebía de Valencia*, 42.

[92] [...] que aytals alcavots o altres tinents les dites fembres publiques per amigues mils sien devisats e coneguts, ha novellament establit, e ordenat, que cascuns de tals alcavots et tinents tals amigues, haia e sia tengut portar continuament, capero ab cogulla, de drap groch, la qual haia cinch palms de lonch e un palm de ample, e quel capero sia daltre color qualsevulla, sots pena de L morabatins dor […]" Carboneres, *Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la Mancebía de Valencia*, 42-43.

[93] Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Illegitimacy, and Fatherhood," 5-7; Karras, *Unmarriages*, 72-79; Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 78, 80, 84; Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 102, 105-107; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 15-16, 19-26, 38-44, 48; Eukene Lacarra Lanz, "Changing Boundaries of Licit and Illicit Unions: Concubinage and Prostitution," in *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia,* ed. Eukene Lacarra Lanz (New York, 2002), 158–94; María del Carmen García Herrero, "Las mancebas en Aragón a fines de la edad media," in *Del nacer y el vivir: Fragmentos para una historia de la vida en la Baja Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2005), 177–95; Edward Behrend-Martínez, "'Taming Don Juan': Limiting Masculine Sexuality in Counter-Reformation Spain," *Gender & History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 333-352; Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York:, 1985), 28-32, 35-36, 40-41, 153, 158-161; Carol Lansing, "Concubines, Lovers, Prostitutes: Infamy and Female Identity in Medieval Bologna," in Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine and Duane J. Osheim, eds., *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Stanford, 2003), 85-100.

[94] Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2011), at 37, 38, 45-49.

[95] Pompeo Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della Repubblica*. Vol. 2, *Lo splendore* (Bergamo, 1911), 571.

[96]Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 48, 49, 51; Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, 1990), 191-2.

[97] Ward, "Gender Labor: Transmen, Femmes, and Collective Work of Transgression," 237. Also, Kadin Henningsen, '"Calling [herself] Eleanor': Gender Labor and Becoming a Woman in the Rykener Case," *MFF* 55, no. 1 (2019): 249-266.

[98] Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*, 145.

[99] Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Illegitimacy, and Fatherhood," 2, 7-8, 17-18.

[100] Karras, *Unmarriages*, 69; Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Illegitimacy, and Fatherhood," 8-9, 14-18; Grace E. Coolidge, "Investing in the Lineage: Children in the Early Modern Spanish Nobility, 1350-1750," in Grace E. Coolidge, ed., *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, 2014), 223-248; Laura Betzig, "Medieval Monogamy," *Journal of Family History* 20 (1995): 181-216.

[101] Teresa Bernardi and Matteo Pompermaier, "Hospitality and Registration of Foreigners in Early Modern Venice: The Role of Women within Inns and Lodging Houses," *Gender & History* 31, no. 3 (2019), 627-629, 630; P.J.P. Goldberg, "Desperately Seeking the Single Man in Later Medieval England," in *Single Life and the City, 1200-1900*, ed. Julie De Groot, Isabelle Devos, Ariadne Schmidt (London, 2015), 121-123, 125, 127; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 137, 144-148; Vinyoles, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400*, 83; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 129-130; Lightfoot, *Women, Dowries and Agency*, 16, 31, 68-69, 71; Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, 27-29.

[102] David Herlihy and Christiane Klapish-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, 1978), 202-215; Stanley Chojnacki, "Subaltern Patriarchs: Patrician Bachelors in Renaissance Venice" in *Medieval Masculinities*, 78-79; Samuel K. Cohn, "Women and Work in Renaissance Italy," in Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy, ed. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London, 1998), 107-126; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 14-15, 17-18; Vinyoles, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400*, 103. For a reassessment of John Hajnal's European Marriage Pattern and the existence of singlewomen in Mediterranean societies, see authors, "Singlewomen in the Late Medieval Mediterranean," (forthcoming in *Past & Present*).

[103] See, for example, Ivana Elbl, '"Men without Wives': Sexual Arrangements in the Early Portuguese Expansion in West Africa," in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in*

the Premodern West, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto, 1996), 61-86.

[104] ARV, MR, no. 5979, fols. 12r. and 12v. (1387).

[105] ARV, MR, no. 5973, fols. 23r. and 27v. (1382). In another example, Joan de Murcia and Maria Viveros appear as amiga and amich in 1394 and in 1396. See ARV, MR, no. 5983, fol. 60v. (1394); ARV, MR, no. 5984, fol. 74r. (1396).

[106] ARV, MR, no. 5970, fol. 32r. (1378); MR, no. 5974, fol.1v. (1383). Earlier in 1378, Na Valenço appeared as the *amiga* of another man.

[107] Vern L. Bullough, "On Being Male in the Middle Ages" in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis, 1994), 31-46; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 12-19, 144-150, 153; Alexandra Shepard, "Manhood, Patriarchy, and Gender in Early Modern Europe," in *Masculinities, Childhood, Violence: Attending to Early Modern Women and Men*, ed. Kim M. Phillips, "Gender and Sexuality," *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity, 1050-1500* (London, 2015), 309-321; Edward Behrend-Martínez, "Manhood and The Neutered Body in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 1073-1093; Susan Mosher Stuard, "Burdens of Matrimony: Husbanding and Gender in Medieval Italy" in *Medieval Masculinities*, 61-71.

[108] Kim M. Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws," *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 22-42; E. Amanda McVitty, "Engendering Erudition: Masculinity and Legal Authority at England's Medieval Inns of Court," *Gender & History* 32 no. 2 (2009), 447-464; Steven Bednarski and Andrée Courtemanche, "Learning to be a man: public schooling and apprenticeship in late medieval Manosque," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 113-135; Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, 50-60; P.J.P. Goldberg, "Masters and Men in Later Medieval England," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Hadley (New York, 1999), 56-70; Lucie Laumonier, "Meanings of Fatherhood in Late-Medieval Montpellier: Love, Care and the Exercise of Patria Potestas," *Gender & History* 27, no. 3 (2013): 651-668; Stanley Chojnacki, "Subaltern Patriarchs: Patrician Bachelors in Renaissance Venice," in *Medieval Masculinities*, 73-90; M. Bennett, "Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050–c.1225," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, 71-88; Andrew G. Miller, '"Tails' of Masculinity: Knights, Clerics, and the Mutilation of Horses in Medieval England," *Speculum* 88, no. 4 (October 2013): 958-995; Simon Yarrow, "Men and Masculinities at the Courts of the Anglo-Norman Kings in the Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis," *The Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2014): 105-114.

[109] Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, 39-49, 60-69. See also Farmer, "The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris" in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, 2000), 153-171.

[110] Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), 157-159, 177.

[111] For the importance of patrician men, particularly merchants, as the leading citizens in trade and government in the Mediterranean and the Crown of Aragon, see Robert Sabatino Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York, 1967); Enrique Cruselles Gómez, *Los Comerciantes Valencianos del Siglo XV y Sus Libros de Cuentas*, (Castelló de la Plana, 2007); Agustín Rubio Vela, "Ideologia i progrés material a la València del Trescents," *L'Espill* 9 (1981): 11-38; Chapter 7 and 8 of Stephen P. Bensch's *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096-1291* (Cambridge, 2002); Gregory B. Milton, *Market Power: Lordship, Society, and Economy in Medieval Catalonia, 1276-1313* (New York, 2012); Jaume Aurell, "Merchants' attitudes to work in the Barcelona of the later Middle Ages: organisation of working space, distribution of time and scope of investments," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 197-218; Jeffy Fynn-Paul, *The Rise and Decline of an Iberian Bourgeoisie. Manresa in the Later Middle Ages, 1250-1500* (Cambridge, 2016). See also Martha Howell, "Gender in the Transition to Merchant Capitalism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras (Oxford, 2013): 561-578; Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008), 13-30; Sharon Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris* (Philadelphia, 2017), 2-3, 18-20, 22-23, 113, 115, 120-121; Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Philadelphia, 2006), 168, 170, 171, 173-174, 180; Carol Lansing, "Gender and Civic Authority: Sexual Control in a Medieval Italian Town," *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 1 (1997): 33-59.

[112] Howell, "Gender in the Transition to Merchant Capitalism," 565.

[113] Smail, *The Consumption of Justice*, 124, 125-128.

[114] John K. Brackett, "The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance," in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell (Los Angeles, 2002), 293-314; Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines*, 17; Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros*, 9, 11.

[115] A 1378 order registered in the Manuals de Consells, states that false beggars: "no volen servir senyors ne en altra manera treballar com fer-ho poguessen e per açó havia gran minua de misatgers e de faeners en la dita ciutat." Valencian statutes aimed to punish or exile certain people that are labeled and characterized as: "persones baralloses, bregoses i revoltises, e ocioses i vagaroses," See Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, "Las leyes de pobres en la metrópolis. Mendigos, miserables, trabajadores en Valencia, 1306-1462," *Clio & Crimen* 9 (2012): 165-284, at 69 and 17.

[116] ARV, MR, no. 5976, fol. 4r. (1386); MR no. 5979, fol. 15r. (1387). Other examples of vagabonds and *amicas* include Pere Sanço, an "hom vagabunt", and his amiga Elvira, in addition to Joan Sanxez, "hom vagabunt", and his *amica* Mayor, a *fembra peccadriu*. See ARV, MR, no. 5980, fols. 7r. and 13r. (1388).

[117] ARV, MR, no. 5980, fol. 10r. (1388); MR, no. 5971, fol. 3v. (1379).

[118] See n. 85.

[119] See n. 25 for the full text of this 1390 Valencian statute. For the 1390 Mallorca statute that required *amichs* to wear the same hood, see Antonio Planas Rosselló, "Los delitos contra el matrimonio y la moral sexual en el Derecho histórico de Mallorca," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana* 56 (2000), 60. For the badges or distinctive clothing that Jews were required to wear, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), 127, 133, 146-147; Jonathan Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, 2006), 145, 156-164; Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK, 2018), 4, 12, 15, 20, 23, 29-30, 45, 66, 70-71, 73, 105 n.59; 106 n. 61; 108; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), 110, 133, 215.

[120] Stephen F. Kruger, "Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?" in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler* (New York, 2000), 21-42; Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, 2007), 167, 169, 173-177, 194-196, 199.

[121] These city ordinances of the *Manuals de Consell* are published in an appendix to Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno's article "Las leyes de pobres en la metrópolis. Mendigos, miserables, trabajadores en Valencia, 1306-1462." See documents no. 32, 43, 56, 59, 60, 66. Statutes from Barcelona point to a similar link between foreign vagabond, poverty, and begging. See María Piedad Espitia Molina, "Pobreza y Caridad en el Barrio de la Ribera Siglos XIV-XV," *Ex Novo: Revista d'Història i Humanitats* 3 (2006), 62, 67-68.

[122] Rubio Vela, *Epistolari de la Vàlencia medieval*, vol. 1, 289, document no. 139.

[123] Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture*, 137-163, 180; McSheffrey, "Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture: Governance, Patriarchy, and Reputation," in *Conflicting Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York, 1999), 243-278; McSheffrey, "Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality: A Comment on Marjorie McIntosh's *Controlling Misbehavior*," *Journal of British Studies* 37 no. 3 (July 1998): 269-278; Neal, *The Masculine Self*, 22, 58-62, 63, 67, 72.

[124] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005), 832; R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Second edition (Berkeley, 2005), 78-80. Connell and Messerschmidt argue that "the concept of hegemonic masculinity presumes the subordination of nonhegemonic masculinities… Also well supported is the idea that the hierarchy of masculinities is a pattern of hegemony, not a pattern of simple domination based on force. Cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and the marginalization or

delegitimization of alternatives are widely documented features of socially dominant masculinities."

[125] This does not mean that sexual desire and practice were one and the same. Men who experienced same-sex desire in premodern societies would have felt some degree of pressure to perform heterosexual desire in society because sexual relations with women--courting, seducing, romantic love, and raping--were coded as masculine. The pressure to perform sexual desire with women would have depended upon the extent to which a subculture of same-sex practice existed in a particular city, such as the one documented by Michael Rocke in Florence. Of course, a person could experience sexual desire for men alone or for both men and women. We want to make clear here that medieval people did not identify as "heterosexual," "homosexual," or "bisexual," but simply that acquiring, possessing, and dominating the bodies of women was considered a male act that reaffirmed a man's gender identity. For more on this subject, see James A. Schultz, "Heterosexuality as a Threat to Medieval Studies," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 1 (2006): 14-29; Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay, *Sex Before Sexuality: A Premodern History* (Cambridge, UK, 2011), 40-47; Ruth M. Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 3rd edition (London, 2017), 7-12, 168-179, 197-207; Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford, 1996); Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies,* 29-38, 40-42, 46-49, 105, 108-109; Michelle Armstrong-Partida "Precarious Manhood: Adolescence and Gang Rape in Late Medieval Europe," *MFF* 56, no. 2 (Spring 2021):125-175.

[126] ARV MR, no. 5979 fol. 4r (1387).

[127] ARV MR, no. 5979 fol. 6v (1387); For other examples of vagabunts carrying prohibited weapons in physical altercations with other men, see ARV MR no. 5980 fols. 3r, 5r, 6r-v, 7r, 8r-v (1388); in ARV Mestre Racional no. 5976 fol. 6v, 8v (1376).

[128] Jacqueline Murray, "Hiding Behind the Universal Male: Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York, 1996), 127, 129-132, 134, 135-136; Joyce E. Salisbury, "Gendered Sexuality," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, 84-85; Rossaiud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 39.

[129] Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws," 29.

[130] Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, 2009), 15.

[131] Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley, "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices," *Feminism and Psychology* 9, no. 3 (1999), at 352, 353. See also Mimi Schippers, "Recovering the feminine other: masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony," *Theory and Society* 36 (2007), 88 – 87, 93, 98. Because gender identity is situational and is mobilized differently depending on the context, sociologists and social psychologists also believe that it can be multi-positional.

[132] We should not overlook the fact that engaging in the illicit, especially when the law clearly targeted lower-class men and not elites for keeping prostitute-concubines, may have engendered feelings that their act of rebelliousness was manly too. Foucault, after all, emphasized that "where there is power, there is resistance" and that groups or individuals can deploy resistance "in a definitive way, inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behavior." Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York, 1990), 95-96. See also Karen D. Pyke, "Class-Based Masculinities: The Interdependence of Gender, Class, and Interpersonal Power," *Gender and Society* 10, no. 5 (1996), at 538, 527 – 549. See also Douglas Schrock and Michael Schwalbe, "Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009), 285; Thomas Miller Klubock, "Working-Class Masculinity, Middle-Class Morality, and Labor Politics in the Chilean Copper Mines," *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 2 (1996), 445-447.

[133] Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London, eds. "Introduction: Gender and the Politics of Punishment," in *Prison Masculinities*, Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London, eds. (Philadelphia, 2001), at 6, 7, 65. Consider that in present day American society men who have served time in prison, particularly members of gangs, enjoy a certain level of respect and "street credibility" from their peers and younger boys as "bad ass" men. See Martha Morey and Ben Crewe, "Work, Intimacy, and Prisoner Masculinities," in *New Perspectives on Prison Masculinities*, ed. Matthew Maycock and Kate Hunt (New York, 2018), 20; Ben Crewe, *The Prisoner Society: Power, Adaptation and Social Life in an English Prison* (Oxford, 2009), 204-205, 437-438.

[134] Smail, *The Consumption of Justice*, 22; Rena Lauer, "Jewish Women in Venetian Candia: Negotiating Intercommunal Contact in a Premodern Colonial City, 1300-1500," in *Religious Cohabitation in European towns* (10th-15th centuries), ed. John V. Tolan and Stéphane Boissellier (Turnhout, 2015), 296.

[135] Amadeo Serra Desflis, "Historia de dos palacios y una ciudad: Valencia, 1238-1460," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23, no. 2 (2013), 339, 340; Narbona, "La justicia municipal en el reino de Valencia," 354-355. For Barcelona, see Batlle i Gallart, *El "Llibre del Consell,"* 16-18.

[136] Robert C. Davis, "The Geography of Gender in the Renaissance," in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London, 1988),19-38; A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2001), 59-62, 66-69, 73, 76-78; Phil Withington, "Company and Sociability in Early Modern England," *Social History* 32, no. 3 (August 2007): 291-307; Justin Colson, "A Portrait of a Late Medieval London Pub: the Star Inn, Bridge Street," in *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Elizabeth A. New and Christian Steer (London, 2019), 44-45, 51-52, 53-54; James Amelang, "The Myth of the Mediterranean City. Perceptions of Sociability," in *Mediterranean Urban Culture*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter, 2000), 15-30.

[137] For a succinct explanation of how space can embody multiple meanings and serve as a marker of social divisions, as well as the social and cultural constructions of gender

and privilege, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, “Space and Place in Medieval Contexts,” *Parergon* 27, no. 2 (2010): 1-12. See also Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn, “Medieval Urban Culture: Conceptual and Historiographical Problems,” in *Medieval Urban Culture*, ed. Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn (Turnhout, 2017), 1-25; Aurell, “Merchants’ attitudes to work,” 201-205.

[138] See Claire Judde de Larivière, “The Urban Culture of the Ordinary People. Space and Identity in Renaissance Venice,” in *Medieval Urban Culture*, 27-40; J.F. Merritt’s chapter on “Space and Urban Identities” in *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2018); Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw, “Cleaning up the Renaissance City: The Symbolic and Physical Place of the Genoese Brothel in Urban Society,” in *The Place of the Social Margins, 1350-1750*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw (New York, 2017), 155-180; Paula Hohti, “Domestic space and identity: artisans, shopkeepers, and traders in sixteenth-century Siena,” *Urban History* 37, no. 3 (December 2010): 372-385; Amadeo Serra, “La imagen de la ciudad: prestigio e identidad urbana en Valencia, 1350-1480,” *Sociedad Urbana. Revista de estudios urbanos* 2 (1995): 69-86; Christopher R. Corley, “On the Threshold: Youth as Arbiters of Urban Space in Early Modern France,” *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 139-156; Ferraro, “Making a Living,” 40-42; Clarke, “The Identity of the Expatriate Florentines in Venice in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, 384-408; Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore, 2001), 81, 94-97,103.

[139] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv, 185, 191-192.

[140] Catafau, “La soumission des prostituées à Perpignan,” 110, 119, 120, 121.

[141] Benito Julià, “La prostitució a la Barcelona Baixmedieval,” 127.

[142] ACA, Processos en Quart, fol. 1r-9v. (1443). See also, Benito Julià, “La prostitució a la Barcelona Baixmedieval,” 217-219.