Affective networks across the divide: singlewomen, the notarial archive, and social connections in the late medieval Mediterranean

Susan McDonough & Michelle Armstrong-Partida

Agnes de Soto, an immigrant from Castile to Mallorca, had been very, very sick. She suffered for a long time with a "cruel illness" (*crudeli infirmitate*), during which she surely contemplated her mortality, perhaps even wished for her death.[1] She was lucky to be living, but her time as a patient left her deeply in debt. The many medicines and "other necessities" her illness occasioned had not been free, though they were critical in assuring at least her basic survival (*minime sustentari*). Agnes did not, it seems, have the money to pay for her care herself. Rather, the mariner Ochoa de Bermeo, another Castilian, paid all of her bills while she was sick and recovering. But he did not do so as a gift; he expected to be repaid. And thus we encounter Agnes and Ochoa in the pages of the notary Bernat Contesti's casebook in 1458.

Agnes promised to repay all sixty *lliures* before leaving Mallorca, either to Ochoa directly or to his procurator, whom we learn from the next *acta* in Contesti's casebook was the *hostelera* Maria de Valveseda. A sailor on the ship the *Santa,* Ochoa wisely designated Maria to act in his stead because of his frequent absence from the island.

So many details of these brief notarial entries intrigue us. What was the relationship between Agnes and Ochoa? Did they arrive together from Castile? Did they meet on the island of Mallorca and start chatting when they recognized the other's vernacular speech? Were they connected through sex, either a concubinous couple or a sex worker and client?[2] A few details

[1] Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2523, 45v (1458).

[2] These were not always distinct categories, as we argue in McDonough and Armstrong-Partida, "Amigas and Amichs," 50, 52–53.

from the two *acta* make us wonder about this final question especially. It is clear from the record that neither Agnes nor Maria was married: neither is identified as anyone's wife, which was a standard detail included by Mediterranean notaries.[3] Furthermore, Maria's occupation as a hosteller often doubled as a brothelkeeper.[4] So perhaps Agnes was a sex worker living in a brothel under Maria's control, where she met the sailor Ochoa. But Agnes isn't identified as a sex worker or as a concubine, designations which are fairly common across notarial casebooks in the Mediterranean, suggesting that notaries had no qualms about identifying either prostitutes or long-term quasi-marital partners when such women procured their services.[5]

Even more than these questions, answers to which we can only speculate, the entries ask us to think about the kinds of networks singlewomen in the Mediterranean created for themselves when they did not have marital kinship networks to tap into. Agnes lived under a cloud of precarity, both physical and financial. Her body weakened by illness, she was unable to pay the costs of her treatment without a loan. Her singleness alone did not dictate her precarity–of course, many married women lived in economically dire straits–but it did mean that she had to be more creative and deliberate in determining her community, particularly in times of sickness and at the end of life. Without a husband and his kin network, singlewomen, especially those

---

[3] Armstrong-Partida and McDonough, "Singlewomen in the Late Medieval Mediterranean," 12–15.

[4] Narbona Vizcaino, *Pueblo, Poder y Sexo*, 122–48; Bresc, "La prostitution médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale," 255–72.

[5] See McDonough, "Moving Beyond Sex," 401–19.

who had migrated away from their natal families, had fewer built-in mourners who might grieve their passing. In this article, we will consider how singlewomen like Agnes, whose existence scholars have too long overlooked, made their communities visible through notarial acts. In fleshing out the communities they created in life, we argue that the last wills and testaments of Mediterranean singlewomen signal their intention to maintain and nurture those communities, even after they were no longer present to participate in them. Andrea Boffa has argued that last wills and testaments are "a lens through which to view an individual woman in relation to her social network," and their status as public documents signified how women wanted to be remembered.[6] For singlewomen, then, making a will was one way to declare their unmarried identity and their place within their community. As their bodies declined and with their awareness of an impending death heightened, singlewomen used their wills to signal their affections, obligations, and belongings that would outlast their lives.

Our study uses a capacious definition of singlehood. We count as single those women who were unmarried, such as nubile young women still living in their natal home and life-cycle singlewomen working as domestics, as well as the enslaved, the never married, widows, and abandoned wives who for all intents and purposes lived like singlewomen and supported themselves.[7] Our methodology for identifying singlewomen follows a consistent pattern of the labeling of women that appears in sources throughout the Mediterranean. Married women are noted as a wife (*uxor*) or simply the woman (*mulier*) of a man. Widows are identified as a

[6] Boffa, "Creating Identity Through the Act of Will-Making," 212.

[7] We have borrowed and expanded the definition of singlewomen from Beattie, *Medieval Single Women,* 8–9, and "'Living as a Single Person'," 327–40.

relicta, *vidua*, or the wife of a deceased husband (*uxor quondam*). Unmarried women most often appear with their geographic place of origin or residence, frequently as a *habitatrix* (inhabitant of), and are not affiliated with a man. In some situations, unmarried women are also identified as the daughter of a father who is usually deceased (*filia quondam*).[8] Although the scholarship on medieval women has focused primarily on the marriage process for young women or on the economic lives of married and widowed women, far less attention has been paid to the existence of singlewomen in Iberia, southern France, and Italy. Too often, the single status of a woman has been presumed to indicate that she was a sex worker.[9] Many prostitutes were single, but it is a mistake to assume that singlewomen were a homogenous group. Given the growth of trade from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and the migration of people across the Mediterranean that brought men and women from the countryside to urban centers, such as port towns, looking for work, singlewomen worked as domestic servants and apprentices, while others labored as hucksters or as peddlers of old clothing.[10] Many found employment in low-paying jobs within

---

[8] For a more extensive discussion of how women identified themselves in notarial documents, see Armstrong-Partida and McDonough, "Singlewomen in the Late Medieval Mediterranean." This same pattern when identifying singlewomen in notarial records was noted by Reyerson, *Women's Networks in Medieval France,* 136, and "Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier," 119; Rollo-Koster, "The Women of Papal Avignon," 42, at 49. See also Klapisch-Zuber, "Female Celibacy and Service in Florence," 172–73.

[9] This problem was identified by Karras, "Sex and the Singlewoman," 131, 137.

[10] Mummey and Reyerson, "Whose City Is This?," 910–22; Rollo-Koster, "The Women of Papal Avignon," 44–49. For migration in the Mediterranean, see Balard and Ducellier, *Migrations et Diasporas Méditerranéennes*; Vaquer, "Immigrants a Mallorca," 353–62.

the booming textile industries of wool and silk that could be found in port cities, such as Barcelona and Valencia.[11] In Mallorca, women were involved in the production of sails for various kinds of nautical transport.[12]

Just as we rely on a capacious definition of singlewomen, this article also covers a broad chronology from the early fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.[13] Rather than make an argument about change over time, our aim here is to highlight singlewomen's community building as intrinsic to the culture of the late medieval Mediterranean, within a time frame that historians have noted for the increase in acquisition of household objects and furniture, luxury items, and fashion that signaled status and wealth.[14] This unprecedented production and consumption of goods produced a "great mass of registers and other written materials generated by courts and notaries in cities and towns across the undulating arc of Mediterranean Europe in

[11] López Beltrán, "El trabajo de las mujeres," 39–57; Comas, Muntaner, and Vinyoles, "Elles no només filaven," 19–45.

[12] Ortega Villoslada, "El trabajo femenino en Mallorca," 461–69.

[13] Much of the scholarship that employs a Mediterranean framework covers a broad chronology and is built on the commonalities and influences that unite the region. See, for example, Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*; Abulafia, *The Mediterranean in History*; Catlos, "Why the Mediterranean?" 1–18; Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea,* and "The Mediterranean and the 'New Thalassology'," 722–40; Husain and Fleming, *A Faithful Sea*; Hamilton and Silleras-Fernández, *In and of the Mediterranean.*

[14] On Isabel de Sousa, a singlewoman from the upper ranks of Iberian society at the turn of the sixteenth century, see in this special issue Rodrigues, "Splendour in Life."

the later Middle Ages."[15] As historians working in archives of port cities across Iberia, Italian and southern French polities, we see a common notarial culture that documented not only the business dealings of merchants across the region, but one that also produced similar patterns of recording how the living wanted to disperse their belongings to those left behind. The singlewomen in this study were rarely wealthy; their modest legacies serve as a reminder of the economic diversity of Mediterranean inhabitants, and a corrective to studies focused on the wealth of the merchant class.

Using a Mediterranean framework that views the region and its shores, islands, and hinterlands as connected economically, socially, and culturally in spite of political and religious differences, we focus on singlewomen living in port cities where migrants, urban poverty, and working women were omnipresent.[16] Much of our attention in this article is focused on the islands of Mallorca, Sicily, and Crete, with supporting examples from Barcelona and Valencia, to show that the recognition of singlewomen in the wills of married and widowed women reveals their integration into women's communities in important trade centers. Although these islands are located in different regions of the Mediterranean, they were all critical entrepots, shared a

---

[15] Smail, *Legal Plunder: Households and Debt Collection*, 7. Considering a similar chronology for her study of the consumption of household goods in England, French, *Household Goods and Good Households*, 2, has likewise used the wills and inventories of households from 1300 to 1540 because she views this period as "a time of economic contraction sandwiched between the growth and maturation of the medieval economic system in the twelfth century and the rapid expansion of the sixteenth century."

[16] For scholarship that treats the Mediterranean as a unit of historical analysis, see above note 13.

history of colonization, and included significant populations of enslaved people.[17] As we consider the forces that shaped the lives of singlewomen, we are attentive to the dynamics of enslavement and colonization and how both limited opportunities for marriage while creating connections between community members. Drawing on Barbara Rosenwein's articulation of the "emotional communities" embedded in epitaphs for the dead in early medieval Gaul, we suggest that last wills and testaments offer an avenue to understand how singlewomen created and participated in such communities.[18] Singlewomen, free or enslaved, faced death with fewer familial connections than others. Their notarial acts offer glimpses of the lives they created, the relationships they wanted to memorialize, and the emotions that came to the surface as their deaths neared.

Reconstructing Singlewomen's Communities

Agnes and Ochoa were not the only unmarried and unrelated people whose friendly, if not intimate, relationship appears in notarial registers. In 1460, the widow Pareta was preparing for her death when she made an arrangement with Guillem Guardia, a laborer in a workshop and a citizen of Mallorca. Pareta promised to make Guillem her universal heir in return for his service and specified that he had the usufruct rights to her belongings while she lived so that he could feed and care for her. Pareta acknowledged the heavy cost of Guillem's service, which was

[17] For Mallorca, see Bosch, '"Servam et captivam meam'," 177–204; Jover i Avellà, Mas i Forners, and Soto i Company, "Colonització feudal i esclavitud," 19–48. For Crete, see McKee, "Inherited Status and Slavery," 31–52. For Sicily, Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Meet*; Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms*.

[18] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, 57–78.

increasingly required, suggesting that she was ailing. While it appears that Pareta was without family, it seems probable that she and Guillem were far more than acquaintances because their agreement required a significant amount of trust on Pareta's part.[19] She was, after all, giving Guillem full control of her finances.[20] One wonders if Pareta and Guillem were already living together, or if she planned on moving into his home. Considering that Pareta did not own property, such as land or a house, and reserved only 100 *sous* for herself to manage during their arrangement, and that Guillem was a laborer, all indications are that both may have needed each other. Sickness and failing health were real concerns for women, especially when they were economically vulnerable or on their own.

Nicolava, the wife of a mariner in Mallorca, likewise ill and fearing death, drew up a living will in 1450 that granted the usufruct rights to her goods and property while she was living and then, upon her death, bestowed all her belongings to her caregiver Llorença, the wife of a butcher.[21] Recognizing that Llorença needed access to her assets to care and feed her, Nicolava saved only the very small sum of twenty *sous* for herself while she was under Llorença's care. Perhaps Nicolava was an abandoned spouse or her husband simply planned to be away for a very long time; either way, she was worried enough to know she could not rely on her husband for

---

[19] Christian widows across the economic spectrum had access to more financial power and legal agency, often as guardians of their children, than married or single women, but as Pareta's example shows, widows with no family created their own networks through their last wills and testaments. See Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan,* 40–44, 65–67.

[20] ARM, notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2515, 188v–189r (1460).

[21] ARM, notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2507, 44r (1450). For more on caregiving between women, see Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris,* 160.

care at the end of her life. It's not likely that Llorença was a stranger to Nicolava but rather a woman in her orbit of friends with whom she had some emotional tie and who likewise benefited economically from inheriting the few goods Nicolava possessed. Other ties of friendship also appear in Nicolava's will. She required that Llorença repay Joanna, the wife of a dyer, who had loaned her twenty *sous* and asked that she bestow another twenty *sous* on Joanna, in addition to one of her best nightgowns (*camisiam*), in recognition for the good service that Joanna had provided her many times.[22] Nicolava also requested that three singlewomen Caterina Costa, Mateva Grua, and Rapa, who now served the priest Anthonio and was likely his concubine, receive various items of her clothing. To the singlewoman Mateva Argilis, Nicolava bestowed the small sum of ten *sous*. To Catoy, the wife of a wool weaver, she granted several blankets. Finally, to Margarida, Llorença's daughter, she gave a small box that had once housed her jewels, located in her pantry, within her home.[23]

Commented [MOU1]: It would be very helpful to see the original terms for objects like these in your documents, as you did above with nightgown, rather than just the English translation.

We would like to linger here over these material bequests Nicolava left for the women in her circle. They draw our attention for two reasons, the first practical and the second emotional. In his comparative study of household inventories and debt collection in Marseille and Lucca, Daniel Smail noted that in notarial casebooks, clothing, in comparison to other household goods like pottery or place settings or wine, was always described in rich detail. From this, he concludes that "the notaries and sergeants and the men and women who redacted the inventories just saw the objects that way, as objects possessing a special charisma that attracted thick

[22] ARM, notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2507, 44v (1450).

[23] ARM, notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2507, 44v–45r (1450).

description."[24] When women left articles of their clothing to others, they bestowed that special charisma along with the object. Nightgowns and greatcoats and gowns had an inherent monetary value–they could be sold on the secondhand market, and professional resellers counted on bequests from wills as sources for their wares.[25] Clothing kept its value, and even quite well-worn fashions would bring a tidy sum at auction.[26] When Guilelmeta de Moustier married for the second time sometime before 1340 in Marseille, she brought to her marriage clothing worth 100 *sous*. After her death some years later, those same items fetched 91 *sous* at the auctioneer's table.[27] So a bequest of clothing was also a financial gift, should the legatee be interested in selling it on.

We'd suggest, though, that leaving items of clothing meant more than simply passing on a vehicle for financial support. Clothing carries with it the reminder of the person who wore it, the scent of their body within its fabric, the memories of the last time they sported it with flair. It

---

[24] Smail, *Legal Plunder*, 36. See also Barceló Crespí, *Davant la mort*, 96–101. French, *Household Goods,* 44, 69, uses "charisma" synonymously with "opulence" or "visual impact" in her description of household goods like tapestries and bedding. For a helpful discussion of the shifting meanings of charisma, from the early Christian usage to the contemporary political, see Aurell, "The Notion of Charisma," 607–37.

[25] Meneghin, "The Second-Hand Clothing Business," 529.

[26] French, *Household Goods,* has recently shown the extent to which merchants and artisans after the plague used their new-found wealth to spend more on clothing, household furnishings, and larger homes.

[27] Smail, *Legal Plunder*, 42.

is a deeply intimate bequest, even as it carried with it practical monetary potential.[28] When Nicolava bequeathed Johana one of her best nightgowns, she was offering more than an opportunity to sell it on for cash, but a tangible connection to the times they had been together in life, even when Nicolava was no longer there to share those experiences. Using evidence from wills, marriage contracts, and charters, Tehmina Goskar has shown that in life, the clothing worn by women in southern Italy provides "compelling evidence of a shared culture of possessions and goods" with other women across the Mediterranean.[29] Closer to home, women used clothing bequests to signal their affinities and loyalties. Leaving her clothing to her network, in other words, was one way that Nicolava shored up the boundaries of her community and established the connections between the earthly and spiritual worlds. And for singlewomen who both drew up wills and were the recipients of bequests in others' wills, the giving and receiving of charisma-endowed clothing reflected and enhanced the communities they lived in before death. Further, these items offered something like immortality, the knowledge that something of them would live on, even after the women were long dead.

As expected, Nicolava's network of friends included many married women in her circle, but it's important to note that singlewomen who were not widows were also her friends and people she hoped would remember her after she passed. Only one of the singlewomen is identified as the daughter of a father, suggesting that the remaining women were living on their

[28] Boffa, "Creating Identity Through the Act of Will-Making," 220, briefly touches upon the "echoes of friendship" found in women's wills. Reyerson, "Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350," 50, has also noted the terms of endearment that appear in women's wills.

[29] Goskar, "Material Worlds," 191.

own. It's quite possible that Nicolava, a mariner's wife, had built friendships with these singlewomen in her neighborhood. She probably encountered them when she ran errands, went to the market, and attended mass at their parish church. Similarly, the contours of a woman's neighborhood community emerges from the will of the married woman Margarida who reveals that she was friends with the local taverner's wife, Jacmeta, now a widow, to whom she left ten *sous*. Margarida specifically identified her neighbors, such as the daughter of En Rocha, a *brasserius* (agricultural worker), as her *vicina* (neighbor) to whom she left a tunic, and the married woman Francesca, another *vicina* to whom she left five *sous*. Angelina, the unmarried daughter of Na Guarsasa, who also appears unmarried, received twenty *sous* and clothing, similar to the singlewoman simply identified simply as Na Corteya who received a white tunic and a pair of boots.[30] Indeed, it is remarkable that most of Nicolava and Margarida's textiles went to the singlewomen who were perhaps the poorest among their group and in financial need of the clothing and household linens that were gifted. Certainly Nicolava and Margarida considered them part of their community, their differing marital status notwithstanding.

Although unmarried women are harder to trace in extant records because notarial records favor those who had wealth in the form of property, cash, and goods to bestow or invest in business, singlewomen were very much a part of urban life and the communities in which they lived and worked. Evidence for singlewomen living in the same neighborhood can be seen in an example from Palermo where a creditor's dispute over property in court describes the house in question located near the home of two unmarried women. On the one side was the house of

[30] Arxiu Capitular de Mallorca (ACM), notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, 89r–v (1382). Na Guarsasa and Na Corteya are the only women who are not identified as a daughter, wife, or widow of a man.

Bella, the daughter of Marsilia de Corino, which abutted the disputed property and on the other, the home of "the woman Massia," along with another house belonging to the man Andrea de Leto.[31] Again in Palermo, when the unmarried and formerly enslaved Giovanna *babtizata* lent the very small sum of one *onze* to the newly manumitted Guglielmona, Giovanna identifies Guglielmona as "*cohabitarice sua*," revealing that these women had joined forces to cohabitate and that Giovanna had enough resources saved to lend her "housemate" some money.[32] These examples suggest that singlewomen, at least in their living arrangements, clustered together. We see this also in the example of the widow Margarida and her daughter Antonia in Mallorca who rented a room from the widow of Guillem Olivini, who was from Valencia.[33] The research of Mireia Comas-Via in late medieval Barcelona has shown how widows created networks of solidarity that included living together and pooling resources in order to survive, which can be expanded to include single and never-married women. According to Comas-Via, "almost half of the women who lived in other women's homes were ill," which includes many of whom had no familial ties to each other.[34] While widows and the unmarried have been studied far less than their married counterparts, the perception that most singlewomen were widows or young girls on their way to being married has obscured the real presence of unmarried women of all ages laboring in urban Mediterranean cities.[35] The historian Monica Chojnacka has studied the lives

Commented [MOU2]: Which indicates not only formerly enslaved but also likely status as a religious convert from Judaism or Islam, or a Tatar, as below.

[31] Archivio Storico di Commune di Palermo, Corte Pretoriana, reg. 1, 8r–9r (1330).

[32] *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo de Citella a Palermo,* doc. 86 (1298), 67–68.

[33] ACM, notario Pere de Olives, no. 14726, 8v–9r (1372).

[34] Comas-Via, "Looking for a Way to Survive," 177–94, at 186.

[35] Armstrong-Partida and McDonough, "Singlewomen in the Late Medieval Mediterranean," 11–12.

of working women in early modern Venice and has found that "Venice was filled with both unmarried and widowed women," who were "a larger, more constant presence in Venetian neighborhoods than were single men."[36] A 1589-1607 census in Venice identified 680 unmarried women living as heads of their own household, while 691 unmarried women lived with relatives or boarders.[37] We may not know how many singlewomen lived in Mallorca during the fifteenth century but, like Venice, it was a port city that catered to the transient labor of many immigrants, especially of women looking to survive and perhaps improve their situation by finding work in an economic hub of the Mediterranean.

Many of the laborers in Mediterranean ports, of course, did not migrate by their own choice, but were forcibly moved as enslaved people. Sometimes singlewomen were among the enslavers, as was Caterina in Mallorca, identified as the daughter of the deceased Guillem Castellar, who spent fifty-seven *lliures* to purchase a Tartar woman, who was also named Caterina.[38] Similarly, Constanza de Monte Alto, a singlewoman in Palermo, appears alongside the foreigner Puccio Shisha, manumitting their *ancilla* Giovanna on condition that Giovanna pay the sum of eight *onze* within a year's time.[39] These women had the capital to participate in the slave economy and benefitted from the labor and value of enslaved people, just like men and married women. And some of those enslaved women, after manumission, or emancipation from

Commented [MOU3]: Better Tatar?

[36] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 14–15, 17.

[37] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 18–19.

[38] Mummey, "Measuring the Margins," 118.

[39] *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo de Citella a Palermo,* doc. 184 and 184a (1299), 144. It seems likely that Constanza, who may have been from Calabria, and Puccio Shisha, a foreigner, were a concubinary couple.

slavery, remained in the cities where they had been sold and, across statuses of free and enslaved, recognized their communities in their final testaments. This is striking for a number of reasons. Manumitted women, even those with the most limited resources, still found it worth their money to pay a notary to ensure their final wishes were recorded. Perhaps because so many of their choices had been denied them while they were enslaved, the act of recording a will to ensure that their posthumous wishes would be granted was even more significant than it was to freeborn women. Take, for example, the will of Catarina, a woman of Greek origin enslaved by the venerable *domicellus* Pere Arnau, then sold to and manumitted by the apothecary Joan de Moyano in Mallorca. Her will was short and her specific bequests meager, but perhaps their value was all the more significant to the recipients, knowing how limited Catarina's resources must have been.[40] Though she had no say in where she had been bought and sold in life, she was clear that her chosen resting place was with the Dominicans, and her pious bequests for masses were spread out across a number of different parish churches, including Sant Miquel and Sant Francesc. She made small bequests to the Hospital of Santa Caterina and towards works being done at the cathedral. Caterina's testamentary wishes for masses and almsgiving fit broader patterns of lay religiosity in Mallorca and her support for and desire to be buried with the Dominicans likely reflects her status as a convert to Catholicism, as the Order of Preachers were tasked with converting Muslims, Jews, and the newly enslaved.[41] While the sums were small (five or ten *sous*), they suggest that Caterina wanted to spread her faithful bequests broadly to make certain her soul was well tended. Her most significant charitable bequest was also the most

Commented [MOU4]: Excellent point

Commented [MOU5]: Such as?

[40] ACM notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, fol. 74v–75v (1380).

[41] For an in-depth discussion of the parish churches and religious institutions supported by the laity in Palma de Mallorca, see Barceló, *Davant la mort*, 113–73.

personally resonant, as one who had been enslaved. She left the not inconsiderable sum of eight pounds to be divided among charitable endeavors that provided for poor girls to be married and for the redemption of captives "from the hands of the pagans" (*a manibus paganorum*).[42] We wonder, as she tasked the notary with making this bequest, what she must have been thinking? As someone who had experienced enslavement, was it liberating to offer charity with the goal of saving others from her own experience? Or infuriating to live with the knowledge that she was offering charity that had never been extended to her? Or sad as she grappled with how limited her own options had been by the circumstances of her capture, enslavement, and even manumission? We can never know.

We can know, however, that Caterina was closely connected to people whom she named in her will, people who came into her life because of her enslavement. One of these was Maria, also of Greek origins, who, at the time of the will's recording, remained enslaved to the apothecary Joan de Moyano. In gratitude because Maria looked out for (*custodat*) Caterina during an illness, Caterina left her an overcoat (*supertunicala*), along with a tunic of "mixed fabrics" (*panni mixta*) and red hose *(caligarum).* Finally, Caterina entrusted to Maria twenty *sous* and a *camisa*, both of which were to be found where Caterina was living on the day of her death.[43] Two other unmarried women were also recognized in Caterina's will with personal items: to Johana, the butcher's woman (*del carnisser mulieri*, presumably his concubine), she left a chemise and a hood (*capellum*) and to Francisquina, the daughter of Na Maltesa, she left forty *sous*, "for the love of God" (*amore dei*). This last bequest is especially intriguing. Why was Franquesina's bequest framed as particularly pious? Was she in some sort of moral or physical

[42] ACM, notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, fol. 75r (1380).

[43] ACM, notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, fol. 75v (1380).

danger that might be solved with access to cash? The amount of the bequest is double that which Caterina left Maria, who had nursed her through an illness, although the precise details of their connection are left to our imaginations. That both women were unmarried was perhaps one significant bond the women had with one another, and the gift to Franquesina might well have been Caterina's attempt to help establish for the younger woman a security she herself had not experienced.

A similar bequest from another manumitted woman, also of Greek origin, Margarida, suggests that this is a plausible interpretation, although that bequest too raises many questions. When Margarida, manumitted by the merchant Ramon Clarioni, was drawing up her final wishes, she, like Caterina, made explicit wishes for her post mortem body and soul.[44] Her body was to be buried in the parish church of St. Eulàlia in the Ciutat de Mallorca,[45] and she contributed twenty *sous* towards masses for her soul, with an additional five *sous* for the continued work on the cathedral. In addition to these pious bequests, Margarida made plans for her physical assets, although she did not list them with the detail that Caterina had. Near the end of her will, as her universal heir to all of her goods, Margarida designated Magdalena, the daughter of the furrier Nicolau Aimerici and his wife Irlanda. Should Magdalena die without children, Irlanda was to inherit Margarida's goods from her daughter. So, who were Magdalena and Irlanda to Margarida, to merit this bequest? They were clearly members of a family to whom Margarida felt close, because they are not the only ones named in her will.

Commented [MOU6]: Interesting name. I wonder if it indicates an Irish connection?

Early on in Margarida's will, she chose two men as her *manumissores*, or executors, Cristòfol Morell and Nicolau Aimerici, and conferred upon them the responsibility of carrying

[44] ACM, notario Mateu Salset, no 14724, fol. 151r (1386).

[45] This was a parish with noticeably poor parishioners. See Vose, "Friars on the Edge," 212.

out her final wishes. She did not indicate why she chose them, but the fact that she did indicates that she trusted they would follow her plans. That Magdalena and Irlanda were related to Nicolau further tightens the connection between the manumitted woman and the furrier's family. Had she worked for them after her manumission? Was she involved in helping to raise Magdalena, for whom she had maternal feelings that had not found an outlet in biological children? Whatever her motivation, Margarida signaled through the notary's hand that Magdalena, Irlanda, and Nicolau were the intended recipients of her meager belongings, the custodians of the fragments of her life. Sold away from her biological family and enslaved to at least one man, Margarida's will is a testament to her efforts to reassert control over her life through the recreation of kinship and community in a foreign land. As she looked ahead to her death, forcibly sundered from her natal family, we wonder if Margarida's act of will-making, with its recognition of the community she created, wasn't also an attempt to fill the void of her absent family?

Singlewomen and the Language of Friendship

All sorts of connections emerge from last wills and testaments that the cramped and abbreviated notarial hand initially obscure. The singlewomen who appear in notarial records, especially last wills and testaments, reveal that unmarried, widowed, and married women formed bonds of friendship as well as business partnerships and showed gratitude for the service or aid that singlewomen imparted in their day to day lives. Here, we focus on the ways married and widowed women included singlewomen in their final bequests, from which we glean that they were a significant presence in their premortem lives. While the language of last wills and testaments is quite formulaic, occasional departures from the script suggest the close emotional connections women had across the divide of married and unmarried. When a woman designated

a legatee as a "dear friend," we took notice, just as we did when she carefully scripted the destination of her material belongings. For example, in Mallorca, the married woman Francesca, wife of the weaver Arnau Davidis, singled out Constança and her husband En Comelles for taking her into their home and looking after her during her illness. Constança received sixty *sous*, her husband twenty *sous*, and their son, Francesca's godson (*filiolo*), twenty *sous*. Various other family members, married friends and their children all received gifts of money in the sum of twenty *sous*, but to Na Rexagua– "*amica mea*"—-the only woman not identified as wife, widow, or daughter of a man in her will– Francesca left forty *sous*, a sum greater than her great-nephews, niece, or godson received.[46] Francesca likely recognized that her gift could make a significant difference in Na Rexagua's life. The recognition of singlewomen in wills, however, was not limited to women. When the sickly merchant Joan Bonet drew up his final wishes in Perpignan in 1390, he recognized Ana Todora, a domestic helper who had served him for six years and rewarded her with a generous sum of ten *lliures*. He also gave smaller sums of money to unmarried women, such as 100 *sous* to the daughter of Na Gusera, who apparently stayed with him during his illness, and thirty *sous* to Ana Ramoneta. Even though Joan Bonet recognized his wife and four daughters, a handful of extended family, and two married women in his testament, he acknowledged the service that the singlewomen in his orbit had provided.[47]

---

[46] ACM, notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, 58r–59v (1375). For friendship between medieval English widows, see French, "Loving Friends: Surviving Widowhood" and for friendship between women in the context of thirteenth-century Iberia, see Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia,* 184–86.

[47] Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, 31/113, notaire Andreu Romei, 10r–11r (1390).

For many women, however, their recognition of singlewomen went beyond service to show a real appreciation for friendship. In the Venetian colony of Crete, the sickly widow Pliti appointed her "dear friend" (*amicam meam dilectam*), the singlewoman Cherana Melissina and *habitatrix* of Candia, as the administrator of her 1327 will, to whom she left a substantial gift to use "as she pleased." Pliti entrusted Cherana not only with the responsibility of fulfilling her last wishes but also left her young daughter Maria in her care until Maria was old enough to be married.[48] In 1305, the singlewoman Maria Quirino similarly served as the administrator of the married woman Cecilia's will, alongside Cecilia's husband, and received fifteen pounds as part of Cecilia's bequest.[49] Given that Pliti had two male family members and Cecilia a husband, these documents speak not only to the bonds that married women and widows formed with unmarried women but also to the level of trust they placed in a friend–above that of a family member–to carry out their wishes and desires after they had permanently departed from this earth.

Married women also deployed the language of friendship. With husbands in the same profession of caulking ships (*calafator*), Caterina Martre trusted her "amica" Francesca Molins enough to appoint her procurator of her affairs.[50] Given that married women typically appointed their husbands or other family members as their legal procurators, such a designation was a real sign of Caterina's confidence in Francesca. In another example, the testaments of the Mallorcan

---

[48] McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312-1420*, doc. 22, I:29–30. Pliti also bestowed four *hyperpera* on the singlewoman Puladhena, who may have been a domestic servant. She also owned the enslaved woman Euodhoquia.

[49] Stahl, *The Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella:* doc. 9, 3–4.

[50] ACM, notario Gerau Coloma, no. 14700, 41v–42r (1388).

married women Maria in 1383 and the married woman Astruga in 1388 both identified Caterina, the wife of Arnau Banyols from Burgos, as "*amica mea*" and left her ten *lliures*, a substantial sum that stands out in comparison to the smaller ones doled out to other female friends. Remarkably, Maria and Astruga together owned the enslaved woman Francesca and in both of their wills they promised to free Francesca, who could keep the clothing they had provided to her, on condition that she serve their common friend, the widow Guillemona, until the time Francesca is able to marry.[51] Clearly, bonds of friendship connected these women to look after the widow Guillemona by providing her with the free domestic service of the enslaved Francesca.[52] One imagines that Maria and Astruga believed they were doing a good deed, similar to that of the wealthy widow Benedicta in Candia who decreed in her will that her slave woman Soi should serve the hospital of the Holy Spirit for a year before she received her freedom.[53]

These relationships were complicated by the power differential between women and their free and enslaved servants, which placed domestic help, particularly women, in a position where their future was often determined by the generosity of their mistress.[54] Enslaved women, of

---

[51] ACM, notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724, 107v–108r (1383) and 172r–174r (1388).

[52] It was not uncommon for women to pool their resources to purchase an enslaved person. And it was incredibly common for a testator to require that their enslaved domestic help serve a family member or friend for a period of time before they would be manumitted. See Mummey, "Measuring the Margins," 111–28.

[53] McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312-1420*, doc. 182, I:234.

[54] For more on the dynamics between emancipated women and their former enslavers, as well as the idea that providing a dowry for a formerly enslaved women was an assertion of dominance and control, see Lauer, "From Slave to Wife," 107–32; Mummy, "Measuring the Margins," 121.

course, hoped that their hard labor would be rewarded with freedom, while freeborn girls in service hoped that they might receive a small cash amount or some clothing for their trousseau to aid their marriage prospects. Many of the young girls placed in domestic service were from poor families or orphans due to a deceased father or mother.[55] Because such hierarchical relationships were based on involuntary and voluntary labor that were fundamentally exploitative by their very nature, any generosity or statements of affection must be viewed through this lens. That should not prevent us, however, from grasping that some degree of emotional ties existed between people who lived and worked in the same household for years. In Candia, the unmarried Mabilia, daughter of Tomas Moço, had her will drawn up in 1348 as she was "sick in body." Mabilia showed great concern for her domestic servant Caliça, although her wishes for the young servant appear quite heavy-handed. Mabilia specified that if Caliça behaved as a "good woman" and remained and served her mother, the widow Agnes, until the age of twenty, then she decreed that her mother ought to marry off Caliça, with Mabilia's remaining goods; these were not many and included the gift of a bed with its linens, valued at twenty *hyperpera*. Mabilia's promise of a dowry of furniture and linens to Caliça appears quite generous when compared to her other gifts. Her testament makes clear that she had limited cash funds, even though Mabilia owned her own home, which she left to her mother. What little cash she had, she distributed to a very short list of people. To a family friend, the married woman Cecilia, she gave a gold ring with a stone, and to "dona Xeni," who lived in Knossos, she left two *hyperpera*. The singlewoman Maria Pellecaniss, who lived in Candia, received five *hyperpera*, while the singlewoman Cherana Asprogerene in Knossos received three *hyperpera*.[56] These are small sums of money, but equivalent to those she

[55] Vinyoles, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona,* 140–43.

[56] McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete,* doc. 73, I:96–97.

dispensed to various religious organizations. Mabilia, then, remembered the single and married friends that were most important to her, but to her domestic servant Caliça she promised a significant gift of a future dowry that she put into the hands of her mother to determine whether or not Caliça had behaved well enough to ultimately merit her generosity. Debra Blumenthal has cautioned that promises of freedom and marital gifts should be seen as more than signs of affection, but as a way for masters and mistresses to "underscore the enduring power and influence that they wished to exercise over their former slaves' lives."[57] It is entirely possible that, just as Mabilia wished to provide Caliça with a future, she also wanted to maintain control over her, even in death.

Commented [MOU7]: Ouch

Concern for the marriage of poor women is also seen in the testament of the singlewoman Agnes Milumercena, a *habitatrix* of Candia, who apparently had no living relatives. The largest bequest that Agnes made, including those to female friends or religious organizations, was of eight *hyperpera* to support the "pauperium mulierum maritandarum" (the marriage of poor women).[58] These final gifts stand in contrast to the bequest of the well-off widow Phylippa, who appointed her niece Jacobina, a widow, and two unmarried daughters but presumably adult women, as her executors. She gave a gift of two hundred *hyperpera* to the Franciscan monastery in Candia, along with smaller sums to another pair of monasteries. Phylippa must have thought kindly of Scolle, a woman who apparently worked in the monastery of Saint Pere, because she left her two *hyperpera*, and she remembered Cali, the former slave of her husband, to whom she gifted five *hyperpera*. She gave the same small amount to Turcopule, *ancilla mea*, for her

[57] Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 143–47, at 146.

[58] McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete,* doc. 156, I:198.

marriage.[59] In Barcelona, the widow Saurina similarly left small sums to her domestic help. To Na Garrigona who had lived with her as an *ancilla*, she left three *sous*. Margarida, the daughter of En Sustosques, who likewise lived with her as an *ancilla,* received five *sous*.[60] Although Phylippa and Saurina made sure to leave a small amount of money to the women who had worked for them and their family, it is obvious that the plight of unmarried women did not affect them as greatly as it did the singlewomen Mabilia Moço and Agnes Milumercena.

The economic precarity of singlewomen, whether never married or were widowed, called for their creativity at the end of days: who was going to care for them? How could they best manage their limited resources and motivate their community to make sure they had at least some measure of care? It also made them the recipients of the generosity of others, who were aware of the difficulties women not linked to a marital family might face. In Valencia, Paschaia, a singlewoman whose deceased father had been an *agricultor,* acknowledged receiving thirty-three *sous* from the will of the widow Francesca.[61] The documents are silent on a relationship between the two women, and there is no obvious connection between them. Francesca was the widow of a dyer, and the *acta* refers to her as *domina*, indicating her high social status, if not significant wealth. For Francesca, leaving a legacy for Paschaia was a pious act, made to show

[59] McKee, *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete,* doc. 180, I:230–31.

[60] Vinyoles, *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona*, 142. See also Barceló, *Davant la mort*, 177–81.

[61] Archivo de Protocolos del Patriarca de Valencia (APPV), Protocolos, Miquel Arbucies no. 13899, Unfoliated (1416).

her *amore dei,* which Paschaia acknowledged when she signed for her small legacy.[62] This was likely not a bequest recognizing a long term friendship or a close family tie. Such an act does not diminish the importance of the money for Paschaia's well-being, of course, but it serves as a reminder that singlewomen could be the object of pity to whom generosity could be used to bolster the pious credentials of medieval testators.

Pity and concern for singlewomen show up in final wills and testaments not only in pious bequests for relative strangers, but also in the bequests women made to provide for the illegitimate and unmarried women in their families. While illegitimacy was not an absolute bar to marriage, as recent scholarship clearly demonstrates, it could put poorer women at a disadvantage since a larger dowry might be needed to attract a spouse.[63] When women made particular bequests to their illegitimate and single female relatives, it was an acknowledgement of their particular economic and social vulnerability, which a legacy might help to ameliorate. When the widow Guillemona drew up her will in Valencia, she left fifty *sous* to her granddaughter Agnes, who was the "filia naturali" of Guillemona's son Andrea.[64] Significantly,

---

[62] For more on women's pious bequests, see, among others, Cohn, "Renaissance Attachment to Things," 989; Cossar, "'A Good Woman'," 126–28; Kelly Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, 42, 52, 228–29.

[63] Reconsiderations of the burdens of illegitimacy include Byers, "From Illegitimate Son to Legal Citizen," 643–63; Cowan, *Marriage, Manners and Mobility,* esp. chapter 6: "Concubinage and Natural Daughters;" Kuehn, *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence*; McDougall, *Royal Bastards*. For the recognition and provisions made for illegitimate children in a father's will, see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 83–86.

[64] APPV, Protocolos, Joan Aguilar, no. 14901, fol. 61v–62r (1395-1396).

Guillemona specified this money was Agnes's, whether or not she married. On the one hand, this is not an enormous bequest, especially in comparison to the 250 *sous* Guillemona left both of her daughters, or to the naming of Agnes's legitimate brothers Manuel and Daniel as her heirs. On the other hand, if Manuel and Daniel were to die, Agnes was to receive an additional twenty-five *lliures* from their grandmother's estate, a much more significant bequest. This condition suggests to us that Guillemona was sending a message to her grandsons with her testament: their half-sister was deserving of their economic support and, as her heirs, she expected them to continue to offer Agnes help, whether or not she ever married. Across the last wills and testaments and in the face of death, we see the articulations of different emotions: familial concern, friendship, charitable impulses, and pity. Both as testators and legatees, singlewomen expressed and benefited from these emotional entanglements.

Conclusion

The two Agneses who began and ended this article epitomize two important themes about Mediterranean singlewomen: they are both creators of their own communities and included in the communities others had formed. Those communities come into sharp focus as the women faced their deaths and dictated their final testaments. The *acta* in notaries' casebooks show singlewomen forging connections with each other, living side by side, and pooling their resources to create the most comfortable possible lives, and deaths. Such public acts created by the notary and prepared before witnesses were statements about a woman's single identity and her integration into the familial and social fabric of her circle. These women bestowed personal goods and financial legacies to maintain and memorialize their relationships and to sustain

community, even in their absence. They wanted to be remembered and prayed for, even if their wealth and social status could not afford them a great number of masses or the influence of someone who had left a large bequest for the establishment of buildings for the church and the poor.

Although singlewomen often lived on their own in clusters, they were also integrated into the emotional communities and economic networks built by married men and women. They drew upon these networks as their deaths neared, allowing us to glimpse the real friendships that sustained women and signaled a life that went beyond simply subsisting. Likewise, married people also recognized the singlewomen who lived among them, and not just the young women who were on their way to being married. In wills and testaments, married folks recognized the labor, the tender care and nursing, the friendships, and the financial insecurity of singlewomen who lived precarious lives. For enslaved women, this recognition could be coercive when masters and mistresses attempted to control their futures, especially when it came to the project of marriage. For free singlewomen, these small bequests and tokens of relationships likely made a significant difference in their daily lives. The material legacies and linguistic choices captured in the notaries' hand argue for singlewomen's emotional entanglements in life, which they recognized with their post-mortem bequests. Whether bequeathing a chemise or receiving a monetary legacy, singlewomen—freeborn and enslaved—are woven into the economic and emotional networks that animated Mediterranean port cities. A Mediterranean framework helps us see that the story of singlewomen is not limited to one region or port city, but a reality of life in societies that exploited the labor of the poor and unfree and one where singlewomen found spaces to live and build connections and friendships. When singlewomen contemplated their deaths and turned to notaries to record their final testaments, they crafted documents that

provided a window into their chosen communities and signaled how they hoped to be remembered after their deaths. Singlewomen faced death knowing that they recognized and accounted for the important people in their lives.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales
31/113, notaire Andreu Romei (1390)

Arxiu Capitular de Mallorca (ACM)
notario Pere de Olives, no. 14726 (1372)
notario Mateu Salset, no. 14724 (1382)
notario Gerau Coloma, no. 14700 (1388)

Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM)
notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2507 (1450)
notario Bernat Contestí, no. 2523 (1458)
notario Bernat Contestí no. 2515 (1460)

Archivio Storico di Commune di Palermo
Corte Pretoriana, reg. 1 (1330)

Archivo de Protocolos del Patriarca de Valencia (APPV)
Protocolos, Miquel Arbucies no. 13899 (1416)
Protocolos, Joan Aguilar, no. 14901 (1395-1396).

Adamo de Citella. *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo de Citella a Palermo, 2 registro: 1298-1299*, ed. Pietro Gulotta. Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1982.

McKee, Sally. *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312—1420*, vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998.

Stahl, Alan M. *The Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella: Venetian Notaries in Fourteenth–Century Crete*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003.

Secondary Sources

Abulafia, David. *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion.* London: Longman, 1997.

Abulafia, David. "What Is the Mediterranean?" In *The Mediterranean in History,* edited by David Abulafia, 11–32. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2003.

Armstrong-Partida, Michelle, and Susan McDonough. "Singlewomen in the Late Medieval Mediterranean." *Past & Present* 259, no. 1 (May 2023): 3–42.

Aurell, Jaume. “The Notion of Charisma: Historicizing the Gift of God on Medieval Europe.” *Scripta Theologica* 54 (2022): 607–37.

Balard, Michel, and Alain Ducellier, eds. *Migrations et Diasporas Méditerranéennes, Xe-XVIe siècles*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002.

Barceló Crespí, Maria. *Davant la mort. Els rituals medievals a la ciutat de Mallorca (s. xv)*. Palma: Lleonard Muntaner Editor, 2019.

Beattie, Cordelia. “‘Living as a Single Person’: Marital Status, Performance and the Law in Late Medieval England.” *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 3 (2008): 327–40.

Beattie, Cordelia. *Medieval Single Women: The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Blumenthal, Debra. *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Boffa, Andrea. “Creating Identity Through the Act of Will-Making.” *Medieval Prosopography* 33 (2018): 209–22.

Bosch, María del Carmen. “‘Servam et captivam meam’.” In *Captius i esclaus a l’antiguitat i al món modern*, edited by María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López Nadal, 177–204. Naples: Jovene Editore, 1996.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, translated by Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row, 1972 (first ed. DATE NEEDED).

Bresc, Henri. “La prostitution médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale. De la ‘liberté’ à l’enfermement.” In *Les femmes entre violences et stratégies de liberté. Maghreb et Europe du Sud*, edited by Christiane Veauvy, Marguerite Rollinde, and Mireille Azzoug, 255–72. Paris: Ed. Bouchène, 2004.

Byers, Jana. “From Illegitimate Son to Legal Citizen: Noble Bastards in Early Modern Venice.” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 643–63.

Catlos, Brian A. “Why the Mediterranean?” In *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, edited by Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita, 1–18. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Chojnacka, Monica. *Working Women of Early Modern Venice.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Cohn, Samuel. “Renaissance Attachment to Things: Material Culture in Last Wills and Testaments.” *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 3 (August, 2012): 984–1004.

Comas-Via, Mireia. “Looking for a Way to Survive: Community and Institutional Assistance to Widows in Medieval Barcelona.” In *Women & Community in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, edited by Michelle Armstrong-Partida, Alexandra Guerson, and Dana Wessell Lightfoot, 177–194. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020.

Comas, Mireia, Carme Muntaner, and Teresa Vinyoles. “Elles no només filaven: producció i comerç en mans de dones a la Catalunya baixmedieval.” *Recerques* 56 (2008): 19–45.

Cossar, Roisin. “‘A Good Woman’: Gender Roles and Identity in Late Medieval Bergamo.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001): 119–32.

Cowan, Alexander. *Marriage, Manners and Mobility in Early Modern Venice.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2008.

Davis-Secord, Sarah. *Where Three Worlds Meet: Sicily in the Early Medieval Mediterranean.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017.

Farmer, Sharon. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

French, Katherine L. *Household Goods and Good Households in Late Medieval London: Consumption and Domesticity After the Plague*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021.

French, Katherine L. “Loving Friends: Surviving Widowhood in Late Medieval Westminster.” *Gender & History* 22, no. 1 (2010): 21–37.

Goskar, Tehmina. “Material Worlds: The Shared Culture of Southern Italy and and its Mediterranean Neighbors in the Tenth to Twelfth Century.” *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 23, no. 3 (2015): 189–204.

Hamilton, Michelle M., and Núria Silleras-Fernández, eds. *In and of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015.

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000.

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. “The Mediterranean and the ‘New Thalassology’.” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 722–40.

Husain, Adnan, and K.E. Fleming, eds. *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007.

Jover i Avellá, Gabriel, Antoni Mas i Forners, and Ricard Soto i Company. “Colonització feudal i esclavitud. Mallorca 1230-1350.” *Recerques* 52-53 (2006): 19–48.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. “Sex and the Singlewoman.” In *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800,* edited by Judith Bennett and Amy Froide, 127–45. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Kelly Wray, Shona. *Communities and Crisis: Bologna During the Black Death.* Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Klapish-Zuber, Christiane. “Female Celibacy and Service in Florence in the Fifteenth-Century.” In *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane, 165–77. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Kuehn, Thomas. *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Lauer, Rena. “From Slave to Wife: Manumission and Marriage in Venetian Crete.” *Medieval People* 36 (2022): 107–32.

Liuzzo Scorpo, Antonella. *Friendship in Medieval Iberia: Historical, Legal, and Literary Perspectives.* London: Routledge, 2014.

López Beltrán, María Teresa. “El trabajo de las mujeres en el mundo urbano medieval.” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 40, no. 2 (2010): 39–57.

McDonough, Susan. “Moving Beyond Sex: Prostitutes, Migration and Knowledge in Late-Medieval Mediterranean Port Cities.” *Gender & History* 34, no. 2 (July 2022): 401–19.

McDonough, Susan, and Michelle Armstrong-Partida. “Amigas and Their Amichs: Prostitute-Concubines, Strategic Coupling, and Laboring-class Masculinity in Late Medieval Valencia and the Mediterranean.” *Speculum* 98, no. 2 (January 2023): 49–85.

McDougall, Sara. *Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800-1230.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

McKee, Sally. “Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete.” *Past & Present* 182 (2004): 31–52.

McKee, Sally. *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Meneghin, Alessia. “The Second-Hand Clothing Business of Taddeo di Chello (1390-1408): Social Relations, Credit, and the Structures of Consumption in Late Medieval Prato.” *Quaderni Storici* Nuovo Series, 50, no. 149 (2) (October, 2015): 523–550.

Commented [MOU8]: Is there a separate editor? If Cochrane did both jobs, put “edited and translated by”

Commented [SM9R8]: Klapish-Zuber is the author of the entire book (it’s a collection of her essays), so there is no editor.

Mummey, Kevin. “Measuring the Margins: Women, Slavery, and the Notarial Process in Late-Fourteenth-Century Mallorca.” In *Rethinking Medieval Margins and Marginality*, edited by Ann E. Zimo et al., 111–28. New York: Routledge, 2020.

Mummey, Kevin, and Kathryn Reyerson. “Whose City Is This? Hucksters, Domestic Servants, Wet-Nurses, Prostitutes, and Slaves in Late Medieval Western Urban Society.” *History Compass* 9 no. 2 (2011): 910–22.

Narbona Vizcaino, Rafael. *Pueblo, poder y sexo: València medieval*, *1306-1420*. Valencia: Disputatió de València, 1992.

Ortega Villoslada, Antonio. “El trabajo femenino en Mallorca. La labor de la mujer en la actividad marítima de la primera mitad del siglo XIV.” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 17 (2004): 461–69.

Reyerson, Kathryn. “Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350: A Case Study of Gender in Testamentary Practice.” In *‘For the Salvation of my Soul’: Women and Wills in Medieval and Early Modern France*, edited by Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 44–60. St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 2012.

Reyerson, Kathryn. “Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier.” In *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt, 117–44. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Reyerson, Kathryn. *Women’s Networks in Medieval France: Gender and Community in Montpellier, 1300-1350*. New York: Palgrave, 2016.

Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. “Splendour in Life, Humility in Death: Queen Leonor de Lencastre (1458-1525) and the Women around Her.” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 16, no. 1 (2024).

Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. “The Women of Papal Avignon: A New Source, The Liber Divisionis of 1371.” *Journal of Women’s History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 36–59.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Smail, Daniel Lord. *Legal Plunder: Households and Debt Collection in Late Medieval Europe.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Vaquer, Onofre. “Immigrants a Mallorca a la segona meitat del segle XV.” Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lulliana 55 (1999): 353–62.

Vinyoles i Vidal, Teresa-Maria. *La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400.* Barcelona: Editorial Rafael Dalmau, 1985.

Vose, Robin. “Friars on the Edge: Socio-Economic Networking and Dominicans of Conquered Mallorca.” *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012): 207–29.

Winer, Rebecca. *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan, c. 1250-1300.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.