Prostitutes and Prostitution in Late Medieval Barcelona

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PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION IN LATE MEDIEVAL BARCELONA

by

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Jana L. Byars
Prostitution was by the late Middle Ages a well established, legal, and regulated institution in Barcelona and indeed many European cities. After a discussion of modern scholarship in chapter one, I proceed to examine, with original, unedited archival materials, the civic and ecclesiastical position on the prostitute, procurers and procuresses, and the institution of prostitution in Barcelona.

Through laws and ordinances, witness testimony, and expulsion records, I am able to demonstrate that the prostitute was a widely tolerated and common member of society. Despite the existence of legal brothels and the efforts of municipal authorities, illicit brothels flourished and independent prostitutes continued to walk the streets. Ecclesiastical authorities viewed her as a necessary evil, not irredeemably lost, and tried to bring her to repentance by preaching to her regularly and providing her with alternative life models and temporary food and shelter.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SURVEY OF LITERATURE

The study of prostitution, like that of women in general, has recently enjoyed a great surge in popularity. Along with the study of other marginalized groups, the history of prostitution is being given its first, however cursory, investigation; the increase in publications pertaining to prostitution is both welcome and inadequate. While this growing interest has resulted in the recent appearance of two major English-language monographs, and in the translation into English of the classic work by Jacques Rossiaud, our picture of prostitution is nowhere near complete. At best the basic discussion of the institutional structure of prostitution in France and England has provided a framework for further study. Our picture of the prostitute herself and her place in her society is still virtually unknown. Much work is still to be done.

Nowhere is this more evident, perhaps, than in Italy. The past two decades have seen the reprint of several nineteenth century Italian works on prostitu-
tion. While this indicates the beneficial surge in interest mentioned above, it also represents a rather disturbing lack of modern scholarship forcing the reprint of these moralistic, anachronistic works. No new monograph has been published in Italian, although some articles have been published in recent years.

The nineteenth century saw the creation of many works on prostitution throughout the remainder of Europe and the United States as well. In this country many reformers penned moralistic histories of prostitution, justifying the study of this great social evil with the underlying philosophy that one must know one's enemy.


France saw its share of these works as well. In typical nineteenth-century fashion, they aimed to tell the history of the prostitution from the dawn of civilization until the day before publication, among "all the peoples of the world." The moralizing tone is best represented by these opening lines of Paul LaCroix's *History of Prostitution*: "Louis IX had evidenced his candor and wisdom in endeavoring to suppress Prostitution in the realm of France. In order to escape the severe prescriptions of the law, these wretched women merely practiced their despicable trade in secret."

The great works of the French moral tradition have not recently been reprinted, perhaps because of two modern works on medieval French prostitution. First, Jacques Rossiaud's monograph *Medieval Prostitution*, which heralded, if not prompted, the modern study of prostitution, represents a more objective and archival approach.

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5 Paul LaCroix, *History of Prostitution among all the people of the world, from the most remote antiquity to the present day*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Covici, Freide, 1931), 2:751. It is worth noting that the author published this work under a pseudonym lest his reputation, based not only on historical works about the likes of Napoleon III and Tsar Nicholas I, but also on the authorship of no less than twenty historical romances, be damaged.
to the study of sexuality.\textsuperscript{6} This work is based on the rich collection of criminal investigations from the departmental archives of the Côte d’Or which outline trial proceedings, including accusations, witnesses, judgements, fines, pardons, and sentences. While statistical analysis is the basis for Rossiaud’s work, he focuses primarily on the societal attitudes which both suppress and condone sex and sexual violence. He is particularly interested in rape, specifically what he considers a phenomenon of institutionalized rape, as part of coming of age rituals for gangs of malcontent boys, and the relation that this violence has to prostitution. The archival base that Rossiaud utilizes is impressive, and we are able to learn a great deal about the women forced into prostitution through rape. We learn less of women who chose prostitution, in part because many of these women are silent in the court records, but also because it seems that Rossiaud deems the actual prostitutes less interesting than the institution of prostitution in the context of medieval society. For instance, while Rossiaud dedicates thirty-one pages to a chapter entitled, "Urban Disorder and the Preaching Missions:

Poverty, Penitence and the Mortification of the Flesh," he relegates hard data to the footnotes. In a note he includes valuable statistics concerning geographical origin, residence, matrimonial status, family situation, social status, reasons for entering prostitution, and the age at which surveyed women first practiced prostitution.⁷ In my opinion, the rare information given here warrants at least a chapter of its own, if not an entire book, rather than a single, albeit lengthy, footnote.

Rossiaud’s goals in this work were quite lofty. He covers the story of prostitution over the course of three centuries, in a varied geographical region. While most of his material is from Dijon, he discusses the entire Rhone Valley, including Lyon, Orange and other towns. Occasionally he cites Toulouse or other places further west, but he largely omits Languedoc.

In Medieval Prostitution Rossiaud argues that societal treatment of prostitution reflects the greater social context. In the thirteenth century prostitution is condoned as a necessary evil contributing to appropriate sexual behavior. By providing a legal and morally acceptable object for male sexual desire, the ecclesiastical and secular officials were able to prevent greater

⁷Rossiaud, Prostitution, 33.
sins which might endanger good women. This policy is an indication of the prosperity and comfort of the age, and the onset of the troubles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ushers in an age of decreased appreciation for the role of prostitute and her trade. The low population resulting from years of plague and famine was of great concern to the churchmen who rallied in favor of conjugal bliss and procreation, and against "unnatural acts" like sodomy and masturbation. Prostitution, too, was considered a great danger and was to be eschewed for the more reproductive marital union. Then in the mid fifteenth century, as "calamities and spasms of penitential fervor disappeared," a social moral code which was based on naturalism began to flourish. According to Rossiaud, the years from 1440 to 1470, influenced by the ideas of courtly and natural love, were ones of great earthly pleasures in which prostitution was appreciated and sensual pleasures were celebrated in music and literature. Unfortunately, calamity again struck, and by the dawn of the sixteenth century the great gap in income and lifestyle between burghers and artisans, combined with a renewed zest on the part of church reformers, led to the

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decline and eventual closure of the brothels. It is crucial to mention that Rossiaud explains this attack on prostitution as a symptom of and integral to a more widespread spirit of misogyny in all of European society.

In contrast, Leah Otis’s work, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*, discusses a much more specialized sort of prostitution in southern France. In her study of the brothel and the particular brand of prostitution it fostered, Otis uses the archives of southern France almost exclusively. Her work is based on testimonies, registers of regulations, inventories, account books, deliberations of the city council, and court cases. Lacking an overarching philosophy, Otis works to explore the nature of prostitution through the High and Late Middle Ages by reviewing laws and interpreting extant archival records. While Otis concentrates on Perpignan, this work is regional, with records from Montpellier, Nimes, Toulouse, and many other small towns in the area. Otis is rich in archival data and dedicates much of her book to analyzing the sort of information Rossiaud ban-

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ished to small print.

*Prostitution in Medieval Society* is divided into two sections; the first, “Prostitution and Public Authority: An Evolution,” discusses the legal policy toward prostitution from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. This chronological treatment of the institution describes three distinct stages in the evolution of prostitution: toleration, legalization, and prohibition. The second and final section is topical in focus, discussing elements of the issue throughout the entire time frame. In the second part she discusses the two types of brothels, public and private, in great detail, including some information about their location, their rent, and their ownership and management. Otis also discusses the prostitutes themselves, as well as one might. As with other historians of this topic, she knows little about the women themselves, and much of her discussion centers around legal questions concerning these women. For example, she writes about sumptuary legislation and the ability of prostitutes to bring rape charges; while both of these topics are certainly quite personal and tell us about the prostitute, we are still forced to see her through official eyes. Her conclusion recaps the development of prostitution, and discusses for a few brief
sentences the social climate that dictated these developments; the second half is dedicated to the observation that more study is necessary.

The most recent monograph on medieval prostitution, written by Ruth Mazo Karras, focuses entirely on medieval England from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. In *Common Women*, Karras discusses the very broad definition of prostitution in medieval society and contextualizes the many different women taking part in the sex trade. She maintains that a prostitute was defined in many ways, occasionally as a woman seeking money and occasionally as a lustful woman.\(^{11}\) She asserts that while the trade of legal and regulated prostitution is interesting and helpful to our understanding of women, the label of prostitute is not appropriate for the medieval period. Rather, we should consider broader definitions of whoredom, as she defines it, to better understand medieval sexuality. Karras uses court rolls, visitation records, coroner’s rolls, deposition books, plea rolls and other legal records to illustrate not only the intention of the laws but also the manner in which these laws were enforced. While these archival sources are well used, a

good portion of Karras' work is theoretical, and as a result she relies on literary sources like saints' lives, poems, legends, fabliaux and sermons.

The work is organized topically, like Otis's second section, with chapters like "Brothels, Licit and Illicit," and "Marriage, Sexuality and Marginality." Her eventual conclusion that the prostitute is set apart from good society not because she takes money for sex, but rather because she is available to all men is explained in the long and detailed conclusion. She also asserts that the municipal brothel was less important in England than in other areas, and attributes this to "both cultural and demographic reasons."¹² She suggests that perhaps the English were less "public" about sex and that the English of both genders married late in life which allowed for more casual trysts and fewer trips to the brothel. These later marriages were then more likely to be companionate marriages of choice, which would then provide less reason to visit a prostitute. Whatever the reason, it is certain that the idea that the brothel was of less importance in England has led Karras to focus her study on the common woman and the occasional prostitute.

These modern and very valuable works each stress

¹²Karras, Common Women, 136.
different areas. While all three are thorough treat-
ments, none are exhaustive. Both northern France and
England could benefit from work similar to Otis's, in
which archival records are given a thorough exploration,
and the particulars of institutionalized prostitution are
told. Likewise, a work concerned with prostitution in
the greater social context of Languedoc would be welcome.

Ruth Mazo Karras also contributed to a collection
entitled *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* with a sizeable
article on medieval prostitution.¹³ It is of interest
that a survey is possible now on this topic. While in
some ways this article is more general and all encom­
passing, it remains essentially a condensation of her book.
While she discusses all of the general issues including
municipal brothels, illicit brothels, the sixteenth
century clampdown and sumptuary legislation, she opens
and closes the article with her view of prostitution.
She asserts that prostitution was not rendering payment
for a service, but rather a state of being promiscuous; a
prostitute must then be judged, in Karras's view, primar­
ily as a marginalized member of society. She discusses

¹³Ruth Mazo Karras, "Prostitution in Medieval
Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland
the historiographical problems I have outlined in this chapter and will continue to discuss, and comes to the conclusion that further study is necessary, especially in regards to the feelings of the prostitutes themselves.

The study of prostitution in Barcelona and the remainder of the Iberian peninsula, much like almost every other topic of medieval studies, remains largely to be undertaken. The nineteenth-century reformers were not silent in Spain, of course. A tome entitled Historia de la prostitución en España y América,\(^\text{14}\) and a smaller and infinitely more useful work, Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la mancebía de Valencia, apuntes para la historia dela prostitución desde principios del siglo XIV hasta poco antes de la abolición de los fueros, con profusión de notas y copias de carios documentos oficiales\(^\text{15}\) were published late in the last century. Both are moralizing and reforming in tone, but somewhat useful nonetheless. Modern scholarship has lagged, however. No monographs


\(^{15}\)Manuel Carboneres, Picaronas y alcahuetes ó la mancebía de Valencia, apuntes para la historia dela prostitución desde principios del siglo XIV hasta poco antes de la abolición de los fueros, con profusión de notas y copias de carios documentos oficiales (Valencia, 1876).
have been written about prostitution in Barcelona, Catalunya, or anywhere else on the Iberian peninsula in the past century. There are some scattered references in the works of Catalan social historians, and a few articles. In a recent work, La condición de la mujer en la edad media, two articles are devoted to prostitution. The first, "Les métamorphoses de la prostitution au XVe siècle," by Jacques Rossiaud, specifies no geographic parameters, but uses almost entirely literary sources from France. The second, "La prostitución en Mallorca (siglos XIV, XV, y XVI)" by Angelina Puig Valls y Nuria Tuset Zamora, is a general survey utilizing some archival information. For my purposes, it suffices that this work is based entirely on the island. The documents are from Mallorca alone, and the authors use literary sources from all over Europe.

Another recent article, "Mujeres públicas/malas mujeres. Mujeres honradas/mujeres privadas," discusses

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16Teresa-Maria Vinyoles i Vidal, La vida quotidiana a Barcelona vers 1400 (Barcelona: Fundacio Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1985) contains a section on prostitution; see pp. 119-26.

17La condición de la mujer en la edad media, ed. Universidad Complutense (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986).
the prostitute, but in theoretical, intellectual terms.\textsuperscript{18} While interesting, this does little to illuminate the life of the prostitute. Mark Meyerson contributed to a collection with a splendid work about the prostitution of Muslims in Valencia.\textsuperscript{19} This work discusses the phenomenon of Mudéjar prostitution, and explains in great and sensitive detail both the majority attitude and minority culture that made this possible. Because of this focus precious little is mentioned about the actual act of prostitution and even less about the women themselves. A similar discussion of cross-cultural prostitution may be found in David Nirenberg's \textit{Communitites of Violence}.\textsuperscript{20} In a chapter about the marriage of sex and violence in a plural society, Nirenberg discusses the unique position of Christian prostitutes who were prohibited to Muslims

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
and Jews. He discusses the place of prostitutes as Christian male property and what their relations with Muslim and Jewish men might mean to Christian society. While this study is fascinating, it, like the work of Meyerson, is interested more in how the prostitute represents her society than how the prostitute lived.

The best work about Iberian women themselves, especially marginalized Iberian women, covers the early modern period. Mary Elizabeth Perry has written several works about the women of Seville, including an article that describes the place of prostitutes in society as "deviant insider," at once both excluded from and integral to society. Since she is studying the early modern period she is able to utilize the much more detailed records of the Inquisition. Although these records are not without their interpretive problems, they do record personal information, which allows us to see a bit more about the women practicing the trade. Her work on other

topics is also very useful because she throws light on society's margins, a place inhabited by prostitutes.

The history of sexuality has recently become more respected, and the need to understand this most personal of issues about medieval people is now recognized. One of the reasons for studying prostitutes, and other marginalized people, is merely romantic: I believe that everybody's story deserves to be told. This is not my only rationale for the study, however. The power relationships, the manner in which a society treats its minorities and "undesirables," and the manner in which people deal with this most personal of issues reveals a good deal about the society in question.

The question of whether or not it is possible to write a history of sexuality is an interesting one, and worthy of discussion. While it is true that most of

22See Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Does Sexuality Have a History?" in Discourses of Sexuality, ed. Domna Stanton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) 117-137, for an angry discussion of the shortcomings of both the idea of a history of sexuality and the historians who write them. Most of what follows on this topic summarizes and argues with her article. The questions of Ms. MacKinnon and others are not invalid when one considers the sloppy and intellectually irresponsible way in which this topic has been handled in the past. The conclusions of Michel Foucault are difficult for many feminists to accept and even the work by Jacques Roissaud which I will discuss treats prostitution as a question of male sexuality. As well, many modern works about prostitution fall closer to popular tabloids than to actual history. For
what passes between humans and can be termed "sexuality" is very personal, and virtually invisible in history, areas do exist which provide insight into the issue of sexuality. The history of prostitution is certainly one of these areas. Because of the element of legality and the public nature of the behavior this issue is discussed in great detail among church and secular leaders. We are, consequently, able to learn a great deal about the institution of prostitution. Many laws were written and promulgated, many undesirables were expelled from municipalities, and some left a "paper trail." Although this does not tell us what a prostitute might do with her customer, or what she felt or thought while doing it, we are able to find out where she was allowed to do it and who might patronize her. This information then tells us a good deal about the position of these women in society.

Writing about these women themselves is much more difficult. They are almost silent in our records, and what little we are to understand of them is to be found

instance see Jean-Pierre Laurend and Jean-Jacques Servais, Histoire et Dossier de la Prostitution (Paris: Éditions Lanète, 1969), a highly anecdotal work parading as history. It is peppered with photographs of seedy men and women, eyes covered with black censor bars, and clever captions.
in the archives. Their history is not written in law
codes, or in the sermons and writings of churchmen.
Rather, the scarce information we can hope to gain is to
be found in obscure documents about small court cases,
expulsions, tax records, and the like.

The goal of my thesis is to incorporate the little
information we have about prostitution in Barcelona with
the little we may assume given our knowledge in other
areas and the information obtained from my brief archival
foray in Barcelona to discuss not only the position of
the prostitute in society but the prostitute herself. In
the second chapter of this thesis I will discuss the
position of the secular officials of Barcelona on the
institution of prostitution, including a survey of legal
proclamations and the manner in which they were enforced.
In the third and final chapter I shall discuss the ef­
forts in Barcelona of the church to quell prostitution
and bring prostitutes back into the fold of more respect­
able society.
CHAPTER II

BARCELONA PROSTITUTION AND
THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES

Barcelona, located in the northeast corner of the Iberian peninsula, was both the medieval and modern provincial capital of Catalunya and was a crucial component of the medieval Crown of Aragon. Thriving and dynamic early in the fourteenth century, Barcelona was the home to the monarchs of Aragon and some 40,000 people. Like the rest of Europe, it saw its population decimated and altered by Black Death and continued plague conditions in almost every decade in the fifteenth century, but because of continual immigration from the outlying areas of Catalunya, maintained a sizeable population: the 1500 census counted 5,765 hearths.23

The Consell de Cent, or Council of One Hundred, nominally composed of one hundred members, shared rulership of the city with the monarchs of Aragon and the counts of Barcelona. The first representative municipal government was formed in 1249 with the much altered system that would survive until the early eighteenth century in place by 1274. The Consell de Cent elected five Consellers; although the early Consellers were usually men of rank, by the fifteenth century merchants and artisans were counted among them. Composed of representatives from all strata of life, the Consell established legal policy for many civic issues, including prostitution. They met regularly, recording the results of their debates in the Llibres de Consell, which, extant, are able to tell us a great deal about daily life in the city, and it is from these records, which survive in abundance, that most of my material is culled.

Barcelona of the fifteenth century was much changed, and not for the better. Physical illness was not the only problem for this port city as the immense government of Aragon, led in the fifteenth century by Castilians, moved away, taking with it a far reaching retinue of

Reinado de Alfons el Benigno (1327-1336) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987).
financiers, magistrates and hangers-on, leaving Barcelona comparatively empty and disenfranchised. This, combined with occasional periods of social unrest and a marked decline in trade, produced a floundering city characterized by the memory of past glory and prosperity. It is on this bleak landscape that I wish to paint a picture of prostitution, a vital organ in the body of any city, even a city in decline.

Although the ecclesiastical position on prostitution will be discussed in great detail later, it is necessary at this point to understand the fundamental beliefs which influenced society. The writings of Thomas Aquinas portray the prostitute as a sexual safety net, channeling dangerous sexuality from the general population to one safe location; and it was none less than St. Augustine who first supposed that natural and acceptable sexual relations would be challenged without the prostitute. Thus the prostitute was viewed as a necessary evil who must be tolerated and tacitly supported, if not appreciated.24 The laws and proclamations of most rulers are consistent with this belief, legalizing the prostitute and even institutionalizing the brothel, while taking

pains to separate her from decent society.

Alfons III, King of Aragon, makes the first mention of prostitution in Barcelona with which I am familiar in a 1330 letter to the Consell de Cent asserting, "bad women may by no means live in the place where good women live and are to be expelled from there." The Consell wisely obliged the king two years later by passing an ordinance prohibiting women from walking the streets at night. Both the letter from Alfonso and the subsequent legislation are not intended to eradicate the trade. Neither say that prostitutes should be expelled, or punished in any way; they are merely required to avoid the areas frequented by good women. This policy is consistent with the rest of Europe. Prostitution was widely accepted, though rarely encouraged, and was not usually considered a punishable crime in European cities.

25Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona [hereafter AHCB], Consellers, Miscellànea 13: "Carta dicti domini regis de viles mulieres non habitent in locio ubi bona mulieres habitant immo inde repellant." This is a collection of various letters, laws, supplications, expulsions and complaints without number or folio. Except where noted all translation is my own. This law is mentioned, but not quoted, in Vinyoles i Vidal, La vida quotidiana, 122.

26AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: "Ne avol de son cors no gos anar per la ciutat de nits pus lo seny del ladre haia sonat per escusa de anar a vi ne altra raho." Quoted in Vinyoles i Vidal, La Vida quotidiana, 122.
The separation was still crucial: prostitutes were considered creatures unsavory at best, and were consequently not desirable as neighbors.\textsuperscript{27}

The first public brothel was founded in part in an effort to keep these women off the street and away from Barcelona's honest citizenry. Pere III wrote to the Consell in 1330 saying that public women were not to be out in the street with good people, and should have a place of their own to ply their trade.\textsuperscript{28} Soon after two public brothels were opened: the first on the street named de Viladalls, which was parallel to the Ramblas, between the streets of the Vidre and Na Quintana, near the present day Plaça Reial and the second, Volta d'en Torre, sat on the other side of the Ramblas near the street Joglar.\textsuperscript{29}

The existence of public brothels did not keep prostitutes from the other areas of the city and numerous pronouncements demanding that prostitutes avoid good citizens span two centuries. In 1358 the Consell pub-

\textsuperscript{27}See Otis, \textit{Prostitution}, chapter 1 for a discussion about the mutating legality of prostitution in the medieval period.

\textsuperscript{28}AHCB, Consellers, Miscellània 13. Please see the documentary appendix where this is transcribed in full.

\textsuperscript{29}Vinyoles i Vidal, \textit{La Vida Quotidiana}, 122.
lished a pronouncement that:

no women vile of body, neither of the brothel nor not of the brothel, are to continue publicly their work outside the brothels of the said city, called Viladalls and En Torre Volran, nor dare to work or live outside of the said brothels in whatever streets ... of the said city.**30**

This document would indicate that even the brothel workers occasionally went into the street in search of business. In the same vein, the veguer “published the ordinances made by the Consellers” in 1445 mandating that “none of these said women are permitted to work or to live in the said boundaries (of the city) nor in any other manner allowed to pass their licentiousness on to others.”**31** This document was copied in its entirety and the law was reissued in 1475, indicating that city authorities still wished to keep prostitutes out of the city, and likely still had trouble accomplishing this.

Often the Consell discussed specific portions of the

**30**AHCB, Llibres de Consell, 1358, fol. 20: “Qualsevol fembres avol de lurs cosses bordellers o no bordelleres les quals fora los bordells dela dita ciutat apellat de Viladalls e dela volta den torra volran fer e continuar publicament lur quest no gosse star e habitar fora les dits bordells en qualsevol carrers dela dita ciutat."

**31**AHCB, Consellers, Miscellània 13: “Regent le vegeria de Barchionina ... fetes publicat les ordinacions fetes per les conseller se prodhomens dela dita ciutat ... Le alguna deles dites fembres no permetates star ni habitar en los dits limits ni in alguna manera per vosaltres sia tellerat donada licentia.”
city, expelling public women from certain streets or quarters of Barcelona. In 1457 the Consell mandated that:

no women of the brothel, publically vile in body and common, dare or presume to stay or live in any manner ... in the street called the bares de besaya but must work in the brothels of the said city to pursue their work.\(^{32}\)

Two issues are present in this document: as well as the first, the separation of bad women from good women which is so common in these documents we see a second, less frequent but perhaps as important. The city had established brothels for this purpose and all persons interested in the sex trade should utilize this facility. As the administration of the brothel was farmed out to select citizens, with the money going to the city coffers, it was certainly in the best interest of the Consell to send business there. Many private and illicit brothels flourished in the city and one wonders if moral issues presented the only concern for the Consellers when considering prostitution. One assumes these laws and proclamations would not be penned for posterity year

\(^{32}\)ACHB, Llibres de Consell, 1457, fol. 20: “alguna fembre bodellera e avol de son cors publicament e communa no gos ne presumesta star ne habitar en alguna manera postat ...en lo carrer apellat les bares de bestella and haure star en los bordelles dela dita ciutat pro fer lur quest.”
after year if they were actually being obeyed. If prostitutes dutifully stayed in their brothels or in their bad neighborhoods, there would be no reason to publically prohibit the behavior time and again.

Once again it is crucial to observe that at no point is the existence of the prostitute questioned; she was a necessary evil with a prescribed place in society. In the medieval mind, she performed a crucial service for the community, maintaining order and acting as a channel for sexuality that might, without the direction of the prostitute, flow elsewhere. Her sexuality was dangerous, however. As we see in many documents, the public woman was to stay away from polite society lest she “pass her licentiousness to others.” Her sexuality acts like a contagion; being near her might contaminate good women and send them along the path of sin public women so regularly ambled. Other legislation echoes the idea of contagion. Even as Pere prohibits outrageous rents and mandates that all brothel keepers provide a bed and bedclothes, he warns that all food and drink touched by a prostitute may not be sold again to others: the touch of a prostitute made something unsuitable for other citi-
zens.\textsuperscript{33}

Prostitution was such a despicable occupation that even slaves were to be spared. An ordinance from the Consell indicates that, “in order to stop the great impropriety and the sin of lust,” masters were forbidden to prostitute their slaves in the city or outlying areas. The idea that one could not subject another person to such sin was coupled with the idea that procuring, profiting from another’s misdeed, was a very serious sin, and at least for those not licensed by the city to do so, a very serious crime, as I will discuss in detail later. According to this ordinance, prostituting one’s slaves, too, was serious. The penalty for a first offense was thirty Barcelonan sous, and if the criminal was unable to pay, thirty days confinement for the slave. If the slave was again discovered in this sin, he or she would be “whipped throughout the said city without grace or forgiveness.” While prostitution’s immoral nature was

\textsuperscript{33}AHCB, Consellers, Miscellània 13: “Que les dits alcavots hostalers ne hostaleres ne alteres qui acullen les dicti fembreix aixi en Jaure com menia e beure no gosen per si ni per altre vendre no tenir alguna narara o manera. Item com sia estat trobat que hostlaers de fembreix de bordell e aquelles quils logune cases e drapes de lit les oppremen els fan extorsiones e examons no degedes volen haure delles leguners fort excessius e destreampars deles cases lits o drapes quel lorguen per tal cons elles no poden tenir in alte part fera los bordells.”
certainly a consideration, we must again question whether it was the primary problem. Procuring was a crime, if one was not sharing profits with the city, and prostituting was a crime if one was not employed by the city. This would indicate again that the concern about the trade's immoral nature was coupled with a need to protect the city's monopoly on the sex trade.

The city was not completely unconcerned with the moral aspect, however. In 1373 an ordinance was issued requiring that the prostitutes of the public brothels move to the hospital of Santa Creu for Holy Week. Closure of the brothels had long been mandated for this period because the sin of lust and the Passion were not thought to be proper companions, but it seems the prostitutes and their clients rarely obeyed this legislation. In order to avoid this sin, the public prostitutes were banished to the hospital where they were placed under the care of religious persons who ministered to their souls' eternal well being for the week, and were forcibly restrained from servicing their patrons. This legislation demonstrates the moral overtones in municipal law; re-

34Barcleona, AHCBe, B-V-13, fol. 1. Please see the documentary appendix where this document is transcribed in full.

35AHCBe, Consellers, Miscellànea 13.
gardless of how necessary, prostitution was still an evil and the moral implications of sex during Semana Santa far outweighed any concerns driven by finances or public opinion.

Other legislation served to separate society’s bad from good. Sumptuary legislation was passed forbidding Barcelona’s prostitutes to wear overcoats or hats, but allowing them to dress in gold and silver and anything else they found desirable, while the respectable women of the city were prohibited from such gaudy finery.\textsuperscript{36} Such sumptuary legislation intended to enforce a code of modesty on all women in society, and by mandating that good women should dress modestly and bad women should dress shamefully, officials not only succeeded in drawing a physical and visible line between good and bad women, but asserted that ostentatious dress was indeed morally questionable. I hesitate to hazard a guess about the success of this legislation since sumptuary legislation was rarely obeyed in any city at any time.\textsuperscript{37}

While the contagion of her licentiousness might be

\textsuperscript{36}Vinyoles i Vidal, \textit{La Vida quotidiana}, 125.

debated, the troublesome element of the folk the prostitute attracted is empirical. By the very nature of the business, a service with many customers, the areas in which she labored were often filled with men coming and going at all hours. In the investigation of procuring, a related crime I will discuss at length later, important evidence often concerns visiting hours at the brothel. Many neighbors were known to say that a suspected brothel had many men enter at all hours.

The conditions surrounding a brothel closed in 1363 on the street En Queralt were apparently atrocious. The brothel, housed in an abandoned building, came to the attention of the authorities and entered the documentary record because it sat close to a house of Dominicans. The house had been a home for "simple women," which was yet another euphemism for prostitutes, until, depopulated by the Black Plague, it was abandoned; prostitutes moved back into the empty building within a short time. The new inhabitants were lax in their house cleaning, "and from said house dung, dead dogs, and other squalid and fetid and dangerous odors are expelled." The odors were not the only unpleasant aspect of neighboring a brothel; the document continues to discuss the numbers of noisy
people surrounding the brothel at all times. The complainants are also concerned for the other people living in the neighborhood:

because through this place, principally at night, scarcely no one is heard to pass by without great danger, no good nor honest women dare to pass by without evident scandal.

While the Dominicans were more concerned with noise and the reputations of the neighborhood’s honest women, these conditions were certainly not pleasant for the prostitutes themselves. It is unlikely that the “viris ribaldis lenonibus ac satellitibus” were less dangerous to the prostitutes they patronized than the honest women of the neighborhood. Perhaps the conditions described were not uncommon as the city officials were convinced by the Dominicans’ argument and the brothel was closed.

As the prior example indicates the public brothels were not the only houses of prostitution in the city.

38 AHCB, Cartes Reales, 18 October, 1362: “In dictis domibus prohiuntur stercora, canes mortui et alia sordida et fetencia et inficiencia aerem.” Published in Amada López de Meneses, Documentos Acerca de la Pesta Negra en los Dominios de la Corona de Aragón, (Saragossa: Heraldo de Aragon, 1956) no. 152, 138-41

39 Ibid.: “Et quod peius est, tam mulieres publice quam pedisete et serve palum et publice, die noctuque intrant in dictum diuerticulum ibique questiem suorum corporum exercent cum viris ribaldis lenonibus ac satellitibus, ex quibus tixe et alia grauia inter ipsos et alios etiam honeste inde transeuntes commiuntur indiferenter.”
The extant documentation shows an enormous number of private and illicit brothels, usually in the homes of procuresses who ran the houses. Another large segment of the sex trade belonged to the individual prostitute who was pimped by a single individual, usually a man, and might have taken up prostitution only occasionally. It is very difficult to see the prostitute in the extant documentation. Because prostitution was not illegal, the prostitute usually acted within the limits of the law, and consequently leaves no documentary trace; her actions made her unsavory but neither contrary to the law nor unwelcome. Even prosecution of prostitution which violated the laws of the city rarely centered on the prostitute herself. As she was viewed as a weak creature, rarely responsible for her actions, the authorities were more concerned with punishing procurers and procuresses, the individuals who facilitated and benefitted from her actions, than the prostitute herself. Unlike modern enforcement in the United States, no action was ever taken against the men utilizing the prostitutes' services.

In 1390 King Joan wrote a letter to the Consell de Cent indicating that "such pimps, these procurers andprocuresses, vagabonds and thieves ought to be expelled
from the said city."\textsuperscript{40} This is much more severe than the pronouncements concerning the prostitutes themselves who were merely to be kept from neighborhoods in which good women lived. This law was enforced with little apparent leniency. At least once a year the veguer of Barcelona, under the authority of the Consell, published a list of expelled procurers and procuresses, included with petty thieves and vagabonds penalized similarly.\textsuperscript{41} Most were men expelled for procuring for only one woman. A decree from 1438 lists thirteen such men.\textsuperscript{42} In all thirteen the man is listed with the prostitute he procured, who is always called his "amiga," an ambiguous word which could indicate a varying degree of intimacy. For example, the first is Fernando de Madrigal who procured for his friend Agnes "la Torta," or "the Crooked," followed by Raphael Bon who procured for his friend Elinor de Estella. Jaime Blanch procured for Alvira, and Rodrigo de Penyaflor procured for Caterina de les Tres Portes. While all the procurers were expelled, Fernando for five years, Raphael

\begin{footnotes}
\item[40]AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: "Et consiliarios Ciutat Barchionensis ex alia contumacia inter alia qualis lenonis huic alcavots et alcavotas vagabuntes et taffures debeant de dicta Civitate expellat."
\item[41]Vinyoles i Vidal, La Vida Quotidiana, 120.
\item[42]AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13. Please see the documentary appendix for a complete transcription.
\end{footnotes}
and Jaime for four, and Rodrigo for six, none of their friends are mentioned in the document.

In this same year three women were expelled for procuring, but they are discussed differently than the men expelled for ostensibly the same crime. The first woman, Francina the Innkeeper, was a procuress at the street Condal; the second, Elinor Cerdana, was a procuress in the street of Jaime Girat; and the third, Anthonia, was a procuress at Perycadors. Neither Elinor nor Anthonia is called "hostaller," but the location at which they practiced is listed. There is little significant difference in the length of sentences: Francina was expelled for four years, Elinor for six and Anthonia for three. Gender appears to have no bearing on the duration of sentences. Although the average sentence for the men in this document is 4.7 years, and the average for women is only 3.3 years, this is wholly inconclusive. The difference is minimal, the sample too small, and the curve is skewed by one man, Johan de Toledo Castella, who was expelled for twenty years. If he is removed from the equation, the average male sentence drops to 3.4, virtually the same sentence imposed upon the women. Unlike the men discussed above, the names of their clients are not included. While men were more likely to act as a
procurer for only one person, possibly their wife or girlfriend, women were most likely to run illicit brothels from their homes and were best identified not by the individuals they supplied but by the location at which they could always be found. This also accounts for the disproportionately high number of procurers: brothels were much rarer than individual independent prostitutes. As well, if the aim of the authorities was to keep prostitutes and their licentiousness off the streets and away from honest citizens, there was less to gain by ferreting out unsanctioned brothels because eliminating individual prostitutes living and working in the midst of honest neighborhoods was a much more important task, and the closure of illicit brothels might serve simply to turn the brothel's employees out into the street.

Once expelled, the procurer or procuress had a chance to protest his or her expulsion and ask permission to remain in the city. These supplications were quite formulaic and terse, giving little information about the person requesting reconsideration or the crime she was accused of committing. They begin with a greeting to the Consellers and the Consell de Cent of the city, then ask that they reconsider the case of the supplicant, who is then named. The next phrase indicates that the person in
question was "expelled from the said city for procuring" and rarely, although occasionally, indicates the length of the sentence. The supplications say that such a sentence was unjust, explaining that the person in question was actually an honest and upright citizen, and offers witnesses to testify to this.\footnote{AHCB, Consellers, Miscellânea 13. Please see the documentary appendix for full citation.} The documents close with a request to rescind the punishment so that the accused may live honestly in the city. Unfortunately, the supplications do not tell us of the eventual fate of the procurer, and most of the supplications I examined are unrelated to other cases and expulsions. These supplications seem quite insignificant in the whole of the judicial process -- throughout one of the documents the name of the original woman appealing her expulsion is crossed out, with another name, that of the current supplicant, written in over it in cramped hand. Although little space is given over in the formula to individual concerns, personal information is indeed included. In a supplication dated 1469, the expelled woman, Margarida Silavona, is noted as "poor and without any help or aid from parents or friends" and thus re-
quests that the punishment be repealed.  

The investigation of the case might begin when a neighbor brought a complaint against a woman who was believed to run a brothel. In 1430 the inhabitants of the street of the parchment makers, which was in front of the chapel of Sant Cugat, "with much sadness of heart" brought charges before the Consellers concerning one Johanna, described as a friend of many, who was alleged to be a procuress, evil in body and life. The citizens indicate that her house was continually full of dishonest women and married women, and request that the said Johanna be expelled, "not only from said street, but further from the entire city." Although the citizens are concerned about the many men hanging around the neighborhood and the safety risk for the honest inhabitants of the street, they are equally concerned with the moral implications of the brothel. Distraught over the vile wickedness in their midst, they request help from not only the Consellers, but also from the Blessed Virgin Mary. 

Equally formulaic but more detailed are the trial

44 AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: "Pobre e distinida de tot auxili e aiuda de parents e amichi."

45 AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13. Please see documentary appendix for a full transcription.
documents containing information gathered during an investigation of a woman believed to be a brothel keeper. The investigators question a few, between four and twelve, witnesses who live on the street of the alleged brothel. The investigator asks a simple question about the nature of the woman in question and the respondent answers in as much or as little detail as he or she feels necessary. Men are questioned more often than women, although women are certainly questioned; in the five cases I studied, all of which involve female defendants, of thirty-eight total witnesses, twenty-nine are men and only nine are women. Further, of those nine women, only one is not the wife of another witness. This woman, Francesca, is named as “wife of Sanxo Xorgues,” but this Sanxo was not questioned.

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46AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: Contra Juana Ballarona: Franceste Vidal, Gaspar Vidal, Pere de Densta, Petrus Gaspar, Petrus Clarius, Rodriguez Pergaminer; Conta Clara: Guillelme Ramero, Johan Olnia, Angelina muller de Guillelme Ramero, Pere Vinyoles, Anthoni de Pla, Maria muller de Anthoni de Pla, Elinor muller de Jacme, Jacme de Borga, Johan Espanyol, Anthonia mullier de Johan Espanyol, Johan algun, Nicholau Ortola; contra Gabriel Vilanova: Bartholomeu Cassabo, Jacme Anthoni, Johan Ros, Barchomeu, Rafael, Johan Anthoni Corredor, Anthoni Torres, Johan de Santo Domingo, Maria muller de Rafael, Isabel muller de Johan; contra Francesta: Rafael Rindor, Johannes Peris, Petrus Baurel, Petrus Instes; contra Eulalia: Arnaldus Albages, Eximeno de Derota, Francesta muller den Sanxo de Xorgues, Lucia muller den Domingo Ram, Maria uxor Arnaldus, Domingo Ram
I will discuss the case of Eulalia, daughter of Guillelma, at some length because it is typical of the genre. It begins with something akin to a headline: "On 3 October 1405 the following information was received against Eulalia, daughter of Guillelma, who lived at that time in the area called D’en Bot." The first witness was identified, Arnau Albages who lived in the street Den Bot, and asked if Eulalia was indeed a prostitute and dishonest with men. He responded that Eulalia did have many male visitors, and that these many men entered her home, but he did not know what they did once inside. He could say that Eulalia was reputed to be a whore, and was ejected from the street Bertrallans for this reason. Arnau was then asked a second question: whether he knew Eulalia to run a brothel in her house. Arnau responded

47AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: “Sic iii ottobris anno anate domini mcccc quinto fuit recepta informacio sequens contra Eulaliam filiam Guillelme olim que moratur in vico den bot.”

48Ibid.: “Si sab o ha heyt dir que la dita Eulalia fia avol fembre de son cors lurant aquell dehonestament als hommes. Et dix ell que la dita Eulalia fa gran aperlers dommes e con les virs nixen los altres he enteres fort dehonestament pero no sab ell ques fan los dits hommes dins casa ab ella/ mas que es interio sua que noy fan sino volenties attenent la fama dela dita Eulalia qui es reputada per gran bagasta e per aytal lan gitada del carrer den bertrallans.”
that he did not know. These questions were repeated for the next witness, Eximen, who answered in a similar manner, again stressing that the house of Eulalia was full of many men, but that he did not know what happened inside the house. He also repeated the rumor that Eulalia had been forced to leave the other street because she was a prostitute. This certainly reflects the gossip of the street as these two men were not interviewed together and the person asking the questions did not mention it to either of them. There is a rather gossipy tone to both of these interviews, as the men assert that they do not know what happens in the house, but they are certain that there are a lot of men around, and that she certainly has the reputation of a whore.

The third witness breaks this cycle somewhat by responding simply that she could not answer whether Eulalia was good or bad. The fact that she does not mention the prior expulsion lends credence to the neu-

49Ibid.: "Si sab o ha hoyt dir que la dita Eulalia sostinga dins casa sua alcavoteria ni anal panturs/ Et dix ell que nos sab."

50Ibid.: “Que la casa dela dita Eulalia entren e ixen dins hommes e vosaltres pero no sab ell ques fan los dits hommes ab la dit Eulalia...et per la sua viltat fougat del carrer den bertrallans.”

51Ibid.: “No pot dir la dita Eulalia fa est bona o avol.”
trality of the questioner and the witness’s lack of desire to engage in speculation. The fourth witness, Lucia wife of Domingo Ram, does not mention the prior expulsion, but she does say, in answer to the first question, that Eulalia was reputed to be a prostitute. She is unable to say whether or not Eulalia’s house is a brothel. The fifth witness, Maria wife of Arnau, mentions the trouble in the street of Bertrallans, and indicates, as usual, that although she does not know what happens inside the house, there are many men and she is reputed to be a whore. The sixth witness follows the pattern of the fifth. Unfortunately, I am unaware of the outcome of this case as the decision is not listed with the witness information and the eventual sentencing has been lost.

This case is quite typical. The other four follow a similar pattern, with the number and content of the questions varying little in substance. The authorities want to know if the woman in question is a prostitute,

52 Ibid.: “Mas que la dita Eulalia es hauda e reputada per avol fembred e per vil.”

53 Ibid.: “Et dix ella que nos sab.”

54 Ibid.: “Et dix ella que dita Eulalia acull dins casa sua ades vins hommes a des altres pero no poria dir ella que fa ab los dits hommes/ mas que es estada gitada del carrer den bertallans.”
and more importantly if her house is an unlicensed brothel. Also unchanged in the documents is the lack of desire on the part of the witnesses to pass final judgement about the person in question. While they are willing to gossip and pass along idle speculation, they seem wholly unwilling to say, definitively, that their neighbor is a prostitute. This is certainly odd when compared with the complaint brought by the neighbors of Johanna, friend of many. Perhaps these people were intimidated by the authorities, or perhaps they were just not inclined to seek punishment for the brothel keeper. The gossipy hearsay they were willing to pass on may well have been enough to assure prosecution and expulsion for these women. We have seen that expulsion was fairly common and the process leading to expulsion left enough room for multiple supplications, and the neighbors were then free of direct responsibility. Whatever the outcome, the moral outrage visible in the complaint document is absent in these cases, which leads me to the conclusion that although most people did not want scary men walking through their street drunk at all hours of the night, they were in agreement with the toleration but separation policy so popular in the High Middle Ages.

We are able to learn a little bit more about these
women from these documents. Many are foreigners; these women were often named by their place of origin and most were not originally from Barcelona. Of the five women named in the investigations I have, the two whose origins are named are from elsewhere: Johanna Balarona and Gabriela Vilanova. The lack of place name with the other two does not necessarily indicate that they are natives of Barcelona, although it is possible. Among the suppliants, we find Johanna Valenciana, Cathalina de Valencia, Caterina la Valenciana and Maria la Aragonessa and many others of foreign birth. We may also assume that most of these women were poor. This is not a career choice of the wealthy, and, as previously noted, in one document an accused procuresses is actually said to be "poor and without family."

Prostitution flourished in medieval Barcelona. Despite the public and legal brothels the city offered, the trade was not contained. There were many poor women without family or trade adrift in post-Plague Barcelona, and perhaps this alone accounts for the great number of illicit brothels and streetwalkers. Perhaps the municipal brothels charged high prices, or perhaps the demand was simply too great to be met by the few licensed institutions. Perhaps women felt they were able to earn more
on their own, or while working in the home of a friend than in the municipal brothel. Whatever the reason, Barcelona was full of illicit prostitutes performing their services in and out of brothels.
CHAPTER III

BARCELONA PROSTITUTION AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES

Thomas Aquinas compared the prostitute to the castle sewer: while the sewer was unpleasant and no place anyone wished to spend any time, it was a very necessary part of every castle. Without the sewer raw sewage would flow unchecked, sullying everything within its path. So too the prostitute contained dangerous sexuality. Though she was an unpleasant and unsavory part of society, without the prostitute licentiousness would flow, unchecked, sullying married women, honest single women, and even the possible patrons themselves. It was well understood that prostitution protected men from the greater sin of sodomy, a dangerous enticement waiting for men who were denied access to heterosexual sex.55

The idea that prostitutes were a necessary evil, crucial to the social order in the medieval city, underlies both secular and ecclesiastical policies. I dis-

cussed in chapter two the separation policy mandated and, with some limited success, enforced by the city. The church's policy was similar. While the church could not condone the sin of the prostitute and did not wish to be near her and the company she kept, she was accepted as a fundamental ingredient of city life.\textsuperscript{56}

This is not to say that fornication was ever acceptable or free from sin; it was not.\textsuperscript{57} Although theologians and canon lawyers understood that sexual desire was natural, stemming from original sin, and unavoidable, particularly among the more lustful feminine gender, it was still a grievous sin. Because the prostitute was so common, many canonists discussed the particulars of the church position, especially the many financial disputes which surrounded the profession. Wages earned from the trade were the outright property of the prostitute and a patron could not refuse to pay her; although the service she provided was a sin, the financial transaction was legitimate. Theologians disputed her ability to pay tithe on her earnings as some men believed that she ought

\textsuperscript{56}For a specific example, please consider the case in which the Dominicans demanded the closure of a brothel too near them which I discussed in chapter two.

\textsuperscript{57}The following discussion is a summation of the argument presented by James Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," \textit{Signs}, 1 (1975), 825-45.
not donate the wages of sin; Thomas Aquinas advanced what was to become the standard position: she was required to pay tithes from these earnings but only after she had repented. She was prohibited from donating or giving alms to the church, again because the wages of sin were not fit for the church. Most interestingly, it was determined after much debate that the prostitute was not to take crusading vows. She could not donate to the cause as her money had already been determined as unworthy and unacceptable, and even though her presence on crusade would certainly attract many men it was believed these men would not have pure motives and would therefore not be welcome. Although her profession might be tolerable, in the eyes of the church her person, along with everything she touched, was contaminated and she herself was unwelcome.

The prostitute was not, however, irredeemably lost. Through repentance she could place herself back in the hands of the church and earn salvation. Especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as we see the brothel institutionalized and the prostitute becoming a more accepted part of society, the drive to reform and reclaim these women was standard public policy.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{58}Leah Otis, \textit{Prostitution}, 73.
The idea of the penitent prostitute was certainly not a late medieval convention. A tradition of the fallen women reforming, performing penance, and receiving divine forgiveness had been with the church since its earliest days. The penitent prostitute-saint is one important thread in the hagiographical tradition. All of these women spent some of their lives in sin of a carnal nature before returning to the path of righteousness, where they adopted an ascetic lifestyle as contrition for the sins of the flesh. This repentance and ascetic penance allowed them forgiveness, and they lived out their (usually few) remaining days in holiness. They act as inspiration not only for individuals who sought forgiveness, but also for municipalities and ecclesiastical courts who, with ever greater frequency in the later Middle Ages, wished to reform their whores.⁵⁹

Mary the Egyptian, a fifth-century saint from Alexandria, lived from a young age as a prostitute. She so enjoyed her work that she refused to accept payment for her work lest she scare away customers, and instead lived by begging and spinning. In an attempt to find more lovers she went to Jerusalem and seduced everyone on the boat, even those men initially reluctant, in the course

of the journey. Once in Jerusalem, she continued to live in sin until she tried to enter the Holy Sepulchre to see the true cross. Prohibited from entry by an invisible force, she turned to a statue of the Virgin and promised repentance in exchange for the ability to enter. The Virgin interceded, she was permitted entrance, and true to her word she repented. She moved to Jordan with three loaves of bread, which sustained her for seventeen years. After another thirteen years without bread or water, she was discovered by an itinerant monk named Zosimus, who heard her story. This quasi confession was full of hair raising details, including not only fornication, but incest, adultery, and gluttony. He left her, returning a year later to give her communion. The following year he found her dead and, with the help of a lion, buried her.⁶⁰

Although not as popular as Mary the Egyptian, St.

⁶⁰Karras, “Holy Harlots,” 6-7; Benedicta Ward, Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles and Prayer for the 4th Century to the 14th (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1992), 42. For a much more thorough treatment, see Anne Marie Sargent, “The Penitent Prostitute: The Tradition and Evolution of the Life of St. Mary the Egyptian,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977). In Spain the legend of Mary was passed along in part by a Spanish vernacular poem, La vida de Santa María Egipciaca, ed. María Soledad de Andres Catellanos, (Madrid, 1964); and in part by the prose La Vida de Santa María Egipciâna, Eds. B. Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1977).
Thais was very well known in the medieval period. She was a successful and wealthy prostitute who was paid great sums of money because of her beauty. She worked in a brothel until the monk Paphnutius, pretending to be a customer, preached to her and led her to a conversion. She repented, burned her wealth, and moved into a cell in the desert. She lived for three years in great misery, begging forgiveness; Paphnutius opened her cell to tell her she had been forgiven and she died quickly.\textsuperscript{61} St. Pelagia is usually counted among these prostitute saints, though this rests more on bad reputation than on fact. As an actress, she was guilty of much sin, but she is very rarely connected directly with the desire to receive money for sex. She, too, was known for her beauty and riches, and it was perhaps for this reason that she, after her conversion by Bishop Nonnus, dressed as a man in her desert cave.\textsuperscript{62} Mary, niece of Abraham, was sent to live with her desert hermit uncle as a seven year old orphan. He built a cell nearby for her and taught her to be a nun. She lived a holy life until she was seduced by a passing cleric. Overwhelmed by shame, she ran to a

\textsuperscript{61}Karras, "Holy Harlots," 12; and Ward, \textit{Signs and Wonders}, 44.

\textsuperscript{62}Karras, "Holy Harlots," 13; and Ward, \textit{Signs and Wonders}, 44.
city and lived in a brothel for two years until her uncle, disguised as a customer, convinced her to move back to the desert and seek forgiveness. She went with him, and as an eventual sign of divine forgiveness, her tears of sorrow miraculously healed the sick who came to her.63

These saints open another window on the medieval perspective of the prostitute. These women of course personify lust, and it is this sin that defines them, but they are guilty of many others. Mary the Egyptian admits to gluttony and other sins of the flesh. Thaïs was greatly motivated by money and offered herself to the man with the most gold. She is also known for her pride; motivated by her own beauty, she was willing to dive into a life of sin. While the forgiveness that is bestowed upon these women and the life of holiness that they then pursue is quite distant, their sins are not. The medieval audience apparently did not find it difficult to believe that a prostitute would be proud of her beauty or greedy as well as licentious. Nor, at least by the thirteenth century, did they find it difficult to believe that the prostitute could be, if not transformed into a desert ascetic living without sustenance for thirteen

years, at least persuaded to forego prostitution for life as a nun or wife.

These penitent prostitute-saints also demonstrate the value the church placed on repentance and its predisposition to forgiveness. With the exception of Mary Magdalen, whom I will discuss later, none of these women were particularly special or gifted. Like the common whore in the city brothel, they only had to be convinced to give up their life of sin and seek a life with Christ. The basic belief that prostitutes could be forgiven, combined with a renewed interest in the practice of penance and its cousin confession, motivated the church to minister more seriously to these women, not only through popular channels, like an increase in Mendicant preaching, but also through institutionalized channels like the reform houses that sprouted in most European cities in the High and Late Middle Ages, and organized preaching to prostitutes forcibly idle during Holy Week.

I discussed in the preceding chapter this ordinance prohibiting the operation of the public brothel during Holy Week in Barcelona, and the subsequent ordinance forcing public prostitutes to move to the hospital of Santa Creu for the week in order to be inaccessible to their customers. The other, and certainly more impor-
tant, side of this mandate was the attempt to convert prostitutes from their sin. The ordinance specifically declares its intention of glorifying God, which though a common enough sentiment, is still noteworthy. More important, however, is the stated purpose of the law, which was not only to enclose the women, but to expose them, and the body with which they sin, to the divine inspiration of God. To accomplish this, these women were to hear mass daily and meet with confessors. Both of these needs appear to have been met, at least occasionally, by members of the Mendicant orders.

Of all the penitent saints, the most famous, most revered, and most important was Mary Magdalen. The Magdalen, like two of the other four repentant saints, was never actually identified as a prostitute, but her

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64 AHCB, Consellers, Miscellânea 13: "A gloria de nostre senyor deus."

65 Ibid.: "Et [...] ha monstrat que pro encloince les fembres publicas peccadores algunes dies dela dita setmana santa se son molvolens seguits [...] del publich pecat de carnalitat e entre les alters es que alguners delles divinalment inspirades a nostre senyor de tot lur cor."

66 Ibid.: "Et sien tengundes de confessors aquelles punxe confessar et haien almenys [...] die i missa [...] de bones honestes senyors persones consolada visitacio."

67 Ibid.: "Item deven lost di te prohomens a emprar los iii orders de mendicants que les [...] et les confessen les fratres de questum orde i die."
sins of the flesh were often characterized by lust. Her licentious nature was famous; it was commonly known that she had allowed many men to know her carnally. It is possible that she was characterized in this manner in order to separate a creature as holy as the Magdalen from the common public whore the medieval masses would know.68

Although I have focused solely on prostitution as it is defined by the exchange of money for sex, it is crucial to understand that in the minds of medieval theologians and moralists, the prostitute was defined primarily by lust and her willingness to have sex with anyone, and the exchange of money was only a secondary condition.69 For this reason, it is not necessary for these women to have exchanged sex for money to be considered prostitutes. And because they were considered fallen women by theologians, they were referred to in this manner by the laity. So at some point in the transition from vita to sermon, the exchange of money becomes a mere formality.

The life of Mary Magdalen was mainly a medieval convention, as the brief New Testament account only

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68 This, and what follows on the medieval perception of the Magdalen, is a summation of the view espoused in Karras, "Holy Harlots," 17-28.

69 For a complete discussion of this, see Brundage, "The Prostitute in Medieval Canon Law," and Karras, Common Women. Both discuss this point in great detail.
mentions her life after her conversion. Odo of Cluny, a tenth century figure, composed homilies about the Magdalen which were the basis for most later lives. The medieval figure of the Magdalen was actually a combination of three New Testament figures: Mary Magdala, Mary of Bethany, who listened to Christ instead of doing housework with her sister (Luke 10:38-42), and an anonymous female sinner who washed Christ’s feet with her tears (Luke 7:37-38). She was of noble birth, and according to many medieval authors, the combination of wealth and beauty sent her into most grievous sin. Her days of sin ended when Christ cast seven demons from her and she began to follow him from town to town as he preached. She was present for the crucifixion, and with the Virgin, dressed his body for burial. After the resurrection, Christ revealed himself to her first, and she reported the news to the disciples. The Magdalen is likely the second most popular Christian saint, after the Blessed Virgin Mary, and certainly the subject of much reverence. Devotion to her grew in the High Middle Ages,

76Karras, Holy Harlots, 17-20.

71This is a summation of her story as told in the New Testament. She is mentioned specifically in Matthew 27:56, 61, and 28:1; Mark 15:40, 47, and 16:1, 9; Luke 8:2, and 24:10 and John 19:25, and 20:1-3, 11-18.
in no small part because common people, all sinners in the eyes of the church, could easily relate to her.\textsuperscript{72} As the ultimate penitent, the Magdalen's example was beneficial to everyone, but especially prostitutes.

Retirement was a source of great concern to prostitutes, as their working life was likely very short. Rossiaud, in his study of the prostitutes of Dijon, found that most prostitutes were in their teens and early twenties, and there is no reason to believe that this was not also the case in Barcelona.\textsuperscript{73} Even if the average prostitute worked well into her thirties, eventually she would be forced to support herself in another way. Assuming that this was, indeed, the vocation of last resort, prostitutes likely had few other skills to use after they no longer found their work profitable.

These women could marry. As I have discussed, they were certainly ripe for conversion, repentance and a respectable life. Canonists discussed this option with


\textsuperscript{73}Rossiaud, \textit{Medieval Prostitution}, 303, 321. The documents I possess have no such information.
some ambivalence. Gratian held that any man who married a prostitute was an idiot, but not necessarily sinful. It was necessary for the prostitute to perform penance before she could marry, and she was required to indicate a desire to reform her life, likely to avoid a situation in which her husband acted as her pimp. Gratian questioned the legality of a marriage between a reformed prostitute and a former customer, but eventually he deemed the union acceptable, but only after she had performed penance. A man could leave his wife if she reverted to prostitution, but a man who unknowingly married a prostitute could not divorce her merely because he learned of her trade. Gratian's dim view on this union characterized the position of the church early in the Middle Ages, but by the twelfth century attitudes had changed. Pope Innocent III not only praised men who married reformed prostitutes, but went so far as to assert in an 1198 decretal that this action would result in remission of the man's own sins.

Some women were not inclined, or were not able, to marry their way out of prostitution. For these women another avenue was open: a life of devotion in a reli-

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74Brundage, "Prostitution in Canon Law," 158-59. Again, what follows is a summation of the points made in Brundage's article.
gious order. Following in the footsteps of Mary Magdalen, a prostitute could reform and eschew all contact with worldly men for the perfect union with Christ. To this end the Order of St. Mary Magdalen was founded. Originating in the north in the early thirteenth century, the Order was given highest papal sanction by Pope Gregory IX in 1227. The sisters of St. Mary Magdalen wore white habits and were referred to as “White Ladies” all over Europe.\textsuperscript{75} The Order of St. Catherine, and other individual houses, many run by municipalities, appeared over the course of the next one hundred years.\textsuperscript{76} These houses, it seems, were not strictly intended to lead these women into a religious life, but at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries acted sometimes as a sort of halfway house for retired women who no longer found prostitution profitable and wished to find a place in honest society. These places provided an institution in which the women might repent for the previous sins and, once introduced back into honest society, marry or find work either more socially acceptable or more profit-


\textsuperscript{76} Otis, \	extit{Prostitution}, 73-74.
able for aging women.\textsuperscript{77}

The Barcelona house was first discussed by the Consell de Cent, who gave 500 Jacan pounds on November 25, 1365 for the construction of the monastery of Santa Maria Magdalena de las donas de penetencia. The appropriation of land and money, and the construction of the house apparently required seven years as the monastery of Augustine Nuns of St. Mary Magdalen was founded by bishop Pere de Panelles north of the cathedral in 1372.\textsuperscript{78} The house was modeled after a similar institution in Valencia,\textsuperscript{79} and adopted the rule of St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{80}

The founding document is not a rule, of course, but


\textsuperscript{78} Sebastian Puig i Puig, Episcopologio de la sede Barcinonense (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1929), 259; and Rubriques de Bruniquer ceremonial (Barcelona: Impr. D'Henrich, 19140, 3: 71-72.

\textsuperscript{79} Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Arago [hereafter ACA], Manuscritos, Sant Cugat, no. 44. Entire document is found on fols. 18-22, fol. 18r: "Intra civitate Barchiona una domus qualis ei in civitate Valencie." My gratitude to Larry Simon for bringing this document to my attention.

\textsuperscript{80} Gregory IX, in the bull sanctioning the Order of St. Mary Magdalen, suggested that the order adopt the rule of St. Augustine. This is particularly fitting in light of Mendicant, especially Dominican, interest in the reform of prostitutes.
rather something akin to a sermon, stressing what the founder thought to be important. The document opens with a discussion of the importance of striving for the kingdom of heaven, and stressing that without love, no one might walk this path.\textsuperscript{81} This stress on love, placed as it is at the conception of the letter, is certainly related to forgiveness, which corresponds with the purpose of the house, in which one has to love even the vile. The bishop then writes that this house is to bring together prostitutes, and provide a place in which “said women may be brought back from and defended from ... the patronage of the devil.”\textsuperscript{82} The mission of this house is quite clear from the outset. Sinning women live in the city, and they are to be redeemed in this house. The bishop then thanks his donors and launches into a sermon in which he condemns the sin of lust and praises virtue. He stresses

\textsuperscript{81}ACA, Manuscritos, Sant Cugat, no. 44, fol. 18r: “Via autem sine quod non pervenit ad regnum caritatas ei et ideo quicquod ad caritatem post nos dirigere tot vertute fectandum est. Quicquod autem ab hoc nos retrahit earum si vale et ... videat ut noxium verandum est nam sine via. Sine caritate ad regnum celore tendentibus labor est contineris non perfecatis unde ambro. Sicut sine via nemo pervenit quo tendir ita sine caritate que dicta ei via ambulare non possunt homines.”

\textsuperscript{82}Ibid. Fol. 18r: “Interfui perbapalis fuit concordatum pro mulieres publicis peccatibus pernias agere cupientibus emerent. In qua dicte mulieres possent recipi et deffendi quon dinvinitus inspirate a fautibus diaboli.”
the importance of contemplation and prayer, and indicates that through constant contemplation of one’s sins one might attain salvation and forgiveness from prior sin.

The Mendicant Orders were particularly interested in repentant whores, the sisters of St. Mary Magdalen, and the preaching of penance. Their preaching of the life of the Magdalen focused attention on her and helped to propagate her cult. As a consequence, increasing devotion to the Magdalen spawned a more widespread interest in penance. Humbert of Romans, in his instructional manual for Dominican preachers, *Treatise on the Formation of Preachers*, devotes a section to repentance called, “For Mary Magdalen and Other Such Saints.” He opens with a reminder to:

> notice that the church celebrates not only holy virgins and widows, but also penitent sinners ... like the blessed Magdalene and St. Mary of Egypt and St. Pelagia and some others.

He then explains why it is difficult to abandon the sins of the flesh and exhorts his preachers to have patience

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83 Katherine L. Jansen, “Mary Magdalen and the mendicants: The preaching of penance in the late Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995) 1-25, for a thorough treatment of this theme.

and compassion. He closes with an uplifting verse from the New Testament, “Truly I say to you, prostitutes will enter the kingdom of God before you.” (Matthew 21:31)

Although this work was not very popular, it should not be summarily dismissed as it demonstrates the intention of the Dominicans to minister to these women, and the contents alone were likely more popular than the vessel.\(^{85}\) Despite his occasional kindness, we should not think that Humbert finds these women to be good company. In the section about preaching at tournaments he writes:

> Sometimes people who fear God manage to get prostitutes and ... other undesirable characters kept away from the tournament... Respectable estates should always see that this is done.\(^{86}\)

Although prostitutes might well arrive first in heaven, Humbert still has no intention of mixing with them socially.

Another Dominican preacher, this time wildly popular, preached to and about prostitutes regularly. Vincent Ferrer, a Valencian friar active in the fifteenth century, preached to large crowds wherever he went. He wandered about on his mule, exhorting the laity from town

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\(^{85}\) Tugwell writes in his introduction that this work was not very well received, which is manifested by only four extant copies, none of which is complete.

\(^{86}\) Humbert, Treatise, 338.
to town, and when he preached at least two miracles were said to occur without fail: everyone in the crowd could not only hear him as if he were next to them, but his words were also translated by divine intervention into the listener’s native tongue. Among other favorite topics, Vincent was known for his sermons on Mary Magdalen’s feast day. The theme of these sermons is, of course, repentance. Ferrer omitted details about her involvement in the resurrection to focus on her sinful nature. He noted that she was guilty of all seven sins, but focused on adultery and warned the women in his audience to avoid such scandalous and sinful behavior. This characterization of the Magdalen, and Ferrer’s use of this characterization, exemplifies the Mendicant position and mission in regards to fallen women.

The church position, at times ambivalent, at times hostile, evolved throughout the medieval period. As the prostitute became more socially acceptable, and as her trade became an institutionalized part of many European cities, the ecclesiastical position on prostitution

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87 Franchesc Almela i Vives, Sant Vincent Ferrer (Valencia: Lletres Valencianes, 1955), is the best biography of the saint.

became more institutionalized as well. Plans to preach to her and seek conversion were codified, and environments in which she might repent and become part of honest society flourished. This acceptance and these devoted reclamation efforts were only natural in this period which witnessed a surge of popular preaching, lay piety, and a renewed interest in penance. When this religious climate combined with the practical ecclesiastical position in which the prostitute was viewed as a necessary and, in some ways, beneficial component of society, we see concerted efforts to enfranchise these women and bring them back to honest society.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Prostitution flourished in late medieval Barcelona. The city owned public brothels, streetwalkers were found on many streets of the city, and illicit brothels were common. Laws for dealing with these women abound, and extant punitive actions taken against them indicate that these laws were, at least to some degree, enforced.

The civic authorities, though they found the trade morally questionable, understood its commercial soundness, sought to control or abolish the accompanying criminal element, and licensed brothels at which the trade was fully legal. These legal institutions did not meet the city's demand, nor house the city's supply, and many other houses of prostitution existed. The annual expulsion records indicate that many women were prostituted independently by their friend or boyfriend, that some were certainly streetwalking, and that several women ran illicit brothels out of their homes.

Prostitution was so common, at least in part, because of the way in which both secular and ecclesiastical authorities viewed it. The trade was a necessary and
integrated component of society, crucial to maintaining sexual mores and avoiding sexual pitfalls like sodomy and adultery. This combined with the idea that these women, though engaged in a vile trade, were themselves not permanently vile. They were sullied by the sin that they performed, but they were not irredeemably lost. They could and should be reformed and, after an appropriate penance, exist as upright members of society. For this reason prostitutes were subject to ministry and conversionary attempts, were offered either a temporary or permanent place to repent from their sins in the municipally-endowed convent of the Magdalenes, and, hopefully, the possibility of rejoining the more upright strata of society.

The Sisters of St. Mary Magdalene, and other orders like them, were a crucial step in society’s program for prostitutes. Upon completing one’s tenure as an employee of the city brothel, one might then enter the convent in the city, receive the ministration of the city’s religious community, and live out one’s days as a nun. A repentant whore also had the option of marrying out of the trade, although she was prohibited from marrying in the trade.

The municipal brothels, the position of the church,
and the secularly sponsored reform efforts of the church, both during a prostitute's career and after, demonstrate the inclusive nature of medieval European prostitution. In most modern scholarship on prostitution, the prostitute herself disappears from our documentary view; we know much about the institution of prostitution, but little about the prostitute herself. Though it is also true that we know more about the institution of prostitution in Barcelona, and more about civil and ecclesiastical approaches to the prostitute, I have endeavored, where possible, to attempt to arrive at greater understanding of these women themselves. The prostitute was a part of medieval city life with a set space, which, although resting somewhere in the margins, was nonetheless squarely inside the boundaries of society.
CHAPTER V

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

Barcelona, AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: This is a letter from King Pere III mandating the opening of publically owned brothels and dictating some of the principles by which said brothels should be operated.

Petrus dei Rex Aragonum Valencie Maioricarum Sardin et Corsice Comes de Barchionensis Rossilionis et Ceritana Quia magistra nerorum efficax experiencia docuit Quod ex subscriptis fuerunt comissa et comitunt multa enormia quibus nos ex de viro comissi nobis ab altro regiminis debemus quantum possumus salubrit proinde ideo ad supplicacione super hiis per Curiam generalem quia in Civitate Ilerde nunc celebramus humiliter nobis fratrum de consilio aproverbacione et consensum immo requisicione dicte curio generalis hac noster pragmatica et inviolabili sancione in toto principatu Cathalonie observanda de terra sancta pro virandus enormitatibus excessibus et malis que ex subscriptis haccemus sunt comissa et al pro bona statu Civitati villarum et locorum principatus Cathalonie Concedimus pervidenins sanctimus et statuimus ac ordimamus ea que in subscriptis capitulis continent.
Per bon stament dela terra e pro cessar molt peccatis que en les coses denall strint s se son trobats es troben tot dia per aquesta present ordinacio e pracademic sanctio stablim pronchim e ordonam que neguna fembre publica de qualche condicio sia no gos fer a algun hosta de bordell ne armch o alcavot seu ne a altra persona carta de comanda scripta de tero ne altre qualsevol obligacio de sa persona per dis robes ne bens qui prestats fiats o comenars li sien ne alguna non hi gos posar sagrament ans sis contrafeya tot e quart fet ne sera sia revocat e anullat e pro cas bas e nulla hant axi con si fet no era aiustat que de tot con que la dita aytal fembra haura encart a algun sia quitia en persona e en bens El offinal quen degada fer iusticia puxa e dera han daquell quis haura fet fer lo dit ecartament la meyrat dela genticat establim la geneticat encartada la qual hara aposar en reebuda dels compers de son offia sors pena del X doblas e que non puxa haura gracia o remissio con sia estat trobat que alcuns alcavots e altres males persones se san fer les dites obligacions ales dites fembres ab los quals obligacions les tenen captivades en lo peccat que non gosen ne poden exir o ab gran dificultat

Item que pros que les dites fembres mals e pus
franchament puxen quant se bullen deles dits bordells
exir e noy hanc pro forca aturar ordonam e establim que
algun hom de qualsevol condicio sia no gos fer amiga no
assi marex aproperar alguna deles dites fembres tinent
aquilla en bordell ne en hostal con no sia legut algun
fer propi dela cosa communa Et que si algu sera trobat
qui fembra de bordel tenga ne de son mal guany vischa
tant tost sia pro la ciutat vila o loch o aytal maleficia
perpetrara escobat e acotat axi con a alcavot publichi e
daque expellat on si apesas sera atrobat sia peniat pro
lo coll en guisa que muyra sens tota gracia e merce Et
que algun offinal no puxa mudar aquesta pena en altre ne
fer ne gracia ne remissio graciosament no per dis

Item que per tolre e esquinar tota occasio de tenir en
destret o oproposio les dites fembres ordanam e pronchim
quelles dites alcavots hostaleres ne hostaleres ne alters
qui acullen les dites fembres axi in Jaure com meniar e
beure no gosen pro si ni pro altre vendre no tenir alguna
narera o manera de revenderia pro vendre sera ales dites
fembres o a altres en nom daquelles vulles sia revenderia
de pena de vin de carn doli de senyors o daltres
qalsevol coses o vicualles con los dits hostalers ere
venadores los ho venen en tan gran for o preu que les
dites fembres no hauria de tot altre molt mes per i den
que non han dells per ii e ab males maneres que tenen los
posen en no gosar de comprar ne daltres sino dells
Eaurum ordonam sors les penas demunt expellades

Item com sia estat trobat que hostalers de fembres de
bordell e aquells quils [...] cases e draps de lit les
opremen els fan extorsions e exacions no degudes volent
haura delles leguns fort excessins e destrampats deles
cases lits e draps quels loguen per tal com elles no
poden tenir cases en altre part los bordells Ehan alogar
per forca aqui cases daquelles qui les hi han qui lurs
cases tenen aqui agabellades e per conseguent han alogar
lits e draps daquilles matexs com daltres persones
bonament non trobassen Et per aco les dites fembres ultra
lo peccat de lur cors hanc segons que per expiencia ses
trobat estendre les mans afurts e a altre mals Pro
stablim pronchim e ordana que en castuna ciutat vila e
loch on se fes exces en los dits [...] de lits e de draps
deles dites fembres sia regonesent pro lo barjaul
daquella ciutat vila o loch e temprat e tornat a egualtat
o iusticia eadegut estament E que no lexen les dites
fembres

Mandantes per persentes Gubernatori cathalonie vicariis
bauiliis Cents atque e singlis offinalibus nostris et
locarum eorum de in civitatibus villis et locis
Cathalonie constitutis et constituendis sub pena mille
auri nobis pro duabus partibus et consiliariis iuratis
paciariis consulibus sen aliis ciuslibet ipsorum
Civitatum locorum Petroribus quoumque [...] ut de hiis
sint magis solliciti pro [...] terra parte irremissibiler
quociens contrafactam fuerunt adquirenda pro dictam
pracmaticam sanctione ordinacione et provisione in omni-
bus suis capitulis et quolibet eorum exegnant cum
teneant et observet et faciant inconcusse et contra ea
non faciant vel veniant aliqua si dictam pena insuper
noster indignacione aculen cuperint civitate ordinacionem
faciant solent per loca solita publicari in cuius rei
testimonium persente fieri iussimus sigillo munutarm de
Ilerde xxiii die iuni anno a natu domini 1330

1413: Barcelona, AHCB, B-V-13, fol. 1: This document
forbids masters from prostituting their slaves and as-
signs penalties for violating the law. (I am grateful to
Larry Simon for discovering this and Donna Rogers for her
transcription.)

Tra horats tothom generalment per manament del honorable
batle de barchinona ordonaren los consellers e prohomens
dela dita ciutat per esquiuar a fer cessar les grans
desonestats et leig peccat de carnalitat qui dalgun temps
anca se seguexen & per alguns & algunes se sostenen en la
dita ciutat & territori daquella per raho deles esclaues qui per lurs senyors o dones son dades o atorgades a grans o desmodades talles Com les dites esclaues per tal que pusquen pagar les dites talles abandonen lurs cossors al dit peccat de carnalitat per trauren quest o guany Et encara per raho dalgunes altres esclaues que jatsia no sien dades a talla Empero son per lurs senyors o dones permeses usar del dit peccat per tal que del guany o quest que les dites esclaues faran del dit peccat usans los dits lurs senyors o dones haien part / que daqui anant algun ciutada o habitador o ciutadana o habitadora dela dita ciutat de qualsevol condicio grau o estament sia ne gos o presumescha donar leser o prometre palesament o amagada directament o Indirecta dins la ciutat o fora aquella en alberchs cases orts camps o vinyes o altres lochs situats dins la dita ciutat o territori daquella tals esclaues dades o no dades a talla usar del dit peccat de carnalitat ne les dites esclaues gosen usar daquell per fer o procurar ne quest o guany en alguna manera Et qui contrafaça encorrega la dita esclaua qui en semelant peccat o quest o guany sera atrobada o depresa en ban de XXX sols barchionins per la primera vegada Et si pagar nols pora o nols volra aquella dita esclaua estiga per XXX jorns presa al castell dela cort
del veguer dela dita ciutat Et si mes dvna vegada sera atrobada o depressa en lo dit peccat quest o guany encorrega en poria o ban d assotada per la dita ciutat sens alguna gracia o remissio.

Del qual ban peccuniari tantes vegades com sera comes la terça part al dit batle. L'altre part al accusador o denunciador & la restant terça part als obrers del murs & valls dela dita ciutat sien guanyades empero los dits consellers & prohomens que si en la dita ordinacio apparien algunas cosas escures o dubtoses que ells les puxen contrapartar & declarar vna vegada & moltes a lur bona coneguda

a VII de juliol any MCCCCXIII fou feta la present per en

AHCB, Consellers, Miscellanea 13. This is a complaint brought before the Consell from the inhabitants of the street of the parchment makers. The residents of the neighborhood believe that Johanna was a prostitute and that her house was a brothel. Concerned about their moral and physical well being, they asked that Johanna be expelled from the city.

'A vosalters molt honorables e prudens senyors Senyors Consellers e prohomens de la ciutat de Barchionina humilment e ab gran dolor de cor suplichan los veyhins habitans en lo carrer deles pergaminers dela dita ciutat devant la capella de sant cugat. Que con en lo dit
carrer qui es honest de bons habitants. stigua una femora apellada Johanna amiga den miralls o ne monge la qual es vill de son cors e molt horra de sa lengua acullint alcavoteries clerament jurant de nostre senyor deus e dela verge maria e do sos sanis entant que en la sua casa sa fan es congralien grans corruptions de desonestas dommes mullerats e de fembres maridades tals que seria molt perillos e quan desonest publicat ne nominar les. E tot aco e alteres moltes coses vills e stranges en vers deus e lo mey sa saguesthan es fassan en casa dela dita fembra per son enginyos e veri mortal que porta corruptment ab la sua lenga e false maneres tot persona ala qual ella sa costa axi que es vayell de mort e dela ira de deu en tot lorh hon ella sta habitar o conversa. E com avosalters molt honorables senyores axi con aregidors dela ciutat se pertanguia seguirar e fora gitar aytal vari qui di a alter sa pot pendre. Perco placia ala vera Renerent promenia fora gitar de continent la dita varinoso fembra no solament dela dit carrer mas encara de tota la ciutat. E servits nets anostres senyor deus e perveyhirats ala ciutat ala qual sots tenguts per denta de veren offia. Si plagues anostres senyor deus que los dits suplicants poguessen o guosass honestament sens perill e sens reprehencio de deu e de gens publicat la
vera samesa specificadament e clara los anostres e les
persones comerens horres peccats en la casa dela dita
fembre e per en guyns e mergutera daquilla. E plana
anostre senyor e al sant ques de ver santiment delas
cosas damunt ditas qui son assats cuycosses e hi per
vestra samesta.

1438 Barcelona, AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: This
is an decree, like those published at least annually,
listing all people expelled from the city for procuring.
The names of the expelled are listed first, followed by
their sentences. I have omitted the names and punishment
of the vagabonds and petty thieves who were named in this
document as well.

Faca criats ques fa asaber lo honorables moser bant
daninyo canaller vaguer de barchionina de Agolada de
valles de Moya de de Moyaners/ Que con pro bon estament
dela ciutat de Barchionina lo molt alt senyor Rex en
Johan de lo able memoria hara a torgat ala dita ciutat
perpetua perin legi e pro lo molt illustre lo senyor Rex
Na alfonso ara pro la gracia de Regnant confirmat/ Que
recebuda informacio pro lo vaguer de Barchionina e
consellers e consell de trenta dela dita cuitat punxe los
dits vaguer e consellers e consell de trenta foragitar de
aquella ciutat ab imposicions de pens que nols punxe estar
remeses Tots alcavots qui tingu en avols fembres e vistuen
del guany de aquelles Et encara tots alcavotes Et axi
materes tots tafureres e vagabunts qui no harie renda ni
stiguen ab senyor ni vestuen de lurs treballs Et mes
anant aquelles qui nafren o maten hommes per diners Et
pro sumaria informacio segons forma del dit privilegi
reebuda pro los dits honorables vaguer e consellers e
consell de xxx sien ara estat a trobats en la dita ciutat
los danall stats alcavots e alcavotes e vagabunts qui
vinen del guany o quest de avols fembres los quals son
aquests

Primament fernando de madrigal qui te per amiga agnes la
torre alcavot

Raphael bon qui te per amiga Elinor destella alcavot

Jacme blanch qui te per amiga alvira alcavot

Rodrigo de penyafior qui te per amiga Caterina deles tres
portes alcavot

Julio valencia qui te per amiga Isabel torres alcavot

Pere almenara barber dela vila de liria de regne de
valence qui te per amiga Speranta alcavot

Johan de toledo castella qui te per amiga Isabel Rodri-
guez alcavot

Pere fullos de Perpenya qui te per amiga Maria la fullosa
alcavot

Pere de Vilaruela qui te per amiga Johana Rodriguez
alcavot

Ausias pila convers sartre o Iusponer qui te per amiga
Cathalina de Valencia alcavot

Jacme balufer sartre qui te per amiga Caterina la
Valenciana alcavot
Johan de manresa qui te per amiga Maria la aragonessa alcavot

Johan spina qui te per amiga Maria la visquehina alcavot

Alcavotes

Primerament Francina hostalera que soli estar al carrer Comdal lo pou i alcavota

Elinor Cerdana que esta al carrer den Jacme Girart alcavota

Anthonia la qual solia estar davant perycadore e ara sta lo pi la qual es renenedora alcavota

(Omitted section of those expelled for being a vagabond or petty thief)

Pro los dits honorables vaguer e consellers e consell de xxx ab ven de aquesta persent publica crida a monesten
tots los damunt anomenats alcavots e alcavotes tafurers e vagabunts e castum dells que dins spay de x dies
primerninetes fien exits dela dita cuitat e termens de aquella Et dins aquella ciutat e termens sen no sien ni tornen Con es los dits

Fernando de madrigal dins spay de v anys sens esperanca de venia

Raphael bon a iii anys sens esperanca de venia

Jacme blanch a iii anys sens esperanca de venia

Rodrigo de Penyaflor a vi anys sens esperanca de venia

Julia Valenciana a iii anys sens esperanca de venia
Pere almenara barber de liria de Regne de Valencia a tres anys sens esperança de venia

Johan de Toledo Castella a xx anys sens esperança de venia

Pere fullos de perpenya a dos anys ab esperança de venia

Pere de vilarnela a iiii anys sens esperança de venia

Ausias pla convers sartre o inponer a tres anys sens esperança de venia

Jacme valufer sartre convers a dos anys sens esperança de venia

Johan de manresa a dos anys sens esperança de venia

Johan spina a dos anys sens esperança de venia

Francina hostaler a iiii anys sens venia

Elinor cerdana a vi anys sens esperança de venia

Anthonia la qual solia estar danany Perycadors a ara esta

Per lo pi renenedora a tres anys sens esperança de venia

(Section omitted with sentences for vagabonds and thieves)

Earum sots pena si lo contrar per ells o castum delles

sera fet de eser estobats per la dita ciutat e expellats

en Cerdenya a anys llavos seguets Et si per ventura los
dells anomenats o algun de aquelles dins lo temps a ells
assignat segons dit es entrar o serana atrobats dins la
dita ciutat o termens de aquella lavors que sien peniats
pro lo coll enral guisa que naturalment muyren Et no
solament les conses damunt dits sien tenguds e Pernadors
per los dells nomenat e castum dells dins la dita ciutat de Barchionina ans encara per tots los suburbs e Promens de aquella de finestrelles de coll de serola de Ganarra dela vila de Molindereng e de Castell de fels tro a xii legues dins mar pro que algu non puxa ignoraria allogar

Son feta la present crida dinarts abs del mes de agost any mccccxxxviii peren salvedar Fonira de lo lorno a costuniata ab il trompetae e evitabal

1469 Barcelona, AHCB, Consellers, Miscellànea 13: After a procurer or procuress had been expelled from the city they were permitted to file an appeal and ask to be allowed back into the city. This one is unique in that it includes a small bit of personal information.

A la gran samesta e anistumada iustina de vosalters molt honorables et molt suis senyors consellers et consell de cent jurats dela insigna cuitat de barchionina humiliment ab aquella pius humil revenna e honor a pot rexpon la dona na francina filla den Andreu Cardona payre dicut que con per informacio reebuda de persones aquella malvolentes non remenis deu ne los seguens samus manamento no advertinis sia strada publicada per la dita ciutat per alcavota e expellada de aquella aners anys sens speranta de alguna venia. Et rec la dita dona agreniada del dit exill lo qual ab tota honor perlanta li
res stat fet contra iustitia e per adversa informacio con
ella sua quistia de tal vida e condicio dela qual ella es
strada iuitu la da e contra iustina imulparda pero co
revarroni a volalters honorables samestia segons vol e lo
primelegi a la dita ciutat atorgat supplica aquell et que
li placia per Ravenna de nostre senyor den rametra lo dit
fet a iustitia en tal forma e manera que demostrant la
dita supplicant per dignes testimonis e maiors de tota
exceptio de aquelles per les quals ella res stada punida
revada e contra iustitia inculpada puxa retornar en la
dita ciutat pro star e habitar en aquella honestament e
ve e segons ha amismat per aro la dita supplicant vos lo
repulsa as engular gratia e me

Fuit admissa com salvitate ordinators du per fiis edite
sic que dia supplicatas de informacoes dignostencia per
articulos de contraria mestra et alia faciat que sint ...

Per honor consilianos et concilium xxxii die venis svii
februoary anno mcccclxviii civitate concilii centum
iurarore celebrati dita die
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