

***IN VINO VERITAS: WINE, SEX, AND GENDER RELATIONS***  
**IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SPANISH LITERATURE**

by

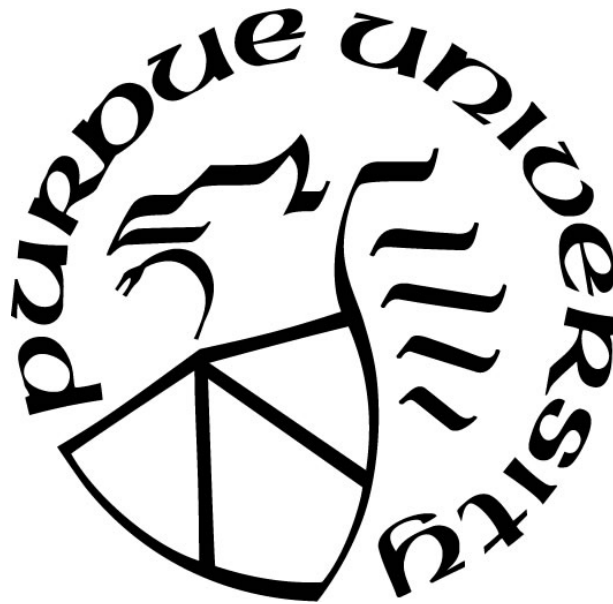
**Min Ji Kang**

**A Dissertation**

*Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University*

*In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of*

**Doctor of Philosophy**



School Languages & Cultures

West Lafayette, Indiana

August 2019

**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL  
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Yonsoo Kim, Chair

School of Languages & Cultures

Dr. Howard Mancing

School of Languages & Cultures

Dr. Patricia Hart

School of Languages & Cultures

Dr. Song No

School of Languages & Cultures

**Approved by:**

Dr. Jen William

Head of the Graduate Program

*To my parents*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor and mentor, Dr. Yonsoo Kim, for always believing in me. Besides her kindness, her dedication to me has been truly significant since day one at Purdue. I also would like to thank Dr. Howard Mancing for his invaluable comments in my work and for his guidance on Spanish Golden Age literature. I am extremely lucky to have Dr. Patricia Hart for her continuing support in me and Dr. Song No for his time and feedback for improving my research.

I am also deeply grateful for all the people who have supported me throughout the years at Purdue. I would like to especially thank Dr. Silvia Mitchell for being a wonderful role model in my life. I am deeply thankful to Erin Dougherty to make the course of writing a dissertation less painful. I also want to thank all the faculty and staff at the School of Languages and Cultures. Thank you so much, Dr. Marcia Stephenson, for your support and encouragement. Thank you, Joni Hipsher, Joyce Detzner, Soledad Morales-Serrano, and Twyla Gibson, for your patience and kindness. I feel so grateful to be around all of my wonderful, amazing friends who make me feel at home at Purdue. Thank you, Sunyoung, Ana María, Tyler, Débora, Alba, Liana, Nuur, Riham, Tulin, Daleth, Brunella, Jiyeon, Ikbeom, and Jaesang. It would have been impossible without all of your love and friendship.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents and my younger brother and sister in Korea for all the support and love that they have given me throughout the years. Finally, I am extremely fortunate to have such a wonderful, supportive, smart, and inspiring husband in my life. Thank you, Jin Woo, for always being there for me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES .....	7
LIST OF FIGURES .....	8
ABSTRACT .....	9
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION .....	11
1.1 The Ambivalence of Wine .....	15
1.2 Wine and Women: The Role of Alcohol in Gender Construction.....	18
1.3 Tracing Literary Representations of Wine and Women .....	24
CHAPTER 2. MULTIPLICITY OF WINE IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN .....	27
2.1 Water and Wine: <i>Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino</i> .....	29
2.2 Wine, Feasts, and the Hero: The <i>Poema de mio Cid</i> .....	38
2.3 Wine in the Spanish Legal Code: The <i>Siete Partidas</i> .....	45
2.4 Conclusion .....	54
CHAPTER 3. THE <i>LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR</i> : GENDERED VIOLENCE AND WINE .....	56
3.1 Wine in the Libro de buen amor .....	59
1.3.1 Viticulture in Medieval Spain: Agricultural Calendar.....	60
1.3.2 Ambiguity of Wine in the <i>Libro de buen amor</i> .....	64
3.2 The Drunken Hermit: Alcohol, Adultery, and Murder .....	67
3.2.1 Summary of the Episode of the Drunken Hermit .....	70
3.2.2 The Literary Tradition of “The Three Sins of the Hermit” .....	72
3.2.3 Rape, Gendered Violence, and Wine: Man-Perpetrator and Woman-Victim .....	75
3.3 The <i>Serranas</i> : Adventures in the Sierra.....	80
3.3.1 Understanding the Tradition of the <i>Serranas</i> .....	81
3.3.2 Summary of the Encounters with the Four <i>Serranas</i> .....	82
3.3.3 Food, Sex, and Violence in the Episode of the <i>Serranas</i> .....	84
3.4 Conclusion .....	91
CHAPTER 4. THE <i>ARCIPRESTE DE TALAVERA</i> : DRUNKEN WOMEN AND MONSTROSITY .....	93
4.1 The Representation of Drunkenness in the <i>Arcipreste de Talavera</i> .....	98
4.1.1 “Maldezir” of Gluttony.....	100

4.1.2	Drunkenness and Female Sexuality .....	104
4.2	Drunken Women as Monstrous Bodies .....	106
4.2.1	Wine and Gender in Medical Discourse .....	107
4.2.2	Female Monstrosity .....	111
4.3	Masculine Anxiety in the <i>Arcipreste de Talavera</i> .....	117
4.4	Conclusion .....	124
CHAPTER 5. THE <i>CELESTINA</i> : PROSTITUTES, PERFORMATIVITY, AND DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS .....		126
5.1	The Old Drunken Woman and Gender Constitution .....	129
5.1.1	The Literary Tradition of <i>La vieja bebedora</i> .....	130
5.1.2	Celestina's Wine and Performativity of Gender .....	133
5.2	Drinking, Sociability, and Collective Identity in the <i>Celestina</i> .....	144
5.2.1	Female Micro-society and Friendship .....	145
5.2.2	Celestina, Claudina, and Wine .....	151
5.3	" <i>In taberna quant sumus</i> ": Crossing the Boundary .....	157
5.4	Conclusion .....	165
CONCLUSION .....		167
REFERENCES .....		175

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Monthly Viticultural Activity in the <i>Libro</i> .....	62
--	----

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. “Calendario” in the Panteón Real of San Isidoro de León from Marta Pozo Yagüe ....	60
Figure 2. The Old Drunken Woman in Munich.....	131



## ABSTRACT

Author: Kang, Min Ji. PhD

Institution: Purdue University

Degree Received: August 2019

Title: *In Vino Veritas*: Wine, Sex, and Gender Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spanish Literature

Committee Chair: Yonsoo Kim

Alcohol has been present in almost every society throughout history, and so has a double standard around alcohol usage: women are stigmatized far more than men for excessive drinking. In this dissertation, I explore the intimate association between wine consumption and gender relations in Spanish late medieval and early modern literature. In late medieval and early modern European society, distinctions of gender, age, class, religion, and occupation were reflected in what one chose to eat and drink. Wine was undoubtedly the most popular and highly regarded beverage, especially in the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of southern Europe. Wine has always been deeply integrated into the Spaniards' lives, not only as a daily beverage but also as a marker of individual and group identities. While references to wine have flowed through Spanish literature, thorough examinations of women's drinking have surprisingly been left unexplored.

This study fills that gap, analyzing representations of female drinking in Spanish literature, specifically the ambivalent approach to wine as it relates to the construction of gender identities. This study analyzes the representation of female drinking throughout the Spanish literary canon, especially focusing on the *Libro de buen amor* (ca. 1343), the *Arcipreste de Talavera* (also called as *Corbacho*, ca. 1438), and the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (also known as *Celestina*, 1502) with the purpose of demonstrating how wine consumption constitutes, reflects, and questions normative gender roles. In medieval and early modern Europe, gender identities were either masculine or feminine, attached to rigid, stereotypical gender roles for men and women.

Drunken women, therefore, presented a threat that needed to be contained. During the Middle Ages, while drunken women were represented as personifying gluttony and violating both moral and gender norms in didactic, moralizing treatises, there were literary fictions that depicted female drunkards who openly enjoyed wine, praised its virtues, and socialized by drinking with other women. The gender ideology of Spanish patriarchy created masculine anxiety around unfeminine women, like female drunkards, who were unsuited to a life of purity and chastity. I argue that this anxiety, evident in the extreme condemnation of drunken women, paradoxically reveals the contradictions underlying the patriarchal agenda. I also interpret female drinking practices as performative acts of resistance against normative gender roles. Drawing on the notion that gender is a performative act, alcohol drinking by women can be understood as a subversive act that transgresses and reconfigures social norms around gendered identities in late medieval and early modern Spain.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Lavóme con vino las roturas  
que con los pedazos del jarro me había hecho, y, sonriéndose, decía:  
“¿Qué te parece, Lázaro? Lo que te enfermó te sana y da salud”  
*Lazarillo de Tormes*

Alcoholic beverage, as much as food, has shaped social and cultural lives since antiquity. While alcohol drinking is present in almost every society, the uses and meanings of alcohol vary widely, such that what is culturally acceptable in one community is inappropriate in another (Gefou-Madianou 1). Drinking behaviors are part of the broader social order, defined and configured through moral, religious, and economic relationships. David G. Mandelbaum therefore defines alcohol as a cultural artifact, because “the form and meanings of drinking alcoholic beverages are culturally defined” (281). Mary Douglas has pointed out that a close relationship exists between culture and alcohol, and that “drinking is essentially a social act, performed in a recognized social context” (“A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective” 23). In a similar vein, Thomas M. Wilson views food and drink as signifiers of group culture and identity, a reflection of what is meaningful in social identifications that include ethnic, national, class, local, sexual, and gender identification (12).

For more than 6000 years, wine—more than any other alcoholic beverage—has been an important foodstuff and cultural material.<sup>1</sup> Wine consumption and the meanings attached to it provide many aspects of human behaviors and reactions as well as beliefs of each culture. For example, wine has played a central role in religious and secular rituals in ancient Greece and Rome,

---

<sup>1</sup> Advances in modern archaeology, archaeobotany, and paleontology have revealed that viniculture with *Vitis vinifera*, the wild Eurasian grapevine, began sometime between 8500 and 4000 BCE (Varriano 11). Wine was first produced near modern Georgia or Armenia, and spread south toward Mesopotamia and Egypt (Charters 14). While some details around the origin and history of wine remain unclear, viticulture and wine drinking have been present from the beginning of civilization. For more on the history of wine, see McGovern.

Christianity and its Reformation, and even our own era. And wine also defines and/or divides groups as an indicator of class, religion, and gender. Throughout, wine has been seen as the delight of humanity as well as its scourge, a negative image closely connected to intoxication and its deleterious effects.

The word *pharmakon* is commonly translated as “remedy” or “poison.” Yet in the Platonic corpus *pharmakon* also meant “perfume,” “pigment,” “philter,” and “recreational drug,” meanings that do not neatly fit the remedy/poison binary (Rinella 13). Wine has been an important drug since ancient Greece, with recreational and religious purposes. But at the same time, the unpredictable and negative consequences of intoxication provoke anxiety and lead to ethical, social, and legal regulation of drinking (Rinella 37). Wine thus plays many roles and serves many functions. Wine is a *pharmakon*, a curative and entertaining gift from Dionysus to mankind, but it is also a source of social problems and deviance. And depending on the particular drinker, wine can bestow energy and divinity, or it can cause physical and moral weakness and incite violence and anger. In the Bible, some passages encourage wine drinking as healthful— “Stop drinking only water, and use a little wine because of your stomach and your frequent illnesses” (*New International Version*, 1 Timothy. 5.23)—, while others emphasize its negative effects— “Do not get drunk on wine, which leads to debauchery. Instead, be filled with the Spirit” (*New International Version*, Ephesians. 5.18). Excessive drinking, that is, more than “a little wine,” was believed to encourage promiscuity and wickedness. The ambivalence of *pharmakon* opens up a wide variety of meanings and values linked to alcohol ingestion. In short, life and death coexist in wine (Salinero Cascante 213).

Alcohol studies, once the limited purview of a few anthropologists, has become an interdisciplinary field that draws on sociology, psychology, history, literature, medicine, and economics. Much of this work on alcohol drinking tended to focus on negative aspects like

intoxication and drunken behavior. However, since the 1960s, alcohol drinking has been productively reframed as a social and cultural practice.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, drinking has been viewed as a way of “consuming identities” (Wilson 14), and alcoholic beverages as “markers of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion” (Douglas, “A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective” 31). More recently, alcohol drinking has been examined in connection with the construction of individual and collective gender identities.<sup>3</sup> The various wine-producing regions in Spain, with the support of local foundations, have sponsored anthropological and historical research on wine and wine drinking in Spain, hosting a wide array of researchers and symposiums on wine in the Middle Ages and early modernity.<sup>4</sup> From the 1990s, literary researchers began to compile historiographies of wine in Spanish literature, although these compendia lack in-depth literary analysis of the individual texts.<sup>5</sup> I want to follow this trend in literary analysis, looking at the relationship between wine and women in representative literary texts from late medieval and early modern Spain, but I want to rely on close readings and analyses of these texts in doing so.

The inherent ambivalence of wine and its cultural constructions are the center of this study, which seeks to elucidate the multiple roles and complex dynamics of wine drinking as they relate to the construction of gender identities in late medieval and early modern Spain. This study incorporates the disciplines of alcohol studies and gender studies into late medieval and early modern literary analysis. I analyze a variety of literary texts from late medieval and early modern Spain, but I focus on three representative works: the *Libro de buen amor* (ca. 1343), the *Arcipreste de Talavera* (also called as *Corbacho*, ca. 1438), and the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (also

---

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, MacAndrew and Edgerton; Everett et al.; Douglas (ed.), *Constructive Drinking*.

<sup>3</sup> See Gefou-Madianou (ed.); Lyons and Willott; L. Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender*.

<sup>4</sup> Among rich and abundant scholarship in wine of Spain, Iglesias Rodríguez (ed.); Celestino Pérez (ed.); two collections by Celestino Pérez and Blázquez Pérez (eds.); Francia Verde (coord.); Torres; J. L. Martín; Rivera Medina, *La civilización del viñedo*; and Piqueras Haba, *La vid y el vino*.

<sup>5</sup> See Badui de Zogbi (ed.); Piñero Ramírez; Rosal, “La mujer y el vino”; Villalobos Racionero; Casado Quintanilla, Martínez Lillo; and Salinero Cascante.

known as *Celestina*, 1502). I cover the period from the mid-fourteenth century to the late fifteenth century, although I occasionally rely on earlier and later literary resources, too. These texts were written during a critical era of transformation of cultural and social values. This was a period of dizzying change in Spain: population growth, expansion of the commercial economy, urbanization, and most importantly for this study, debate over the roles and expectations for women. The literary response to drinking by women effectively reflects the development of debates over gender in medieval and early modern Spanish society.

Alcohol has been present in almost every society throughout history, and so has a double standard around alcohol usage: women are stigmatized far more than men for excessive drinking. In medieval and early modern Europe, gender identities were either masculine or feminine, attached to rigid, stereotypical gender roles for men and women. Drunken women, therefore, presented a threat that needed to be contained. During the Middle Ages, while drunken women were represented as personifying gluttony and violating both moral and gender norms in didactic, moralizing treatises, there were fictional texts that depicted female drunkards who openly enjoyed wine, praised its virtues, and socialized by drinking with other women. The gender ideology of Spanish patriarchy created “masculine anxiety” (Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity* 2) around unfeminine women, like female drunkards, who were unsuited to a life of “contemplative purity” (Gilbert and Gubar 28). I argue that this anxiety, evident in the extreme condemnation of drunken women, paradoxically reveals the contradictions underlying the patriarchal agenda. I also interpret female drinking practices as performative acts of resistance against normative gender roles. Drawing on the notion that gender is a performative act, alcohol drinking by women can be understood as a subversive act that transgresses and reconfigures social norms around gendered identities in late medieval and early modern Spain.

### 1.1 The Ambivalence of Wine

The ancient Greeks regarded wine as the blood of Dionysus and the beverage of immortality. Wine, the red-colored fluid of the grapevine, symbolized the bloodstream (Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1113). Just like wine is made from harvested grapes, blood is produced from ingested food, in two similar processes of crushing, fermenting, separating, and refining (Gentilcore 163). Dionysus, the god of wine but also vegetation and fertility, was a highly sexualized deity. Aristotle, for example, noted that the close relationship between wine and sexual desire was evident in the coupling of Dionysus and Aphrodite, or Bacchus and Venus (*Problemata* 78).

Since antiquity, wine has been used to nourish and to heal, with a variety of medicinal applications. Doctors prescribed wine for both internal and external uses, ingested as an antidote for poison, and administered to wounds as an antiseptic (Kreglinger 166). Easily converted into blood and absorbed into the organs, wine was thought to regenerate and restore the body (Gentilcore 163). Most Greek doctors relied on Hippocrates (ca. 460-370 BCE) and Galen (ca. 129-210 CE), who both wrote extensively about the medicinal value of wine. In *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, Hippocrates carefully examined the uses of different kinds of wine (strong or sweet, red or white) in treating specific diseases (199-201). In another treatise, *Air, Waters, Places*, he claimed that watered-down wine is healthier than milk for children (156). Following Hippocrates, the Greek physician Mnesitheus (320-290 BCE) and the Roman encyclopedist Cornelius Celsus (25 BCE-50 CE) believed that certain wines aided digestion, improved bowel movement, and increased urinary flow (Kreglinger 167). Galen, for his part, called wine one of the most nutritious foods and undiluted red wine the very best food for stimulating the production of blood (*On the Property of Foodstuffs* 150).

The medicinal use of wine continued through the Middle Ages. In the tenth century, the School of Salerno, one of the first and most important centers of medieval European medical knowledge, was founded by Benedictine monks. Not surprisingly, the school emphasized wine's many benefits.<sup>6</sup> The physicians of the Salerno School included Trotula, considered the founder of gynecology, who proposed various uses of wine in treating women. Trotula recommended restraining menstruation by "tak[ing] nettle seed and buck's-horn plantain, and giv[ing] a powder made of this to drink with wine" (153). A patient who did not regularly menstruate was advised to take "Florentine iris, lovage, catmint, colocynth, fennel, and rue and cook them in wine and drink it" (79). The medieval medicinal treatise *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*, attributed to physicians of the Salerno School, also mentions wine more frequently than any other substance (Kreglinger 172).

These same benefits of wine are highlighted in *Historia Naturalis* by the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora (ca. 1241-1318). To Gil de Zamora, moderate wine drinking prevents yawning, stiffness, and loss of body heat (qtd. in J. L. Martín 125-33). The Franciscan, for example, recommended rose water mixed with wine as a cure for diarrhea (qtd. in J. L. Martín 125). The treatise contains many other recipes that mix wine with another ingredient to alleviate unpleasant symptoms.

Notwithstanding these many benefits, the danger of intoxication always loomed over the beverage. Ancient Greek culture considered inebriation a serious transgression, not only because of its physiological consequences but also because of its "social implications, especially the danger than one might lose his wits and demean himself in the eyes of his social peers and fellow feast-participants" (Papakonstantinou 6). And medieval preachers returned constantly to the connection

---

<sup>6</sup> See Kristeller for a history of the Salerno School.



between drunkenness—or gluttony—and lust.<sup>7</sup> Medieval and early modern authoritative medical and moral-didactic treatises sought to prevent and control drunkenness, which could dull a man's intelligence and threaten social stability. The *Diccionario medieval español* defines *embriaguez* or drunkenness as “turbación de las potencias por haber bebido mucho vino u otro licor” and *embriagar* as “beber vino u otro licor hasta perder el uso libre, racional, de las potencias” (991).<sup>8</sup> These definitions tell us something about alcohol drinking in medieval Spain. First, wine is the only beverage mentioned by name, indicating that wine—and drunkenness on wine—was not uncommon. Moreover, excessive wine drinking was seen to deplete energy and impair reasoning. It is worth noting that physical strength and reasoning are traditionally seen as male qualities. For example, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *varon* as “criatura racional del sexo masculino” and Covarrubias explains *baron* as “vale hombre de juicio, razón y discurso, y de buena conciencia” (85). Excessive drinking therefore diminished certain masculine qualities of physical strength and reasoning as it also distanced man from God. As a cultural and social construction, drunkenness has always been understood as deviance, a threat to social norms.

Intoxication posed dangers to society but also to the body of the drinker. Dietary treatises commonly suggested mixing wine with other ingredients like “the powder of different animal tusks to bitter almonds, or else consuming acidic or salty foods,” to lessen the effects of drunkenness (Gentilcore 158). According to Jacques Jouanna, Hippocrates and his followers understood intoxication as a form of sickness that affected the head and the lower body cavity (177). Hippocrates suggested in *Regimen in Acute Disease* that patients with severe headaches or

---

<sup>7</sup> For more on the relationship between gluttony, lust, and drunkenness, see Chapter 3.

<sup>8</sup> The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732) offers similar definitions, for example, explaining *emborrachar* as: “[c]ausar embriaguez trastornando los sentidos y potencias, con los vapores o espíritus que suben a la cabeza de la demasiada copia del vino, cerveza, madroños y otras cosas que ocasionan estos efectos. Es formado de la preposición en y del nombre Borracho,” and *embriaguez* as “[t]urbación de los sentidos causada por la abundancia del vino y su demasiado uso....De lo qual vinieron las embriagueces, torpezas impurísimas, sacrilegios.”

derangement avoid wine completely (203). He specifically expounded that heavy, bitter red wine is more likely to cause headache and affect the internal organs than sweet white wine (200). And Galen recommends that people in a weakened condition avoid old or bitter wine because it can bring on a fever (*On Diseases* 163). Negative effects on body “cavities” include stomach ailments like hepatitis or jaundice (Jouanna 178). Galen warns that dry wine provokes thirst, causing a bodily drought that dries out the stomach (*On the Property of Foodstuffs* 50). As we will see below, these classical and medieval medicinal discourses would be interwoven with Christian biblical discourse around wine to justify and reinforce gendered patterns of socially acceptable alcohol consumption.

## 1.2 Wine and Women: The Role of Alcohol in Gender Construction

Contempt for and prejudice against women have been around as long as civilization itself. Margaret L. King and Albert Rail, Jr., have traced the complex history of the derogation of women in Western culture to ancient Greek philosophy (x). In Aristotelian biology, there is only one sex, male; the female is “a mutilated male” (*The Works of Aristotle* 278). This biological view informed the distribution of power within the family unit: “By introducing his book on politics with an analysis of the patriarchal Greek household, Aristotle legitimized the patriarchy as the proper form of government for the family” (Horowitz 187). Under this view, male superiority means that women should be subordinate to men in the household. This patriarchal view of women became the philosophical foundation of medieval thought (King and Rail Jr., xi).

Christianity also shaped the submissive, passive roles of women in their families and communities. In medieval Christian Europe, images of women were limited to the Eve-Mary binary: lustful and deceitful like Eve, or chaste and humble like the Virgin Mary. According to R. Howard Bloch, these conflicting images of women as seducer or redeemer reveal a historical

paradox: the most misogynistic periods are also those of the most intense adoration of women, as in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Mariolatry, such that Bloch views the worship of women as just another form of misogyny (8). Sexual chastity, the most important womanly virtue, was the subject of numerous treatises on women, marriage, and family, from the fourteenth century onwards by authors like Boccaccio, Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, and many others. After marriage, the idealized “good woman” fulfilled her responsibilities by bearing and raising children into norm-following adults and remaining loyal to her husband.<sup>9</sup> Misogynistic thought of the Middle Ages viewed women only in connection to men and only in the roles that patriarchal society opened to them.<sup>10</sup>

In the Middle Ages and early modernity, sex, gender, and sexuality were understood very differently than they are today. For starters, there was no distinction between the three concepts, but rather a combined and essentialist notion of male or female (Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* 6). For example, an individual with a female body—in terms of genes and genitalia—was expected to display “femaleness,” or a set of socially prescribed and reinforced patterns of behavior that included acquiescence to courting and sexual overtures by men. Such ideologies of sex, gender, and sexuality “naturally” prevented women (and others) from questioning everyday arrangements and practices (Sauer 5).

Since the 1960s, however, feminist and social constructionist theories have challenged this traditional view that sex, gender, and sexuality are stable, natural, and tied to the body. The idea that gender is socially constructed, that is, acquired and formed through education, interaction with others, and many other processes, means seeing gender as a process that “creates the social

---

<sup>9</sup> For more on misogynistic literary representations of wives and their role in marriage, see Wilson and Makowski; and Karras, “The Reproduction of Medieval Christianity.”

<sup>10</sup> Within the massive historiography of women’s studies, I want to highlight just a few of the most relevant studies to the topic of this study. For a general history of medieval women, see Labarge; Ennen; and Wiesner. On sexuality in pre-modern Europe, see Lochrie, McCracken, and Schultz (eds.); and Murray and Eisenbichler (eds.). On gender studies in medieval and early modern Europe, see Shoemaker and Vincent (eds.); Muravyeva and Toivo (eds.); and Sauer.

differences that define ‘woman’ and ‘man,’” such that “[g]endered norms and expectations are enforced through informal sanctions of gender-inappropriate behavior by peers and by formal punishment or threat of punishment by those in authority” (Lorber 32). In other words, gender is learned, constructed, and achieved through routines of “doing gender,” which “involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘nature’” (West and Zimmerman 126). Judith Butler has gone further, rejecting the notion that gender and sex can be distinguished on the basis that gender is a social construction while sex is immobile, stable, natural, and fixed. To Butler, sex is historically and socially constructed, just like gender, and gender is “an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through *a stylized repetition of acts*” (“Performative Acts” 519). In this sense, gender is constituted of a series of bodily performances (527), which allows gender to be mutable, malleable, and changeable. I follow Butler and maintain that gender identity is performative acts to read female drinking practices in the following chapters.

I apply these evolving concepts of sex, gender, and sexuality to literary productions of medieval and early modern Spain. Scholars who have examined medieval literary resources report that the categories of gender and sexuality were not stable as one might expect: in fact, medieval literature reveals “a considerable tension between efforts to stabilize gender and tendencies that undermine fixed gender” (Lochrie et al., Introduction xii), and unceasing official efforts to restrain women’s images to the Eve-Mary binary. To Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees, medieval and early modern literature, with its emphasis on debates about women, is a key part of the history of discourse about women. Although deeply impacted by the misogyny of the era, these debates can be understood as the beginning of a process that continues today, as the idea of “‘woman’ is put into question in the West” (2). Joan Kelly has highlighted this idea, noting that early feminist

thought was already present in the work of fifteenth-century pioneers like Christine de Pisan (4-5). And while the discourse around women has changed significantly since the medieval era, modern readers still confront patriarchal norms and gender relationships, especially expectations of womanly submission and male dominance. In this sense, reading medieval and early modern texts through a modern feminist lens reveals how gender shaped daily practices and behaviors, and created and foreclosed options in the Middle Ages and beyond. It places earlier debates about women into the present context, and allows us to contextualize the origins, continuity, and transformation of the notions of patriarchy and misogyny, at the same time that it gives a richer picture of women's lives and choices in the medieval and early modern eras, lives and choices echoed in those of women in the twenty-first century.<sup>11</sup>

Joan W. Scott has argued that gender, as a set of culturally-constructed ideas about the appropriate roles for women and men, gives us a way to decode meaning and understand the complex connections between various forms of human interaction (1070). I agree, but I would also posit that the reverse is true: an examination of complex human interactions, like those that take place around drinking, can shed light on social and cultural patterns and beliefs, including gender relations. Throughout late medieval and early modern European society, the food and drink that one consumed was a reflection of age, class, religion, occupation, and especially gender, which had a particularly strong impact on food and drink habits and practices, from procurement, to preparation, to consumption.

We have seen that medieval and early modern European society inherited many of its ideas about the physiological benefits and dangers of drinking from ancient societies; it also inherited ideas of how, when, and where to drink. To the Greeks, wine was a mind-altering drug that was

---

<sup>11</sup> For a brief historiography of women and gender in medieval studies, see Introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender* by Bennett and Karras.

enjoyed in a *symposion*. According to Peter Garnsey, the *symposion* is “the post-eating stage of a banquet during which drinking for pleasure took place, accompanied by entertainment, in the form of recitation, music, dancing, conversation, sex” (129).<sup>12</sup> This drinking party, “a setting of shared pleasure” (Rinella 35), was organized and enjoyed by its all-male members, who reaffirmed their masculine social identities through “ceremonialized drinking” (Burkert 7). For example, in the *Iliad*, the symposium is a site of male sociability, celebration, and drinking: “Son of Menoitios, bring out the big bowl, mix in it stronger wine, and give each man a cup. These men who have come beneath my roof are most dear” (194-97; bk. 9). Women, like wine, were commodities for male consumption, as musicians, servants, or prostitutes.

This “fraternization in a single-sex environment” also took place in the Roman *convivia* (Matasar 6). Women were strongly prohibited from drinking wine, and under the law of the Republic, which made the male of the household superior to its other members, a man could divorce his wife for drinking, whereas she could not divorce him (Culham 129). This strong disapproval of women who drank was a feature of many Roman texts that influenced medieval Spanish writers. For example, Cato the Elder (234-149 BCE) furiously forbade women from drinking wine. Aulus Gellius, a second-century Roman author, referred to Cato in *Noctes Atticae*: “Marcus Cato states that women were not only censured but also punished by a judge no less severely if they had drunk wine than if they had committed a heinous act like adultery” (10.23.3). Female consumption of wine was a powerful taboo in Roman society where chastity and sobriety were closely related to each other (Russell, B. F. 78-9).

This connection between the woman’s drinking and promiscuity continued to be found in medieval moralistic writings. Men and women in late medieval and early modern European society

---

<sup>12</sup> See chapter 4 for an analysis of the relationship between the symposiac setting and the *Celestina*.

were under intense social pressure to display appropriate male or female behaviors. These social expectations, which were supported by late medieval and early modern treatises on women's roles and virtues, assigned women domestic and culinary responsibilities and tasked men with the economic support of the household (Campbell 58). Drinking was one of many behaviors that men and women were expected to conform to gendered social norms.

Even today, women who drink to excess are criticized and stigmatized, their drinking taken as a lack of self-control, especially sexual self-control (Gefou-Madianou 16). María Rosal has called the story of the relationship between wine and women the “*historia de un desencuentro*” (“*La mujer y el vino*” 321), in which female drunkenness was considered a dangerous and wicked sin. Female drinking has always been linked to the negative effects of intoxication—uncontrollable sexual desire, promiscuity, and adultery—and scarcely to wine's physiological and other benefits. The connection between alcohol and female sexuality was so strong that adultery was assumed and husbands were justified in punishing wives who drank. In other words, the consumption of alcohol was itself evidence of adultery and a threat to a husband's authority and honor. The literary resources that I examine contain examples of female drinking that trigger this perceived need to punish the woman. And yet, the fact that women continued to drink in defiance of such strict gendered norms and expectations reveals real and meaningful fissures between realities and ideals. Women who drink, like other “disorderly and unruly women,” did not passively submit to patriarchal European society (L. Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender* 10-11). I want to stress the power of the “disorderly behavior” of female drinking to challenge patriarchal restrictions of women.

Ruth Mazo Karras has concisely described the sexual double standard of the Middle Ages in terms that are familiar to modern readers: “Women's behavior was sinful and polluting, men's

was obeying the dictates of nature” (*Sexuality in Medieval Europe* 3). A not-unrelated double standard around alcohol also operated in medieval and early modern Europe: “women were expected to maintain their chastity so also were they expected to maintain their sobriety” (L. Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender* 134). In the context of the long history of gendered expectations around alcohol consumption, my focus on the relationship between women and wine in late medieval and early modern Spanish literature can provide insight into power relations and conceptions of sex and gender at the time. It can also demonstrate that women have long been actively resisting and rebelling against certain gendered limitations, in this case through their drinking practices.

### 1.3 Tracing Literary Representations of Wine and Women

This study contributes to the field of late medieval and early modern Spanish literature by shedding light on the role of wine drinking in understanding gender relations. It takes wine as its principal material and examines various literary representations of female drinking. It works at the very foundation of what we understand as gender marginalization and gendered taboos, particularly in late medieval and early modern Spanish society. In doing so, it also provides a new and highly relevant historical and literary basis for exploring current gender and social norms of alcohol consumption.

Chapter 1 consists of a brief literature review of the implicit, explicit, and symbolic meanings of wine in medieval Spanish literature. More specifically, this chapter examines the multiple roles and portrayals of wine in earlier Spanish texts that include *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino* (ca. 1205), the *Poema de mio Cid*,<sup>13</sup> and the *Siete partidas* (1265).

---

<sup>13</sup> The date of composition of the *Poema de mio Cid* has been a topic of discussion among scholars. Ramón Menéndez Pidal first assumed that the poem was composed by about 1140 (153-54) while Colin Smith strongly insisted in Introduction of his edition that the work was written around 1207 (40). According to Zaderenko and Montaner, scholars now would prefer to accept the later dating of the *Poema de mio Cid* (6).



This allows me to contextualize the significance of wine and its consumption in Spanish daily life and to understand drinking as a social construction.

Chapter 2 uses wine drinking to reveal the conventions and contradictions of gendered violence in the *Libro de buen amor*. It approaches wine as a profoundly ambiguous textual element that calls into question the gendered roles of male-predator and female-victim. Alcohol reinforces the gendered belief in masculinity as powerful, aggressive, and violent; when it is consumed by a woman, she can shed the weakness and submission expected of her. The analysis in this chapter focuses on two episodes, those of the drunken hermit and the *serranas*. In the fable of the drunken hermit, alcohol incites the mortal sin of lust, which leads the hermit to rape and kill an innocent woman. In contrast, in the episode of the *serranas*, overpowering, grotesque mountain women serve the Archpriest wine and meat before they physically mistreat him and demand sex from him.

Chapter 3 reads one of the most important didactic treatises of the fifteenth-century Spain, the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, as a misogynistic medieval text that promotes an essentialist view of women as divine or evil. A woman's role in the family was limited to wife and mother. Didactic treatises warned women not to consume wine, and especially not to excess, because it was not suited to their nature. The *Arcipreste de Talavera*'s author, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, uses the Galenic model of humors to vividly and repeatedly describe the moral and spiritual effects of drinking. He represents drunken women as beasts, demons, and monsters. I read these literary representations of drunken women in light of masculine anxiety and female monstrosity, and I argue that the reification of the speech and behaviors of drunken women paradoxically reveals the inconsistencies in misogynistic discourse.

Chapter 4 examines drinking from a female point of view, regarding alcohol as a constitutive element of individual and collective female identities. In the *Celestina*, low-class but

highly self-aware women proudly consume wine together and in public. As a go-between and wine lover, Celestina not only transgresses the private/ordered boundaries of class to enter the houses of the nobility, she also crosses the gendered boundary of the tavern, a center of masculine sociability. Her regular visits to the tavern threaten the stability of social norms. The tavern thus becomes a space of women's empowerment, especially the small world of liberated women who operate without regard to patriarchal norms. I examine Celestina's wine drinking as a subversive, repetitive bodily act that constitutes her gender identity. She drinks alone but also—and most contentedly—in the company of another prostitute. Wine becomes an indicator of the affinity and solidarity that bring a female micro-society into being.

This study, which draws on a number of disciplines in reading the representations of wine in medieval and early modern Spanish literary productions, is of interest to scholars of numerous disciplines. The gendered double standard of alcohol consumption (among other activities) remains a topic of discussion in alcohol studies and gender studies. And the histories of gender oppression and gendered norms continue to be a theme among scholars in gender studies and cultural studies. More broadly, this study's work with primary source texts and the historical and social context of their production places it within the disciplinary boundaries of literature, history, and anthropology as well. This study is therefore of interest not only to medievalists, early modernists, and critics of Spanish literature, but scholars in all these fields.

## CHAPTER 2.     MULTIPLICITY OF WINE IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

This chapter—and this entire study—asserts that wine is not only at the center of Spanish daily drinking practices but also the evolution of moral and social values of Spanish society. From the medieval era to the present, wine has been one of the most widely consumed and traded commodities. Arab knowledge and technology for fortifying wine and new grape varieties were introduced early to the Iberian Peninsula, and by the sixteenth century, Spanish sherry from Jerez was popular throughout Europe (Moreno 56). In the Middle Ages and early modern eras, on average, households spent almost one-quarter of their food budget on wine (Gil-Sotres 715). Although the alcohol content of beer and wine was much lower than it is today, average daily wine consumption could be approximately a liter and a half per person, and even higher for members of the upper classes (Campbell 19-20). Every sector of Spanish society consumed wine. Soldiers consumed it for its nutritious function; clergymen, for its spiritual symbols (Rodrigo-Estevan, “El consume de vino” 117). And it was second only to bread in the diet of rural peasants, who were frequently paid in wine rather than wages (Rodrigo-Estevan, “El consume de vino” 115-16).

Wine was a key feature in all medieval Spanish ceremonies, rituals, and popular festivities. Mónica Morales has argued that, as a ritual practice, alcohol drinking promotes social bonding but also gives the community the agency to redefine its identity against official authority (48). This liberating effect of alcohol, as a sort of escape hatch from prevailing power relations, is part of what Mikhail Bakhtin has called the carnival atmosphere. Carnival and other popular festivities, in contrast to official feasts, celebrate liberation from the established order and encourage notions of becoming, changing, and renewing (10). Alcohol, an extremely rich element of the carnival experience, gives participants the courage to resist conventional norms. But beyond carnival, in medieval Spain, excessive alcohol consumption was seen to threaten an individual’s spiritual state

and broader social structures, including the duty of family members to protect the household's honor, and was therefore robustly condemned (Morales 2). A chorus of authoritative voices—including ancient philosophers, medieval preachers, and early lawmakers—censured excessive drinking as deviant behavior.

As wine was part of life from birth to death, it was also an essential literary subject from Homer to Cervantes. Wine can be called a recurrent protagonist of medieval and early modern Spanish literature. Literary representations of wine and drinking behaviors illuminate relationships between alcohol and individuals, and between alcohol and the social and cultural values of medieval and early modern Spain. I believe that studying these representations can reveal social attitudes toward alcohol and related behaviors but also toward a variety of other sociocultural issues, including religion, health, economics, and, most importantly for the purposes of this study, gender relations. In this chapter, I trace the representation of wine and wine-related activities in three medieval Spanish texts to uncover the meanings attached to wine in its various and multiple roles. First, I analyze the relationship between wine and water in the short poem *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino*. Second, I read a few scenes from one of the most famous Spanish epic poems, the *Poema de mio Cid*, in which eating and drinking have significant implications for social relationships. Lastly, I examine selections from the legal treatise the *Siete partidas* that deal with wine drinking. It is not my intention to scrutinize every medieval Spanish reference to wine; rather, I want to give a literary context for the rest of this study on representations of wine in late medieval and early modern Spanish literature, and the social and other implications of these literary depictions.

## 2.1 Water and Wine: *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino*

One of the most popular form of medieval poetry is a *conflictus* or disputation. In this literary genre, two contestants—who are not individuals, but personifications of objects or types—debate their relative merits (Hanford 315). *Conflictus* literature was hugely popular in Latin but also various vernaculars, especially in the early thirteenth century (Franchini 251), and featured debates between Winter and Summer, Christian and Jew, and Knight and Cleric (Hanford 321). The debate between Water and Wine was a popular recurring *conflictus*, in which each beverage claims superiority over the other.<sup>14</sup> James Holly Hanford has traced the dispute between Water and Wine to two goliardic poems in Latin, dating back to the twelfth century: “Denudata Veritate” from *Carmina Burana*, which is known to be the oldest surviving goliardic debate between Water and Wine, and “Goliae Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum”, which is found in several fourteenth-century manuscripts but was probably composed earlier (316). While “Denudata Veritate” resembles a typical medieval drinking song about two antipathetic beverages, “Goliae Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum” is more pedantic, structured as a debate between Thetis, the goddess of water, and Lyaeus/Bacchus (Hanford 319, 322-25).

Wine was a frequent topic in goliardic poetry of the early Middle Ages. The goliards were a socially precarious group of traveling poets, “marginal men, displaced persons, the underside of academia, drop-outs who wandered from school to school” (Colish 200). Recurrent topics of goliardic poetry include springtime, youth, love, wine, and the enjoyment of life, as well as debates over, satires of, and burlesque depictions of clerical corruption and privileges (Colish 201). The goliards embraced a carefree, pleasure-seeking lifestyle that involved frequent visits to taverns for

---

<sup>14</sup> For more on Water and Wine in medieval *conflictus* literature, see McFie; and Crowther.

wine and/or women (Symonds 16). Wine was both their companion and the main character of their drinking songs.

It is believed that *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino* was composed around 1205; it was signed by Lope de Moros.<sup>15</sup> It is a poem in two parts: the “Razón de amor” describes a romantic encounter between a young scholar and a maiden, while “Los denuestos del agua y del vino” elaborates the debate between Water and Wine. In the first part of the poem, a young student, “que sie[m]pre duenas amo” (6), rests in an olive orchard after a meal.<sup>16</sup> He sees two glasses, one full of wine, and the other, higher up in the branches of an apple tree, full of cold water: “Entre çimas d’un mançanar / un uaso de plata ui estar. / Pleno era d’un claro uino / que era uermeio fino” (13-16). Despite the heat, the young man declines the water because it may be contaminated: “otro uaso ui estar. / Pleno era d’un agua fryda.../ Beuiera d’ela de grado, / mas oui miedo que era encantado” (28-32). The wine has been placed in the orchard by the maiden, who hopes that the scholar will choose it instead of the water that could make him sick. The wine, a gift from the woman, has clear erotic connotations:

Que quan su amigo uiniese  
 d’aquel uino a beber le diesse;  
 <que> de tal uino ouiesse  
 en la mana quan comiesse  
 E d’ello ouiesse cada dia:  
 nu[n]cas mas enfermarya. (21-26)

---

<sup>15</sup> Enzo Franchini, following Ramón Menéndez Pidal, believes that Moros is a toponym, not the name of the author (131).

<sup>16</sup> I cite Franchini’s version of the poem and give the verse numbers in parentheses.

The “Razón de amor” draws from a number of literary genres and features “imagery found in sentimental romance, courtly love poetry, and bawdy drinking songs” (Scarborough, “Sexual Imagery” 208). But to critics like Alicia Ferraresi and Colbert I. Nepaulsingh (*Towards a History of Literary Composition*), one of the most important sources is the biblical *Song of Songs*. In the *Song of Songs*, a young woman and her lover sing about the pleasures of love in an idealized landscape of fertility and abundance (Bloch and Bloch 3).<sup>17</sup> Among the many images and symbols, wine contributes to the sensual environment and arouses the lovers with what J. Cheryl Exum has called a “sense of euphoria or giddiness” (94). From the beginning of the *Song of Songs*, wine evokes bodily sensations, specifically sweetness and touching of the lips: “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth— / for your love is more delightful than wine” (*New International Version* 1.2). In the garden, the lovers eat honeycomb and drink wine in an experience of mutual indulgence and satisfaction (Exum 183):

<He> I have come into my garden, my sister, my bride;

I have gathered my myrrh with my spice.

I have eaten my honeycomb and my honey;

I have drunk my wine and my milk.

<Friends> Eat, friends, and drink;

drink your fill of love. (5.1)

This scene, full of fragrances, food, and wine, evokes an excess of sexual pleasure. The woman openly expresses “female eroticism” (Bloch and Bloch 147), in part by giving her lover wine in order to arouse sexual desire: “May your breasts be like clusters of grapes on the vine, / the

---

<sup>17</sup> The interpretation of the *Song of Songs* as a celebration of heterosexual love is now common among conservative scholars (Moore 349). See Exum for other interpretations of the poem.

fragrance of your breath like apples, / and your mouth like the best wine” (7.9). In the *Song of Songs*, love is as stimulating and intoxicating as wine (Exum 101).

Like the garden of the *Song of Songs*, the garden of the “Razón de amor” also overflows with wine and fragrances, as “[t]odas yeruas que bien olien” (43), including flowers and herbs like “saluia,” “[r]osas,” “el liryo” and “ui[ol]as” (45-46).<sup>18</sup> The water and wine are placed on an apple tree, which recalls the temptation and sexual union of the Book of Genesis (Scarborough, “Sexual Imagery” 118). The young scholar, undressed and resting, suddenly sees a beautiful woman walking toward him: “parti de mi las uistiduras, / que [n]on fizies mal la calentura” (35-36); “[e]quis cantar de fin amor, / mas ui uienir una doncela / pues naçi non ui tan bella” (55-57). After a brief sexual encounter with her, he watches a white dove fly over the orchard. The dove knocks over the water glass, and the water and wine mix together: “uertios el agua sob[r]’el u[i]no” (161). Here the narrative transitions from the love poem to the dispute between Water and Wine.

The second part of the poem, “Los denuestos del agua y del vino,” follows the conventions of medieval *conflictus* literature. Enzo Franchini has written that the first part of the poem seems to be the poet’s original creation, but this second part is heavily influenced by goliardic tradition, especially “Denudate Veritate” (387).<sup>19</sup> Wine begins the debate, complaining about being mixed with water:

El uino faulo primero:

¡Mucho m’es uenido mal companero!

Agua, as mala mana,

<sup>18</sup> According to Alfred Jacob, “a tree standing in a garden and bearing a vessel of red wine would almost certainly suggest the ‘tree’ of the Crucifixion and the blood of Jesus” to a medieval audience (282).

<sup>19</sup> Franchini has found five shared elements between the *Los denuestos* and “Denudate Veritate”: 1) Water is easily contaminated, unlike wine, which is stored in a barrel; 2) Wine is an indispensable element of a high-quality meal; 3) Wine impairs judgment; 4) Wine is a miraculous cure; and 5) Water is essential for growing plants (256-57).



non querja auer la tu compana;  
 que quando te legas a buen bino  
 fazes-lo feble et mesquino. (165-69)

Hippocratic and Galenic medical treatises, as well as the Bible, show that wine was commonly diluted with water. Peasants mixed their cheap wine with water in order to have more of it. And even the upper classes were encouraged to dilute their wine to lessen the physiological and moral dangers of intoxication (L. Martin, “Baptism of Wine” 20).<sup>20</sup> Innkeepers and merchants secretly diluted wine with water in order to maximize their profits (27). When Wine therefore complains that he is constantly mixed with Water, he relies on the assumption “that mixing would compromise the wholeness of substance and corrupt its integrity” (Duque 242). Water responds by attacking Wine for causing drunkenness:

Don uino, fe que deuedes  
 ¿por quales bondades que uos auedes  
 a uos queredes alabar  
 e a mi queredes auiltar?  
 Calat, yo e uos nos denostemos,  
 que u[est]ras manas bien las sabemos.  
 bien sabemos que recabdo dades  
 en la cabeça do entrades.  
 Los buenos uso preçian poco,  
 que del sabio fazedes loco.

---

<sup>20</sup> According to Jodi Campbell, a variety of wine-based spiced drinks made cheap wine more palatable: “These included *carraspada*, a watered wine simmered with honey and spices, and *hippocras*, red wine warmed with brown sugar, cinnamon, cloves, and essences of amber and musk; the same mixture with white wine was a *clarea*” (21).

No es homne tan senado  
 que de ti ssea fartado  
 que no aya perdió el sseso y el Recabdo. (170-82)

Water claims that Wine is especially dangerous for wise men, because it impairs prudence and judgement. Wine retaliates, calling Water unsanitary and vile, a cause of illness:

El uino, con sana pleno,  
 Dixo: «!Don agua, bierua uos ueno!  
 !Su<i>zia, desbergonçada,  
 Salit buscr otra posada!  
 que podeades a Dios iurar  
 que nu[n]ca entrastes en tal lugar.  
 Antes amaryella t astrosa,  
 Agora uermeia t fermosa. (183-190)

Wine's criticism of Water is historically sound. In the Middle Ages, water quality was so poor that the upper class refused to drink the "amaryella" and "astrosa" fluid (Adamson 48). Drinking water was therefore associated with prisoners, penitents, and the poor. Medieval penitents who confessed to sexual sins were often punished with a diet of bread and water (L. Martin, "Baptism of Wine" 22). In contrast, wine had been seen since ancient times as an essential and life-giving substance, a symbol and stand-in for the bloodstream (Chevalier and Gheerbrank 1113). Wine also symbolized birth and rebirth, as in Egypt, for example, where a murdered god who came back to life was known as "the lord of the wine" (McGovern 135). By way of rebuttal, Water argues that it is essential for growth of the grapevine: "digamos uos las uerdades: / que no a homne que no lo

sepa / que fillo sodes de la cepa, .../ que grant tiempo a que uuestra madre sserye ardud[a] / ssi non fuesse por mj aiuda” (195-201). Water implies that there can be no wine without water.

Undaunted, Wine comically boasts about its strength, comparing itself to Samson:

ca en esto que dizes puedes entender  
 como es grant el mjo poder  
 Ca ueyes que no e manos nj piedes  
 eio a muchos valientes;  
 E si farya a qua[n]tos en el mu[n]do [son],  
 si biuo fuse, Samson. (208-13)

To Adriano Duque, the comparison to Samson, who was both a strong warrior and a deceived lover, reveals the ambiguity of wine itself (249). Wine proudly declares that it is a source of energy. Red wine in particular was thought to inspire and fortify soldiers (Phillips 200). And yet excessive consumption of wine can lead a man to commit grave errors. Samson’s contrasting characteristics align neatly with those of wine, which empowers men but also weakens them. The comparison also lends an element of absurdity to the debate (Duque 249).

Wine continues to boast, moving on to its significance in the daily diet: “a mesa si[n] mj nada non ual” (208). Wine was regarded as a source of nutrition, more like a food than a beverage. Unlike coffee or water, wine was paired with specific dishes to enhance their flavors. Water responds by mocking Wine for its pretentiousness:

Ell agua iaze muerta Ridiendo  
 De lo quel uino esta diciendo:  
 Don uino, si uos de dios salut  
 que uos me fagades agora una uirtud:

ffartad bien un villano,  
 no lo prenda ni[n]guno de la mano,  
 e si antes d'una pasada no cayere en el lodo,  
 dios ssodes de tod en todo. (218-23)

Water again returns to the danger of intoxication and thus the ambiguity of Wine. Wine responds with what it claims to be its miraculous healing powers:

Yo fa<i>go al çiego ueyer  
 y al coxo coRer  
 y al mudo fubla[r]  
 y al enfermo organar  
 asi co[m] dize en e scripto,  
 De [mi] faen el cuerpo de Iesu Cristo. (246-51)

Wine emphasizes its Eucharistic function, calling itself the body of Christ. Wine, like bread, had powerful biblical and historical significance to Christians. The Bible contains hundreds of references to wine, grapes, and vines, and wine plays a central role in many biblical scenes, like the Last Supper and the wedding feast at Cana where Jesus changed water into wine. The sacramental transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ was fundamental to early Christian notions of salvation (Varriano 75).<sup>21</sup> Wine was a divine substance, created by God to relieve human suffering, and therefore a symbol of the spiritual connection between God and man (Rodrigo-Estevan, “Maneras de beber” 36). Duque has noted that Wine stages his final declaration in a liturgical setting, with wine and bread as material objects (252).

---

<sup>21</sup> For the Eucharistic meaning of communal wine drinking, see Kreglinger; and D. E. Smith.

!Asi, don uino, por carydad,  
 que tanta sabedes de diujnidat!  
 Alavuut, io y todo algo e en cristianjsmo,  
 que de agua fazen el batissmo.  
 E dize Dios que los [que] de agua fueren bautizados  
 Fillos de Dios seran clamados,  
 e llos que de agua non fueren bautizados  
 fillos de Dios non sera[n] clamados. (252-59)

Water bases its final argument on baptism, or purification from original sin. To Duque, this is also Water's most powerful argument: "since water is used for baptism and baptism determines membership of the church, baptizing with water is necessarily good. Anyone not baptized with water does not belong to the world of Christians. This includes wine" (255). In this context, water is spiritual purity. And yet, the mixing of Wine and Water can be seen as a baptism of Wine, such that the combination of the two liquids is a meeting of two powerful religious symbols.

The debate between Water and Wine concludes with an invitation to drink wine: "Mi razón aquí la fino / e mandat nos dar vino" (260-61). Although the poem does not declare either beverage the winner, Duque believes that the closing invitation to drink wine is the poet's way of pronouncing Wine the winner (239). To María Cristina Azuela, in contrast, the dialectical opposition between Water and Wine exclude any possibility of reconciliation or victory (202).

In addition to its refusal to clearly resolve the argument between Water and Wine, "Los denuestos del agua y del vino" also declines to indicate whether the mixture of water and wine is a fortuitous accident or a scandalous disaster. Franchini has read this mixture of water and wine as a restaging of the conflict between *amor purus* (or chaste love) and *amor mixtus* (or sensual love).

On the one hand, the mixture of water and wine symbolizes the sexual union, a common motif in goliardic poetry (388). On the other, in the iconographical tradition of *temperantia*, adding water to wine is a virtuous act that reduces its potency (Franchini 395). In other words, the mixture of water and wine can symbolize either sex or temperance. Further, Duque has noted that classical tradition viewed integrity as purity and wholeness, and *mesquino* or mixture as a loss of those qualities. While this understanding would disparage the mixture of water and wine, the baptismal imagery would legitimize it (244).

*Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino* uses erotic and physical imagery to underline wine's sexual connotations and imply a sexual encounter between the scholar and the lady (Scarborough, "Sexual Imagery" 208). This imagery includes fruit, flowers, a lady in the garden, and then the mixture of wine and water. Yet these layers of ambiguous symbols allow the poem to be read as moral, didactic, or simply erotic. Wine is an especially ambiguous element that can support varied and even contradictory interpretations of the poem. For those who could afford it, wine was a substitute for contaminated water, as shown by the Spanish saying: "El agua hace mal, y el vino hace cantar" (Correas 76). Yet water made wine less dangerous, and dilution was recommended to reduce wine's dangers. This short poem about wine's antagonistic but complementary relationship to water serves to showcase the multiple functions of wine.

## 2.2 Wine, Feasts, and the Hero: The *Poema de mio Cid*

In epic poetry, wine is an indispensable element of the rituals of banquets and feasts. The Homeric epics—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—depict the social and economic conditions of Greek society from the late ninth to the early seventh centuries BCE, a time when wine was preferred over water (Papakonstantinou 2). Because of its invigorating qualities, the Greek army drank wine before battles because, as Odysseus claims: "But the man who has had his fill / of wine and food

can fight against the enemy all day long, / and his heart in his breast is filled with courage” (154-56; bk. 19). And wine serves to restore power: “Wine increases the great strength in a tired man, and you have been exhausted defending your companions” (261-62; bk. 6). Diomedes also calls wine a source of energy: “Go now to your rest once you have satisfied your hearts with / food and wine. There is strength and force in them” (689-90; bk. 9).<sup>22</sup>

Like the Homeric epics, the *Poema de mio Cid* portrays wine as an important element of the hero’s fate. Ximena prays that God grant her husband the two miracles of wine and bread: “Señor spiritual, / mostrando los miraclos por en avemos que fablar: / del agua fezist vino e de la piedra pan, / resuçitest a Lazaro ca fue tu voluntad” (343-46; Cantar 1).<sup>23</sup> Ximena specifically mentions the miracle at Cana, where Jesus turned water into wine, and she understands wine as a divine force that can protect the Cid. Later in the poem, wine and bread come to represent survival. For example, during the occupation of Murviedro, the Cid and his soldiers consume the vanquished enemy’s food:

¡Grado a ti Padre spiritual!

En sus tierras somos e femos les todo mal,

bevemos so vino e comemos el so pan;

si nos çercar vienen con derecho lo fazen

A menos de lid aquesto nos partira. (1102-06; Cantar 2)

In wartime, a secure food supply—of wine and bread, in this case—is a necessity and a weapon. The Cid acknowledges that the enemy is frustrated—as he and his soldiers plunder their

---

<sup>22</sup> Tim Unwin has further noted that Homer depicts wine as a vital part of “libations and feasting” long before the cult of Dionysus was widespread (86). Among many other examples, the second book showcases wine’s role in celebrations and feasts (“the Achaeans were divided in groups / of ten, and every group should choose on Trojan to serve / the wine at the drinking party” (129-31)), and the fifth book depicts religious and ritual uses of wine: “the young men filled the mixing bowls to the brim / with wine. They poured libations from every cup, / then distributed the wine all around” (458-60).

<sup>23</sup> I cite Colin Smith’s edition and give the verse number in parentheses.

food—but reminds his soldiers that the goal of war is to win. Bread and wine fill the soldiers' stomachs and give them courage. This scene makes clear that the Cid's first and most pressing concern is to provide food for his men and his family (Boix Jovaní 35). This role as a provider reinforces his superiority over his vassals and the others that he provides for: "Plogo a mio Çid, por que creçio en la yantar, / ploto a los otros omnes todos quantos con el estan" (304-05).

One particular foodstuff, wine, has nutritional value but also reinforces group sociability and solidarity. To medieval society, "comer y beber en una misma mesa" was a sign of friendship and conviviality (Rodrigo-Estevan, "Maneras de beber" 58). Wine had a particularly social function. According to María Luz Rodrigo-Estevan, wine was frequently gifted to show affection and mark important events like births, baptisms, weddings, and funerals ("El consume de vino" 118).<sup>24</sup> For example, in thirteenth-century England, gift of wine, rather than other beverages, was reserved for the upper class (Woolgar 11), because in northern Europe, class difference between rich and poor in food consumption was far more notable than it was in southern Europe (Rivera Medina, *La civilización del viñedo* 265). In Mediterranean Europe, the mark of class distinction lied in quality of wine rather than the quantity. In fourteenth- and fifteenth-century, employers used gifts of wine to gain workers' loyalty and reward them for work well done (Rose 116).

Many of these celebrations take place at banquets, celebratory settings that confirm the established social order (Nadeau, "Transformation" 207).<sup>25</sup> It was customary for medieval banquet guests to bring food to the lord and host in a show of loyalty (Kjær and Watson 2), and also for the feast to be shared with the poor. Lords and kings thus received food as confirmation of their social

---

<sup>24</sup> In the *Iliad*, wine was exchanged as a gesture of goodwill between two groups: "Many ships were at hand from Lemnos bringing wine, which Euneos / the son of Jason had brought, whom Hypsipyle bore to Jason, / shepherd of the people. The son of Jason gave a thousand / measures of wine to be brought to the sons of Atreus / alone, Agamemnon and Menelaos. From these ships / the other long-haired Achaneans bought wine, some / by paying in bronze" (464-70; bk.7).

<sup>25</sup> For more on the history of the banquet and its social importance, see Jeanneret.



superiority and made a show of charitably sharing that food (Kjær and Watson 3). Shared food and drink demonstrated a kind of staged generosity and friendship, in accord with medieval social codes.<sup>26</sup> This is evident in the *Poema de mio Cid*, in which wine serves as a marker of sociability that builds and strengthens relationships between friends and allies.

At the beginning of the poem, the Cid, who is in conflict with King Alfonso, must leave the kingdom without any food or a place to live. The king has even forbidden everyone else from giving or selling food to the Cid, turning hunger into a weapon in their dispute. Notwithstanding the prohibition, Martín Antolínez offers the desperate Cid plenty of bread and wine:

Martín Antolínez el burgales complido  
a mio Çid e a los suyos abastales de pan e de vino;  
no lo compra, ca el selo avie consigo;  
de todo conducho bien los ovo bastidos. (65-8; Cantar 1)

Aware that he has violated the king's decree, Martín Antolínez proposes that he and the Cid leave the kingdom together the next morning: “Esta noch y[a]gamos e vay[a]mos nos al matino, / ca acusado sere de lo que vos he servido” (72-73). Food both constructs and reflects power relations between individuals, and, as Douglas has noted, “[g]iving food away unilaterally makes an asymmetrical relation” (*Food in Social Order* 10). While the king displays his power over the Cid by controlling food supply, Martín Antolínez single-handedly establishes an alliance between himself and the Cid.

---

<sup>26</sup> To Teresa de Castro Martínez, the medieval exchange of food and drink showed the generosity of the upper social classes but also the relationships between different people and groups: “La generosidad alimentaria presenta en estos siglos de la Edad Media una gran variedad de significados, evidenciando que lo que los grupos sociales y las personas cambian no son solo bienes y riquezas, sino también ‘maneras de comunicarse, signos corteses.’ El alimento es, entonces, un instrumento de la representación de las relaciones entre las personas, los grupos o las instituciones. Ello se realiza a través de dos hechos fundamentales: la posición en la mesa y el ofrecimiento de alimentos” (*La alimentación* 84).

Food is also used to confirm and secure a social relationship between Don Sancho of San Pedro de Cardeña and the Cid after Don Sancho agrees to protect and take care of the Cid's wife and two daughters at the monastery of San Pedro:

Grand yantar le fazen al buen Canpeador.

Tañen las campanas en San Pero al clamor.

Por Castiella oyendo van los pregones,

commo se va de tierra mio Çid el Campeador;

unos dexan cosas e otros onores. (285-89; Cantar 1)

Don Sancho hosts this feast to celebrate the Cid's arrival and his own agreement with the Cid and his family. Jonathan Burgoyne has noted that hosting such a feast would bring prestige to the monastery (33). In this sense, the feast is first a way to confirm and publicize the mutual trust between the Cid and Don Sancho and, second, an opportunity to share food with others. Alfonso Boix Jovaní reads food as unity, and hunger as conflict in the poem: "La unidad de todos los miembros de una sociedad, la ausencia de conflicto, es celebrada con banquetes, una abundancia de alimento que se aparta mucho de aquella hambre que amenazaba a los hombres del Cid a la salida del destierro" (37). In contrast to the first scene, where the king denied the Cid food, when the Cid receives assistance from his allies—Martín Antolínez, Don Sancho, and the monks of San Pedro de Cardeña—food and drink are abundant, and peace and unity reign.

Food is particularly significant in the episode of the Count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer.<sup>27</sup> The episode is humorous, but much of the humor is derived from the humiliation of the Count (Burgoyne 31). The battle between the two men's forces is abrupt, related in a few brief and jeering lines:

---

<sup>27</sup> Many scholars have analyzed this episode and its humor. See, for example, Montgomery; Corfis; and Giles, "Del día que fue conde."

Ellos vienen cuesta yuso e todos trahen calças,  
 e las siellas coçeras e las çinchas amojadas;  
 nos cavalgaremos siellas gallegas e huesas sobre calças  
 ¡Çientos cavalleros devemos vençer aquelas mesnadas!  
 Antes que ellos legen a[l] laño presentemos les las lanças;  
 por uno que firgades tres siellas iran vazias  
 .....  
 los pendones e las lanças tan bien las van enpleando  
 a los unos firiendo e a los otros derrocando  
 Vençido a esta batalla el que en buen ora nasco;  
 Al conde don Remont a preson le an tomado. (992-1009; Cantar 1)

The Cid mocks the saddles and shoes of the Count's army, cruel jokes that show the "degradation of nobility and downward movement of carnivalesque humor" (Burgoyne 40). The Cid then adopts a threatening tone, asserting what he believes to be his superior masculinity (Burgoyne 41). After he defeats Count Ramón and takes him prisoner, the Cid prepares a huge feast, a "grant cozinal," (1017) for his soldiers and captives. The Count, however, refuses the food: "Non combré un bocado por quanto ha en toda España, / antes perderé el cuerpo e dexaré el alma, pues que tales malcalçados me vencieron de batalla" (1021-23). His refusal is ironic in that he has almost no authority or dignity after his humiliating defeat. The Cid then personally approaches the Count and offers to free him if he will share in the bread and wine:

Mio Çid Ruy Diaz odredes lo que dixo:  
 'Comed, conde, deste pan e bebed deste vino;  
 si lo que digo fizieredes saldredes de cativo,  
 si non, en todos vuestros días non veredes christianismo.' (1024-27; Cantar 1)

This is not a kind or generous offer: the Cid is using the Count's hunger to threaten him. When the Count still refuses to eat, the Cid quickly makes another, even more threatening offer:

Dixo mio Çid: Comed, conde, algo,  
 ca si non comedes non veredes christianos;  
 e si vos comieredes don yo sea pagado  
 a vos e dos fijos dalgo  
 quitar vos he los cuerpos e darvos e de mano. (1032-35; Cantar 1)

The Count is persuaded by the promise to free two of his soldiers, and he agrees to eat and drink. This time the Cid demonstrates his superiority over the vanquished Count by making him accept food:

Alegre es el conde e pidio agua a las manos,  
 e tienen gelo delant e dieron gelo privado.  
 Con los cavalleros que el Çid le avie dados  
 comiendo va el conde ¡Dios, que de buen grado!  
 Sobr'el sedie el que en buen ora nasco:  
 'Si bien non comeres, conde, don yo sea pagado  
 aquí feremos la morada, no nos partiremos amos'  
 Aquí dixo el conde: '¡De voluntad e de grado!'  
 Con estos dos cavalleros a priessa va yantando;  
 parado es mio Çid que lo esta aguardando  
 por que el conde don Remont tan bien bolvie las manos. (1049-59; Cantar 1)

The Count, now happy with the terms, begins to devour the food. To Burgoyne, this feast scene is comical because the Count only abstained for one day before enthusiastically accepting the food

and wine (43). The power relation between the two men is further exaggerated when the Cid forces his prisoner to eat until the Cid is satisfied, not until the Count is sated. The Count's humiliation is total; after accepting the enemy's food and wine, he even praises the feast: "Del dia que fue conde non yante tan de buen grado, / el saber que dende non sera olvidado" (1062-63). The Count concedes defeat to the Cid in both their physical and psychological battles.

In the *Poema de mio Cid*, food and wine are symbols of generosity and unity and an indicator of power imbalances. When food and wine are given by a lower-ranking character to a higher-ranking one, it is a signal of complete submission. Higher-ranking members of the social hierarchy, who control the food supply of lower-ranking members, can choose between public displays of generosity and the use of hunger as a weapon. And even when these elites choose to be generous, by providing food and drink to those in need, they reaffirm the social and power differential between giver and recipient.

### 2.3 Wine in the Spanish Legal Code: The *Siete Partidas*

King Alfonso X of Castile, known as *El Sabio* or The Wise (1221-84), was a scholar, reformer, and philosopher as well as king. The thirteenth century is regarded as a cultural high point of Christian Europe, and Alfonso promoted the arts, literature, law, music, and science during his reign (Nichols 260). When he became king, the seventh-century Visigoth Code, *Liber iudicum* or The Book of Judges, was still in force in León, while customary law prevailed in Castile (R. Burns xxxi). Alfonso sought to develop a uniform and universally applicable legal code (R. Burns xxxii), and the *Siete partidas* is the product of the king's administrative, legislative, and juridical efforts.

Originally titled the *Libro del fuero de las leyes*, the *Partidas* represented ten years of work by Alfonso X and his team of experts (Martínez 314). The *Partidas* is a curious text. It portrays

Christianity as a religious spirit that motivated men to behave in accord with social and religious norms (Nichols 285). And it approaches the law as a “mirror of medieval daily life,” in that “each title and law is an essay incorporating folk wisdom, touching myriad aspects of ordinary society, a social and political encyclopedia” (R. Burns xi). The *Partidas* elaborates an image of idealized Christian morality and virtue as it provides a detailed picture of thirteenth-century Spain.

The *Partidas* contains laws concerning wine drinking and related activities, evidence of wine’s significance in daily life and the constant anxiety that drunkenness provoked. Immoderate drinking and drunkenness were social problems—that is, troublesome behavior opposed to the public interest—and legal regulations were proposed as a solution (Gusfield 17). The *Partidas* also addresses wine as the object of many lawsuits to result from its economic importance as a commodity. The text also highlights the role of the beverage in sometimes linking but mostly separating different groups in a medieval Spain populated by Muslims, Jews, and Christians. The *Partidas* thus features wine as a drink, a commodity, and an object of dispute in thirteenth-century Spain.

The first *Partida* deals with the laws of God. It mentions wine, along with bread and water, as features of mass and baptism. Highlighting wine’s symbolic role as the blood of Christ (IV.50), the *Partida* explains how to prepare bread, wine, and water for the sacrament (IV.52): “E non deue poner vino solo en el Caliz, mas con agua, e amos los dene y mezclar.... E deue mas poner del vino, que del agua” (237; IV.52).<sup>28</sup> It explains that mixing wine and water should be understood as the union of Christ and his people: “Ca por el vino, entiende santa Eglesia la Sangre de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, e por el agua, entiende el Pueblo de los Christianos. Onde ayuntada el agua con el vino, entiendere que se ayunta el Pueblo de los fieles Christianos a el, en creencia” (238; IV.53).

---

<sup>28</sup> I cite Gregorio López’s 1843-44 edition of the *Siete partidas*, and I give the page number and the number of the title and law in parentheses.

And the first *Partida* notes that wine brings joy to Christians, because it represents the hope that God will be merciful: “E por el vino se entiende de la esperança, que todo Christiano deue auer de la misericordia de Dios, que alegra la voluntad de picador, assi como el vino alegra el corazon del ome” (539; X.15).

This first *Partida* also addresses another problem that concerned Christians: excessive drinking by monks. In medieval Europe, including Spain, monks and monasteries were the principal producers of wine.<sup>29</sup> As regions like Ribadavia in Galicia gained a reputation for producing fine wines, the king authorized the monasteries in those regions to expand their vineyards (González de Fauve 65). Monasteries had advantages over private individuals in producing wine, including cellars, storerooms, and large-scale organization that facilitated systematic improvement (Robinson and Harding 118). Because wine was so accessible to them, monks were known for excessive drinking in the Middle Ages. The *Partidas*, like medieval didactic-moralistic treatises, warns that drunken monks will come to negative outcomes. Yet unlike the treatises, the more formal and serious *Partidas* does not rely on *exenplos* to influence readers (Rossaroli de Brevedan 165). The first *Partida*, for instance, warns the monks that immoderate eating and drinking is a serious sin: “ca por el desconoce ome a Dios e a si mismo, e a todas las otras cosas que a y son, mas ayna que por otro” (311; V.36). Wine is particularly dangerous: “el vino es carrera que aduze a los omes a todos los pecados” (312; V.36). The first *Partida* also limits the amount of wine that could be given to monks and other ecclesiastics as a gift without running afoul of prohibitions on simony: “Solamente que non sean muy grandes, e que se puedan ayna despende assi como pichales o redomas de vino o aues o pescados, o frutas,

---

<sup>29</sup> One of the earliest monastic records on grape cultivation of Christian kingdom in Northern Iberian Peninsula traces back to the year 857 at the Monastery of Sahagún de Campos in Leon: “Nunila vende a su hermana Recoire la parte que le corresponde de una viña, en Piasca” (Casado Quintanilla 172).

o otras cosas semejantes destas, que fuessen pocas” (642; XVII.5). A few “pincheles or redomas” of wine was considered a token or gesture, not an attempt to buy ecclesiastical privileges.

In the Christian tradition, the virtue of temperance, including abstinence from excessive eating and drinking, imposed members of privileged classes to show that they were suited to their social station (Castro Martínez, *La alimentación* 107). The *Partidas*, in its strict regulation of the drinking practices of monks and other religious personnel, was the product of a social order characterized by specific sets of behavioral expectations for different groups. Peter Burke has argued that social roles were “defined in terms of the patterns or norms of behavior expected from the occupant of a particular position in the social structure” (47). In the rigidly hierarchical Middle Ages, the social order both assigned particular demeanors to each social status, and viewed noncompliance as a disturbance of the social order. There were expectations for monks and other ecclesiastics, but also for knights and even the highest-ranking member of society, the king. Royal officers and knights were warned not to drink to excess because they had to be prepared to defend the kingdom (849; XXI.2). Knights could drink only very dilute wine, “de manera que non les estoruasse el entendimiento” (861; XXI.19).

As for the king, he was seen as an authoritative father-ruler, and his conduct had to correspond to this image. The second *Partida* addresses his role, his education, and the art of war, with significant attention to demeanor and etiquette. Law 2 of Title V addresses the king’s eating and drinking habits: “E el beuer, dezimos que es una de las cosas del mundo, de que el Rey se deue mucho guardar, porque esto non se deue fazer, si non en las sazones que fuere menester al cuerpo, e aun entonces muy mesuradamente” (765-66; V.2). The king is only permitted to drink small amounts of wine, and only for exclusively medical purposes. The *Partidas* mentions none of the benefits of wine drinking, and in disparaging wine, it attacks the beverage itself, not its proxy of



drunkenness: “porque el vino ha grand poder, e es cosa que obra contra toda bondad” (766; V.2). The laws are concerned with wine’s negative spiritual and physical effects, which can even include death: “ca el faze a los omes desconoscer a Dios, e a si mismos, e descubrir las poridades, e mudra los juyzios, e cambiar los pleytos, sacarlos de justicia e de derecho. E aun sin todo esto, enflaquesce el cuerpo del ome, e menguale el seso, e fazele caer en muchas enfermedades e morir mas ayua que deuia” (766; V.2). Wine, portrayed as a major cause of serious mental and physical illnesses, is to be avoided by the king.

The second *Partida* continues in the same vein, but turns to the behavior of the king’s children, especially his sons. In doing so, the second *Partida* follows an entire genre of manuals, the *espejo de príncipes*, which dealt with the manners, modesty, and demeanor—including eating and drinking habits—of future kings (Armon 27). These manuals focused on moderate eating and drinking because self-control was a reflection of one’s inner soul, and the soul of the future king was of concern to the entire nation (Llorente 35). The second *Partida* echoes this sentiment: “por el linaje onde vienen, e el loar que han de tener, e de que los otros han de tomar exemplo” (784; VII.5). It also echoes that genre’s emphasis on table manners, insisting of the royal children “que coman, e beuan limpiamente e apuesto” (783; VII.5). Law 6 of Title VII requires that any wine drinking by the king’s children be moderate, mixed with water if necessary. Wine, considered “demonio,” posed serious dangers to the children’s well-being: “e demas, fazeles ser de mal sentido, e non bien acostumbrados: ca les enciende la sangre, de guise que por fuerça han de ser sañudos, e mal mandados.... E aun sin todo eso, fazeles menguar las saludes, e enconrtar la vida” (784; VII.6). The royal children should not regularly drink wine during the day, “que es cosa que daña mucho el estomago, no dexando cozer la vianda; por esta razon misma faze mal a la cabeça” (784; VII.6). The physical damage of wine, as seen in the Hippocratic and Galenic treatises, is

believed to affect stomach and head of the children. The king's children have far more detailed instructions on eating and drinking than the king himself, and the second *Partida* even includes harsh punishments of their tutors should the children fail to comply. Depending on the gravity of the misbehavior, tutors from the honorable classes “que deuen ser echados del Reyno, porque deesiruieron a sus Señores,” while lower-ranking tutors “deuen morir por ello” (785; VII. 6).

The third *Partida*, on lawyers and legal proceedings, mentions numerous lawsuits over wine and winemaking (II.15; II.19; II.33). In this sense, the *Partidas* echoes earlier legal regulations of viticulture. Because wine was a vitally important agricultural product, conflicts inevitably arose over possession of vineyards and the sale of the wine they produced (65). Grape cultivation consistently expanded during the high Middle Ages and grapevine plantings also increased significantly as Spanish Christians expanded their power and landholdings against Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula. Beginning in the late eleventh century, and especially during the Reconquista, municipal and regional regulations addressed the cultivation of soils and vineyards (González de Fauve 64). The third *Partida* classifies wine as a “mueble,” along with books, cloth, wheat, oil, and “porende dezimos, que toda cosa mueble, que non sea fuertada, forçada, o robada, que se puede ganar por tiempo” (410; XXI.4). Since viticulture necessarily involves many layers of people—farmers, laborers, those who store and transport wine, wholesalers, shop and tavern owners, and finally customers—any misstep along the chain could give rise to legal issues. The third, fourth, fifth, and seventh *Partidas* address such conflicts. For example, the third *Partida* describes the case of a man who makes wine from grapes that belong to someone else, and requires the illicit winemaker pay back “a los otros cuyas eran, la estimacion de lo que valian” (398; XXVIII.33). Another issue, covered in the fifth *Partida*, is which party bears the risk of loss when damaged wine is sold. With products such as “vino, o gingibre, o

cimamomo, o alguna de las otras cosas semejantes destas,” which customers usually tasted before purchase, when “se perdiessen, o se emporassen, ante que fuessen gustadas, o pesadas, o medidas, estonces seria el peligro del vendedor, non del comprador” (699; V.25). National systems like the *Denominación de Origen* in Spain currently regulate European wine production and trade, but no such unified system existed in the Middle Ages.<sup>30</sup> Vendors and producers were therefore expected to provide accurate information about their wines—“diziendole al comprador, que era de tal lugar, o de tal natura, que se podría guardar, que se non dañaría por un muy grand tiempo” (94; V.39)—and punished for committing fraud when they did not, as when they secretly mixed wine with another liquid (Partida VII.XVI.8).<sup>31</sup> The number and detailed nature of legal regulations of wine are evidence of its importance, consumed by every social class in medieval Spain and traded widely in the Spanish economy.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to its gastronomic and economic importance, wine also marked the differences and interactions between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in medieval Spain (J. L. Martín 9). Jews consumed wine for pleasure and in religious rituals like the Shabbat (Rodrigo-Estevan, “El

---

<sup>30</sup> According to Agustín González González, the first legal regulation of wine was 1564 legislation from Galicia about Ribadavia wine (22).

<sup>31</sup> Fraudulent dilution of wine was so common that European countries adopted quality control systems. According to Adamson, “searchers” inspected the wine sold in London taverns. Although they usually ordered the destruction of any suspicious products, “[o]ne of the punishments for selling bad wine was to have the taverner drink part of it and pour the rest over his head” (64). Geoffrey Chaucer describes in his “Pardoner’s Tale” a well-known scene of wine adulteration of cheap Spanish wine from Lepe into expensive French ones from Rochele and Burdeaux:

Keep clear of wine then, whether white or red,  
Especially from the white wine of Lepe  
They have on sale in Fish Street, or Cheap.  
Because this Spanish wine, in some strange way,  
Creeps into other wines that grow near by;  
Such vapours rise from it, the man who thinks  
He’s in Cheap at home, after three drinks  
Finds he’s in Spain, right in the town of Lepe,  
And not in Rochelle or in Bordeaux town. (331)

<sup>32</sup> According to the sixth *Partida*, wine was so valuable that certain kinds of wine were included, along with gold, silver, bread, and cloth, on the list of designated items for inheritance (606; IX.28).

consumo de vino” 118).<sup>33</sup> As Christian Spain imposed increasing restrictions on activities by Jews, including possession of land and cultivation, elaboration, and trade of wine, Jewish viticulture suffered (Rivera Medina, “Vid, viñedos y vino” 212). For example, laws promulgated in Seville in 1340 required Jews to sell all excess wine to Christians and permitted Christians to make wine for Jews according to Jewish customs (Roth, “Christian Restrictions” 263).<sup>34</sup> Notwithstanding these limitations, the Jewish community in Spain was able to develop and expand vineyards and wine production, and in some cases Jews and Christians even cooperated to produce and trade wine, sharing land, transportation, and livestock (Roth, “Theory and Reality” 151). In general, however, wine was another tool for separating and isolating the Jewish community, as is evident in the seventh *Partida*: “Otrosi defedemos que ningund Christiano, nin Christiana, non combide a ningun Judio, nin Judia, nin reciba otrosi combite dellos, para comer, nin beuer en uno, ni beuan del vino es fecho por mano dellos” (342; XXXIV.8). The seventh *Partida* extends these restrictions on sharing food and wine to medicine and sex. For example, Christians could not take medicine made by Jews—“ningund Christiano non reciba melezinamiento, nin purge, que sea fecha por mano de Judio”—, and any Jewish man who had sex with a Christian women—regardless of her marital status—was subject to the death penalty, because Christian women “son espiritualmente espoasas de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo” (342; XXIV).

As for Muslims, Islamic rules prohibited them from drinking wine.<sup>35</sup> This prohibition assumed special importance in a medieval Spain with large Christian wine-drinking populations

---

<sup>33</sup> See Cantera Montenegro for the importance of bread and wine in Jewish culture from antiquity to the Middle Ages. See also Rivera Medina for the use of wine in the religious celebrations of Sephardi Jewish communities in the Middle Ages (“Vid, viñedos y vino”).

<sup>34</sup> Wine produced by Jews was called “vino judiego,” and theoretically at least, it had to be kept separate from the “libatious wine” produced by Christians, which Jews could not consume (Roth, “Theory and Reality” 151-52). Although Jews could not drink Christian wine, they could buy it for resale (Rivera Medina, “Vid, viñedos y vino” 226).

<sup>35</sup> For the textual basis for the prohibition of alcohol in Islam, see Robinson and Harding, especially p. 379. Also see López Pita and Martínez Lillo.

in Al-Andalus and neighboring kingdoms (Fernández-Morera 104). Arabic sources indicate that Muslims used highly advanced horticulture to grow grapes and produce wine, and “[a]lthough we can assume that wine production was to a certain degree attuned to the needs of the Christian and Jewish communities...there was a tremendous market for grapes, raisins, and wine among Muslims as well” (Glick 75). Eduardo Escartín González has also maintained that wine production and consumption had not disappeared in al-Andalus, and in fact, lower-class would openly visit taverns to drink wine, which sometimes would put them at risk from being denounced (416). Carolyn A. Nadeau in turn has confirmed a long-standing tradition of wine in Muslim culture through Arabic wine song poetry, known as *khamriyyat*, in which Arabic poets, such as Ibn Quzman and Ibn Jafacha of Alcira, composed wine songs on pleasure of drinking and love in the twelfth-century Iberian Peninsula (“Moscatel morisco” 156-57).<sup>36</sup> A special tax was imposed on wine produced by Christians in order to maintain the fiction that Muslim world has nothing to do with wine (Philips 62). And according to Norman Roth, Muslims had social relationships with Jews: “Jews frequented...parties hosted by Muslims where wine was drunk to the accompaniment of song and dance” (*Daily Life* 203). But Dario Fernández-Morera has wisely cautioned against mythologizing Al-Andalus as a place of tolerance and *convivencia*, noting that constant and far-reaching religious and cultural repression affected all aspects of life of Muslims in Spain.<sup>37</sup> The

---

<sup>36</sup> Given that a definite presence of wine in Muslim law, economy, and culture, Nadeau argues that wine contributes to the formation of Morisco identity as “an extension of their past and an indication of assimilation (or feigned assimilation) in their present and future” (“Moscatel morisco” 163).

<sup>37</sup> Fernández-Morena has pointed out that *convivencia* between Muslims and non-Muslims should be understood one of the characteristics of “cultural clashes between hegemonic and hegemonized groups most everywhere” not as a characteristic of Islamic Spain (1-2). While he does not rebut some cases where individual Muslim, Jewish, and Christians could have cooperated with one another out of convenience, he assures that it should be considered in the context of a long history of power struggles and cultural survival (2). In this sense, even though music, singing, and drinking might have existed in Islamic Spain, albeit the religious prohibition, Fernández-Morera sees that this individual example, as a myth, cannot be overly regarded (109).

seventh *Partida* makes such limits clear, as when it prescribes death by stoning of any Muslim man who has sexual relations with a virginal or married Christian woman (349; XXV).

The *Partidas* illuminates many features of wine in medieval Spain daily life, including its sacred role in Christian rituals but also its ability to provoke anxiety and disturb the social order. Moderation in drinking was seen as a prerequisite to membership in the upper classes, and was required of monks and other ecclesiastics, knights and royal officers, and the king. Various types of regulations and legal cases were created for wine production and trading as wine was one of the most important daily foodstuffs and materials for medieval Spaniards. As a cultural artifact, wine and its drinking practices serve to distinguish different religious groups in Medieval Spain.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Throughout Spanish history, wine has played numerous roles and fulfilled various functions. To Christians, wine, like water, has profound religious symbolism. The short poem *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino* demonstrates this multiplicity, portraying wine in ways that oscillate from divine substance to dangerous entryway to drunkenness and worse. In the first part of the poem, the “Razón de amor”, wine is a metaphor for love, as it awakens the sexual desire of a young scholar. And in the second part, “Los denuestos del agua y del vino,” Water and Wine engage in a debate that reveals their antagonistic but also oddly complementary relationship. If we follow Franchini’s reading, under which the poem represents the tension between *amor purus* and *amor mixtus*, the ambivalence of the mixing of wine and water reflects this same tension and reinforces the ambivalence of wine itself.

During the medieval era, food and drink were markers of social categories and (dis)connections between individuals and groups. The *Poema de mio Cid* shows wine’s role in establishing, celebrating, and reinforcing social relationships. And it highlights power imbalances

between the Cid and the other characters of the poem. Although sharing wine with friends at a banquet was a gesture of generosity, solidarity, and companionship, food and drink were also tools or weapons for manipulating the enemy.

The medieval Spanish legal treatise the *Siete partidas* represents the intersection of wine and social relationships through its prescriptions for the acquisition, preparation, and consumption of wine. It addresses the social problem of drunkenness through recommendations for the behaviors of members of the privileged class. And because wine was so commonly traded and consumed, activities like harvesting, producing, storing, and selling wine were also important topics under the laws. And finally, the *Partidas*, through its regulations of wine and related activities, gives a sense for the fraught relationships between the different religious groups who were living in medieval Spain. The *Siete partidas*, like *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua and del vino*, and the *Poema de mio Cid*, demonstrates the numerous functions of wine in medieval and early modern Spain, and its social and cultural symbolism. This chapter, by looking at these three different but representative literary texts, outlines the multiple roles of wine, all of which will be revisited in the following chapters, in the context of gender norms and relations.

### CHAPTER 3. THE *LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR*: GENDERED VIOLENCE AND WINE

The *Libro de buen amor* (ca. 1343) by Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, is remarkable within the history of Spanish literature for both its reliance on a wide array of literary sources and the ambiguity of its structure and content. Critics have taken a variety of theoretical and thematic approaches to the *Libro*'s ambiguities and contradictions. Alan Deyermond has called the *Libro* "a patchwork of anomalies, ambiguities, inconsistencies, ironies, and pit-falls for its interpreters" ("Was it a Vision" 107), which allows readers (or audiences) to move between secular and sacred interpretations. With respect to the text's discursive and rhetorical ambiguity, Michael Gerli has argued that the text purposefully creates "linguistic and moral uncertainty," which gives rise to contradictory interpretations of the text and its message ("The Greeks" 412). Although the prologue, written in prose and first introduced in MS S,<sup>38</sup> declares that the book guides readers to *buen amor* of God, it can also be read as a catalog of *loco amor*: "En así este libro a todo omne e muger, al cuerdo e al non cuerdo, al que entendiere el bien et escojiere salvación e obrare bien amando a Dios: otrosí al que quisiere el amor loco en la carrera que anduviere puede cada uno bien decir" (10).<sup>39</sup> The prologue, in its ambiguity, has been read as a capsule version of the entire text's imprecision, contradiction, and ambiguity.<sup>40</sup>

In this chapter, I view the ambiguity of the *Libro* through a particular lens: wine. Along with bread and meat, and even more than water, wine was indispensable to the medieval table, and

---

<sup>38</sup> There are three extant manuscript versions of the *Libro*. Manuscripts G (Gayoso) and T (Toledo, 1330) are the earliest. The later Manuscript S (Salamanca, 1343) is the most extensive, incorporating additional materials that include the prologue (Blecua, MLIX-LVIII).

<sup>39</sup> All citations to the *Libro* refer to the Alberto Blecua's 2001 Cátedra edition and the stanza numbers given there. I indicate the page number for the prose prologue.

<sup>40</sup> For studies of the prologue, see especially Ullman, Kinkade, Jenaro-MacLennan, Chapman, "Juan Ruiz's Learned Sermon," and Minnis.



it is similarly important to Juan Ruiz's text. In this chapter, I examine the connections between sexual violence, gender roles, and wine consumption in the *Libro*. I argue that wine, as a profoundly ambiguous element of the text, reinforces and questions the gendered pattern of male-predator and female-victim. Wine plays a central role in two episodes of gendered violence, the story of the drunken hermit (528-75) and that of the four *serranas* (950-1042). Considered together, these episodes demonstrate the ambiguities around wine drinking and its relationship to gendered violence in late medieval Spanish society.

Within the vast scholarship on the *Libro*, according to Emily C. Francomano, the food studies scholarship has tended to focus on the episode of Don Melón and Doña Endrina (528-75), and the episode of Cuaresma and Carnal (1067-1225) ("Este manjar es dulce" 127).<sup>41</sup> As their names imply, Don Melón and Doña Endrina rely on the polysemy of food vocabulary.<sup>42</sup> And the battle of Cuaresma and Carnal is followed by a highly sensual and detailed description of food. Food and drink, however, are found throughout the entire text. José Pérez Vidal has examined the relationship between medicine and *dulcera* or sweets, especially the curative powers of candy made by monks. Francomano has also focused on sweets, arguing that sweetness is an intersensory concept in medieval Christian rhetoric in that it referred to the bodily senses of taste, touch, and hearing, as well as the spiritual senses that allow an eater to experience the divine ("Este manjar es dulce" 127). Antonio Gázquez Ortiz, in turn, has traced the origins of culinary and gastronomic customs in the fourteenth-century kitchen. To Gázquez Ortiz, as seen in the examples of the *Partidas*, the eating and drinking practices of a Spanish society where three different cultures—

---

<sup>41</sup> On Don Melón and Doña Endrina, see Michalski, "Triple Characterization" and Vasvári, "Vegetal-Genital." On Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma, see especially Grace, Poole, and Daas.

<sup>42</sup> Scholars have long debated whether the Don Melón is best interpreted as a personification of a fruit or an animal (where *melón* means "badger"). Michalski has reconciled the two views by arguing that Don Melón and Doña Endrina each have "a three-fold persona: human, animal, and vegetal, all at the same time" ("Triple Characterization" 271).

Christian, Jewish, and Muslim—lived in harmony provide clues to the philosophical and religious meanings of gastronomy more broadly. Gianluca Pagani has read the *Libro* as a vault for storing gastronomic vocabulary. Pagani has also noted that wine serves a dual purpose in the *Libro*: while Don Amor warns that drinking alcohol can lead to many problems, wine is consumed in the daily and religious rituals that temper life's physical and mental hardships (286). In a similar vein, María Teresa Miaja de la Peña has called the *Libro* an “auténtico tratado gastronómico” that relies on the sensual and symbolic pleasures of foodstuffs (96). Juan Coira Pociña has highlighted the *Libro*'s function as a textual bridge between official and popular cultures and the Christian and Muslim worlds. Coira Pociña has also relied on Bakhtin to connect the food and drink in the text in to fourteenth-century popular culture. More recently, Martha Daas has analyzed medieval Christian ideas of eating with examples from late medieval literary texts, including fasting and banquets in the *Libro* (65). And yet, notwithstanding these numerous studies of food in the *Libro*, very few scholars have explored its repeated references to wine. This chapter fills that gap, analyzing the *Libro* as a literary resource on fourteenth-century wine-drinking behaviors and focusing on the violent comportment that so often results in the text. The *Libro* reveals wine's perceived value at the time, as well as the fact that wine was believed to affect men and women differently, so that wine, gender, and power relations all had an impact on sexual violence.

Violence in general, and sexual violence in particular, has been present and even persistent in every society. Covarrubias defines *violento* as “todo lo que se haze con fuerça, y contra la natural inclinación” (210). According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1739), *violencia* is “la acción violenta, o contra el natural, y racional modo de proceder.” These definitions understand violence as the use of *force* in a way that is not *natural*. In a sense, then, a society's reaction to sexual

violence can tell us something about its view of the nature of gender. The study of sexual violence through literary resources can therefore elucidate social norms and deviant behaviors.

This chapter sheds new light on the relationship between drinking behaviors and representations of violence. Through a comparative study of the episodes of the drunken hermit and the *serranas*, it shows that the gendered power dynamic of perpetrator and victim of sexual violence is mutable and even reversible, as wine and food affect the body. The first episode represents the negative effects of intoxication, which include the rape and murder of an innocent woman. In contrast, the verbal, physical, and sexual violence of the *serranas* does not conform to the man-perpetrator and woman-victim binary. The cold and hungry Archpriest wants wine, not sex, and the *serranas* strategically use the alcoholic beverage to seduce him. Wine is thus an ambiguous object that serves two contradictory functions: it provokes masculine violence against women and it inverts the traditional gender roles of sexual violence.

In what follows, I first trace references to wine in the *Libro* and highlight its value, as well as its symbolic and religious significance, in a text that highlights both its positive and negative effects. I then consider the connection between wine drinking and sexual violence.

### 3.1 Wine in the Libro de buen amor

The old saying “Comer sin vino, comer mezquino,” indicates the importance of the beverage in Spanish gastronomic culture. As observed in the previous chapter, wine, like bread, had actual and symbolic significance in Christian cuisine. As Christianity moved south into Islamic territory, Spanish wine became a symbol of civilization and Catholic heritage (Gamella 256-57). Although Church Fathers gradually came to emphasize fasting, bread and wine remained signature elements of Christian practices. Central to medieval Spanish diet and culture, wine figures prominently in the *Libro*.

### 1.3.1 Viticulture in Medieval Spain: Agricultural Calendar

The medieval farming calendar, which describes the agricultural tasks that must be completed each month of the year, has been an important iconographic and literary theme since antiquity (Forastieri-Braschi 214). Among many other agricultural activities, viticulture and winemaking were significant parts of the everyday life of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Many Roman writers, such as Cato the Elder (*De Agri Cultura*), Columella (*De Re Rustica*), Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*), and Virgil (*Georgics*), described vine growing and winemaking in detail. During the Middle Ages, those unable to read agricultural treatises or manuals could refer to pictorial representations of viticultural activities, like the fresco of the *Basílica de San Isidoro* (see figure 1).



Figure 1. “Calendario” in the Panteón Real of San Isidoro de León from Marta Pozo Yagüe

On the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, knowledge inherited from the Greeks combined with favorable soils and climates to expand viticulture (Rose 1). Furthermore, the Iberian Peninsula,

Balearic Islands, and Sicily were distinguished from the rest of Europe by the presence of Muslims who shared their agricultural knowledge with Christians and Jews (Piqueras Haba, “La cultura del vino” 112). For example, the late twelfth-century Muslim agronomist Ibn al-Awwam described monthly agricultural activity in his *Book on Agriculture* (*Kitāb al-Filāḥa*). The Spanish writer Gabriel Alonso de Herrera expounded in Book II of his *Obra de Agricultura* (1513) on favorable soil conditions, planting techniques, recommendations for cultivating grapevines, and medicinal benefits of wine. He also devoted Book VI to a farming calendar that began in January and divided each month into two lunar periods. In contrast, Juan Ruiz begins his calendar in November, in keeping with Mozarabic liturgical tradition (Blecua 319n1272a).

The medieval farming calendar appears at the end of the episode of Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma. This episode depicts a popular celebration where Don Carnal represents the *Fiesta de Carnival*. After his victory against Doña Cuaresma, Don Carnal is welcomed home by butchers—“carniceros” (1212a) and “triperas” (1212c)—who serve a series of meats—lamb, kid, beef, and ram—in a representation of the arrival of Pascua after Lent (Grace 372). Meanwhile, monks, priests, knights, and nuns come out to receive Don Amor, but he decides to stay with the Archpriest, and they set up “la tienda” as the site of their meal (1265a). To Eduardo Forastieri-Braschi, the *tienda* is a descriptive digression that corresponds to the transition from Lent to Don Amor and Don Carnal’s Easter victory (220). The text moves on to a detailed graphic representation of the medieval farming calendar (1266-1301): “La obra de la tienda vos querría contar, / avérsevos ha un poco a tardar la yantar: / es una grand estoria, pero, no es de dexar, / muchos dexan la çena por feroso cantar” (1266). María Rosa Lida de Malkiel believes that Juan Ruiz consulted the *Libro de Alexandre* in drafting his agricultural calendar, especially for graphic details of the *tienda* (Juan Ruiz 106). The description of the *tienda* takes us at the middle of the liturgical calendar.

The *Libro*'s description of the *tienda* starts with “una messa muy noble e muy bien fecha” (1270b) that is set up in front of the fireplace as a stage for food. Coira Pociña has emphasized the uniqueness of Juan Ruiz's calendar: twelve men, representing twelve months of the year, appear as dinner guests. Juan Ruiz divides the calendar into four groups (or seasons) of three months each. Four groups of men—knights (November, December, and January), *hidalgos* (February, March, and April), the rich (May, June, and July), and farmers (August, September, and October)—each represent one season of the year: “Tres cavalleros comen, todos a un tablero” (1271a); “Están tres fijosdalgo a otra noble tabla” (1278a); “Andan tres ricosonbres allí en una dança” (1287a); “Tres labradores viníen todos una carrera” (1294a). And each month is highlighted and personified in the spatial description of the *tienda*.

In this calendar, each month corresponds to the agricultural tasks that must be completed before it is over. Of twelve months, eight of them (all but November, April, May, and July) include viticultural labor (see table 1). Winemaking is more prominent than the cultivation of any other agricultural product, including figs, olives, and wheat.

Table 1. Monthly Viticultural Activity in the *Libro*<sup>43</sup>

Month	Stanza	Activity	Textual Citation
December	1275b	Clearing wine	“enclaresçe los vinos con anbas sus almuezas”
January	1276cd	Storing wine in barrels and adding preservatives	“fazié çerrar sus cubas, fenchirlas con enbudo, / echar deyuso yergos que guardan vino agudo.”
February	1280abc	Pruning, grafting, and planting vines	“Lo más que éste andava era viñas poder / e enxerir de escoplo e gavillas amondar; / mandava poner viñas para buen vino dar”
March	1281abc	Hoeing, bending vine shoots, and grafting grapevines	“El segundo enbía a viñas cavadores: / echan muchos mugrones los amugronadores, / vid blanca fazen prieta buenos enxeridores;”

<sup>43</sup> For further comparison of viticultural calendars in other works, see Piqueras Haba, “La cultural del vino”. For a comparison of the calendars in the *Libro de Alexandre* and the *Libro*, see Forastieri-Braschi.

Table 1. continued

June	1290cd	Unripe grapes	“comié las bebras nuevas, e cogía el arroz; / agraz nuevo comiendo embargóle la boz”
August	1295ab	The first ripe grapes	“El primero comía ya las uvas maduras, / comia maduros figos de las figueras duras”
September	1296d	The first grape harvest	“comiença a bendimiar uvas de los parrales”
October	1297ab	Grape stomping, wine production, and storage in barrels	“Pissa los buenos vinos el labrador tercero, / finche todas sus cubas como buen bodeguero”

These extensive references to viticultural activities reflect its significance in agriculture and everyday life. Juan Ruiz begins his calendar in November, but first mentions winemaking in December. Since little agricultural activity takes place during the winter, Juan Ruiz instead describes the preservation of wine. One of the most important viticultural activities—pruning the new vines—starts in February, when the weather begins to improve. Then, from early spring to early summer, the vines are dug, grafted, and bent. In August and September, when the weather starts to cool, the harvest can finally take place.<sup>44</sup> In October, grapes are stomped and made into wine.<sup>45</sup>

The allegorical *tienda* includes figures that symbolically represent every social class in medieval Spanish society. The work of growing grapes, along with other common fruits like figs and olives, gave shape to the year. And the calendar, which contains both agricultural tasks and foods consumed each month, shows a society that moves in annual farming and liturgical cycles.

<sup>44</sup> On the representation of viticultural activities in old folk poetry, particularly the festive portrayal of the harvest as a victory of life over death, see Castillo Hernández, especially page 363.

<sup>45</sup> José-Luiz Martín cites the *Libro de Horas* (ca. 1339-40) by María of Navarra as another fourteenth-century source on winemaking. The book features similar timelines of wine production and highlight the importance of wine in the fourteenth-century Spanish diet: “el mes de marzo está representado por un campesino podando las viñas; en agosto se revisan y reparan toneles y cubas, en septiembre se vendimia y en octubre se pisa la uva y se elabora el vino, que forma parte de todas las dietas” (qtd. in J. L. Martín 33).

In this sense, Coira Pociña has noted that the *tienda* shows that wine was consumed after the collective completion of hard work and chores as a reward. These tasks changed somewhat as viticulture developed over time and people learned to better use nature to their advantage. Agricultural labor and food production and consumption are depicted as collective activities that combined people, weather, nature, and religion in an organic way. Juan Ruiz's agricultural calendar shows that wine was the focus of agriculture and gastronomy, and that viticulture shaped and was shaped by society.

### 1.3.2 Ambiguity of Wine in the *Libro de buen amor*

Graciela Rossaroli de Brevedon has argued that wine drinking reflects the duality of the entire *Libro* (169). On one hand, drunkenness is treated as a mortal sin like gluttony and lust; on the other, delightful feasts emphasize wine's importance in Spanish daily life and special occasions. For example, Don Amor says that wine has positive effects when consumed in moderation: "Es el vino muy bueno en su mesma natura, / muchas bondades tiene, si se toma con mesura" (548ab). Wine, considered medicinal and nourishing, was consumed in greater quantity than any other beverage in the medieval diet. And because wine bears the mark of the place that produced it at the same time that it marks the social status of the person who drinks it (Framiñán Santas 67), wines from certain regions became famous throughout the peninsula for their quality. In Doña Garoza's convent, for instance, it is said that wine from Toro is extraordinary in quality: "do an vino de Toro, non enbían valadí" (1339b). The excellency of Toro wine was recognized by many authors, such as Fernand de Rojas, Luis de Góngora, and Lope de Vega.

Yet notwithstanding the regular consumption of wine, the beverage is also linked to physical problems and spiritual sins. As I discuss further in chapter 3, Aristotelian and Galenic theories proposed that excessive consumption of food and wine disrupts the balance of the four



bodily humors and negatively affects physical health. When Juan Ruiz describes the mortal sin of *gula* (291-97), he links food and wine consumption to an excess or deficiency in a bodily fluid that affects behavior and temperament: “Con la mucha vianda e vino creçe la flema: / duermes con tu amiga, afógate postema, / liévate el diablo, en el infierno te quema” (293abc). In this complicated relationship between gluttony, sexual desire, and immorality, a person who commits gluttony through excessive consumption of food and wine experiences sexual desire that makes the eater/drinker vulnerable to diabolic temptation.

Because eating and drinking reflect and affect a person’s moral and spiritual states, gluttony was therefore censured as a serious sin. Fasting and feasting were integral to medieval morality, and “Christian” eating meant following the Christian calendar and recommendations of the Church (Daas 65). Fasting and abstinence during Lent is an *imitatio Christi*, but gluttony is associated with overeating and lust (66). Thus, while wine has a sacred function as a proxy for the blood of Christ, excessive consumption of wine leads to spiritual death. Like many of his contemporaries, Juan Ruiz uses the biblical example of Lot as an illustration of the dangers of drinking wine: “Feciste por la gula a Lot, noble burgés, / beber tanto, que yugo con sus fijas; pues ves / a fazer tu forniçio: ca, do mucho vino es, / luego es la loxuria, e todo mal después” (296). Lot, who committed incest with his daughters, demonstrates that gluttony incites lust. Juan Ruiz revisits the dangers of gluttony with the tale of the lion and the horse, “Enxiemplo del león et del caballo” (298-303). A greedy lion, hoping that a fat horse will be easy prey, tries to trick the horse, but the horse kicks the lion and kills him. The gluttonous horse then eats so much grass that it dies, too. The text warns that food and alcohol can be more dangerous than a knife: “El comedor sin mesura e la grand venternía, / otrossí mucho vino con mucha beverría, / *más mata que cuchillo*”

(303abc; italics mine). Wine, both beneficial and threatening, adds to the overall ambiguity and inconsistency of the *Libro*.

The episode of Carnal and Cuaresma also depicts wine's benefits and dangers. As the episode begins, the Archpriest and Don Jueves Lardero receive a letter from Doña Cuaresma announcing her arrival (1068).<sup>46</sup> Threatened, Don Carnal assembles a large group of "gentes muy guarnidas"—hens, partridges, rabbits, cows, goats, wild boars, and deer—to join him in going out to meet his enemy. These animals have sexual connotations; the goat, for example, is a "frequent medieval illustration of lechery," and the deer, a symbol of carnal desire and virility (Grace 375-76). Don Carnal's feast of live animals and prepared meats is typically carnivalesque in eliminating the distinction between human and animal, as is a banquet during a battle in combining food, sexuality, and violence (Vasvári, "The Battle of Flesh and Lent" 5). According to Bakhtin, both "the dispute between non-Lenten and Lenten food" and the close interweaving of banquet images and grotesque bodies were popular medieval themes (298-99), and Deyermond has read the description of the armies and the banquet as a comic parody of the medieval epic ("Some Aspects" 65).<sup>47</sup> Carnival feasts were boundless worlds of humorous forms, comic spectacles, and folk festivities that provided relief (albeit temporarily) from the seriousness of medieval ecclesiastical and feudal culture (Bakhtin 4), and this banquet scene, with its humorous, grotesque meats, is definitely carnivalesque.

Among Carnal's powerful forces, red wine plays the role of a loyal soldier: "las puestas de la vaca, lechones e cabritos, / allí andan saltando e dando grandes gritos; / luego los escuderos,

---

<sup>46</sup> According to Kevin Poole, Don Jueves Lardero, or "Fat Thursday," is a reference to Fat Tuesday, the day before Lent begins, when people consume a large amount of rich, fatty food (133). Louise Vasvári has also argued that *Lardero* refers to typical Carnival foods like cured meats and sausages ("The Battle of Flesh and Lent" 4).

<sup>47</sup> To Vasvári, this battle is an example of "*carnival litteralisé* or a clerical textualization of popular carnival plays which flourished in medieval Europe as part of popular feasts preceding Lent" ("The Battle of Flesh and Lent" 1).

muchos fresuelos fritos, / que dan de las espuelas a los vinos bien tintos” (1085).<sup>48</sup> And Kevin Poole has noted that the jumping and loud crying of the meats recalls the way that food pops and sizzles in hot cooking oil and reinforces the connection to pre-Lenten fasting (139). Don Carnal, sitting at “a mesa mucho farta,” is “bien abastado” by a huge amount of food (1095). His cup is constantly refilled with wine: “Estava delante d’él su alférez homil, / el inojo fincado, en la mano el barril, / tañía a menudo con él el añafil; / parlava mucho el vino, de todos alguacil” (1096).<sup>49</sup> Following this meat-filled and wine-soaked banquet, the drowsy soldiers fall asleep. In the medieval era, wine was believed to encourage soldiers and help them cope with cold and hunger (Papakonstantinou 5), but excessive consumption has a negative consequence. Once Don Carnal and his troops fall asleep, effectively losing control of their bodies, Doña Cuaresma’s armies are able to defeat them. The episode clearly demonstrates the ambivalence around wine drinking: wine contributed to the carnivalesque atmosphere, but immoderate drinking led to tragedy.

### 3.2 The Drunken Hermit: Alcohol, Adultery, and Murder

Although wine serves a dual purpose throughout the *Libro*, two particular episodes—the fable of a drunken hermit and the story of the four *serranas*—closely connect wine and violence. Without making facile assumptions of causality, for instance, wine leads to violence, the validity of a direct connection between alcohol and aggressive behavior has been debated for centuries (Douglas, “A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective” 23). William Ackroyd has noted that regulations of alehouses and inns in early modern England imposed penalties when drunkenness and its negative consequences were observed (38-40). The *Statutes of the Realm*, an authoritative

<sup>48</sup> According to Blecua, “fresuelos” are probably a kind of blood sausage (*morcillas*) (270n1085c).

<sup>49</sup> To Anthony Zahareas and Oscar Pereira, Don Carnal’s army drinks to excess as a way to cope with the fact that they expect to lose the next morning’s battle (307).

collection of Acts of the Parliament of England, enacted in 1606, took for granted that drinking caused physical violence and other problems:

The loathsome and odious sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use within this realm, *being the root and foundation of many other enormous sins*, as bloodshed, stabbing, murder, swearing, fornication [sic], adultery, and such like, to the great dishonor of God, and of our nation, the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of diverse workmen, and the general impoverishing of many good subjects, abusively wasting of the good creatures of God. (39; italics mine)

For English lawmakers, drunkenness caused violent and immoral behavior. Susan Rose has noted that Christian moralists drew a strong connection between drunkenness—usually from wine—and mortal sin (159). Drunkenness was the worst offense, because it was a gateway to other—mortal—sins. Furthermore, since drunkenness arouses sexual desire, excessive consumption of alcohol was seen as a route to sexual crimes.<sup>50</sup>

In “De cómo el Amor enseña al arçipreste, que aya en sí buenas costumbres, e sobre todo que se guarde de beber mucho vino blanco e tinto,” or the episode of the drunken hermit, the violence does not take place between two drinkers, or in a drinking establishment. Instead, a drunk man commits acts of violence against a woman, in a reflection of the traditional gendered relationship that views men as more powerful and more aggressive than women. These traditional roles of male perpetrator and female victim are embodied by a hermit and an unnamed woman.

To modern readers, a medieval monk might seem an unlikely candidate to over-indulge, given medieval religious strictness. Ecclesiastic and monastic institutions, however as already

---

<sup>50</sup> See chapter 3 for more on the relationship between alcohol, gluttony, and lust.

mentioned, were winemaking centers in the early Middle Ages, supervising agricultural workers and managing every other sector of viticulture (Montanari 133). Wine featured prominently in religious communities and rituals, but it was also a source of temptation for the monks. The *Rule of Saint Benedict*, a book of precepts for Christian monastic life, limits the amount of wine a monk should consume: “Although we read that wine is not for monks, but in our times they cannot accept this. Let us, therefore, agree on this limit at least, lest we satiate ourselves with a drink. But, let us drink temperately: ‘For wine makes even the wise to fall off’” (81; ch. 40). That Benedictine limit was one *hermina* (about a third of a liter) of wine per day. However, in reality, daily wine consumption in convents and monasteries sometimes could reach more than one liter per person even for abbesses and nuns (Burgo López 233). It was apparently well-known that monks enjoyed wine, and that they did so to an extent that sometimes caused social problems.

A few critics have carefully analyzed the episode of the drunken hermit. For example, Felix Lecoy has traced its origins to two sources, calling it a “contamination fort habilement executée de deux contes différentes” (153), or a combination of stories of a drunken, fornicating, murderous hermit with stories of the appearance of the devil and roosters as symbols of temptation (151-52). To Lecoy, it would be difficult to determine whether Juan Ruiz or another writer first “contaminated” or mixed these two traditional stories together. And Janet A. Chapman has placed this episode within the structure of the *Libro* as a whole, noting that the text repeats a stylistic formula of “X (subject) makes Y (object) become Z, where X represents the power of love, money, wine or death, and Y and Z represent opposite qualities, statuses, abilities, disabilities and so on” (“A suggested interpretation” 30). Juan Ruiz uses this formula for wine, as well as love, money, and death, to warn that these things can turn men against God (“A suggested interpretation” 33). In light of religious teachings, Chapman argues that Juan Ruiz uses the drunken hermit to

demonstrate that drunkenness is connected to other sins, but also to the devil (“A suggested interpretation” 39). In this case, wine leads the hermit to commit sins against God and to lose his soul. Wine therefore has the same effect as *loco amor*, leading a man to physical and spiritual destruction.

### 3.2.1 Summary of the Episode of the Drunken Hermit

As Don Amor and the Archpriest discuss love, Don Amor says that he will tell the Archpriest how to find a lady to love. He then suddenly derails from the topic, and begins to tell the story of the drunken hermit, whose relationship to his female victim was anything but loving. A middle-aged hermit, who had never tasted wine, was fasting (530). One day, he gave into temptation, drank wine, and became completely drunk. The drunken hermit then raped an innocent woman and, in order to conceal the crime, killed her. This short episode resembles a church sermon in tone and format, following the three-part structure of a sermon, with an introduction (528), an *exemplum* (52[9]-43), and an admonishment against drinking wine (544-49) (Rossaroli de Brevedon 171). In the introduction, Don Amor warns against drinking to excess and cites the incestuous Lot as an example. The *exemplum* of the drunken hermit is then narrated over fourteen stanzas. The devil relies on wine’s religious symbolism as “la sangre verdadera de Dios” (534b) to deceive the hermit:

”Non debes tener dubda que del vino se faze

la sangre verdadera de Dios: en ello yaze

sacramento muy santo, pruévalo si te plaze.”

El diablo al monge arma ado lo enlaze. (534)

As seen in Chapter 1, in late medieval Europe, “eating bread and wine” was a way to approach God through the Eucharist and the mystical union. The hermit, who had no experience with alcohol,

followed the devil's advice and drank the beverage. There is irony in the devil's use of wine's sacred Eucharistic function to delude the hermit and lead him to his ruin.

Juan Ruiz warns that drunkenness impairs understanding: "Bevió el hermitaño mucho vino sin tiento: / como era fuerte, puro, sacól de entendimiento" (537ab). Excessive consumption of "fuerte puro" (537b), or strong red wine, is even worse, making a man lose his judgment altogether, for which watered wine was usually recommended. The devil, taking advantage of the hermit's intoxication, points out a rooster that is mating with a hen and suggests that the hermit follow the rooster's example: "toma gallo que·t muestre las oras cada día; / con él alguna fenbra: con ellas mejor cría" (538cd). The drunken hermit watched the rooster and hen and became sexually aroused:

"Amigo", diz, "non sabes de noche nin de día  
 cuál es la ora çierta, nin cómo el mundo se guía:  
 toma gallo que·t muestre las oras cada día;  
 con él alguna fenbra: con ellas mejor cría".  
  
 Creyó el su mal consejo: ya el vino usava;  
 él estando con vino, vido cómo se juntava  
 el gallo con las fenbras, en ellos se deleitava:  
 codbiçió fazer forniçio, desde con vino estava. (538-39)

Heavily intoxicated, the hermit left his cell and violently raped and then murdered a woman. Juan Ruiz portrays drunkenness as the cause of these mortal sins: the gluttonous excessive consumption of wine led the hermit to prideful, greedy, and lustful behavior. To the Archpriest, the hermit's gluttony resulted in fornication and murder.

The third and final part of the episode, the admonishment, enumerates the physiological effects of wine drinking, which include change in coloration, paleness, weight loss, bad breath,

liver problems, and odd pig-like or crow-like noises (544-46).<sup>51</sup> This elaborate description of the effects of excessive drinking continues until, in a shift that recalls the start of the episode, Juan Ruiz finally recalls Don Amor's advice: "Por ende fuy del vino, et faz[le] buenos gestos; / quando fablares con dueña, diles doñeos apuestos" (549ab). Chapman has proposed two possible interpretations of this sudden shift in the narrative: either Juan Ruiz became absorbed in his cautionary message, or the sudden shift back to a lover's advice was intended as comic relief ("A suggested interpretation" 34).

### 3.2.2 The Literary Tradition of "The Three Sins of the Hermit"

The hermit who commits a series of deadly sins is a famous *topos* in European literature, with myriad versions in Latin and vernacular language. Archer Taylor has traced its antecedents in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish literature, as well as "medieval illustrative tales employed in sermons and in the later jest-books, and finally in modern European literature and tradition" (61). In the earliest version of the story, a religious man commits three sins—drunkenness, adultery, and murder—, perpetrating the last two under the influence of the first.<sup>52</sup>

Taylor believes that the first European version of "The Three Sins of the Hermit" is the tale 35 of *Vie des anciens pères* on *iveresse* or intoxication, which dates from the late thirteenth century (68):

A worthy hermit was tested by the devil who told him that if he committed one of the sins of drunkenness, fornication or murder he would be forever free of his (the devil's) torments. The hermit was at the end of his tether so decided to get drunk as

---

<sup>51</sup> Bienvenido Morros believes that Juan Ruiz may have relied on the *Secretum secretorum* for this part, although he notes that the *Libro* gives far more information about the potential harms of wine drinking than the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise (37). Morros has also identified *De Elia etieiunio* by Ambrosio Mediolanense and *Contra comessionem, et ebrietatem, et scurrilitatem* by Rábano Mauro as possible sources (38-39).

<sup>52</sup> According to Taylor, the earliest version of the story is probably Asian in origin, although it is difficult to identify. There are many Asian versions of the story, some with two fallen angel sinners, and others with a single sinner (61).



the least heinous of the sins. The hermit visited his neighbor, a miller, for a meal. Despite it being a Friday rich dishes were served along with strong new wine which “heats the brain.” The hermit indeed got drunk and had difficulty leaving the table. The miller’s wife, who was equally drunk helped him to get home. At his cell, the woman fell asleep and the drunken hermit then fornicated with her. The miller saw what had happened seized an axe and went to wreak revenge on the hermit. The hermit got hold of the axe himself and killed the miller. He then fell asleep. On waking in the morning, he realized that he had been tricked by the devil and had in fact committed all three sins. (qtd. in Rose 159)

Although the hermit considered it the least serious offense, intoxication brought about the other sins. Because Juan Ruiz’s version, like the *Vie des anciens pères*, also features the devil and the three sins of drunkenness, adultery, and homicide, he may well have relied on the tale 35 in writing the episode of the drunken hermit.

Lecoy has noted that Juan Ruiz also alludes to another hermit’s story and may even have combined them both into his hermit. According to Taylor, this second reference is to the tale of the *coq* or rooster of the *Vie des anciens pères*:

The Devil had long sought to delude a hermit and observing that the hermit was finding difficulty in waking in the morning, he suggested the purchase of a cock. The cock crowed for some time and when it stopped the Devil suggested the further purchase of a hen. By the example of the cock and the hen the hermit was led into temptation: he fell with a girl, killed her to conceal the crime, and then realizing the enormity of his sins, prayed to God for forgiveness. (Taylor 89-90)

Although this story has long been confused with that of the three sins of sinful hermit, the stories of the *coq* and *iveresse* are separate in the *Vie des anciens peres* (Taylor 89). In the *Libro*, however, the rooster that mates with a hen is part of the episode of the drunken hermit.

Taylor is particularly attentive to the dissemination of the hermit's story in Northern Europe, especially Germany, England, and France, and he has noted that the story was less popular in Spain than elsewhere in Europe (91). He nonetheless has traced three Spanish allusions to the story: the anonymous *Libro de Apolonio* (ca. 1250), *El Libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (ca. 1331-35) by Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), and the *Libro de buen amor*. Stanza 55 of the *Libro de Apolonio* and Chapter LVI of the *Libro de los enxiemplos* both describe intoxication and warn readers that drunkenness is a gateway to other sins, but Stanza 55 of the *Libro de Apolonio* is so brief that it serves only to prove the reception of the story in Spain, and Chapter LVI of the *Libro de los enxiemplos* is thought to be a direct translation of *Alphabetum Narrationum* (91). Considering the diffusion of the story in Spain, it may be assumed that Juan Ruiz took the earlier examples, including the *Vie des anciens pères*, into account when writing his own version of the episode, but as Taylor has argued, he significantly changed these versions.

Although Taylor does not mention it, another example of the drunken hermit is Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagro XX* (462-96) of the *Milagros de nuestra señora* (ca. 1260). Although the details of Berceo's *Milagro* are substantially different, it does mention wine, the appearance of devil, and the dangers of drinking the beverage:

Deque fo enna orden, bien deque fo novicio,  
amó a la Gloriosa siempre facer servicio;  
guardóse de follía, de fablar en fornicio,  
pero ovo en cabo de caer en un vicio.

Entró enna bodega un día por ventura,  
 bebió mucho del vino, esto fo sin mesura,  
 embebdóse el locco, issió de su cordura,  
 yogó hasta las viésporas sobre la tierra dura. (462-63)<sup>53</sup>

In Berceo's version, the monk gets drunk out of sheer curiosity; the devil pursues him when he is already intoxicated. The devil appears as various animals, such as a bull, dog, and lion, but the Virgin rescues the monk and ultimately helps him confess his sins. To Juan Manuel Cacho Bleuca, this monk is multifaceted; his devotion to the Virgin makes him worthy of a miracle, but his excessive consumption of wine leads him to commit a series of sins. Consistent with Christian didactic literary tradition, his devotion outweighs the sins of intoxication and fornication. The Bercean text contains various features of the original "Three Sins of the Hermit": the temptation of drunkenness, the commission of a sex crime, although it seems more like adultery than rape, and the happy resolution wherein the Virgin saves the monk. Although indulgence in wine and women threatens the monk's soul, the *Milagro* omits the murder of a female victim and Berceo's monk fornicates without any indication of violence.

### 3.2.3 Rape, Gendered Violence, and Wine: Man-Perpetrator and Woman-Victim

Karras has argued that the topic of monks and sexual activity belongs to a medieval literary tradition of the "repressive relationship" exemplified by the Desert Fathers, monks who demonstrate heroic resistance to sexual thoughts (*Sexuality in Medieval Europe* 1). In one such

---

<sup>53</sup> J. L. Martín considers Gonzalo de Berceo as a "propagandista del vino," the first medieval clerical *connoisseur* of wine (38). Berceo's poetry contains various references to wine, including the following line from *La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*: "bien valdrá, como creo, un vaso de bon vino" (Libro I, 2d). And in Libro II, wine effects a miracle when the saint uses it to cure a patient: "abrió ella los ojos / e pidió a beber / plogo mucho a todos / más que con grand haber / Mandó el sancto padre / que trasquiesen del vino, / mandó que calentasen /d'ello en un catino; / bendíjolo él mismo /puesto en un copino, / diógelo a beber / en el nomne divino. / Así como lo hobo / de la boca pasado, / la dueña fo guarida, / el dolor amansado; / salió fuera del lecho, / enfestose privado" (306-08).

story, the devil sends a woman as bait to tempt a Desert Father. The many readers of this fable, like the writers who have followed the tradition, have focused on the experience and sins of the monk. In the story of the *Iveresse* from the *Vie des anciens peres*, the rape of the miller's wife is significant only in that it brings about a violent confrontation between the hermit and the miller. In Berceo's *Milagro*, the monk's female sexual partner goes unmentioned: "yogó hasta las viéspas sobre la tierra dura" (463). According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1739), *yogar* is commission of the sexual act: "Voz Castellana antigua, que valía holgarse, y particularmente tener acto carnal." The Bercean text therefore says only that a sexual act outside of marriage occurred more than once. The *Libro* resembles these other stories in that the female victim is basically not portrayed at all. And yet it is only by paying attention to this victim that we can construct a critical account of the episode's sexual violence. Her voice has been forgotten, and her story erased. Recovering them allows us to underline the gender subordination of women's sexual victimization.

If, as noted above, violence is the use of force in a way that is not natural, the woman in the *Libro* is clearly a victim, specifically, of a violent rape:

Descendió de la hermita, *forçó una muger*;  
 ella dando sus bozes, *non se pudo defender*;  
 desde que pecó con ella, temió mesturado ser:  
 matóla el mesquino e óvose a perder. (541; italics mine)

The fact that she screamed several times makes clear that his actions were committed against her will. According to Covarrubias, the verb *forçar* means "conocer una muger contra su voluntad" (14), where *conocer* assumably but ambiguously refers to sexual intercourse. Earlier in the same passage, Juan Ruiz uses the word *fornicio* ("cobdiçió faser fornicio desde con vino estava"

(539d)), which Covarrubias defines as “tener acceso con la muger publica q tiene su casilla señalada” (14).<sup>54</sup> Although Juan Ruiz uses *forçar* and *fornicio* instead of *violar*—perhaps the closest equivalent to the English “rape,” which Covarrubias defines it as “corromper la donzella por fuerça” (210)—these terms nonetheless imply coercion, physical force, and aggression against a female victim. More importantly, these verbs for sexual intercourse necessarily entail gender subordination, with a domineering male performer and an acquiescent or even unwilling female recipient. *Forçar* is a transitive verb, and its object is understood to be *muger* in the same way that *donzella* is the object of *violar*. Linguistically, the medieval subject of a sex act was always male and women had only one possible role, that of object. This terminology reflects medieval gender subordination but also an understanding of sex acts as things done by someone to someone else, such that mutuality was simply inconceivable (Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* 2-4).

Jacqueline Murray has argued that, in the medieval and early modern context, rape was a male experience, even though it happened to the female body. Medieval repression of sexuality, exemplified by the extreme abstinence of the Desert Fathers, had an unintended effect: medieval male sexuality may have been especially aggressive because of the social and religious constraints on sexual behavior (Murray 135). In the *Libro*, the drunken hermit affirmed and asserted a dominant male identity through the commission of sexual violence. The hermit-subject thus forcibly penetrates a woman-object. The verb *forzar* understates the violence of the action, describes the event from the male perspective, and reduces the female victim to an object. And in an echo of the linguistic impossibility of female subjectivity in sexual activity, the woman is not named and her voice is not heard. Victims of sexual abuse and sexual violence are forgotten

---

<sup>54</sup> The current *Diccionario de la lengua española* defines *fornicar* differently, as an intransitive verb meaning “Tener ayuntamiento o copula carnal fuera del matrimonio.”

because their voices are not heard (Classen 2). The reader cannot access her side of the story, as the male voice first objectifies her and then removes her from the text. In this sense, grammar and literature both reflect women's sexual subordination in patriarchal Spanish society. This woman is silenced by a lack of language for narrating her experience and a lack of authority to do so.

Like literary sources, legal documents illustrate women's sexual subordination in medieval society. Karras notes that every heterosexual experience had vastly distinct implications for men and women, not only because they were considered to be doing different things but also because sexual involvement had dissimilar social consequences for men and women (especially whether married or not) (*Sexuality in Medieval Europe* 32). Sexual violence, in particular, was condemned as a serious crime because it harmed or undermined the order of patriarchal society, not because it harmed its victim (Murray 136). The seventh part of the *Partidas* of Alfonso X, on crime and punishment, describes sex crimes like adultery as a matter of dishonor to the husband (R. Burns xxv). Title XX of this *Septima Partida*, “De los que fuerzan ó lieuan robadas, las virgines o las mugeres de orden, ó las biudas que biuen honestamente,” condemns the use of force by a man against a woman, and calls such violence “yerro, e maldad muy grande” (325; XX.1) when the woman is a virgin, married, a member of a religious order, or a respectable widow. This is not because of any injury to the woman herself, but rather the insult to her male relatives: “fazen muy gran desonrra a los parientes de la muger forçada, e muy grant atreuimiento contra el Señor, forçandola en desprecio del Señor de la tierra de es fecho” (325; XX.1).<sup>55</sup> Criminalization reflected the premise that a woman belongs to the male members of her family, that she is *the property of others*: “segun derecho deuen ser escarmentados los que fazen fuerça en las cosas ajenas, mucho

---

<sup>55</sup> For the subordination of women in sex crimes and the role of honor in Spanish legal discourse, see Barahona.

mas lo deuen ser los que fuerçan las personas” (325; XX.1). Moreover, the punishment corresponds to the “quality” of the victim: a man who violated a woman of the enumerated categories was subject to loss of life and property, but one who assaulted a woman of any other status was subject only to banishment, and even that was at the judge’s discretion: “mas si alguno foasse alguna muger otra, que non fuesse ninguna destas sobredicahs, deue auer pena porende, segun aluedrio del Judgador; catando, quien es aquel que fizo la fuerça, e la muger que forçó e el tiempo, e el lugar, en que lo fizo” (327; XX. 3). Male honor was generally based on social considerations, but female honor was primarily dependent on chastity.<sup>56</sup> Fornication, rape, and other sex crimes were seen to dishonor the victim’s male relatives, like her husband and father, not the victim herself.<sup>57</sup> Legally, women were considered the property of their male relatives, and sex crimes against them were judged from an exclusively male perspective.<sup>58</sup>

After he narrates the hermit’s rape and murder of an innocent woman, Juan Ruiz turns to the physiological effects of drinking wine, like bad breath, change in skin tone, and liver problems. By classifying the problem as one of drunkenness—not rape or murder—the text again invites the reader to forget the sexual violence against the female body. The Archpriest emphasizes that wine drinking is not a problem, but drinking to excess is: “Es el vino muy bueno en su mesma natura, / muchas bondades tiene, si se toma con mesura” (548ab). And he warns that men who seek the company of a lady should be especially careful not to drink to excess: “si amar quieres dueña, el

---

<sup>56</sup> Because scholarship on the honor code in medieval and early modern Spain is extensive, I have limited myself to the most relevant references. For a general historical perspective on honor, see Jones and Maravall, “La función del honor”. On honor in Spanish Golden Age literature, see Larson, McKendrick, “Honour/Vengeance” and Dopico Black.

<sup>57</sup> Melvanna McKendrick has shown that other Spanish legal codes, such as *Fuero juzgo* (1241) and the later *Nueva recopilación* (1569), also protected a husband’s honor. For example, a cuckold, or husband of an adulterous woman, was legally justified in killing both his wife and her lover. If a widow committed adultery within a year of her husband’s death, she forfeited half her possessions to the children of her first marriage (*Woman and Society* 16).

<sup>58</sup> The hermit murdered his victim to hide the other sins: “temió mesturado ser, / matola el mesquino” (540cd). In Title VIII, Alfonso X divides homicide into three categories: intentional, accidental, or in self-defense (1342). An intentional murder like that committed by the drunken hermit was punishable by death (1342).

vino non te incala (545d),” and “Por ende fuy del vino, e faz[le] buenos gestos; / quando fablares con dueña, diles doñeos apuestos” (549ab). Wine is thus symptomatic of the kind of disorderly, crazy love that the Archpriest criticizes.

### 3.3 The *Serranas*: Adventures in the Sierra

In addition to the episode of the drunken hermit, which demonstrates a patriarchal understanding of sexual violence, the *Libro* also describes instances of sexual violence in which the relationship between male and female actors is reversed. The Archpriest’s adventures with four *serranas* are among the most studied episodes of the *Libro*.<sup>59</sup> The 92 stanzas dedicated to these episodes take up a considerable portion of the *Libro*. Each of the four encounters with the *serranas* is narrated in two different forms, a straightforward narrative and a variable lyric form. Each encounter with a *serrana* is first written in classic, realistic *cuaderna via* and later in a courtly lyric version which is a variation on a *zéjele* that expresses the narrator’s emotional, subjective experience. Connie Scarborough has explained that by narrating each episode in a different poetic meter, the poet displays his talent as he writes a sort of manual for composing verses (“Another Look” 98).

Deyermond argues that the episodes in the Sierras are a parody or grotesque inversion of the *pastourelle* and courtly love-poetry in general and has identified five parodic elements of the

---

<sup>59</sup> Marina Scordilis Brownlee has divided studies of this episode into five categories: 1) the most realistic critics, like Leo Spitzer, read it in the tradition of the *feminae salvaticae*, known for her sexual desire of innocent men; 2) critics like María Rosa Lida read the *serranas* as a parodic inversion of the ideal woman; 3) critics like Roger Walker understand the episode as a manifestation of the *desengaño* of carnal love; 4) critics like James Burke read it as a metaphorical representation of certain springtime rituals; and 5) critics like Rubén Caba view the episode as an extended example of geographical realism (“Permutations of the narrator-protagonist” 98-99). The episode has long been viewed as an independent, closed part of the *Libro*, one that does not refer to other parts of the *Libro* and is not referred to in any other part. Brownlee, however, does not agree that the episode is independent or closed; rather, she argues, the *Libro*’s mutable narrator-protagonist reappears throughout the text as a new “yo.” In the preceding episode of Doña Endrina, this “yo” was Don Melón. To Brownlee, the fact that each male protagonist has a different identity contributes to the literary “elusiveness” of the *Libro*.



episodes: 1) the encounters take place winter, not spring; 2) roles are exchanged so that woman is the pursuer and man the pursued; 3) Alda, the fourth *serrana*, is the antithesis of an ideal lady; 4) the exchange of roles continues in that the *serranas* want sex, but the Archpriest desires only food; and 5) the Archpriest's flattery of the second *serrana* leads to physical violence, the opposite of what he intended ("Some Aspects" 63). Deyermond stresses the inversion of male and female roles throughout their encounters. In all four cases, the *serranas* pursue the Archpriest in a role reversal that goes so far as to include violence against him.

### 3.3.1 Understanding the Tradition of the *Serranas*

In both literature and history, the image of woman has alternated between the two extreme figures of an idealized Virgin Mary and a diabolic Eve. According to Estelle Irizarry, women have been criticized for their moral qualities and admired for their physical beauty (53). While medieval literature contains numerous submissive wives and daughters, for example, Ximena and her daughters in the *Poema de mio Cid*, it also contains evil or monstrous women who do not abide by gendered social norms.<sup>60</sup> The *serranas* belong to this second category; they are total opposites of the courtly ideal in their appearances and their uncontrolled sexual appetites (Kirby 157). Although critics describe the *serranas* differently—Deyermond calls them "dominant women," Irizarry calls them "amazon figures," and Steven Kirby calls them "wild women"—they agree that the *serrana* is derived from a universal folk tradition. "Dominant women," Deyermond's terminology, perhaps best captures the inversion of the male and female roles, but all three terms capture the raw power of these female characters. Kirby, relying on Bernheimer's definition of the wild man and woman, has characterized the wild woman by: 1) her inability to control her sexual appetite; 2) her physical strength; and 3) her intellectual disability or physical ugliness (157). And Irizarry adds that she

---

<sup>60</sup> See chapter 3 for an analysis of female monstrosity.

takes an active role in pursuing men or dictating the terms of her relationships with men, who are generally terrified by her audacity (54-55). These characteristics describe the four *serranas* in the *Libro*. Kirby has further noted that the Archpriest does not attempt to contain his curiosity as he wanders in the mountains, a place where “erotic adventure displaces religious or meditative intent” (153). In this way, the episode of the *serranas* represents the kind of crazy, carnal love that the entire text warns against. In the following analysis, I focus on the role of the *serranas* as active agents of violence, and the use of food and wine as their powerful instruments.

### 3.3.2 Summary of the Encounters with the Four *Serranas*

The first *serrana* is a *vaqueriza* named La Chata (literally, “Pug nose”), whom Nancy Marino has called the most memorable *serrana* (2). The narrator’s encounter with her takes place in March (950-71), when he is lost in heavy snow and hail (951). Calling herself the guard of the mountain, La Chata demands that the Archpriest pay a toll (953). The Archpriest promises her jewelry if she gives him shelter (955; 964), but she instead threatens him with her staff and takes him captive (958; 967). After she takes him to a warm place and gives him food and wine, La Chata orders the Archpriest to take off his clothes and have sex with her (970-71). The Archpriest complies, and he later proudly calls the exchange, which earned him fire, food, and wine, a good deal: “fiz buen barato” (971d).

The second encounter occurs as the Archpriest returns from Segovia, although he insists that he did not go to Segovia to buy La Chata the jewelry he had promised her (972). He took a different route in order to avoid her, and became lost in the mountains again (974). The Archpriest meets Gadea, who was guarding cows in a field (975; 988). This time, he dares to confront Gadea: “«Omíllome», dixé yo, «serrana falaguera, / o morarme he convusco, o mostradme la carrera.»” (975cd). She, however, becomes aggressive, attacking him with her staff and knocking him down

the hill (978). She makes him go to a cabin with her, where she demands sex. The Archpriest complains that he needs something to eat if he is to “perform” (982), but Gadea gives him only a small *merienda*. Finally, she shows him out of the cabin (983c).

The Archpriest then encounters the third *serrana*, Menga Lloriente, a *lerda serrana* who is chopping down a tree when he sees her (993). She wants to marry him, not have sex with him (993-1005). This third encounter does not end with sex or violence, but with a list of the clothes and jewelry that Menga Lloriente expects as wedding gifts (1003-04). The Archpriest lies to her, promising to return with the gifts, and flees (1005).<sup>61</sup>

After his relatively short encounter with Menga Lloriente, the narrator spends the majority of the fourth and final encounter describing Alda (1006-42).<sup>62</sup> A brutal snowstorm has descended on the mountain (1006), and he is once again freezing when he meets *vestiglo*, or the monstrous *serrana* named Alda (1008b). Her description is detailed, grotesque, and exaggerated: “Avía la cabeça mucho grand[e] sin guisa, / cabellos chicos, negros, más que corneja lisa, / ojos fondos, bermejos, poco e mal devisa; / mayor es que de osa la patada do pisa” (1012); “las narizes muy gordas, luengas, de çarapico” (1013c); and “[s]u boca de alana e los rostros muy gordos” (1014a). Alda is monstrously large and covered in hair. In the lyric section, the narrator resorts to sarcasm, flattering Alda as “una serrana / fermosa, loçana, / e bien colorada” (1024cde). And yet Alda negotiates with the Archpriest on her own terms, demanding payment in gifts for better food and conditions (1040-41). And it is Alda who ends narrating the episode, commenting cynically: “Nunca de omenaje / pagan ostalaje; / por dineros faze / omne quanto·l plaze: / cosa es provada” (1042).

---

<sup>61</sup> Scarborough has noted that this third encounter features lengthy, colorful monologues by the Archpriest and Menga Lloriente that showcase the poet’s skill (“The Rape of Men” 102).

<sup>62</sup> According to R. B. Tate, although the name Alda recalls both Roland’s fiancée and the title character of the twelfth-century Latin comedy, this *serrana*’s appearance and behavior have nothing in common with these characters (223).

Kirby has noted that the episode of the *serranas* is the axis of symmetry of the *Libro*, located at its exact center. It marks “a change of attitude on the part of the narrator from mainly secular matters to mainly religious ones” (151), and therefore acts as a “literary bridge” that connects the narrator’s transition from a sinful life to the pilgrimage in the mountains (152). In this sense, the abundant references to food and drink in this episode echo the liturgical progression from carnival to Lent (161). Throughout the episode, food and alcohol play a prominent role in the negotiations between the Archpriest and the *serranas*. The *serranas* want sex or marriage, but the Archpriest is completely focused on food and drink (Deyermond, “Some Aspects” 63). The carnivalesque elements of gluttony and sexual desire are therefore intertwined in the Archpriest’s adventures in the Sierra.

### 3.3.3 Food, Sex, and Violence in the Episode of the *Serranas*

The Archpriest dedicates a large part of the encounters with the first and second *serranas* to the food and wine that they give him. As he wanders, lost on the wintry mountain, the Archpriest complains that he misses food and drink more than anything: “quien más de pan de trigo busca, sin seso anda” (950d). Then an *endiablada* La Chata approaches, demanding a toll (963a). She actively negotiates the terms of their deal: “Diz: «Yo te levaré a cassa, / e mostrarte he el camino, / fazerte he fuego, e blasa, / darte he del pan e del vino; / ¡jalaúd!, prometme algo, / e tenerte he por fidalgo; / ¡buena mañana te vino!” (965). She then astonishes and terrifies him when she uses her extreme physical strength to drag him to the cabin: “Tomóme rezio por la mano, / en su pescueço me puso / como a çurrón liviano, / e levóm la cuesta ayuso” (967abcd).

Since the Archpriest needed food and wine more than anything, La Chata is able to seduce him with these items, and she provides him the finest food and wine that he receives from any of the *serranas*. The Archpriest describes this food in detail: “diome foguera de enzina, / mucho

gaçapo de soto, / buenas perdizes asadas, / fogaças mal amassadas / e buena carne de choto” (968cdefg).<sup>63</sup> It is significant that La Chata cooks meat: *gaçapo* or young rabbit, *perdices* or partridge, and *choto* or goat. As examined in the examples of the *Poema de mio Cid*, during the medieval period, food indicated group identity within clearly defined social structures and hierarchies. Access to certain foods, like high-quality meat, distinguished the nobility and elites from the rest of society. Castro Martínez has pointed out that the relationship between *caballeros* and meat developed into a sort of reciprocal identification:

Se produjo, así, la identificación de la nobleza con el producto, y, al mismo tiempo, *la del producto con la nobleza*. La consecuencia directa fue una asimilación total: si ser noble significa consume carne, entonces la guerra, la fuerza, el valor y la violencia serían el resultado de este consume; y, al contrario, éste sería considerado indispensable para ser noble, guerrear, tener fuerza y valor. (*La alimentación* 122)

Castro Martínez thus understands the consumption of certain foods and beverages as the acquisition, or at least assimilation, of another identity. Consuming meat becomes an attempt to intake the traits of the nobility. Given La Chata’s low social standing, it is surprising that she serves the Archpriest high-quality meat.

La Chata first cooks young rabbit. Although the Archpriest does not say how she cooked it, Melitta Weiss Adamson has noted that at the time rabbit was usually roasted and stewed, and eaten by the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie. Considered moderately warm and dry in nature (Adamson 36), young rabbit meat would have been a good first course for the cold, hungry Archpriest. Lee Ann Grace has also noted the sexual connotations of rabbit, which was linked to

---

<sup>63</sup> In *La cocina en tiempos del Arcipreste de Hita*, Gázquez Ortiz analyzes various dishes, ingredients, and other culinary cultural elements of the fourteenth century, including references to these things in Juan Ruiz’s text. Surprisingly, however, he does not analyze the episode of the *serranas*.

lechery and female sexuality by its etymology in French (372).<sup>64</sup> In its nutritional value and sexual symbolism, rabbit meat furthers the *serrana*'s pursuit of the Archpriest.

For the second dish, La Chata cooks partridge. In *Arte cisoría* (1423), Enrique de Villena (1384-1434) describes partridge as a common fowl, like chicken, dove, and peacock (42). In the fourteenth century, fowl was considered healthy and consumed across social classes and religions (Gázquez Ortiz 193). Villena explains that in winter, it was usually roasted in wine instead of juice: "En tiempo mucho frío, échele sal e pimienta en las cortaduras e vino blanco en lugar de los çumos" (53). The partridge cooked in wine was meant to raise the body temperature of the Archpriest to the extent that he can recover his strength.

La Chata's third course was high-quality kid, or young goat meat. According to Gázquez Ortiz, because goats were important sources of wool and milk, consumption of goat meat was restricted during a fourteenth-century food shortage. Kid was especially prized for its ability to restore nutritional equilibrium to the human body (Gázquez Ortiz 153). Grace has noted that goats, thought to have a hot nature, were frequent components of medieval illustrations of lechery (375).

These three well-cooked plates of meat were a significant luxury, especially in the mountains in the middle of winter. La Chata may have served them to the weak Archpriest in order to restore his vigor, because once the meat and fire had given the Archpriest a chance to recover, La Chata offered him fine wine, butter, and cheese in exchange for sex:

[D]e buen vino un quartero,  
manteca de vacas mucha,  
mucho queso assadero,  
leche, natas e una trucha;

---

<sup>64</sup> Grace, citing Claude K. Abraham's *Myth and Symbol*, explains that *conejo*, Medieval French for "rabbit," derives from the Latin CŪNĪCŪLUS and CŪNNUS (372).

dize luego: «Hadeduro,  
comamos d'este pan duro;  
después faremos la lucha.» (969)

The frozen Archpriest could not resist the offer of fine wine. Wine, hot in nature, was believed to raise body temperature. Jesús Botello has used humoral theory to explain the Archpriest's sexual impotence—and thus his constant romantic failures—as a result of an imbalance in body temperature. For example, the Archpriest asks La Chata for shelter from the cold: “e, por Dios, dame possada, que el frío me atierra” (955d); “«Par Dios, hermosa, / dezirvos he una cosa: / más querría estar al fuego»” (964efg). The unbalanced body fluids and excessive cold make the Archpriest impotent and cause him to complain constantly of cold and hunger. Yet even the heat of the wine cannot make the Archpriest powerful, and La Chata takes full advantage of him, demanding sex in exchange for her hospitality.

The extent of La Chata's domination of the Archpriest is revealed when she tells him to have a *lucha* or fight with her. La Chata's declaration —“faremos la lucha”—was a euphemism for sexual intercourse. Sex is a “fight” between man and woman, but in this case, her physical power vastly exceeds his. As La Chata eats meat and drinks wine, she becomes increasingly aroused and aggressive in her demands: “«Luchemos un rato; / liévate dende apriesa, / desbuélvete de aqués ható»” (971bcd). Although the text does not describe the sexual encounter between them, it can be assumed that La Chata continued to play a dominant role over the unwilling Archpriest.

The second *serrana*, Gadea, is even more physically and verbally hostile (972-92). After his experience with La Chata, the Archpriest tries to be more assertive in dealing with the new *serrana*. She responds to his audacity, however, with brusque threats:

«Seméjasme», diz, «sandío, que así te conbidas;

non te llegues a mí, ante te lo comidas,  
 si non, yo te faré que mi *cayada* midas,  
 si en lleno te cojo, bien tarde la olvidas.»

Como dize la fabla del que de mal no's quita:

«escarva la gallina e falla su pepita»;  
 provéme de llegar a la chata maldita:  
 diome con la *cayada* tras *la oreja*, fita.

Derribóme cuesta ayuso e caí estordido:

allí prové que era mal golpe *el del oído*;  
 «¡Confonda Dios», dixe yo, «cigüeña en el exido,  
 que de tal guisa acoje çigoñinos en nido!» (976-78, italics mine)

Underlying this scene is the Archpriest's impotence, which makes a stark contrast to the *serrana's* power. Gadea emphasizes her threats by smacking him with her *cayada* or staff, an object loaded with erotic-phallic symbolism (Scarborough, "Another Look" 101). It is significant that Gadea hits him "tras la oreja." According to Botello, Hippocratic medical theory posited that semen flowed from the brain through veins behind the ears. Cutting behind the ears was therefore believed to cause ejaculatory dysfunction, low sperm count, or infertility (61). Gadea then insults the Archpriest, calling him "conejo" (991f), "gaho," and "envernizo" (992d), terms associated with sexual vulnerability: *conejo*, which sounds like *cornudo*, means "coward" and "impotent," while *gaho* means "leprous," and *envernizo*, "sexually weak" (Vasvári, "Peregrinaciones" 1570). This physical and verbal abuse highlights the carnivalesque role reversal of the Archpriest and the grotesque *serranas*. The *serranas* parodically embody the masculine power and virility that the male protagonist lacks.



After she violently forces him into her cabin, Gadea demands that “jugásemos el juego” (981d), but the cold, hungry Archpriest cannot perform: “«amiga, más querría almorsar, / que ayuno e arreçido, non me podría solazar, / si ante non comiese, non podría bien luchar»” (982abc). He does not want sex, but rather fire, food, and wine: “«Agora se prueva, / que pan et vino juega, que non camisa nueva»” (983ab). And yet Gadea only gives the hungry Archpriest a small snack (983b) before she takes the sexual initiative. Gadea becomes so violent that the Archpriest trembles from the mortal threat: “Yo·t mostraré, si non ablandas, / como se pella el erizo, / sin agua e sin roçío” (992ghi). In Scarborough’s words: “while again sex has been the toll demanded by the *serrana*, this second encounter has been totally unpleasant and the Archpriest escapes from Gadea literally the worse for wear” (“Another Look” 101). The hungry, injured, frightened Archpriest is therefore physically and mentally impaired.

The unpleasantness persists, however. After the very brief encounter with Menga Lloriente, the Archpriest meets the fourth *serrana*, the deformed, animalized monster-woman Alda: “Distortion is basic to this description of the grotesque mountain woman, who is compared to animals, to monsters, and in general to items that are huge in size” (Kirby 159).<sup>65</sup> The cold and hungry Archpriest once again asks for food and shelter. In response, Alda gives him charred, brown rye bread, cheap wine, and salted meat: “Dio·m pan de çenteno, / tizado, moreno, / e diom vino malo, / agrillo e ralo, / e carne salada” (1030). Bread was an inexpensive staple of peasants and farmers. While most bread was made from a mixture of rye and wheat flours, the lower class ate pure rye bread (Miranda-García and Guerrero Navarrete 308). And when the Archpriest calls the wine *agrillo*, he means that it is unpleasantly acidic. The combination of rye bread and vinegary

---

<sup>65</sup> Tate has called her grotesqueness “a photographic negative of the ideal woman described at 431-35, 443-45, 448 of Don Amor’s address” (224). Tate also considers her to be a less traditional figure than the violent and bawdy first and second *serrana*, to whom the Archpriest plays a sad second fiddle (223). In other words, the first and second *serranas* more clearly show the role reversal of the Archpriest and the female characters.

wine reflects Alda's social class and contrasts with the feast he enjoyed at La Chata's. In comparing his experiences with La Chata, Gadea, and Alda, we see that as the physical and verbal violence increases in intensity, the food and wine decrease in quality. And yet the Archpriest's continuing hunger repeatedly renders him vulnerable to the *serranas* and their aggression. In other words, as time passes, the Archpriest loses ground in his negotiations with the *serranas*. La Chata at least handsomely rewarded the Archpriest with food and wine, and he ended the encounter pleased with the bargain he had struck. Gadea hit him, insulted him, and then gave him only a tiny snack. And Alda gave him poor-quality food and acidic wine. Further, in a dramatic instance of textual violence, Alda seizes the privilege of narrating the last stanzas of his *cántiga*. Alda herself ends the episode, advising against believing a man who tries to bargain but has no money: "Non ay mercadero / bueno sin dinero, / e yo non me pago / del que no·m da algo / ni·l' dó la posada" (1041).

In contrast to the episode of the drunken hermit, which relied on the traditional pattern of male-aggressor and female-victim, the adventures in the mountains reverse gendered relationships, as aggressive and violent women assault a weak man. This inversion is manifest through violence, especially sexual violence. Scarborough has pointed out the significance of this inversion:

For a society which perceived male sexual aggression and imposition as a norm, the *Libro de buen amor* reminds men that they are vulnerable, too. The *serranas* constitute an alternative, matriarchal society in which women not only control the choice of sexual partner but may even force their sexual attentions on unwilling male victims. ("The Rape of Men" 576)

As a traveler, the Archpriest's cold and hunger subjects him to manipulation by *serranas* who reward him with food and wine that decrease in quality and quantity and violence that escalates until he loses control of his body and his text.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Since Aristotle, femininity has been associated with passivity/imperfection/form, and masculinity with activity/perfection/matter. This chapter has highlighted the correlation between violence and wine in the context of the gendered power relations of the *Libro*. One episode of wine drinking reinforces and reifies the binaries man/perpetrator and woman/victim, but another episode challenges those binaries, making them unstable and ambiguous. But in both cases, wine drinking contributes to power struggles between a man and a woman that lead to sexual violence. In the episode of the drunken hermit, the man is the perpetrator of sexual violence, and the woman a victim who is not named or described in the text. Passive and voiceless, she is totally dominated by a powerful, drunken male. Moreover, no linguistic form exists to tell her side of the story. Instead, the *Libro* focuses on wine drinking as the sole cause of the hermit's mortal sins. In contrast, in the episode of the *serranas*, the Archpriest becomes an object, physically and verbally abused by monstrous, dominant women. The relationship between male-perpetrator and female-victim is inverted, especially with the first and second *serranas*. The Archpriest wants food and wine from them, and this desire renders him vulnerable, forced to exchange sex for wine, food, and shelter. The terrified Archpriest's defenselessness against the *serranas*' verbal, sexual, and even textual aggression recalls, although on a different scale, the rape and murder of the hermit's victim.

This gender subversion, however, has its limits. Most obviously, the Archpriest is manipulated—not murdered—by the *serranas*. And unlike the episode of the drunken hermit, the sexual abuse of the Archpriest is ambiguously represented in the episode of the *serranas*: “Por la

muñeca me priso, ove de faser quanto quiso, creo que fis' buen barato" (971). The comic and exaggerated tone of the narration softens these aggressive, demanding women somewhat. The Archpriest retains the authority to narrate almost his entire experience. And the grotesque, exaggerated description of Alda in particular limits her subversive power.

Despite these limitations, however, the violent relationships between men and women in the *Libro* shed light on the gender conflicts of the period more broadly. After narrating the drunken hermit's rape of a woman, the Archpriest condemns wine drinking and reinforces the religious-didactic purpose of the text. Rape is a moral lesson against *loco amor*, and violence against the female body is a transgression of social class. Masculine identity relies on the manipulation of women. This power dynamic is reversed in the episode of the *serranas*, as female agency threatens patriarchal and religious authority. As agents, the *serranas* strategically use wine, food, and violence to control the Archpriest's body and mind. The *serranas* are active subjects who negotiate their sexual fulfillment on their own terms, even with an unwilling man. Their violent actions affirm the power of female agency to control a man, and they reveal the possibility—however parodic—that men can be victims of violence.

## CHAPTER 4. THE *ARCIPRESTE DE TALAVERA*: DRUNKEN WOMEN AND MONSTROSITY

By the fifteenth century in Europe, the *querelle de femmes* (or *querella de las mujeres* in Spanish), the literary and philosophical debate about women, had reached its pinnacle.<sup>66</sup> This discussion of the qualities and vices of women was largely developed in writings by humanist moralists that ranged from proto-feminist to misogynistic. In fifteenth-century Spain, a group of proto-feminist authors that included Diego de Valera (ca. 1412-88), Álvaro de Luna (ca. 1390-1453), and Teresa de Cartagena (ca. 1425-?), the first Castilian female writer to defend women's writing, asserted the virtues of women.<sup>67</sup> And a number of misogynistic authors, like Alfonso Martínez de Toledo (1398-1470) and Pere Torrellas (ca. 1420-92), took up the opposite point of view.<sup>68</sup> Along with Torrellas's *Maldezir de mugeres* (ca. 1445), the *Arcipreste de Talavera* (1438) by Martínez de Toledo was based on the supposedly natural male superiority over female.<sup>69</sup> These two texts were rebutted and endorsed over the course of the century; the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, in particular, with its depiction of women as frightening and hysterical, served as a "first wave" in the mid-fifteenth-century debate on women in Spain (Francomano, "Early Modern Foundations" 45).<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Joan Kelly has argued that early feminist theorizing appeared along with modernity in the fifteenth century: "It emerged as the voice of literate women who felt themselves and all women maligned and newly oppressed by that culture, but who were empowered by it at the same time to speak out in their defense. . . The genre of the *querelle* was to remain popular through the late eighteenth century" (5-6).

<sup>67</sup> In *Misoginia y defensa de las mujeres*, Robert Archer gives examples of writings on the *querella* that range from biblical and classical authors to sixteenth-century writers. Besides Teresa de Cartagena, Archer lists male authors of something like proto-feminism: Enrique de Villena, Diego de Valera, Álvaro de Luna, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Pedro de Portugal, Roís de Corella, and Diego de San Pedro (287-327).

<sup>68</sup> As texts by misogynist authors, Archer also includes Jaume Roig's *El espejo* and Luis de Lucena's *Repetición de amores*. Shaun A. Bauer has noted that there was political antagonism between Álvaro de Luna and Martínez de Toledo. Considering that Álvaro de Luna wrote the *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres* (1446), the close friendship—rumored to be a romantic relationship—between Juan II and his *privado* Álvaro de Luna may be significant, given the homophobic and misogynist content of Martínez de Toledo's *Arcipreste de Talavera*. These two works mark the opposite sides of the *querella* in Spain in the late Middle Ages and early modern period (175-81).

<sup>69</sup> All citations to the *Arcipreste de Talavera* are to J. González Muela's 1985 Castalia edition.

<sup>70</sup> According to Catherine Brown, the polemic qualities of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* quickly made it notorious at court. Queen María of Castile (d. 1448) was so offended by its antifeminism that she ordered the writing of pro-feminist responses (393).

Humanist education emerged in the fourteenth century to train both girls and boys to be members of a moral, virtuous elite (Kallendorf vii). A body of didactic literature supported this educational endeavour. Juanita Feros Ruys has offered a far-reaching definition of didactic literature, under which “a text can be considered didactic if it’s created, transmitted, or received as a text designed to teach, instruct, advise, edify, inculcate morals or modify and regulate behaviors” (5). Didactic literature provided a framework for gender stereotypes and promoted a certain type of gender hierarchy: as wives were subject to their husbands, so women were subject to men (Amussen 3). For example, renowned humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) filled his treatise *The Education of a Christian Woman* with examples of idealized women, models of virtue and goodness—and especially chastity. Sexual purity became the defining characteristic of the ideal woman as didactic-moralistic treatises like Vives’s warned that female sexuality threatened (hierarchal and patriarchal) Spanish society. Through the various duties and responsibilities of the good woman he depicts, Vives shows that a woman’s role should be wholly domestic.<sup>71</sup> And Martínez de Toledo, in his prologue, calls his book a guide for young men seeking protection from “el amor desordenado, e especialmente de las mugeres” (43), who are portrayed as spiritual and physical threats. He focuses on “algunas cosas en prátycas que oy se usan e pratyca[n]” (44) to help inexperienced young men avoid the sins that result from contact with “las malas mujeres, sus menguas, vicios y tachas” (44). While Vives presents a model of the idealized woman and gives

---

<sup>71</sup> However, it is important to note that there were gaps between the ideal and the actual status of women in that society. Barbara F. Weissberger has examined that powerful female sovereignty, such as the reign of Queen Isabel the Catholic of Spain, “inevitably created anxiety, confusion, and resistance in a patriarchal society” as well as influenced the gender debate tradition in Spain (208). In the same vein, Helen Nader has demonstrated that the patriarchal system of sixteenth-century Spain was rather flexible, using the Mendoza family, who exercised uncontested agency and visibility in sixteenth-century Spain, as evidence. Despite the impression given by misogynistic discourse of a prevailing patriarchal culture in early modern Spain, Nader argues that many women were able to manage property and independent households and carry out important responsibilities (3-6). These powerful women in early modern society, like the female queenship and the Mendozas, reveal the fissure between the ideal women of didactic-moralistic treatises and the realities of women.

examples designed to promote socially-sanctioned behavior by women, Martínez de Toledo instead gives negative examples and focuses on undesirable characteristics in women. Critics have pointed out that a male narrator who claims to warn of the dangers of earthly love but seems to enjoy describing female sins renders the didactic purpose of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* remain ambiguous, if not compromised (Giles, “Depluming the Author” 626-27). The *Arcipreste de Talavera* nevertheless has at least one clear didactic aim: to denounce the vices of women in order to rescue male readers from the pitfalls of *loco amor*.

The prologue lays out the structure of the text, which is divided into four parts plus an addendum: Book I is a “reprobación de *loco amor*” (41), describing how loving women brings men down;<sup>72</sup> Book II focuses on specific conditions of *las viciosas mugeres*; Books III and IV examine complexions, temperaments, and misguided beliefs in fate, luck, fortune, signs, and planets, and warns against excessive faith in astrology and humors over the will of God (41-42); and the addendum, known as the *Demanda*—“El Auctor faze fin a la presente obra e demanda perdon si en algo de lo que ha dicho ha enojado o no bien dicho”—relates a dream in which the narrator is physically attacked by a group of angry women. With a hybrid literary genre that combines sermon, satire, treatise, and narrative, Martínez de Toledo uses representations and manipulations of various images and voices of women to carry out his moralistic objectives (González-Casanovas 436).<sup>73</sup> It is widely known that he took the title from Giovanni Boccaccio’s *Il Corbacho* (ca. 1365) in an homage to the earlier author’s misogyny and derogatory satires of

---

<sup>72</sup> The subtitle “Reprobación de loco amor” mirrors the title of the third book of Andreas Capellanus’s *De amore*, “De reprobation amoris.” According to Brownlee, this is one of many textual references to *De amore* in the *Arcipreste de Talavera* (“Hermeneutics of Reading” 219).

<sup>73</sup> Michael Gerli has noted the important role of sermons in both public and private life in the Middle Ages, highlighting evangelism and Christian instruction (“*Ars Praedicandi*” 430). The *ars praedicandi*, a fourteenth-century manual on preaching and the composition of sermons, circulated widely in the Iberian Peninsula, especially during the fifteenth century. According to Gerli, the first part of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* is an example of a late medieval sermon that follows the general instructions of the *ars praedicandi* (“*Ars Praedicandi*” 434).

women.<sup>74</sup> Francomano has pointed out that the text frequently speaks of woman as a category and attributes negative traits to every woman, instead of focusing on the evils of wicked women as promised (“Early Modern Foundations” 45). According to Bloch, as a genre and literary *topos*, medieval misogyny includes both positive and negative essentialist definitions of woman (6).<sup>75</sup> Such essentialist definitions are dangerous “not only because they are wrong or undifferentiated,” but because historically they served to “eliminate the subject from history” (6). As such, the *Arcipreste de Talavera* describes every woman as an offensive object—rather than an individual—in order to encourage its male readers to reject women but also bodily and sexual pleasures.

The combination of this enthusiastic misogyny and stylistic peculiarity has long made the *Arcipreste de Talavera* a popular object of study by Hispanists. Robert Archer has divided studies of the text into two groups. The first and more traditional approach understands the misogynistic discourse of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* as a literary reaction, adapted from *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus (ca. 1150-1220), to the idealization of women in courtly literature of the time. In other words, the *Arcipreste de Talavera* warns against the “religion of love” that links eroticism to religion and the lady to God (42). Gerli, for example, has argued that the *Arcipreste de Talavera* is antifeminist because it seeks to “subvertir la corriente que deificaba la mujer y los ideales cortesanos” (“Religión del amor” 82). According to Gerli, Martínez de Toledo rejects the notion of woman as God and instead views woman as a fake idol who hides her sins. Female beauty is thus a pretext for wickedness, immodesty, and evil (“Religión del amor” 83). The second

---

<sup>74</sup> Giles has called the *Arcipreste de Talavera* one of the best-known cases of a text being renamed by its readers. The text was originally completed in 1438 and the only surviving manuscript is named after the author, *Arcipreste de Talavera*. The new title, *Corbacho*, was given to it later by readers (“Depluming the Author” 625-26). Given that Boccaccio’s title refers to and “old or “wicked crow,” Giles proposes reconsidering the meaning of the Spanish title *Corbacho* in relation to the *Demanda*, arguing that the new title *Corbacho* and the *Demanda* can either reflect the reaction of early audiences or be seen as Martínez de Toledo’s fictionalization of this response (“Depluming the Author” 633).

<sup>75</sup> Bloch has proposed “a definition of misogyny as a speech act in which woman is the subject of the sentence and the predicate a more general term; or, alternatively, as the use of the substantive woman or women with a capital W” (5).



interpretation is clinical: in this reading, the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, like Jaume Roig's *Spill*, is a manual for men who seek to cure themselves from lovesickness over women. Michael Solomon, for example, has called the text a "compendium" that serves as the reader-patient's physician, noting that Martínez de Toledo takes on an authoritative guise in addressing the reader directly and giving advice for avoiding sexually transmitted diseases (111).<sup>76</sup> This interpretation connects women and disease and gives a supposed physiological basis for its misogyny (Archer 42-43).

In this chapter, I read the *Arcipreste de Talavera* as a misogynistic treatise with didactic intentions in which food, medicine, and sexuality were ambiguously connected to the conduct and behaviors of men and women. As noted earlier, wine as an element of *pharmakon* was simultaneously considered nourishing and poisonous.<sup>77</sup> Humoral and other medical discourses accounted for the differences between the sexes: according to Aristotelian philosophy and Galenic medical discourse, women were colder and wetter—and therefore weaker, softer, and less intelligent—than men (Gentilcore 17). To Gail Kern Paster, the contrast between male heat and female cold was symbolically associated with consciousness and cognitive awareness: rationality belonged to the male domain; irrationality and unintelligence to the female (419). Misogynist writers like Martínez de Toledo found sources for women's inferiority, instability, and imperfection that ranged from the Bible to these theories of humors and temperaments (Francomano, "Early Modern Foundations" 42-43).

---

<sup>76</sup> Like Solomon, Dayle Seidenspinner-Núñez has also noted the intertwining of medieval medical discourse and depictions of women in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*. According to Seidenspinner-Núñez, the narrator relies heavily on female speech patterns to construct a generic portrait of woman as abjection and disease. Paradoxically, however, the narrator demonstrates the same garrulousness and inconsistency that he criticizes in women. To Seidenspinner-Núñez, this tendency undercuts the narrator's credibility, particularly his breakdown into histrionics in the *Demanda*: "And thus, the book, the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, becomes all it claims to reject: inconsistency, contradiction, deceit, excess, seductive language, a source of mischief and mistrust" (172).

<sup>77</sup> See Introduction for an analysis of wine as *pharmakon*.

Although the *Arcipreste de Talavera* is replete with sinful women, scholars have not explored the close textual association of evil women and wine drinking. This chapter focuses on that association, examining representations of female drinking in the didactic treatise and asking whether its drunken women reaffirm or challenge medieval misogynistic discourse. The *Arcipreste de Talavera*'s drunken women appear mainly in Books I and II, where drunkenness leads to deadly sins and then the punishment of a wicked woman by her husband. Considering the misogynistic discourse of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* in the context of the fifteenth-century *querelle*, this chapter first analyzes the perceived impact of wine drinking on women's nature as a way to understand the discomfort surrounding women who drink. Second, it reads the images of drunken women as powerful monsters who raise their body temperature through the consumption of alcohol. According to Aristotelian and Galenic physiology, excessive heat in female bodies was "unnatural." Intoxicated women thus subvert social and gender norms and must be controlled and punished. In my view, these drunken women are monsters who resist patriarchal attempts to confine women to the angel-demon binary. Finally, the chapter concludes that the male narrator's discomfort with the behavior and speech of drunken women paradoxically reveals the masculine anxiety that underlies a patriarchal discourse that relies on women to create male subjectivity.

#### 4.1 The Representation of Drunkenness in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*

Ever since Hippocrates, food and diet have been seen as closely connected to human health. The work of Galen provided a basis for theories of the effects of food on the human body (Gentilcore 12). The consumption of food and drink was believed to have a profound impact on bodily humors and complexions, and therefore on individual physical and mental health. For example, during late medieval and early modern periods, poorly cooked food and gluttony were both thought to pose a risk to cognition and intellect (Gentilcore 17). Martínez de Toledo also

draws a clear connection between health and eating and drinking well. For example, the text warns that when a man falls deeply into love with a woman, he cannot eat, drink, or sleep properly: “Porque amor asý es en sý tanto delicado que es todo lleno de miedo e de temor, pensando que aquel o aquella que ama no se altere o mude de amor contra otro, en tanto qu’el cuytado pierde comer y beber e dormir, e todos plazer e gasajados” (53). Lovesickness, or the pain and suffering caused by an amorous relationship, makes a man unable to adequately eat and drink, which is considered one of the most serious symptoms of an individual’s illness.

Wine drinking took on a central role in medieval medical pathology (Gil-Sotres 716), and Rossaroli de Brevedan has pointed out that it was an indispensable topic in medieval didactic treatises. To Rossaroli de Brevedan, didactic literature discussed alcohol with the express purpose of affecting individual behavior, in this case, preventing its consumption (174).<sup>78</sup> And Ana María Framiñán Santas has pointed out that the *Arcipreste de Talavera* gives more vivid and intimate representations of drunkenness and its consequences than the *Terç del Crestià* (1384) by Francesc Eiximenis (1340?-1409?), which dedicates several chapters to wine drinking and drunkenness (73).<sup>79</sup> The *Arcipreste de Talavera* warns against gluttony while it describes numerous instances of drunkenness and depicts a close connection between gluttony and female sexuality.

---

<sup>78</sup> Rossaroli de Brevedan’s study of wine drinking in didactic literature focuses primarily on the *Libro de los exenplos por A.B.C.*, *Especulo de los legos*, *Partidas*, and the *Libro de buen amor*. She briefly mentions the *Arcipreste de Talavera* as an example of a work of a misogynist writer. To Rossaroli de Brevedan, medieval didactic treatises “se señalan los de orden moral (aumento de la lujuria, animalización, pérdida de la sensatez propensión a cometer otros males, etc), los de orden social y los que atentan contra la salud física (temblores, envejecimiento, pérdida de la vista, mal aliento, etc). Los males físicos son considerados a veces castigos divinos y se advierte también sobre los castigos que en la otra vida merecen los ‘enbryagos’” (174).

<sup>79</sup> Although the *Terç* lies beyond the scope of this study, it is full of references to wine. According to Jorge J. E. Gracia, of the twenty chapters dedicated to wine and wine drinking, ten deal with drunkenness in a moral and theological context, and the other ten treat social values, customs, and mistakes caused by wine drinking (372). See Gracia for the rules and regulations of wine drinking in the *Terç*.

#### 4.1.1 “Maldezir” of Gluttony

The *topos* of the seven deadly sins reached its peak in the late Middle Ages, when the sins were personified as characters in sermons and confessional literature. Matthew James Brosamer has noted that gluttony, the first sin in the Earthly Paradise, “could contain all sin in a way that no other sin could, and it could do so by becoming the embodiment of all that was most bestial, and least rationally human, in the act of sin” (9-11). Gluttony was particularly dangerous because it led to other deadly sins.

The *Arcipreste de Talavera* addresses the seven deadly sins at the end of Book I, and drunkenness in chapter XXXIV, “Del Quinto pecado mortal.” The chapter begins with an explicit warning of the risks of eating and drinking to excess: “Deste non se puede escusar el que ama o es amado de muchos excesivos comeres e beveres en yantares, cenas, e plaseres con sus coamantes, comiendo e beviendo ultra misura” (106). Women exacerbate gluttony: when a woman accompanies a man to parties and dinners, he cannot avoid over-eating and drinking. Not only are women the root of the sin of gluttony, but men are inevitably susceptible to the dangers posed by women.

Interestingly, although Martínez de Toledo is highly critical of excessive eating and drinking, his description is itself excessive, listing an extensive variety of foods and pairing them with wine:

que allý non ay rienda en conprar capones, perdizes, gallinas, pollos, cavritos, ansarones—carnero e vaca para los labradores—, *vino blanco e tinto*, ¡el agua vaya por el río! ...En la primavera barrincos, guindas, ciruelas, alvérchigas, figos, bevras, durasnos, melones, peras vinosas y de la Vera, mançanas xabíes, romýes, granadas dulces e agrasdulces e azedas, figo doñegal y *uva moscatel*; non olvidando en el ynvierno *torresnos de tocino asados con vino y açúcar soberraydo*, longanizas

confacionadas con especias, gengivre e clavos de girorofre, mantecadas sobredoradas con açúcar, perdiz e *vino pardillo*, con *el buen vino cocho* a las mañanas, y ¡ándame alegre, plégame e plegarte [he]; que la ropa es corta, pues a las pulgas ymos! (106; I.XXXIV, italics mine)

The full and enticing description of these foods and wines seems out of place in a chapter that warns against gluttony and wine drinking.<sup>80</sup> Martínez de Toledo even seems eager for the feast to begin, exclaiming that water belongs in the river: “¡el agua vaya por el río!” (106). In this sense, the Archpriest seeks to accomplish his discursive purpose— “Mal dezir del malo loança es del bueno” (45)—with examples of the glutton’s sinful behavior, but these examples are oddly enticing.

This prolix and noisy description is remarkable in another way: it echoes the Archpriest’s criticism of the speech habits of “las viciosas mugeres” (41). According to Catherine Brown, the textual voice of the preacher-narrator speaks *of* wicked women by speaking *like* them. Martínez de Toledo uses “the most extravagantly energetic amplifications” and “feminizes his textual voice” in order to supply various examples of a woman’s wild volubility (Brown 379-80). Dayle Seidenspinner-Núñez also has noted the association of woman with verbal misbehaviors—excessive garrulity, contradiction, and lying—in a text whose male narrator is “an inconsistent, duplicitous narrator given to verbal excess, rhetorical overkill, and comic exaggeration” (172).<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> According to Campbell, the fruits and vegetables that grew closest to the ground were considered inferior to those that grew on bushes or vines. While root vegetables like garlic and turnips were suitable for peasants, tree fruits and grapes were reserved for the higher social classes (30-31). Martínez de Toledo’s gallery of foodstuffs includes a number of tree fruits and grape varieties. For example, *uva muscatel* or muscat grapes are white, and usually produce sweet, sparkling, dessert wines. *Vino pardillo*, wine whose color is between white and red, is sweeter and lower in quality. And *torreznos de tocino asados con vino* shows that bacon and wine were commonly paired together, as in the old saying: “Amigo, viejo; tocino y vino, añejo.”

<sup>81</sup> Bloch has argued that “the riotousness of woman is linked to that of speech and indeed seems to be a condition of poetry itself. And if the reproach against woman is that she is a bundle of verbal abuses...because of the inadequacies of language that she embodies, she is in some fundamental sense always a deceiver, trickster, jongleur” (5).

The narrator, in his censure of both wine drinking and female speech patterns, hyperbolizes the objects of his condemnation and adopts the speech habits he criticizes.<sup>82</sup>

To Martínez de Toledo, women should be prohibited from drinking even small quantities of wine, because “[s]y la muger se mete en el vino, en beber demasiado, ser grande enbriaga dubda non es en ello” (165).<sup>83</sup> In another example of the essentialism Bloch has analyzed, because women cannot control their alcohol consumption, any wine at all will lead to drunkenness (6). But women do drink, and as a result, Martínez de Toledo feels the need to give husbands advice on dealing with their drunken wives:

E por le vedar el vino que non lo beva, nin valga darle asensios con el vino mesclado, que lo beva por fuerça; nin cozer anguillas en el vino e lo beva; nin piedra sufre molida e con el vino destenprado por alanbique; nin agua del esparto mesclada con el vino; nin la flor del centeno que se faze quando espiga—en el espiga encyma como una paja retuerta—al sol secado e molido e dado a beber en el vino. Non vale asafétida—que es como goma—que esté en vino dos días, después colado e purificado e dádogelo a beber, e otras muy muchas cosas para dar remedio al vino bevido non devidamente. (166; II.XI)

---

<sup>82</sup> In a similar vein, Brownlee has remarked that Martínez de Toledo first condemns the love of women and later recants his didactic and misogynistic perspective while “employing Capellanus as a privileged model to undermine his own ostensibly misogynistic discourse” (“Hermeneutics of Reading” 221). Brownlee sees that Martínez de Toledo carefully suggests “a medieval generic tradition of pseudo-didacticism” referring to Juan Ruiz, Boccaccio, and as the most important structural model, Capellanus (“Hermeneutics of Reading” 227).

<sup>83</sup> This representation of woman who is undisciplined, unruly, and addicted to alcohol also appears in Jorge Manrique’s “Coplas a una beoda que tenia empeñado un brial en la taberna.” The poem is about a drunken woman who pawns her silk tunic to pay for her drink in tavern. The poet is humorously mocking the drunken woman because he heard that she spoke poorly of him. Again, the verbal misbehavior of the women is criticized along with her drinking habit: “Hanme dicho que se atreve / una dueña a decir mal, / y he sabido cómo bebe / continuo sobre un brial: / y aun bebe de tal manera / que, siendo de terciopelo, / me dicen que a chico vuelo / será de la tabernera” (Stanza 1). Later in the poem, it is also interesting that the poet comically boasts about his knowledge of wine and famous wine production regions, such as San Martín, Valdiglesias, Madrigal, Villa Real, Yepes, Coca, y Luque. These towns known for their high-quality wine are repeatedly mentioned by other contemporary authors, including Fernando de Rojas.

For a list of ways to dissuade women from drinking wine, this passage contains many suggestions for mixing wine with other ingredients. Rosal has suggested that the idea is to make combinations so repulsive that the woman develops an aversion to wine altogether (“Las cosas del comer”). This description, however, also contains specific uses for wine. First, wine mixed with *asensio*—artemisia or wormwood—was recommended by Pliny and medieval writers like Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) and Platearius (d. ca. 1161) as a medicinal remedy for poisoning and gynecological problems (Riddle 86-87). And Agustín Farfán, in his *Tratado breve de medicina y de todas las enfermedades* (1610), had the following suggestion for dealing with one who would not stop drinking: serve him or her the wine in which an eel has been cooked (122-23).<sup>84</sup> Martínez de Toledo apparently agreed that such a drink would turn a drunken woman against wine. Similarly, in seventeenth-century Spain, wine was consumed with *agua de esparto*—esparto grass water—“unas veces para darle más sabor, otras para conseguir mayor vigor o para que el color fuera más subido” (Herrero-García 91), a mixture that had the effect of further intoxication. Finally, according to the *Diccionario de medicina y cirugía* (1842), a medicinal infusion called “tintura alcohólica de asafétida” was a rubbery form of asafetida that had been macerated in wine (Fabre 637). Derived from Arabic medicinal tradition, this medication was used widely throughout the medieval era (Boyle 13). Considering that this chapter counsels against gluttony and particularly wine drinking, its detailed descriptions of the medicinal uses of wine seem out of place.

---

<sup>84</sup> “Cuando muchas veces hayan amonestado al alguno que se temple en el beber demasiado, y si no quiere háganle este remedio, y con el aborrecherà el vino. Tomen una anguila, y ahóguenla en el vino, y luego la guisen y aderecen muy bien, y denla a comer al enfermo, y denle a beber del mismo vino en que ahogaron la anguila, y verán el buen efecto que hace a estos enfermos” (Farfán 122-23).

#### 4.1.2 Drunkenness and Female Sexuality

In Book I, chapter XV, Martínez de Toledo declares that marital discord can be traced to the dishonesty that results when lust incites carnal desire. In his reading of Lotario dei Segni's *De Miseria Condicionis Humane*, Brosamer has explained that lust is closely related to gluttony as a "willing consumption of that which is corrupt, and corrupting" (149). Both are acts of bodily incorporation: "first, *gula* and *luxuria* were generally seen as working hand in hand to a greater degree than any two of the other sins, and second, both *abstinentia* and *continentia* could refer to either sex or food. Gluttony and lust were both sins of incontinence, and abstinence was a remedial virtue for both" (167). Chapter XV of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* uses many food metaphors in warning against adulterous relationships, urging control of "los apetytos defrenados de la dicha carne mesquina" (70). To control their carnal desires, men must first refrain from excessive eating and drinking: "Primero: fuye comer e beber sunptuoso de grandes e preciosas viandas. Segundo, fuye vino puro o ynmoderadamente bevado; que esto es yncitativo de arder de luxuria" (71-72). Wine poses a particular risk of lustful behaviors. Martínez de Toledo, same as Juan Ruiz, cites Lot as an example: "segund los canónicos derechos disen; qu'el vino priva al onbre de su buen entendimiento e da cabsa de delinquir e pecar. E en otra parte el Apóstol dise: 'Non queráys embriagarvos de vino, en el cual reyna lujuria', segund de Lod e otros oýste e vees de cada d'ia esperiencia" (72). During the medieval and early modern eras, sweets and wine were both considered dangerous, and the Church Fathers gradually increased the emphasis on fasting as an exercise in spiritual discipline (Campbell 161). Wine drinking both introduces impure thoughts and disturbs an individual's humoral balance, so that lustful thoughts can take over.

The male weakness caused by wine drinking is compounded by female wickedness. Book I, chapter XVIII, "Cómo es muy engañoso el amor de la muger," describes women as greedy and



their love as deceptive, because women seek to take advantage of any relationship. The link between drunkenness and the sins of greed and lust is reinforced by womanly wickedness:

Dos cosas son de notar: *nin nunca fenbra farta de byenes se vido, nin beúdo sodollo de vino*; que quanto más beve, más ha sed. Por tanto, la muger que mal usa e mala es, non solamente *avariciosa* es fallada, mas aun envidiosa, maldiziente, ladrona, golosa, en sus dichos non constante, cuchillo de dos tajos, ynobediente, contraria de lo que le mandan e viedan, superviosa, vanaglorio[sa], mentirosa, *amadora de vino* la que lo una ves gusta, parlera, de secretos descubridera, *luxuriosa*, raýs de todo mal e a todos.... (86; I.XVIII, italics mine)

A woman is like a drunkard by virtue of her endless greed.<sup>85</sup> The more she has, the more she wants, just like a drunkard always wants more wine. In women, drunkenness ignites greed for material wealth (including but not limited to more wine). And in wicked women, the craving for wine corresponds to other character flaws, like disobedience, jealousy, arrogance, dishonesty, and more than anything, loquacity. In representing greedy, drunken women, this chapter adopts a very different tone than chapter XV's marital advice. Framiñán Santas has pointed out that “si el consumo inmoderado de vino era condenado con toda la fuerza, lo era todavía más si quien se daba a la bebida era una fêmina” (76). Gluttony, lust, sexual desire, and other pernicious results of drunkenness were portrayed in female figures whose inferiority and malice compounded the effects of the wine.

---

<sup>85</sup> According to Seidenspinner-Núñez, the association between woman and drunkard is also found in Bernard of Gordon's medical treatise, *Lilio de Medicina* (1305). In that text, a man is told that his beloved is a dirty drunkard who urinates in bed and has deformed hands and feet (166).

#### 4.2 Drunken Women as Monstrous Bodies

Book II of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* relates a series of stories that prominently feature female characters and their voices. Fabian Alfie has noted that the medieval cultural discourse of misogyny portrayed women through their flaws—vanity, arrogance, deceit, loquaciousness, and an animal-like sexual voraciousness (391). Book II of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* claims to focus on “los vicios e tachas e malas condiciones de las perversas mugeres” (121), drawing a theoretical distinction between good and bad women, but it actually contrasts women and men by providing myriad examples of bad women (Obermeier 241). According to Seidenspinner-Núñez, the *Arcipreste de Talavera* relies on a hierarchy of gender in which male is superior, and female, inferior. This hierarchical relationship reflects the division of the world into intelligence (male) and the senses (female); man is mind, intellect, and rationality, while woman is feeling, physical desire, and animality (162). At the end of the Book II, Martínez de Toledo uses male superiority to justify the need for Book III:

E por quanto el yntento de la obra es principalmente de reprobación de amor terrenal, el amor de Dios loando, e porque fasta aquí el amor de las mugeres fue reprovado, conviene quel amor de los onbres no sea loado.... E por quanto comúnmente los onbres non son reprehendidos como las mugeres so reglas generales—esto por el seso mayor e más juizio que alcançan—, conviene, pues, particularmente hablar de cada uno segund su qualidad. (178-79; II.XIV)

Martínez de Toledo clearly states that men’s greater sense and judgement means that they do not generally have to be chastised in the way that women are. This male-female binary of rationality-

feeling sustains the *Arcipreste de Talavera*: its male narrator criticizes and judges women for characteristics that include materialism, greed, drunkenness, and sinfulness.<sup>86</sup>

Throughout the book, drunken women are represented as beasts and demons. Martínez de Toledo acknowledges that alcohol intoxication poses dangers to both sexes, but while he describes male proclivities and weaknesses in general terms, he delves into grotesque and highly specific instances of wicked women and their bad behavior. Furthermore, arguably reproachable conduct of men can be attributed to the intervention of a bad woman (Gerli, Introduction 24). Drunken women in the *Arcipreste de Talavera* personify gluttony as they violate moral and gender norms. Grotesque and hyperbolic, they lend a comic aspect to the text. As Archer has argued: “El humor, sobre todo en forma de ironía cómica...es una de las armas retóricas más importantes al alcance de los autores de obras del género contra femina” (34). I want to argue that the drunken woman is portrayed as a monster who possesses few female attributes. In other words, because the drunken woman does not fit the figure of the ideal woman, she is instead depicted as a grotesque hybrid creature.

#### 4.2.1 Wine and Gender in Medical Discourse

Martínez de Toledo’s ideas about women and drinking derived from Greek medical tradition, which was highly influential in Spanish literature from the Middle Ages to the late nineteenth century and reached maximum influence in the Golden Age works of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Miguel de Cervantes. And beyond literature, Greek philosophy and medicine were powerful influences on European culture, shaping the understanding of the nature of men and women during the Middle Ages and early modern periods. Mónica Bolufer has highlighted the

---

<sup>86</sup> González-Casanova has made a similar point, arguing that Book II is founded on the opposition between “el logos racional del autor/narrador (‘orden’ jerárquico y moral)” and “la dialógica natural de las voces de mujeres (‘desorden’ social y voluntarioso)” (436).

significant influence of doctors, who helped “to theorize and justify gender differences and inequalities by naturalizing them” (86).<sup>87</sup> And from medieval times onward, medical discourse combined with the Christian biblical tradition to support notions of men’s and women’s proper roles in society (Bolufer 86).

Many of these influential concepts were developed by Galen, whose treatise, *De temperamentis*, asserted that an individual’s physical and moral traits result from his or her particular combination of the four elementary qualities: hot, cold, dry, and wet (Jouanna 338-39). These qualities combined in pairs to form the four elements—hot and wet made air; hot and dry made fire; cold and wet made water; and cold and dry made earth—and each element corresponded to a temperament—phlegmatic, sanguine, bilious, and melancholic—with its own character traits and flaws.<sup>88</sup> In the final layer, these medical ideas were combined with astrological theories of individual personality. The Greek mathematician Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 100-160 CE) added Aristotelian theories to astrology, assigning two qualities and an element to groups of three zodiac signs (for example, air, which is warm and wet, corresponds to the zodiac signs Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius).<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Juan Huarte de San Juan, in his treatise on *Examen de ingenios para la ciencia* (1575), recapitulates the Hippocratic theory of the four humors in the early modern context. Huarte draws a clear distinction between male and female in relation to humors and qualities, arguing that “al hombre prudentísimo...en el cual las primeras calidades están en tal peso y medida, que el calor no excede a la frialdad, ni la humedad a la sequedad” (574; Cap. XIV). Throughout his analysis, Huarte takes it as self-evident that “el hombre, por naturaleza, por la composición de su temperamento, es superior a la mujer” (García Vega 534).

<sup>88</sup> The theory of four elements was so prevalent during late medieval and early modern Europe that another canonical text, *La Celestina*, also relies on it in portraying its male characters, mainly, Calisto. To Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno, the possible literary affinity between Act I of the *Celestina* and the *Arcipreste de Talavera* based on the shared humoral framework provides another way to read the action in the *Celestina* (The ‘conplisiones de los onbres’ 488).

<sup>89</sup> Ptolemy also gendered the zodiac signs, so that six were masculine and six feminine (W. E. Burns 136). Keeping with the idea of men as hot and women as cold, the masculine signs contained the elements of fire or air, while the feminine signs had earth or water (136). In addition, masculine signs were linked to daytime, feminine signs to night. W. E. Burns has noted that this gendering of Western astrology, carried out by masculine writers, granted worldly power and material success to the masculine signs.

Galen and other Greek doctors found support for gender differences in their theories. They believed men were hotter and drier, and women colder and wetter, by nature. According to Aristotelian tradition, reproductive differences between men and women were a result of the four qualities, “the greater heat of men supposedly makes it possible for their blood to concoct into semen, whereas in women, because of their lack of heat, the blood is transformed only imperfectly, leaving menstrual blood as an excess or residue” (Bolufer 87). And from the medical perspective, the male body had adequate heat and was considered the norm, whereas the female body, lacking heat, was inferior, incomplete, and abnormal.

Greek doctors also emphasized the importance of diet for health. Hippocratic authors believed that each food had its own property, and that an individual had to cook food in a way that suited his or her nature. And as for wine, Hippocrates, Galen, and other Greek doctors specifically addressed the medicinal importance of wine (Jouanna 173).<sup>90</sup> One anonymous Hippocratic writer compared wine and water: “water is cold and wet; wine is hot and dry” (qtd. in Jouanna 177). Excessive consumption of wine could affect both the head and the “lower cavity” or stomach by warming the body (177).<sup>91</sup> As wine was consumed, heat increased, changing the balance of humors and thus the temperament of the drinker.

A similar concept of diet is elaborated in the thirteenth-century medical treatise *Regimina sanitatis* by the Valencian doctor Arnau de Vilanova (d. 1311).<sup>92</sup> Vilanova describes typical

---

<sup>90</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>91</sup> Jouanna cites a wide range of comments on wine and gender by Hippocratic and Galenic authors. For example, Galenic medicine posted that wine affected the body through the formation of blood, and then ultimately reached the organs. The Hippocratic treatise, *Sterile Women*, in turn, advised a man who wanted to have sexual intercourse with a woman to drink unmixed, strong wine to increase his virility. Another treatise, *Nature of Women*, mentioned that wine could be prescribed for a woman who did not have a normal menstrual cycle (178-84).

<sup>92</sup> *Regimen sanitatis* was a genre of medical literature in late medieval Europe. According to Pedro Gil-Sotres, *Regimina sanitatis*, written by Arnau de Vilanova and dedicated to King Jaime II of Aragón, marked the high point of the genre (476). Like Vilanova’s *Regimen*, the genre relied on Greek and Roman medical traditions, along with Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen (481). During the medieval and early modern periods, most writing about diet was by men for men; women’s nutritional needs were addressed only in relation to maternity and procreation (Gentilcore

medieval gastronomic habits and practices (Gil-Sotres 476). The text provides guidelines for the healthy consumption of food and drink, based on the impact of food on body temperature and other qualities (647). To Vilanova, wine is as essential as food. Wine's heat and dryness are transmitted to the entire body, unless it is mixed with water (during the summer, for example), in which case water's coldness and moisture are transmitted instead (717). As a result, the Valencian doctor recommends drinking red wine in cold temperatures (722).

Pedro Gil-Sotres has noted that Vilanova's treatise echoed others, like that by the fourteenth-century Italian doctor Maino de Mainieri (718). Wine—undiluted and strong—was highly recommended for men to increase the “superior” masculine qualities of virility and strength. In contrast, other than a few specific medicinal uses, wine was not recommended for women (Jouanna 184). Even Maino, who wrote about wine's medicinal, physical, and spiritual benefits, believed that women should not drink wine because it undermined their feminine nature. The medical treatises argued that the cold, wet nature of women was incompatible with the hot, dry nature of wine.

Post-Galenic medicine and culture considered the effects of alcohol on physiology and behavior within this framework, and Martínez de Toledo relies explicitly on these medical theories. Book III functions as Martínez de Toledo's own version of Galenic physiology, one that inscribes that theory within European misogynist discourse. Book III introduces the four *conplysiones*, explaining that “cada cuerpo sea conpuesto destas quatro conplysyones e non syn alguna dellas” (184). The Archpriest explains that every individual contains all four complexions, but one is

---

15-17). Although a short treatise called *De Vinis* has been attributed to Vilanova, scholars continue to debate its authorship. Juan Antonio Paniagua, the editor of the *Arnaldi de Vilanova Opera Medica Omina*, calls this treatise a text “con sospecha de ser apócrifas” (21). *De Vinis* deals with medicinal uses of wine and, according to Michael R. McVaugh, if Vilanova did write it, he did so around 1309-11. McVaugh has noted that it was surprisingly popular in the late Middle Ages and was translated into several vernacular languages (148).

dominant to some degree. This dominant complexion determines individual physical characteristics (like face and color) and personality traits. In the text, Martínez de Toledo first describes and praises the sanguine temperament:

Este tal en sí conprehende la correspondencia del ayre, que es húmido e caliente; este tal es alegre, honbre plazentero, riente e jugante, e sabydor, dançador e baylador.... Es fresco en la cara, en color bermejo e feroso, sobejo, honesto e mesurado.... Suma: que sanguino, sy de otra calydad contraria non es sobrado, dicho es byenaventurado. E son de su predominación estos tres sygnos: Gíminis, Libra, Aquarios: su reynar destos tres sygnos, lo demás es en poniente. (181; III.II)

The sanguine man, naturally hot and humid, is cheerful, honest, and moderate, with a pleasingly rosy face. According to Martínez de Toledo, the sanguine man who has only small amounts of the other complexions is a lucky man, indeed.

#### 4.2.2 Female Monstrosity

In Book II, chapter XI of the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, entitled “Cómo se deve el onbre guarder de la muger embriaga,” Martínez de Toledo vividly describes the physiological and spiritual effects of wine drinking on women. I want to examine the resulting portraits of drunken women, and their oscillation between submission and dominance in light of monstrosity. In recent years, scholars have revisited and reevaluated the concept of monstrosity. What was once a narrow reading of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818) and other Gothic monsters as horrifying, exotic, and destructive objects has become a sort of emblem for resistance to cultural codes, especially socially defined gender roles. Jack Halberstam has argued that the monster, as the embodiment of mobility and malleability, refuses reductive essentialism. Peter Brooks has argued the monster eludes gender definition, like a woman seeking to escape the feminine condition and earn the

recognition of the fraternity (218). And one particular monster, Medusa, who was both a horrifying female beast and a subversive and powerful figure, has been analyzed by feminist critics like Hélène Cixous and Susan E. Bowers.<sup>93</sup>

According to the misogynist logic of late medieval society, men were normal, and women were deformed in their difference from men. Covarrubias defined a *monstruo* as “cualquier parto contra la regla y orden natural” (114-15). In this sense, women and monsters share an abnormality: the failure to resemble men.<sup>94</sup> These monsters, just like women, represent spiritual dangers in the medieval Christian imagination. Monstrosity destabilizes the rigid boundary of gender difference and therefore the moral, cultural, and social order. Sarah Alison Miller has maintained that monstrous female bodies appear in the forms of mother, sister, lover, and wife in medieval texts. The female bodies are so unstable, permeable, and overflowing that monstrously violates boundaries and categories of nature and knowledge (2-5). In what follows, I analyze the drunken women of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* as cultural monsters who challenge patriarchal notions of idealized woman while they embody depravity and abnormality.

In Book I, chapter XVI of the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, Martínez de Toledo uses Galenic ideas of body temperature to explain the danger of wine drinking: it warms and dries the body, raising body temperature so high that organs can combust and cause violent movements:

Lo segundo, por quanto el que a la tal delectación se da en grand quantydad, pierde el comer e aun acresienta por ardor e sequedad de fuego en el beber, *como todo violento movimiento sea causa de calor, e todo calor causa de sequedat, e todo,*

---

<sup>93</sup> See also Leeming, especially chapter VII of his book, for a historiography of the feminist view of Medusa.

<sup>94</sup> Rogelio Miñana understands “monstrosity” in a broader sense, explaining that a monster reveals something extraordinary or abnormal that becomes a threat to normality. For this reason, the appearance of a monster causes amazement, surprise, or fear (205). On the association between the discourse of monstrosity and women, see Reina Ruiz.



*sequedat e adustión, causa de destrucción.* E do la tal sequedad se causa conviene remediar de contrario para su curación, pues los contrarios con contrarios son de curar, como dize Aristóteles. Conviene, pues, beber e remojar por apagar el tal fuego con cosas frías, muchas veces beviendo. E aunque cosas ay de sí que, aunque sean al aspecto frías, pero son mucho calyentes, como el vino, por mucho frío e puro e muchas veces sea bevido, como el de sí sea calyente, *quema los figados e altera la persona, e tanto lo calyenta* que apenas sentyrá frío. Por ende, se dise: “El ajo e el vino atriaca de los villanos.”<sup>95</sup> (74-75; I. XVI, italics mine)

According to Martínez de Toledo, the heat from wine drinking can disrupt liver function and damage body and spirit. Since coldness and moisture are “inferior” feminine characteristics, women who consume wine can take on the “superior” male qualities of heat and dryness. But they will do so in an excessive and uncontrollable way, becoming violent and aggressive. Martínez de Toledo later gives detailed information on the physiological consequences of indulgence in wine:

E como la poca vianda en el estómago rueda con el mucho beber, non se puede delygir, e sýguese por fuerça que la espulsyva de las potencias del estómago—que a las alterias del cuerpo, venas e miembros a de administrar, derramar [e] enbia[r] sus ynfluencias en gran quantydad—fallesce e enflaquesce; e non dando [a] el cuerpo el estómago su nutritivo que conviene e deve, luego todas sus potencias son enflaquecidas e disminuýdas en tanto que pierde el cuerpo de sus fuerças, pues lo necesario le desfallesce. (75; I. XVI)

---

<sup>95</sup> According to Regino Etxabe, the saying “El ajo y el vino, atriaca de los villanos” reflects the popular belief that garlic and wine have curative qualities for many wounds and diseases at the same time that it stresses the social hierarchy of the lower-class “villanos” who might have used garlic and wine as comfort, in many cases, because of the hot nature of wine (156).

The author details wine's effect on the body. Excessive consumption of wine ultimately leads to weakness and even death because the stomach cannot deliver nutrients to each part of the body. Wine is thus an agent of the threatening physiological and behavioral transformations of women who drink.

The monstrosity of the woman who drinks is closely linked to her animality. Justin Edwards and Rune Graulund have traced the close relationship between the aesthetics of the grotesque and the monstrous. They argue that, during the classical and medieval eras, monsters were unnatural combinations of human and non-human, usually animals (37).<sup>96</sup> In Book II, chapter XI, Martínez de Toledo relies on the animal imagery of the medieval bestiary to underline the repulsive characteristics of drunken women:

Primeramente, desde tercia adelante, que ya bevido ha, con el quemor quel mucho  
 beber de antenoche le dio, comiença a se escalar e su entendimiento a se levantar:  
 e alça los ojos al cielo e comiença de sospirar, e abaxa la cabeça luego e pone la barva  
 sobre los pechos, e comiënçase a sonreyr, e fabla más que picaça, e da ruydo e bozes  
 con quantos ha de fazer. Anda muy presurosa e fazendosa dacá e dallá, los ojos  
 ynflamados, forrados de tafatá, la lengua trastavada; fabla por las narizes, faziendo  
 va la çancadilla, a vezes amenazando a todos, brava como leona, que non catarýa  
 reverencia a marido nin a señor; perygrosa en sus fechos, e es sabyo el que aquella  
 ora la sabe conportar fasta su vino dormido. (166; II.XI)

---

<sup>96</sup> One example of a human-animal monster is the centaur, “known for violence, savagery, drunkenness and lust; they are sometimes associated with Dionysus, the god of wine and a figure of excessive consumption” (Edwards and Graulund 38). The monstrous-grotesque centaur shows the same connection between violence, animalization, and drunkenness, though without the misogyny present in the *Arcipreste de Talavera* and its depiction of hybrid woman-animal monsters.

According to Martínez de Toledo, the drunken woman, an animalized monster, begins to chatter and pick fights like a *picaça* or magpie. Magpies appear frequently in medieval iconography as symbols of evil, sin, and temptation (López Rodríguez 67). Covarrubias compared the magpie to a talkative woman because its peak can grab, hold, and hide anything— “Quando una muger es gran habladora, dezimos que es una picaça.... por que qualquier cosa que hallan, como la puedan llevar en el pico, la cogen y la esconden” (63)—, a comparison that recurs in several medieval works, for example, in the old procuress called “picaça parladera” in the *Libro* (920). Martínez de Toledo also relies on other feminine animal images, like the tongue of a mare (*la lengua trastavada*) and the lioness. According to Juan Eduardo Cirlot, the mare represents sexual instincts, or the desire to mount (117), and the lion is a symbol of animal wildness, or latent passion and danger (279). The image of the lion also highlights the violence and strength of the drunk woman who becomes “rey de los animals,” “poseedor de la fuerza y del principio masculino” (Cirlot 279). All of these comparisons between animal and wine-drinking woman emphasize some aspect of woman’s wickedness.

The drunken woman is a human-animal hybrid, but she is hybrid in another sense, too: she takes on masculine qualities. To the Archpriest, it is a clear connection between wine and masculinity: she drinks, her body temperature rises, and her behavior becomes both unstable and masculine. She raises her eyes to the sky, and she begins to sigh and cry. She shouts loudly. She paces with red, swollen eyes, threatening everyone she runs into, becoming increasingly rebellious, violent, and unpredictable.

At the end of the chapter, Martínez de Toledo returns to the cause and effect relationship of wine drinking, body heat, and poor behavior:

Empero, ay otras que non se enbriagan en esta susodicha manera, mas escaliéntanse del vino fasta quel vino a fecho digistión. E estas tales fallarlas has muy alegres en el tienpo que reyna el vino e muy plazenteras, e están dispuestas en aquel punto, sy ay avinenteza o logar, para todo mal obrar.... Más: como de alto dixe, la quel vino beve desordenadamente fiédele la boca, tiénblanle las manos, pierden los sentidos, dormir muy poco, e menos comer, mucho beber la vida e reñyr syn tiento. Esto e otras cosas vienen de lo susodicho. (168; II. XI)

Although the Archpriest acknowledges that not all women exhibit these exact behaviors when drinking, he insists that every woman who drinks will increase her body temperature, become excited, and take any opportunity to behave poorly. Many treatises like those by Vilanova and Maino describe the effect of alcohol in raising body temperature in a positive way when the drinker is male; in this case, the wine serves to reinforce his virility and strength. The same drink, however, leads women to behave poorly. Not only are women incapable of moderate drinking, when they are drunken, they inevitably engage in sexual misconduct or other forms of disobedience to their husbands or male family members.

Martínez de Toledo was not alone in noting that wine drinking increased masculinity. According to Gil-Sotres, Vilanova believed that wine made men manlier, whereas water made them womanish:

el vino hace al hombre viril, tanto en el cuerpo como en el alma, y que el agua, en cambio, lo afemina.... En un sentido, parecen decir que los varones no deben beber agua, y que las mujeres deben abstenerse del vino, si no quieren perder las condiciones propias de su sexo. En otro sentido, si tenemos en cuenta que las

cualidades propias del sexo masculino son las más positivas de todas, las palabras de Maino son únicamente un elogio. (719-20)

Wine therefore had a similar impact on male and female drinkers: it made them manlier. While wine drinking benefitted male drinkers, it made female drinkers into monstrous man-woman hybrids. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have noted that the characteristics of a male life of action like assertiveness and aggressiveness become “monstrous” in women because they are “unfeminine and therefore unsuited to a gentle life of contemplative purity” (28). The *Diccionario de autoridades* defined a *marimacho* or masculine woman as “la muger que en su corpulencia y acciones parece hombre.” Sherry Velasco has argued that Huarte de San Juan’s early modern theory of humors posited that the combination of bodily fluids determined individual appearance and behavior such that “one’s physiological sex...proves to be a non-fixed, mutable process” (75). Wine drinking was a way that biological sex could be impacted, altered, or hybridized.

#### 4.3 Masculine Anxiety in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*

Patriarchal gender norms influence expectations for behavior and consequences for misbehavior (Rosal, “La mujer y el vino” 322). In the late medieval and early modern periods, the social need to make moral lessons out of poor behavior led to the punishment of drunken women. Although Martínez de Toledo followed medieval didactic tradition in urging (male) readers to avoid intoxication as a danger to social norms and individual health (Rossaroli de Brevedon 174), he reserved his strongest condemnation for women who drink. He targeted female drinking as a deadly sin, a cause of health problems, and a source of disruption, disorder, and violence. Martínez de Toledo therefore advises his readers to punish women who drink, and, as we will see below, he even provides an example of how to do so.

In this sense, I believe, Martínez de Toledo intends not only to protect his male readers from the sins of earthly love, but also to secure their masculinity against the threat of active female sexuality. Shaun A. Bauer has remarked that the text comments on “certain males’ adequacy as men” (24). According to Bauer, in the *Arcipreste de Talavera* masculinity is always in doubt, so femininity is portrayed “as an invasive force” that men must counter to defend their masculinity (31). The attempts to control certain kinds of behaviors and discourses by women are crucial to men as displays of their masculine power and domination of women as subjects, power and domination that are in doubt. Even as it seeks to reinforce male superiority, the text reveals the masculine anxiety provoked by intoxicated and/or sexually active women.

In a broader sense, Jo Ann McNamara has called medieval masculinity a fragile, delicate, and tentative cultural construction which requires strong social support to maintain the fiction of superiority (3). Clearly, Martínez de Toledo ascribes to this fiction, the patriarchal norm that women should be obedient to men. Mark Breitenberg has argued that the male subject position is enabled and even guaranteed by a heterosexual economy of knowledge that makes women into objects (“Anxious Masculinity” 379). Medieval treatises that address husbands rely on this gendering of knowledge: men are its subjects, women, its objects. To Breitenberg, “masculine anxiety” reveals the contradictions of patriarchal systems at the same time that it enables their perpetuation (*Anxious Masculinity* 2). Breitenberg defines anxiety as a state of suspicion and doubt, and masculine anxiety as the suspicion of female adultery specifically. Patriarchy indeed works to contain and alleviate masculine anxiety. As Kathleen P. Long has noted, early modern representations of masculinity reveal the awareness, on the part of early modern authors, of the fragility of masculinity and the desire to redefine it (xv). I want to suggest that the masculine

anxiety around women who drink wine results from the drunken woman's location outside of the boundary of knowledge constructed by the patriarchal system.

In the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, the narrator directly addresses husbands of disobedient women, assuming that men are responsible for the behavior of women. The text's denunciation and punishment of drunken women is, I believe, an attempt to reaffirm masculine subjectivity and authority over a particular kind of unruly woman. And yet the textual accusations and punishment of drunken women have a paradoxical effect, revealing the underlying contradiction of a patriarchal agenda that requires the presence of women.

Returning to chapter XI, "Cómo se debe el hombre guardar de la mujer embriaga," the most urgent problem that the drunken woman presents is the danger she poses to her husband and family:

Pero, aunque estas tales non son tan crimosas, muchos daños se syguen a ellas, a la casa, fechos, e facienda, por el traydor del piar por el yndiscreto beber. Tales cosas se syguen que callarlas es mejor, por non avisar a las que mal quieren fazer, que non les guarden en aquel punto e ora para executar. (168; II.XI)

The drunken woman rebels, disrespecting her husband and shocking the townspeople. She thus poses two threats: she transgresses the notion of idealized femininity, and she takes action, refusing to remain an object of the masculine imagination. In this sense, the drunken woman again recalls Medusa, who is both an object of the male gaze and a gazing subject herself (Bowers 219). That female gaze has destructive power: when Medusa looks at a man, he is immobilized (Bowers 223). When a female agent acts, men become objects. The woman who drinks is similarly terrifying: unpredictable, uncontrollable, and even unknowable. Like Medusa,

who reveals the fear and anxiety that female agency inspires, the drunken woman is a fearful monster who becomes more dominant, powerful, and sexual.

Gilbert and Gubar have argued that the monster-woman “embodies intransigent female autonomy and thus represents both the author’s power to allay ‘his’ anxieties by calling their source bad names (witch, bitch, fiend, monster) and, simultaneously, the mysterious power of the character who refuses to stay in her textually ordained ‘place’” (28). This process is at work in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, where the drunken woman is so threatening that, even within the text, she must be contained. The narrator exercises his (masculine) power to label and mock these women: “Por la qual enbriagueza non ay muger que, por loçana que sea, nin de linaje, nin fermosa, que por peor que bestia bestial non sea reputada” (167; II.XI). According to Martínez de Toledo, if a woman was known to drink wine excessively, it didn’t matter how beautiful or lively she was, or how important was her lineage. She was believed worse than a monstrous beast. Therefore, the narrator then proceeds to punish the drunken woman:

E, por ende, la muger quel vino desordenadamente beve, byen es dicha enbriaga, por tal avida e reputada en el pueblo e la gente, e non es para toda plaça. E la que del vino faze mucha mensyón, meresce estar todora al rencón e quel marido le dé sofión. (168; II.XI)

She is removed from the public space, labeled as a problem, and then physically punished by her husband in an attempt to restore both his reputation and the patriarchal order. Susan D. Amussen has argued that punishment or insults of drunken or adulterous wives in early modern England reflect a prevailing fear and anxiety provoked by disorderly women who refuse to embrace obedience and sexual fidelity (119). Anxiety showed both that unruly women did exist and that the potential for disorder was real (123).



In the medieval era, the commission of a deadly sin was seen as a separation from God, or “la muerte del alma” (Salinero Cascante 217). The *Arcipreste de Talavera* makes this connection between excessive drinking and death explicit. Book II, chapter VII, “Cómo la muger es desobediente,” describes a husband who used his wife’s fondness for wine to fatally punish her. “Uno onbre muy sabyo” (150) sought a punishment for his beautiful but adulterous wife. He added poison to “[e]l mejor e más adórfiero vino que pudo aver” (151), predicting that “ella, como es muger, lo que le yo vedare aquello más fará e non dexará de beber dello por la vida, e asý morrá” (151). His wife responded to the smell and sight of the wine: “olió el anpolla e vido que era vino muy fino” (152). As he had predicted, his wife consumed the poisoned wine and died.<sup>97</sup> This drinking woman lacked both judgment and self-control, and in a sense, she drank herself to death.

Wine here serves multiple functions: indicator of a bad wife, intensifier of the problematic characteristics of unruly wives, and remedy for a cuckolded husband’s anxious masculinity. This husband tells his spouse: “Muger, aquesta anpolla, pero mándote e ruego que non gastes dello que dentro tyene; que sy lo gustares luego morrás, asý como nuestro Señor dixo a Eva” (152). His wife, demonstrating her evil nature, disobeyed him and drank the poisoned wine. Her desire to drink is like the *signs* of female adultery that men interpret to alleviate masculine anxiety (Breitenberg, “Anxious Masculinity” 385). Breitenberg has noted that such anxiety “is poignantly revealed by instances of male sexual jealousy that necessarily confront the fundamental discrepancy between patriarchal *figurations* of ‘woman’ and the *realities* of ‘women’s material and sexual lives’” (“Anxious Masculinity” 379). A man who punishes the

---

<sup>97</sup> David R. Castillo has argued that feminine curiosity is considered as a threat to the moral and social order. During the early modern era, feminine curiosity was seen as particularly transgressive, and the masculine authorial voice worked hard to discourage it (6-7).

drunken female body brings masculine anxiety into relief against this discrepancy between ideal women (faithful, submissive wives) and real women (wine-drinking). According to Breitenberg, masculine anxiety over female chastity was one element of a masculine identity that depended on the coercive and symbolic regulation of women's sexuality ("Anxious Masculinity" 377). The gendered double standard toward female drinking results, at least in part, from the fact that a drunken woman's sexuality could not be controlled.

Medieval and early modern women are usually represented as more prone to emotional outbursts than men (Vaught 1). The male narrator of the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, however, does not seem reluctant to express a wide range of powerful emotions, even while he claims to criticize female emotions and speech patterns. This is especially true in the theatrical, comical *Demanda*, where the narrator purports to apologize for the misogynistic content of the book. The *Demanda* was first inserted in the 1498 print version of the book, and scholars have debated both its purpose and its authenticity. Among many critics who dealt with the topic of the *Demanda*, Christine Whitbourn has argued instance, thinks that it was probably not written by the archpriest, because it would be a complete denial of everything expounded in the rest of the work (60). Meanwhile, Nepaulsingh has claimed that the *Demanda* is artistically essential to the *Arcipreste de Talavera* as a whole because it demonstrates the book's existence as "a cautious example of the vice the book itself condemns" (*Towards a History of Literary Composition* 159).<sup>98</sup> In turn, Gerli reads the narrator's apology as ironic, only appearing to retract Martínez de Toledo's antifeminist vision, because he continues to show female viciousness and wickedness as he purports to apologize for having been mistaken about women (Introduction 27-28).<sup>99</sup> I read

---

<sup>98</sup> See Obermeier, especially 240-43, for the debate over the authorship of the *Demanda*.

<sup>99</sup> Manuel da Costa Fontes also sees the *Demanda* as an extension of Martínez de Toledo's lovesickness. In looking for a cure, he adds further insult by depicting women as even more lustful than already portrayed ("Martínez de Toledo's Nightmare" 202).

the addendum as an extreme expression of fear by an anxiety-ridden narrator as he confronts monstrous, masculine women.

At the beginning of the *Demanda*, the narrator is anxiously uncertain whether he should maintain his stance or attempt to make peace with women, who “siempre matan sin cuchillo ni espada” (280). As he thinks of women who torment or even kill him, he falls asleep and dreams of “señoras más de mil, que el mundo ya por cierto no las aborreciera por ser de tal gala, de nombre y renombre famosas...dando los golpes tales de ruelas y chapines, puños y remesones” (280). In this vivid dream, more than a thousand upset, unruly, and aggressive women harass the narrator:

Diziendo: “Loco atrevido, ¿dó te vino osar de escrebir ni hablar de aquellas que merescen del mundo la victoria? Have, have memoria cuánto de nos huviste algund tiempo pasado gasajado. Pues no digas aún desta agua no beberé, que a la vejez acostumbra entrar el diablo artero en la cabeza vieja del torpe vil asno.” E en esto estando, parecióme la una que se aventajaba a tirar por mis cabellos, rastrándome por tierra, que merced no valía demandarle de quedo que conocer me pluguiese. La segunda, quel pie me puso en la garganta a fin de me ahogar, que la lengua sacar me hazía un palmo; las otras no pude devisar, quel golpe de los chapines me cerraba la vista; las ruelas e las aspás quebraban sobre mí como sobre un mancebo que fuera de soldada, que a mi semblar quedé más muerto que no vivo, que morir más amaba que tal dolor passar. (280-81)<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Nepaulsingh has affirmed that many of the images found throughout the work—for instance, fire, the devil, and animals—are also mentioned in the *Demanda*. One of these images is drinking (“Talavera’s Imagery” 342). Even though there is no direct reference to wine drinking, women are still associated with images of drinking.

In the *Demanda*, the traditional gender hierarchy is entirely reversed. Angry and demonic women assault the frightened narrator verbally and physically, lambasting the way he had denounced them. As the attack continues, women seem to become stronger and more hostile, while the narrator is utterly unable to defend himself, as in the case of the *serranas* that I analyzed in chapter 2. One of the women drags him by the hair, and another places her foot on his throat to choke him. This makes his tongue stick out more than a handspan and makes the narrator into an object of his own grotesque representation. At the same time, the women appear to embody various masculine qualities such as physical strength, brutality, and assertiveness. The same archpriest who advised his male readers to control and punish drunken women is now punished for that advice by monstrous women.

He wakes up from his nightmare, trembling with fear. Vulnerable and unstable, the victim notwithstanding longs for a woman who can comfort him: “que quisiera tener cabe mí compañía para me consolar. ¡Guay del que duerme solo!” (281). The narrator himself shows that masculinity is inevitable susceptible to female sexuality. Anxious and scared of manly women, he contradicts himself by looking for a woman so that he can reaffirm his masculinity. In response to the attack of virile women, the narrator’s masculine identity is further restored by the completion of his misogynistic book in which all manly, disobedient women—including the drunken ones—are punished and condemned by the authority of the male author.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Bauer has remarked that didactic literature reinforces “a notion of patriarchal control” in the dynamic political and social situation of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spain (4). The *Arcipreste de Talavera*, shaped by a tradition of didactic literature, featured horrifying, gynophobic representations of women. It, like other medieval didactic treatises, represents and condemns

drunken women as gluttons who violate moral and gender norms. But the excessive reproach of drunken women responds to an underlying contradiction in the patriarchal agenda: male subjectivity relies on the control of women as objects. As such, the *Arcipreste de Talavera* also reveals the vulnerability of men who are threatened by female agency and sexuality. Through a close reading of female drinking and drunken women in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, this chapter has demonstrated the relationship between female drinking and masculine anxiety. Because women had to be confined within patriarchal gender and social norms, the drunken woman—and the impulse to punish her—serves as a visible example of the underlying anxiety toward female sexuality.

## CHAPTER 5. THE *CELESTINA*: PROSTITUTES, PERFORMATIVITY, AND DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS

“Todo lo que sea goce actual se concentra para Celestina en el vino”  
María Rosa Lida de Malkiel

It would be difficult to overstate the significance of the *Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas, the first best-seller in the history of Spanish literature. A long, rich scholarship has endlessly discussed the *Celestina*. And yet scholars continue to debate various aspects of the text—ranging from genre and authorship to authorial intention—, evidence that the *Celestina* is indeed a masterpiece, susceptible to a wide array of interpretations.<sup>101</sup> Regarding the topic of food and drink, the fact that female drinking practices play a central role in its plot makes the *Celestina* an important early modern Spanish literary resource. Celestina, a famous female drunkard, enjoys wine throughout the work, and she even gives a proud speech about her love of the beverage in front of other diners of the banquet.

The *Celestina*, the story of the tragic love between Calisto and Melibea, circulated in manuscript form for so long that a number of different editions developed. The work was first published as the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* in Burgos in 1499 as sixteen acts of pure dialogue, a form apparently derived from Italian theater (Snow, “The Significance of *Celestina*” 3).<sup>102</sup> It

---

<sup>101</sup> On the issue of authorship, Fernando de Rojas claims, in the letter that opens the text, that he found the anonymous Act 1 (Fontes, *Art of Subversion* 101). This has led some scholars to attribute authorship of Act 1 to Juan de Mena; others argue that it was Rodrigo Cota or the Archpriest de Talavera. For a summary of the debate over authorship, see Snow, Prólogo; Botta, “El texto en movimiento”; and Orduna. As for genre, according to Howard Mancing, scholars have traditionally read the work as a drama or humanistic comedy (*La Celestina*: A Novel). For example, Emilio de Miguel Martínez has read it as a drama, while María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (*La originalidad artística*) and Keith Whinnom have read it as a humanistic comedy. Mancing, however, has rejected both theories, arguing that it cannot be a drama because it is too long and cannot practically be staged, and it cannot be a humanistic comedy because it is written in the vernacular (not Latin) and features a wide range of characters and situations. Mancing and Severin (Introducción) have argued instead that the *Celestina* is a novel. I agree with them and read the work as a novel.

<sup>102</sup> According to Fontes, the *Comedia* may have been printed three times: in 1499 (Burgos), 1500 (Toledo), and 1501 (Seville). The extant copy of the 1499 edition lacks the title page and begins with the general summary that precedes Act 1. The next two editions include the title page, the introductory letter from the author to a friend, an *incipit*, and a general summary (*Art of Subversion* 285).

immediately gained a widespread popularity within and beyond Spain.<sup>103</sup> A revised version of the text, retitled the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, expanded several parts and added five new acts that further developed the love affair.<sup>104</sup> Because the *Tragicomedia* also expanded Celestina's long and emotional speech about wine in Act 9 and included additional references to the wine drinking of Celestina and Claudina, Pármene's mother and Celestina's mentor/friend (Lacarra, "La evolución" 47), I analyze the twenty-one-act *Tragicomedia* in this chapter.<sup>105</sup>

Although Calisto and Melibea are the title characters and protagonists of the love story, Celestina is a far more memorable character. The fascination with the elderly go-between who brings the two lovers together is reflected in a 1519 Italian edition, which changed the title to *Celestina*. An edition published in Madrid in 1569 adopted this new title, as has every edition of the work published since (Snow, "The Significance of Celestina" 5). For simplicity, I hereinafter use the *Celestina* to refer to the twenty-one-act *Tragicomedia*.

The *Celestina* presents a vivid, realistic picture of a Spanish society in transition from the late Middle Ages to early modernity. As José Antonio Maravall has noted, the *Celestina* depicts the crisis and transformation of social and moral values that resulted from fifteenth-century economic growth and cultural development (*El mundo social* 18). As a cultural artifact, wine is a powerful lens for viewing the change in values that was taking place in Spanish society at the time,

---

<sup>103</sup> According to Snow, the *Celestina* quickly became popular outside of Spain, and was translated into Italian (1506, 1515, 1519, 1525), French (1527, 1578, 1698, and four printings in 1634-44), German (1520, 1534), Dutch (1550, 1574, 1580, 1616), and English (1530, 1598, 1631, 1707) ("The Significance of Celestina" 9).

<sup>104</sup> Rojas comments on these changes in the prologue to the new edition. He says he changed the title from *Comedia* to *Tragicomedia* because "otros han litigado sobre el nombre, diciendo que no se avía de llamar comedia, pues acabava en tristeza, sino que se llamase tragedia" (81). And he further developed the relationship between the two lovers (along with many other insertions), because readers "querían que alargasse en el proceso de su deleyte destos amantes" (81). All quotations are from Dorothy S. Severin's edition (based on the 1507 Zaragoza edition), with act and page numbers indicated in parentheses.

<sup>105</sup> The oldest extant version of the twenty-one-act *Tragicomedia* is an Italian translation published in 1506; the oldest surviving Spanish edition was published in Zaragoza in 1507 (Snow, "The Significance of Celestina" 4). Snow believes that the *Tragicomedia* was printed in 1502, 1503, and 1504, but no copies from these printings have survived ("The Significance of Celestina" 4).

especially values related to gender relations. In early modern Europe, the ideal woman was a chaste, honorable wife who bore and nurtured children; her polar opposites were the whore, who inverted sexual honor, and the witch, who inverted motherhood (Tlusty, “Crossing Gender Boundaries” 186). Celestina, a prostitute, healer, cosmetician, and witch who claims to be able to restore virginity and employ magical practices, embodies every perversion of the good woman.<sup>106</sup> And she does so while drinking far more than most men.

This chapter examines Fernando de Rojas’ portrayal of female-centered drinking in the *Celestina*, with a focus on alcohol’s contribution to individual and collective female identities. In examining the close association between drinking and gender identities in early modern Spain, I focus on the role of wine in Celestina’s personal life and relationships to other female characters. As a symbol, wine functions on two levels: it is Celestina’s most trusted companion on one hand, and it has sociocultural effects on female micro-societies on the other hand, especially those that exist among prostitutes. I argue that Celestina’s frequent drinking is a performative act, a way to resist gender marginalization, and a means to constitute and reaffirm individual and collective gender identities in patriarchal society. I then focus on Celestina’s ability to occupy spaces that are coded as male, like taverns, as a performative and transgressive way of resisting gendered norms. Her wine drinking patterns challenge a variety of cultural and social values around alcohol consumption and gender roles. Finally, I read wine as an essential component of Celestina’s own agency, as well as that of other lower-class women.

---

<sup>106</sup> See Fontes, *Art of Subversion*, especially chapter 4, for a reading of Celestina as the antithesis of the Blessed Mother.



### 5.1 The Old Drunken Woman and Gender Constitution

We have already seen that medieval and early modern society was obsessed with eating and drinking, and viewed food as nourishment and a demonstration of social status. Food and drink are present throughout the *Celestina*, deeply embedded in the title character's words and deeds, as well as the development of the narrative. Carlos Heusch has called food a key element for understanding the conflict between aristocratic and lower-class society, or, in parallel terms, between Rojas's didactic-moralistic and hedonistic visions of the world (2). Of the text's expansive array of food and drink, wine has the largest role in Celestina's life. She reminisces about her glorious past and laments her impoverished present, but notes that she has always had wine. The prominence of wine reaches its pinnacle in famous banquet scene in Act 9, where Celestina enumerates wine's many benefits for other diners. And then, perhaps because it is so closely linked to Celestina and her free movement, wine disappears from the text altogether after her death in Act 12.

With the recent explosion of food studies, the relationship between Celestina and wine has finally received some critical attention, most of it focused on the banquet scene. As Villalobos Racionero has noted, Celestina's homage to wine is one of the most sincere in a long literary tradition of elegies that dates from classical antiquity (23-24). Celestina's contribution to this literary tradition is vivid and but also female. Kevin Larsen has found parallels between Celestina in the banquet scene and Socrates depicted in Plato's *Symposium*, including two characters' shared affection to wine drinking. Nadeau in turn has compared contemporary cookbooks, dietary manuals, and classical representations of banquets with that of the Act 9 of the *Celestina* to the way in which Fernando de Rojas depicts the banquet as a site of transformation and transgression ("Transformation").

And according to Eloísa Palafox, the banquet is what Michel Jeanneret has defined as a “symposiac setting,” a gathering where wine, women, and words come together as poems, elegies, and other minor literary pieces are recited (149). Against this backdrop, Celestina’s skillful rhetoric—featuring the literary *topoi* of *carpe diem* and *ubi sunt*—combines with the food and drink to manipulate diners’ emotions. Celestina seeks to arouse sexual appetites of Pármeno and Sempronio, as she hopes to distract them from the gold that she denies to share with them (Palafox 84).

At the banquet but also in daily life, Celestina views wine as indispensable nourishment for body and soul, her sole consolation as a lonely and ugly old woman. John T. Cull has argued that only wine could give Celestina spiritual and bodily comfort in a world that no longer had a place for her (52). In what follows, I examine wine’s multiple functions as a comprehensive indicator of Celestina’s social, economic, and psychological circumstances and, ultimately, her autonomy and identity in patriarchal society.

#### 5.1.1 The Literary Tradition of *La vieja bebedora*

The celebrated ancient sculpture *The Old Drunken Woman* (fig. 2) is evidence of the long and storied history of female drinking.<sup>107</sup> That woman sits on the ground clutching a wine jug. Her remarkably realistic face and body are wrinkled (Zanker 154-55). Graham Zanker has argued that *The Old Drunken Woman* depicts the *pathos* and suffering of a marginal figure who has come down in the world as she has aged (158). This same raw realism was echoed in literary form, first

---

<sup>107</sup> Two copies of *The Old Drunken Woman* have survived: one, in Munich, has a genuine head, and the other, in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, has a restored head. Pliny attributed this marble statue to Myron, but because there were more than one sculptor with this name, the date of its production remains unknown. It has traditionally been dated to the late second or third century BCE (Pollitt 143). However, according to Oscar Waldhauer, the statue may be the work of a Myron from the fifth century BCE, because it closely resembles classical Greek art from the mid- to late fifth century. According to Waldhauer, the realistic treatment of the old woman’s face does not resemble Hellenistic realism.

by Greco-Roman authors and, then, by Rojas. Pablo A. Cavallero has traced the origins of the literary *vieja bebedora* to Greco-Roman authors like Menander, Propertius, Plautus, and Ovid, and charted their dramatic influence on the character of Celestina. According to Cavallero, Celestina shares the two defining characteristics of the *Old Drunken Woman*—drunkenness and old age. In turn, Armando López Castro has expounded the motif of *La vieja bebedora* in Celestina and its influence on another female drunkard, Maria Parda, a memorable character in *O Pranto de Maria Parda* by Gil Vicente (392).

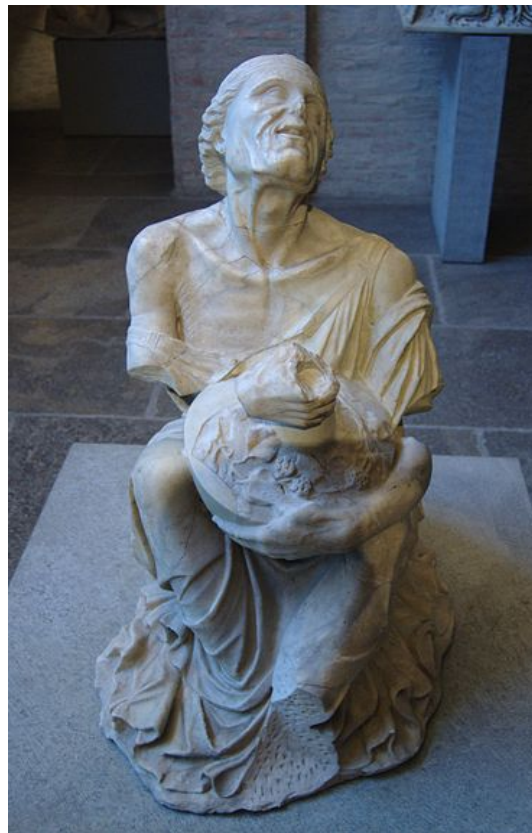


Figure 2. The Old Drunken Woman in Munich

The *Celestina* refers constantly to the relationship between Celestina and the artistic motif of *la vieja bebedora*. The male servant Pármeno first describes Celestina as “una puta vieja alcoholada” (1.108). Although scholars believe that the old woman of the statue wears upper-class

clothing and is therefore unlikely to share Celestina's vocation (Ridgaway 337), the statue and the prostitute share their advanced age and tendency to drink to excess. Sempronio, another male servant, adds beardedness, magical powers, and astuteness to Celestina's description when he calls her "una vieja barbuda que se dize Celestina, hechizera, astuta, sagaz en quantas maldades hay" (1.103). Sempronio's description makes Celestina a more complicated successor to the Greek old female drunkard, adding in magical power and wickedness, two characteristics that allow Celestina to disrupt the supposedly natural order of sex. According to Dorothy Sherman Severin, Celestina's mercenary magic makes her the dominant character in the work, a threat to the patriarchal order ("The Magical Empowerment" 12). Celestina's witchcraft can be understood as a substitute for power, wielded by an otherwise powerless old female: "Witchcraft, sorcery, and bawdry empower Celestina in her society and make her the dominant character not just in the work but in her social milieu" (10). For Severin, witchcraft is an "act of subversion" against a patriarchal order that uses normative gender roles to disempower women.<sup>108</sup>

It is salient to note that Sempronio also emphasizes Celestina's beardedness, which is another element that distances her from the feminine ideal. The hairy woman is a literary shorthand for a manly woman.<sup>109</sup> Will Fisher has argued that facial hair conferred masculinity in early modern Europe, or in other words, "the beard made the man" (156). The servants' description of Celestina as a drunken woman with specific masculine qualities recalls the drunken women depicted by Martínez de Toledo (and analyzed in chapter 3) who transgress the hierarchy of sex and bring about man's physical and spiritual downfall in the process.

---

<sup>108</sup> Fontes disagrees with Severin on several points, for example, finding little that is diabolic in Celestina's witchcraft ("Female Empowerment"). For studies of witchcraft and magic in the *Celestina*, see Deyermond, "Hilado-Cordón-Cadena"; P. E. Russell, "La magia"; Botta, "La magia"; and Cárdenas-Rotunno, "Rojas's Celestina and Claudina".

<sup>109</sup> Other Spanish authors of the era, such as Juan Ruiz, Antonio de Torquemada, and, later, Miguel de Cervantes, referred to the *mujer varonil* and her abnormal appearance with facial and bodily hair. For an analysis of the masculine woman in Cervantes, see Velasco.

The patriarchal idealized woman was not, of course, a heavy drinker. Sempronio gives a voice to misogynistic discourse on wine and women when he declares: “Oye a Salomón do dize que las mujeres y el vino hacen a los hombres renegar. Conséjate con Séneca y verás en qué las tiene. Escucha al Aristóteles, mira a Bernardo” (1.96-97). He relies on scholarly authorities like Aristotle, Solomon, and Seneca to support prevailing misogynistic attitudes toward women, and especially toward women drinking wine. Spanish didactic and moral treatises were concerned with alcohol consumption, yet even more disturbed with it if consumed by women. But in the *Celestina*, wine reveals the social and economic values and priorities of early modern Spain in general and *Celestina* in particular.

#### 5.1.2 *Celestina's Wine and Performativity of Gender*

Through its varied and ambivalent roles in the text, wine reflects Spanish gastronomical patterns as well as the moral and social values of the time. For *Celestina*, wine was both a personal preference and an indispensable daily ritual: “yo que estoy sola porné cabe mí este jarro y taça, que no es más mi vida de quanto con ello hablo” (9.224). According to John Varriano, one of alcohol's many functions is intimate comfort, allowing the drinker to escape the hardships of reality (10). With a wine jug and cup as her only companions as she got older and lonely, *Celestina* sought the “soul-transforming effect” of alcohol (10).

*Celestina's* livelihood is intricately linked to wine and vineyards. This connection is established in Act 1, when Pármene tries to dissuade Calisto from hiring *Celestina* as a go-between in order to see Melibea. Pármene, who had known *Celestina* his entire life, describes her notoriety among the townspeople:

PÁRMENO: ...Cántanla los carpinteros, péynanla los peynadores, texedores;  
labradores en las huertas, en las aradas, en las viñas, en las segadas con ella pasan

el afán cotidiano; al perder en los tableros, luego suenan sus loores. Todas cosas que son hazen, a doquiera que ella está, el tal nombre representan. ...Qué quieres más, sino que, si una piedra topa con otra, luego suena «¡Puta vieja!» (1.109)

Kathleen Kish has noted that Pármeno's misogynistic vision links Celestina to viticultural workers and other members of the so-called "sinfonía de la puta vieja" (359). In the same way that wine comforts Celestina and ameliorates her loneliness, carpenters, armorers, agricultural and viticultural laborers, and even gamblers losing at the game table sought her out— "¡Puta vieja!"— to ease their own personal burdens. Later, the connection between wine and Celestina's livelihood becomes even more obvious, as Pármeno describes Celestina's business and her house:

PÁRMENO: ...Ella tenía seys officios, conviene [a] saber: labrandería, perfumera, maestra de hazer afeytes y de hazer virgos, alcahueta y un poquito hechizera. ... Ninguna venía sin torrezno, trigo, harina, o jarro de vino y de las otras provisiones que podían a sus amas hurtar. (1.110)

Pármeno shows how Celestina relies on grapes and wine in her business. First of all, Celestina used to accept wine as payment for her services. According to Rose, until the late fourteenth century, wages were commonly paid in wine, cheese, or eggs. In southern Europe, for example, workers were paid in part with wine, albeit poor-quality wine (114). In the fifteenth century, in turn, wine was given to workers to celebrate the completion of a project (116). According to Pármeno, townspeople commonly paid Celestina in wine and other foodstuffs. Calisto, however, pays her separately for each action: he pays her "cient modenas en oro" (1.129) at their first meeting, and as her work becomes more complicated, he gives her a golden "cadenilla" (11.250), which inspires such greed in the two servants that they ultimately kill Celestina. These changes in the forms of Celestina's compensation demonstrate the transformation to a monetary economy, in

Maravall's words, "la conmutación de los tributos en especie y de los servicios personales por pagos en dinero" (*El mundo social* 69). The payment of money, as opposed to an exchange of services, makes personal relationships calculated and calculable, measurable by economic intentions and quantities (Maravall, *El mundo social* 70). This process is at work in the *Celestina*, as the shift from wine and food to monetary compensation demonstrates changing social and economic values and interpersonal relationships in early modernity. Payment in wine was part of a past when Celestina had more personal relationships to her clients, whereas payment in gold coins and a chain reflects a present where interpersonal relationships have been replaced by economic value.<sup>110</sup>

But wine is not just drink or payment for Celestina; she also uses it as an ingredient in her perfumes and cosmetics: "Sacaba aguas[a] para oler, de rosas, de azaar, de jasmín, de trébol, de madresevia y clavellinas, mosquatadas y almizcladas, polvorizadas con vino. Hazía lexías para enruviar, de sarmientos, de carrasca, de centeno, de maurrubios, con salitre, con alumbre y millifolia y otras diversas cosas" (1.111). Wine and grapevines are so important that in her *laboratorio* even the *sarmiento* or vine shoot was not wasted (Kish 359). Wine is clearly and profoundly related to her business, which, in turn, constitutes a large part of her daily ritual as well as economy and allows her to challenge traditional gender roles.

Celestina often speaks proudly and longingly about the past, when almost everyone in town needed her services and absolutely everyone recognized her. As she boasts to Sempronio about her past successes, she justifies her business as the only way for her to survive:

---

<sup>110</sup> This transformation in payment and the lack of interpersonal relationships are also evident in the story of a client whose father hired Celestina to restore his daughter's virginity before her marriage: "ELICIA: ...que la quiere casar d'aquí a tres días e es menester que la remedies, pues que se lo prometiste, para que no sienta su marido la falta de la virginidad" (7.209). Celestina does not remember this particular client until Elicia reminds her that the client's father paid Celestina with "una manilla de oro" (7.210). Celestina remembers her compensation better than she remembers her clients.

CELESTINA: ¿Qué pensavas, *Sempronio*? ¿Havíame de mantener del viento? ¿Heredé otra herencia? ¿Tengo otra casa o viña? ¿Conócesme otra hazienda, más deste oficio de qué como y bevo, de que visto y calço? En esta ciudad nascida, en ella criada, manteniendo honrra, como todo el mundo sabe ¿conocida, pues, no soy? Quien no supiere mi nombre y mi casa, tenle por extranjero. (3.141-42)<sup>111</sup>

She is proud of her achievements, of providing herself with wine and food. And while she notes that she does not own a vineyard, she reveals an awareness of changes in the economy of winemaking. In the early middle Ages, secular vineyard owners transferred ownership to churches and monasteries, and the monks became responsible for maintaining the vineyards, making wine, and distributing it (Phillips 74). As early modernity approached, vineyards increasingly came under private ownership again, which sometimes caused legal conflicts (McMillin 232). In the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries, private ownership of vineyards in fact reflected a certain administrative authority and power of the owner who was expected to manage large expenses and problems occurred (Rivera Medina, *La civilización del viñedo* 31). Celestina, although she insists on her lack of property, points to economic changes that would have allowed her, a prostitute and procuress, to own a vineyard.

Her precarious financial situation notwithstanding, Celestina continues to identify with the food and beverages that she consumes. When Celestina and Melibea first meet in Act 4, Melibea suggests that Celestina eat something. Celestina grumbles in response that her poverty does not allow her to choose what she eats, except that she never forgets to drink wine:

CELESTINA: ¿Mías, señora? Antes ajenas, como tengo dicho. Que las mías de mi puerta adentro, me las passo sin que las sienta la tierra, comiendo quando puedo,

---

<sup>111</sup> Severin's edition helpfully italicizes passages that appeared for the first time in the *Tragicomedia*. Here I maintain the italics indicated by Severin, unless otherwise noted.



beviendo quando lo tengo. Que con mi pobreza jamás me faltó, a Dios gracias, una blanca para pan y un quarto para vino, después que embiudé, que antes no tenía yo cuydado de lo buscar, que sobrado estava un cuero en mi casa y uno lleno y otro vazío. Jamás me acosté sin comer una tostada en vino y dos dozenas de sorvos, por amor de la madre, tras cada sopa. Agora, como todo cuelga de mí, en un jarrillo mal pegado me lo traen, que no cabe dos açumbres. *Seys veces al día tengo de salir, por mi pecado, con mis canas a cuestras, a le henchir a la taberna.* (4.159)

López Castro has noted that “el motivo del vino aparece como el residuo del pasado, como voz de la memoria oral” (393). In that past, Celestina never had to choose between wine and food. She always had two leather wineskins, one empty and the other full. Wine was a major component of Celestina’s diet; before going to bed, she would eat bread crusts soaked in wine, followed by two dozen sips of wine. She recalls the past as a time of abundant, high-quality wine.

As a material good, wine indicates its drinker’s social and economic status. Although Celestina acknowledges that its quality and quantity have declined with her financial situation, wine continues to dominate her daily diet and her limited budget of “una blanca para pan y un quarto para vino” (4.159). According to *Diccionario de la lengua española*, a *blanca* is a “moneda de vellón,”<sup>112</sup> while a *quarto* is a “moneda de cobre española cuyo valor era el de cuatro maravedís de vellón.”<sup>113</sup> According to Pedro de Cantos Benítez, Juan II of Aragon instituted monetary reforms in 1450 that made two *blancas* equivalent to one *maravedí* (81). Four *maravedís* had the

---

<sup>112</sup> The abundant references to *blancas* in *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) indicate that it was a commonly used currency in sixteenth-century Spain. For example, in the first *Tratado*, a blind man gives Lazarillo a *maravedí* (equivalent to two *blancas*) to buy some wine for them to share. In the second *Tratado*, a wealthy clergyman consumes “cinco blancas de carne” at a meal, while Lazarillo was not able to steal “una blanca de vino” from him. Francisco Rico has noted in his edition that five *blancas* (two and a half *maravedís*) would buy between a quarter and one half-pound of beef (49n20) from 1550 to 1553, such that Celestina could have purchased more than a half-pound of beef with the *quarto* she spent on wine.

<sup>113</sup> The *maravedí* was a common currency in Spain from the Middle Ages to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

approximate value of one *quarto*, so that one *quarto* was worth approximately eight *blancas*. Melibea worries that Celestina is undernourished, yet Celestina spends eight times more on wine than bread, a disparity that indicates the relative values of wine and bread to Celestina.

As for quantity, Celestina notes that she can afford only a small *jarrillo*, which barely holds two *azumbres* of wine. According to the *Diccionario de la lengua española*, an *azumbre* is a “medida de capacidad para líquidos equivalente a unos dos litros.” Celestina adds that she has to fill the jug six times a day at the tavern. She clearly considers twelve *azumbres*—or twenty-four liters of wine—to be a shortage. Later, in the banquet scene, Celestina reveals how much she drinks every day, a quantity that shocks Pármeno:

CELESTINA: ...*una sola dozena de vezes a cada comida, no me harán pasar de allí salvo si no soy convidada como agora.*

PÁRMENO: *Madre, pues tres vezes dizen que es lo bueno y honesto todos los que scrivieron.*

CELESTINA: *Hijo, estará corrupta la letra; por treze, tres. (9.225)*

When Pármeno chastises wine drinkers, Celestina responds with deft humor, claiming that his authorities are misquoted. Celestina says she drinks twelve times per meal, or thirty-six times per day. Although reliable estimates of individual wine consumption are made elusive by variations by region, age, regulations, gender, and occasion, Rose has relied on import/export data, tax records, and church and monastery records to estimate individual yearly consumption by region (113). For example, she has found records of the food and drink provided to students at a college in Italy in 1364 and 1365, which show that 210 liters of wine were allotted per person per year, or more than half a liter per person per day. And Gil-Sotres has proposed a more generous estimate of the daily consumption of a worker in the Mediterranean region during the medieval era to be

between one and two liters (715). In comparison, Celestina consumed more than twenty-four liters of wine—in precisely thirty-six gulps—per day, far more than these students or workers.

Celestina knows a lot about wine, and she even acts as a wine taster. This may reflect the fact that the *Celestina* was written as Spanish wine was gaining a reputation for quality throughout Europe. According to Villalobos Racionero, recognition by a *catador* or *mojón*, that is, an official wine taster, became a significant selling point of wine because the quality was tied to the soil and other regional conditions (24-25).<sup>114</sup> Celestina takes pride in her ability to discern fine wine. For example, in the banquet scene, when she claims to distinguish good wine from bad by its aroma, she elaborates on the importance of soil quality in winemaking, and she lists cities known for their fine wines:

CELESTINA: ...Pues vino, ¿no me sobraba? De lo mejor que se bevía en la ciudad, venido de diversas partes: de Monviedro, de Luque, de Toro, de Madrigal, de San Martín, y de otros muchos lugares, y tantos que aunque tengo la diferencia de los gustos y sabor en la boca, no tengo la diversidad de sus tierras en la memoria, que harto es que una vieja como yo en oliendo qualquiera vino diga de dónde es. (9.236)

Celestina used to drink the best wines available, for example, those imported from regions like Monviedro.<sup>115</sup> Kish, relying on an assumption made by James Mabbe, who translated the text into English, believes that Monviedro is Rioja; Luque is a town in Córdoba that no longer produces

---

<sup>114</sup> As the import and export of wine expanded, an official wine taster was appointed to ensure its quality. According to the *Diccionario de autoridades*, a *catador* is “el que cata y prueba los liquores y otras coasas, para dar dictamen de su calidad.” In *Don Quijote*, Sancho Panza assumes the role of a *mojón* when he and the squire of the Caballero del Bosque drink wine together. After a single sip, Sancho declares that it is from Ciudad Real, a region famous for its wine. He proudly boasts: “que tenga yo un instinto tan grande y tan natural en esto de conocer vinos, que en dándome a oler cualquiera, acierto la patria, el linaje, el sabor, y la dura, y las vueltas que ha de dar, con todas las circunstancias al vino atañederas? ...tuve en mi linaje por parte de mi padre los dos más excelentes mojones que en luengo años conoció la Mancha” (134; II.13).

<sup>115</sup> Pármeneo also says that Monviedro produces good wines, as he and Sempronio steal food from Calisto’s pantry to take to Celestina’s house. I discuss the significance of the stolen food below.

wine; and San Martín is Méntrida, which may have exported wine to England (362). Other famous Spanish wines include the red from Toro and the white from Madrigal (362). As noted in Chapter 2 and 3, Nadeau also marks that in early modern Spain the quality of wine was closely linked to the name of the town from which it came, for example, the wine labelled “Monviedro” was widely known to be of high quality (“Transformation” 212). Luis Lobera de Ávila, personal doctor to Carlos I, addressed the medicinal benefits of drinking wine in moderation in his dietary treatise *Banquete de nobles caballeros* (1530), in particular, citing the wines of San Martín and Pelayos that “ayudan a la digestion...y otros beneficios hazen” (49; Cap. XI). Lobera de Ávila also mentioned other towns such as Rivadavia, Madrigal, Simancas, Medina del Campo, Ciudad de Real as famous places for their white wines and Toro, Valdepeñas, La Alcarría, and Escalona for the red wines (49; Cap. XI). The regions mentioned in the *Celestina* were already widely known outside of Spain for high-quality wines, wines that Celestina herself enjoyed regularly.

Lastly, the *Celestina* highlights wine’s medicinal function, especially as Celestina ages. As seen in Introduction and Chapter 3, wine’s medicinal and curative applications derived from the Hippocratic and Galenic belief that it increases body heat. Celestina credits wine with keeping her warm enough to survive the winter:

CELESTINA: ...yo que estoy sola porné cabe mí este jarro y taça, que no es más mi vida de quanto con ello hablo. Después que me fui haziendo vieja no sé mejor officio a la mesa que escanciar, porque quien la miel trata siempre se le pega dello. Pues de noche en invierno no ay tal escalentador de cama; que con dos jarillos destos que beva, quando me quiero acostar no siento frío en toda la noche. Desto afforo todos mis vestidos quando viene la Navidad; esto me callenta la sangre...esto me haze andar siempre alegre; ...Desto vea yo sobrado en casa que nunca temeré

el mal año, que un cortezón de pan ratonado me basta para tres días. *Esto quita la tristeza del corazón más que el oro ni el coral. Esto da esfuerço al moço, y al viejo fuerça, pone color al descolorido, coraje al covarde, al floxo diligencia, conforta los celebros, saca el frío del stómago, quita el hedor del aliento, haze potentes los fríos, haze sufrir los afanes de las labranças a los cansados segadores, haze sudar toda agua mala, sana el romadizo y las muelas, sostiene sin heder en la mar, lo qual no haze el agua. Más propiedades te diría dello, que todos tenés cabellos. Assí que no sé quien no se goze en mentarlo. No tiene sino una tacha, que lo bueno vale caro y lo malo haze daño. Assí que con lo que sana el hígado, enferma la bolsa, pero todavía con mi fatiga busco lo mejor para esso poco que bevo.* (9.224-25)

Celestina also uses wine to cure the spiritual wounds of old age and loneliness. This “soul-transforming” effect is particularly important to the aging Celestina who has passed her prime moment. In fact, in her view the only problem with wine is that good wine is expensive and bad wine hurts your stomach. Her speech about wine, emphasizing its curative powers, is as informative as a Greek medical treatise. Cull has interpreted Celestina’s role in the banquet scene as that of mock priestess and *curandera* who uses wine as *salve*. Celestina takes on the sacred role of “pouring wine” and the guise of the ancient philosophers in expounding its medicinal qualities. According to Cull, that wine gives Celestina a certain degree of authority is further evidence of the subversive and sacrilegious tone of the text (40-42).

Butler has argued that the relationship between repetitive acts and the construction of gender is arbitrary, highlighting the possibility of “a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style” (“Performative Acts” 520). According to Butler, gender should not be understood as a stable identity from which various acts follow; rather, “gender is an identity

tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts* (*Gender Trouble* 179). In this sense, gender is performative because gender identities are constituted and constructed by language and discourse. Accordingly, Butler further expounds if “the effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body,” (*Gender Trouble* 179) such as bodily gestures, clothing, movements, and repetitive styles, so that, “if the multiplication of gender possibilities expose and disrupt the binary reifications of gender,” the nature of such a bodily enactment constitutes a subversion (*Gender Trouble* 160). In her long, eloquent speech, Celestina declares that, her poverty notwithstanding, she wants to drink the same high-quality wine that she used to enjoy. And she says that she cannot have even a single meal without wine. Celestina’s drinking is repetitive, habitual, ritual, and, most importantly, unconventional for a Spanish woman at the time. Celestina appears to drink much more than the average Spaniard, but even more significant are the exaggerated frequency of her drinking, her preference for wine over bread, and her understanding of its medicinal value, derived from her far-reaching knowledge of the alcoholic beverage. In early modern Spain, drunkenness for a woman was taboo because it was believed to degrade and greatly harm the drinker’s familial/sexual honor, but men drank with cultural impunity. Celestina is fully aware that the image of drunken women is not socially acceptable, and yet she does not adopt a more acceptable style of moderate alcohol consumption. Social conventions around drinking make it performative, that is, a performance of masculinity. Men were expected to drink, in a masculine performance of traditional popular values associated with male sociability (Tlusty, “Gender and Alcohol” 243). Celestina constitutes her gender identity very differently, through repeated acts that challenge the strict patriarchal binary of man and woman. Alcohol consumption effectively modifies the way that a person talks and behaves, such that repeated, excessive wine drinking can be understood as *doing*, or performing, one’s gender on

several levels: in the public intake of alcohol, in the demonstration of changed behavior, and, in Celestina's case, in repeated public declarations of her love for the beverage.

Rebecca Lemon has pointed out that habitual excessive drinking in early modern England was characterized by compulsion, and she has called addiction a form of devotion in its exclusive and zealous loyalty to something or someone (x-xi). The volume and constancy of Celestina's wine drinking makes it difficult not to see her as an addict. Wine is her comfort, escape, and indulgence, and she gives herself over to her physical and emotional attachment to the drink. To Celestina, wine drinking is a form of devotional bodily practice that gives value, meaning, and autonomy to her identity. During the early modern era, women's bodies were strictly disciplined and regulated to correspond to social expectations and norms that reflected the patriarchal feminine ideal. Celestina's business includes the repair of maidenheads (or hymens) for female clients, as well as procuring prostitutes for male clients. These services clearly pose a serious threat to the social order, but they also restore an illusion of order in a society that values chastity above all: "Hazía con eso maravillas: que quando vino por aquí el embaxador francés, tres vezes vendió por virgen una criada que tenía" (1.112). Celestina thus furthers the social norms by restoring virginity and selling cosmetics at the same time that she challenges those norms and refuses to be regulated by them. In particular, she repeatedly and flagrantly uses the bodily practice of drinking to defy gender norms. Celestina's repetitive drinking, in Butler's terms, is a "subversive bodily act" that provokes societal anxiety because it shatters the expectation that women in patriarchal societies will exhibit specific—highly acquiescent—behaviors. As a matter of performance and bodily practices, Butler has argued that gender is "a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint," that is, "*undoing* normative restriction of sexual and gendered life" (*Undoing Gender* 1). Celestina disturbs the natural alignment of the sexed body and a set of expected behavioral patterns by

drinking heavily. As she internalizes the act of drinking, she disrupts the binary framework to propose a subversive resignification of her subjectivity. Celestina redefines and reinforces her gender identity through repeated transgressive drinking.

## 5.2 Drinking, Sociability, and Collective Identity in the *Celestina*

While food and drink are constituent elements of European cultures and identities, alcohol serves a particular social function in delineating group identities, separating the inclusion of members from the exclusion of outsiders (Douglas, “A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective” 31). In choosing food and drink, and sharing them with others, in certain places and on certain occasions, early modern Europeans put themselves on display (Campbell 2-3). Wine was undoubtedly the most popular and highly regarded beverage, especially in the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of southern Europe. As seen from Introduction, wine was consumed by all sectors of society, from peasants to the aristocracy (Rose 114). The nobility drank imported wine, while townspeople consumed local varieties (Campbell 21). Campbell has argued that “a form of performance” at the intersection of food and social relationships allowed early modern Spaniards to establish and display their individual and collective identities (3). I have already shown that Celestina’s wine drinking practices were performative acts of gender construction; I now want to explore the role of wine in constituting the collective identities of lower-class women, especially prostitutes.

According to Karras, medieval culture accepted the male sexual desire as natural and prostitution as a “necessary evil” (*Common Women* 6). Official views of prostitution oscillated between permission and regulation, and this tension is echoed in scholarship that alternately views prostitution as a source of women’s subordination and empowerment. If scholars focus on patriarchal oppression, they cast women as helpless victims, but emphasizing female agency may



blind us to the oppressive context that these women operated within (Karras, *Common Women* 8-9). Although I am cognizant of this danger of removing the prostitute's experience from the patriarchal context, I nonetheless want to explore the interpersonal relationships between Celestina and other prostitutes in an era of cultural, political, and economic transformation. Although prostitutes were stigmatized for their failure or refusal to comply with norms of appropriate femininity, their significance in the culture, the community, and the economy nonetheless gave them a certain amount of agency. And as these female agents formed relationships, female micro-societies developed.

### 5.2.1 Female Micro-society and Friendship

Within patriarchal medieval and early modern society, Deyermond has identified that there were at least four kinds of female micro-societies: "the convent, the brothel, the widow's household, and the court or household temporarily ruled by a woman in her husband's absence" ("Female Societies" 2).<sup>116</sup> In the *Celestina*, the brothel micro-society consists of an older generation of prostitutes, Claudina and Celestina, and a younger generation, Areúsa and Elicia.<sup>117</sup> Both generations are connected to Celestina and her household, and the seamless transition between them shows prostitution's constant presence in patriarchal society. Because this brothel society was controlled entirely by women, it meets Deyermond's definition of an "authentic" female micro-society ("Female Societies" 6).

---

<sup>116</sup> According to Deyermond, Celestina moves between three households: two "aristocratic" households dominated by men (Calisto and Pleberio) and one "proletarian" household that she controls. Areúsa visits Celestina's house so frequently that she can be considered a part of Celestina's household ("Female Societies" 6).

<sup>117</sup> Deyermond also mentions a "female sentimental society" of Melibea and Lucrecia, but it is more imaginary than real: "it has the atmosphere of a dream, an enchantment, as we see from the songs that the two young women sing in Act 19" ("Female Societies" 10).

In the *Celestina*, the idea of friendship goes far beyond the standard homosocial boundaries.<sup>118</sup> Friendship is central to moral philosophy of Aristotle as a “relationship characterized by mutual liking,” that is, “by mutual well-wishing and well-doing out of concern for one another” (Cooper 621). In *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle distinguishes between three kinds of friendship: friendship for the sake of utility, friendship for pleasure, and *perfect* friendship. Aristotle defines “[f]riendship being divided into these kinds, bad men will be friends for the sake of pleasure or of utility, being in this respect like each other, but good men will be friends for their own sake, i.e. in virtue of their goodness” (98; VIII.4). I want to focus on the forms and meanings of friendships between the members of *Celestina*’s female micro-society in light of the Aristotelian understanding and in comparison to the male macro-society represented by Pármeno and Sempronio.

The concept of friendship bears the marks of medieval gender relations. According to the *Diccionario medieval español*, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *amistad* referred to male alliances at a time when “rescindir el pacto de amistad: deshonor, o tuerto, o daño faziendo un fidalgo a otro, puedel desafirar por ello en esta manera, diciendo así tornóvos amistad e desfióvos por tal deshonor o tuerto o daño que hiciestes a mí o fulán mi pariente” (290). Medieval friendships between men revolved around honor, negotiation, and kinship, rather than love or mutual respect. Female friendship between elite women, in contrast, was rooted in daily activities like reading, praying, cooking, and eating, which were all carried out in the company of other women (Herbert

---

<sup>118</sup> According to Juan P. Gil-Oslé, *Celestina* not only has close friendships and knowledge of philosophical conceptions of friendship, she is also able to manipulate those concepts (173). For example, she relies on Seneca, a traditional authority on friendship, when she persuades Pármeno to join her and Sempronio in their business deal. She highlights their long history together in order to convince him: “Que, como Séneca nos dize, los peregrinos tienen muchas posadas e pocas amistades, porque en breue tiempo con ninguno no pueden firmar Amistad.... E tú gana amigos, que es cosa durable” (1.122). Vicente Bernaschina Schürmann has recently studied the politics of friendship in the *Celestina*, but he focuses only on Pármeno.

1).<sup>119</sup> The various friendships represented in the *Celestina* are intricately intertwined with gender relations, economic interests, and shared eating and drinking practices.

All friendship in the *Celestina* revolves around Celestina. She goes far beyond these limited notions of mutual caring and companionship when she describes Claudina—who never appears in the text—as a soul mate, “uña y carne” (143). And Celestina has trained the two younger prostitutes, Areúsa and Elicia, in both personal and professional matters. Celestina also calls Sempronio and Pármeno her friends, and Melibea and her mother Alisa call Celestina their friend.<sup>120</sup> Only Celestina has relationships both in male and female communities, and she invokes the terminology of friendship more frequently than any other character, uttering *amistad* six times, *amigo(s)* twelve times, and *amiga(s)* eight times.<sup>121</sup>

Some of these so-called friends, like the male servants who come together out of economic interest, allow individualism and materialism to impair their interpersonal relationships. In contrast, the relationships between the female prostitutes endure over time and space, even after death. Juan P. Gil-Oslé has argued that Claudina and Celestina have an Aristotelian perfect

---

<sup>119</sup> Scholars such as Amanda Herbert have begun to scrutinize the networks of women inscribed in different genres of early modern writings by women, including correspondence, household accounts, recipe books, autobiographies, journals, diaries, and literary compositions. This work reveals mutual affection and compassion between women, but also rivalries and conflicts. Alliances between lower-class women, however, remain largely left unexplored.

<sup>120</sup> Other characters, Areúsa, Elicia, Sempronio, Pármeno and Melibea, also often call Celestina their mother. See Fontes, *Art of Subversion*.

<sup>121</sup> Celestina uses all three words far more often than anyone else in the work. Below, I indicate the page numbers where different characters use these words.

Celestina: *amistad* (107, 121, 122, 124, 194, 207); *amigo* (122, 124, 126, 128, 153, 156, 190, 194, 195, 200, 207, 208) and *amiga* (142, 147, 154, 173, 193, 196, 230, 246)

Calisto: *amistad* (290, 291); *amigo* (114, 133, 260, 289); *amiga* (94, 114, 186)

Sempronio: *amistad* (178); *amigo* (117, 214, 215, 217, 231, 258); *amiga* (214)

Pármeno: *amistad* (194, 268); *amigo* (194, 213, 214); *amiga* (110)

Pleberio: *amistad* (342); *amigo* (337, 342); *amiga* (301)

Areúsa: *amigo* (203, 309, 301, 311, 313); *amiga* (296, 299)

Melibea: *amiga* (158, 241, 247, 304, 321, 323, 331)

Elicia: *amigo* (298, 300, 307); *amiga* (299, 308)

Sosia: *amigo* (293); *amiga* (293)

Tristán: *amigo* (319); *amiga* (328)

Alisa: *amiga* (154)

Lucrecia: *amiga* (321)

friendship, whereas the “amistad interesada” between Pármeno, Sempronio, and Celestina is a friendship for the sake of utility (171). In that case, the words “friend” and “friendship” come to serve as a subterfuge for self-interest, intrigue, and suspicion (186).

Celestina must intervene on numerous occasions between Pármeno and Sempronio to help these two friends understand each other because their relationship is driven by greed, that is, desire for a cut of Celestina’s profits, rather than mutual esteem or concern. According to Aristotle, in an imperfect friendship, each individual believes that the other is a source of some advantage or pleasure. These friendships are temporary, incidental, and easily dissolved when the advantage or pleasure disappears (*Nicomachean Ethics* 96; VIII.3). When Celestina tries to convince Pármeno to work with Sempronio, she focuses on the advantages that this alliance offers him:

CELESTINA: ...Por bien: mira la voluntad de Sempronio conforme a la tuya y la gran similitud que tú y él en la virtud tenéys. Por provecho: en la mano está, si soys concordes. Por deleyte: semejable es, como seáys en edad dispuestos para todo linaje de plazer, en que más los moços que los viejos se juntan, assí como para jugar, para vestir, para burlar, para comer y beber, para negociar amores juntos de compañía. ¡O si quisiesses, Pármeno, qué vida gozaríamos! Sempronio ama a Elicia, prima de Areúsa. (1.124)

Celestina elucidates that friendship is comprised of three elements: “bien,” “provecho,” and “deleyte.” Celestina constructs an imperfect Aristotelian friendship, basing the alliance between Pármeno and Sempronio on increased profits, that is, utility. Celestina nonetheless says that she is Pármeno’s true friend, and that she shares a long history with him that began with his mother, Claudina. She finally persuades Pármeno, manipulating the idea of friendship and his sexual desire to Areúsa and managing to join a masculine community in the process. This alliance, however, is

fragile (Gil-Oslé 186). In Act 12, when conflict arises between the three friends, Pármeno declares that friendship is worth less than money: “que sobre dinero no ay amistad” (12.268). This declaration reveals Pármeno’s transformation from an innocent, loyal servant to a greedy and selfish one. In the late medieval and early modern period, money began to liberate individuals from the social statuses that had defined them in feudal society, but it also estranged them from one another and dissolved any sense of unity, intimacy, and friendship (Maravall, *El mundo social* 70-72). The relationship between Pármeno, Sempronio, and Celestina dissolves as this materialistic, pre-capitalist worldview takes over.

In *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle describes a perfect friendship as a relationship between those who “wish well alike to each other qua good, and they are good themselves” (96; VIII.3). This kind of friendship endures, and it is based on a certain mutuality (97; VIII.3). Unlike the imperfect friendship between Pármeno and Sempronio, female friendships in the *Celestina*—long-lasting and based on real concern for other members of the community—resemble these perfect friendships. An example is the close relationship between Elicia and Celestina. Elicia lives with Celestina and helps run her business, but their closeness goes far beyond an employer-employee relationship. In Act 3, Elicia scolds Celestina because the old procuress tends to forget where she has put things at home: “Madre, no está donde dizes; jamás te acordas a cosa que guardes” (3.146). This scene shows that Celestina’s memory is deteriorating as she ages, but also that Celestina has confidence in Elicia, and Elicia is concerned about Celestina. Elicia, in fact, worries constantly about Celestina’s whereabouts. In Act 7, after she had to take care of a business meeting that Celestina forgot to attend, Elicia questions Celestina for coming home late: “Éstas son tus venidas; andar de noche es tu plazer; ¿porqué lo hazes? ¿Qué larga estada fue ésta, madre?” (7.209). Celestina responds by telling Elicia that she was trained by Elicia’s grandmother: “Hazíalo yo

mejor quando tu abuela, que Dios haya, me mostrava este officio, que a cabo de un año sabía más que ella” (7.210). Their relationship is thus rooted in family history and a generational tradition of training and support. Elicia’s genuine affection for Celestina is on dramatic display when Celestina dies. Elicia witnesses her death, and wails when she is unable to stop Sempronio: “O crueles enemigos, en mal poder os veáys, ¿y para quién toviste manos? Muerta es mi madre y mi bien todo” (12.275). Elicia calls Celestina her mother and her everything, far more than just her employer.

The intimacy and mutual affection between the young and old prostitutes is shown again when Elicia delivers the sad news of Celestina’s death to Areúsa: “Celestina, aquella que tú bien conociste, aquella que yo tenia por madre, aquella que me regalava, aquella que me encubría, aquella con quien yo me honrrava entre mis yguales, aquella por quien yo era conocida en toda la cibdad y arrabales, ya está dando cuenta de sus obras. Mil cuchilladas le vi dar a mis ojos” (15.296). Celestina has filled the empty roles of mother, master, friend, and guardian in both Elicia’s and Areúsa’s lives. Elicia becomes even more emotional, and she explodes with anger and sorrow: “¿Adonde yré, que pierdo madre, manto y abrigo, pierdo amigo y tal que nunca faltava de mi marido? ¡O Celestina sabia, honrrada y autorizada, cuántas faltas me encobrías con tu buen saber!” (15.298). Areúsa responds differently, however, perhaps because she has achieved a certain level of independence from Celestina by living in her own home and making her own choices (Deyermond, “Female Societies” 16). Areúsa quickly puts grief aside and takes action: she decides to seek revenge against Melibea and Calisto for the deaths of Celestina, Pármene, and Sempronio; she tells Elicia to compose herself; and she invites Elicia to live in her home with her.<sup>122</sup> Elicia and Areúsa unite in overcoming the tragic endings of three friends and share love,

---

<sup>122</sup> Areúsa demonstrates the freedom and autonomy of a clandestine, private prostitute. To Jessica Hadlow Koehler, Areúsa’s freedom lies in her self-determination: she controls her actions and refuses to be subservient to anyone (17).

companionship, and “hermandad” (15.300). According to Jessica Hadlow Koehler, Areúsa’s determined tone and attitude recall the spirit of Celestina (66): “Y tú, Elicia, alma mía, no recibas pena; passa a mi casa tu ropa y alhajas, y vente a mi compañía, que starás muy sola, y la tristeza es amiga de la soledad.... Ay prima, prima, cómo sé yo, quando me ensaño, rebolver estas tramas, aunque soy moça. Y de ál me vengue Dios, que de Calisto, Centuro me vengará” (15.299-300).

Elicia, however, declines Areúsa’s invitation and decides to remain in the house where she lived with Celestina. She takes on the role of Celestina’s (and therefore Claudina’s) heir and disciple, working to preserve the female micro-society (Deyermond, “Female Societies” 16):

*ELICIA:* ...que allí, hermana, soy conocida, allí estoy aparrochida; jamás perderá aquella casa el nombre de Celestina, que Dios aya; siempre acuden allí moças conocidas y allegadas, medio parientas de las que ella crió; allí hazen sus conciertos, de donde se me seguirá algún provecho. E también esos pocos amigos que me quedan no me saben otra morada. (15.300)

By taking care of Celestina’s former home and business, Elicia protects Celestina’s legacy, further evidence that the friendships between Elicia, Areúsa, and Celestina go beyond business to encompass trust and mutual concern.

### 5.2.2 Celestina, Claudina, and Wine

The shared history and trust between these women in the *Celestina* has been present over generations. Celestina, Elicia’s “madre” and mentor, had two mentors herself, Elicia’s grandmother and Claudina. This female micro-society thus shows a capacity for regeneration, as

---

Areúsa reveals her aspirations to equality and female agency in her comments during the banquet scene: “Ruyn sea quien por ruyn se tiene; las obras hacen linaje, que al fin todos somos hijos de Adam y Eva. Procure de ser cada uno bueno por sí y no vaya a buscar en la nobleza de sus pasados la virtud” (9.229). Areúsa also reveals her deep loathing of Melibea and Melibea’s social class: “por esto, madre, he querido más vivir en mi pequeña casa entera y señora, que no en sus ricos palacios sojuzgada y cativa” (9.223) She refuses to depend even on Celestina, preferring to live alone and choose her own clientele.

a younger generation (first Celestina and then Elicia and Areúsa) takes on the responsibilities of their mother-mentors. According to Deyermond, this “matrilineal succession” from Elicia’s grandmother and Claudina to Celestina, and then from Celestina to Elicia, distinguishes this female micro-society from the male macro-society represented by Pármeno and Sempronio (“Female Societies” 18).

The relationship between Celestina and Claudina is perhaps the most important and most perfect friendship in the *Celestina*. Snow has noted that Claudina’s vivid characterization is wholly a product of Celestina’s memories (“Celestina’s Claudina” 258).<sup>123</sup> Celestina describes the affection and constant companionship of her mentor, friend, and family: “Della aprendí todo lo mejor que sé de mi officio. Juntas comíamos, juntas dormíamos, juntas auíamos nuestros solazes, nuestros plazerres, nuestros consejos e conciertos. En casa e fuera, como dos hermanas” (3.143). A truly unique figure, Claudina is revived by Celestina’s memory.

María Eugenia Lacarra has pointed out the importance of wine to this friendship; the two prostitutes shared their personal lives, their professional lives, and their favorite beverage:

En la *Tragicomedia* los bajos fondos que rodean el mundo de la prostitución se amplían considerablemente. Tres de los cinco actos nuevos se dedican exclusivamente a ese mundo y muchas de las interpolaciones tienen como meta redondear aspectos de la vida de la alcahueta y las prostitutas apuntados en la *Comedia*. Así se desarrolla la gran afición al vino de Celestina y Claudina, de cuyas continuas visitas a las tabernas, además de obtener los preciados caldos, conseguirían otros objetivos más lucrativos. (“La evolución” 47)

---

<sup>123</sup> According to Snow, Claudina was reimagined and brought to life in José Martín Recuerda’s 1983 play *El carnaval de un reino*. To Snow, the fact that Martín Recuerda’s Claudina was a flesh-and-blood character distinguishes this work from other adaptations of the *Celestina* (“Celestina’s Claudina” 257-58).



Claudina and Celestina engaged in daily wine-drinking rituals. Together, they lived their glory days, when food, wine, material possessions, and fame were all plentiful. When Pármene questions Celestina's intentions, she reminds him that his mother, Claudina, was her teacher and her family, the person with whom shared everything: "Que jamás me dexó hazer cosa en mi cabo, estando ella presente. Si yo traya el pan, ella la carne. Si yo ponía la mesa, ella los manteles" (3.142-43). Celestina refuses to share her earnings with Pármene and Sempronio in the present, but she happily shared her food and everything else with Claudina in the past. The friendship between Claudina and Celestina is established and reinforced by this sharing of food and drink: "*Si ýuamos por la calle, dondequiera que ouiessemos sed, entrávamos en la primera tauerna. Luego mandava echar medio açumbre para mojar la boca. Mas a mi cargo que no le quitaron la toca por ello, sino quanto la rayavan en su taja, y andar adelante*" (3.143). The two women also shared their uncommon passion for wine drinking, a fundamental part of their intimate sociability. Such patterns and practices of drinking alcohol are constitutive of all sorts of personal and group identities (Wilson 14). Drinking wine is a personal ritual for Celestina, but it is also a social act that forged the identity and culture of her female micro-society.

An emotional and vulnerable Celestina recalls the ways that Claudina alleviated her suffering in terms remarkably similar to those that she uses to describe the ways that wine consoles her:

CELESTINA: No me la nombres, hijo, por Dios, que se me hinchén los ojos de agua. ¿E tuve yo en este mundo otra tal amiga, otra tal compañera, tal aliviadora de mis trabajos y fatigas? ¿Quién suplía mis faltas? ¿Quién sabía mis secretos? ¿A quién descubría mi corazón? ¿Quién era todo mi bien y descanso, sino tu madre, más que mi hermana y comadre? ¡O qué graciosa era! ¡O qué desembuelta, limpia,

varonil! Tan sin pena ni temor se andava a media noche de cimiterio en cimiterio, buscando aparejos para nuestro oficio, como de día.... Aquella gracia de mi comadre no la alcançávamos todas. ¿No as visto en los oficios unos buenos y otros mejores? Assí era tu madre, que Dios haya, la prima de nuestro oficio, y por tal era de todo el mundo conocida y querida, assí de cavalleros como *de* clérigos, casados, viejos, moços, y niños. Pues moças y donzellas, assí rogavan a Dios por su vida, como de sus mismos padres. (7.196-97)

She specifically mentions their shared drinking, witchcraft, prostitution, and other projects. The two prostitutes used wine drinking and witchcraft as tools to define and reinforce female group identity in opposition to a patriarchal society that saw both practices as deviant. Celestina's description of Claudina as her guardian, family, and adviser is echoed in Elicia's tribute to Celestina as the "madre, manto y abrigo" (15.288) who solved Elicia's problems. This female micro-society protects the secrets and transcends experiences, and practices of its members.

Claudina's place in Celestina's memory is connected to the food and drink that they routinely shared. Memories can be associated with a wide variety of objects, sites, and practices, from ordinary household items to art, monuments, and other public buildings that evoke collective meanings (Cattell and Climo 17). And they are often transmitted through bodily practices such as gestures, ceremonies, and rites that reenact the past (Connerton 71). The acts of eating and drinking are powerful bodily practices for the construction of individual and collective memories.<sup>124</sup> The sensual qualities of food emotionally and physically evoke the past, making it an intense and

---

<sup>124</sup> For example, Mónica Morales has argued that, in the colonial context, the bodily practice of drinking alcohol allowed indigenous communities to recover social memories, and define and reinforce group identity, while colonizers perceived it as simple deviance. Alcohol drinking was therefore "instrumental to define subaltern identities and the standards of social deviance that echoed different beholder's positions, and agendas within the system" (46).

compelling medium for memory (Holtzman 365). Alcohol drinking allows Celestina privileged access to her very specific and personal memories of Claudina.<sup>125</sup>

In the same vein of Douglas' argument of alcohol drinks as markers of personal and group identities ("A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective"), F. Xavier Medina has argued that drinking wine is a social manifestation that shapes relationships and collective identities. Ana María Rivera Medina has underlined "solidaridad del vino" in Spanish culture in which wine serves as a "testigo de amenas conversaciones" and "elemento de integración o exclusión, dando pie a que se entremezcle el mito, el símbolo y la dimensión humana" (*La civilización del viñedo* 264-65). However, scholars have examined the social aspects of drinking within almost exclusively male communities, where alcohol is an indicator of masculinity that separates insiders from outsiders in drinking establishments (Douglas, "A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective" 31-32). A man's social status in a drinking establishment depends on two things: how much he can spend on liquor, and how much liquor he can hold.

In the *Celestina*, wine functions in different ways. While wine drinking does make Celestina and Claudina the "insiders" of their own female micro-society, this more intimate process does not rely on the aggressive exclusion of outsiders. Within a broader group of characters, wine communicates certain strategic intentions between diners. For example, according to Palafox, wine eases the social tensions between guests at the banquet in Act 9, at the same time that Celestina's rhetoric simultaneously arouses their sexual desires (76). And wine plays still another role in the relationship between Pármeno and Sempronio. In Act 8, the two men wonder what to take to Celestina's banquet: "¿Qué has pensado embiar, para que aquellas loquillas te tengan por hombre complido, biencriado y franco?" (8.217). Because they want to show off for Elicia and

---

<sup>125</sup> Scarborough has also noted that food and drink act as triggers of memories for characters in *Celestina* ("Eating, Drinking, and Consuming" 267)

Areúsa by bringing expensive food and wine, they decide to steal fine food and wine from Calisto's pantry:

PÁRMENO: En casa llena presto se adereça cena. De lo que ay en la despensa basta para no caer en falta; pan blanco, vino de Monviedro; un pernil de toçino, y más seys pares de pollos, que traxeron estotro día los renteros de nuestro amo, que si los pidiere, haréle creer que los ha comido. Y las tórtolas, que mandó para hoy guardar, diré que hedían. Tú serás testigo; ternemos manera cómo a él no haga mal lo que dellas comiere, y nuestra mesa esté como es razón. (8.217-18)

The boisterous symposiac setting of Celestina's banquet is perfect for sharing food and wine. However, by bringing stolen food and wine, Pármeno and Sempronio demonstrate treachery, not generosity, and show once again that individual self-interest underlies their friendship. Nadeau has argued that, in the *Celestina*, food was used to subvert and counter the dominant and normative culture: "The bread and wine at the last supper that Celestina shares with her followers no longer symbolize a sacred sacrifice but rather transgression (stolen food) and commercial enterprise (payment for sexual favors)" ("Transformation" 212). The contradiction between luxury and theft/prostitution in this twisted symposiac setting contributes to the parodic and subversive meanings of the *Celestina*.

Celestina understands and manipulates the imperfect friendship between Pármeno and Sempronio in order to gain authority and control within their male community. In contrast, her exclusively female micro-society is based on affection and mutual concern. This distinction between the male and female versions of friendship is reflected in the way these friends consume wine. Although sharing wine is a traditional gesture of generosity, Pármeno and Sempronio's stolen wine is evidence of their degraded relationship. In contrast, Claudia and Celestina drink

wine together, in a collective bodily practice that encourages female sociability and friendship. Furthermore, where they drink together conveys important—subversive—social and cultural meanings, as I explore in the next section.

### 5.3 “*In taberna quant sumus*”: Crossing the Boundary

Celestina’s drinking habits disturb the gendered norms of a Spanish society that disapproved of drinking by women. For Celestina, drinking with Claudina implied belonging or inclusion in a *perfect* friendship. But that these two women drink together in taverns, places long considered male-only, redoubles the subversive nature of their actions. By drinking in public and male-dominated spaces, Celestina and Claudina demonstrate that drinking can define, challenge, and reshape gender identities.

Scholars have extensively analyzed spaces and places in the *Celestina*.<sup>126</sup> Many of these studies have focused on the identification of “real” places and their symbolic meanings. On a more conceptual level, however, according to Michel de Certeau, space is distinct from place, and exists “when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus, space is composed of intersections of mobile elements.... In short, space is a practiced place” (117). Raúl Álvarez-Moreno has viewed space in the *Celestina* as an example of de Certeau’s “practiced place,” (449) and Botta has argued that the *Celestina*, a story about urban spaces, can be understood by the characters’ movements and relationships to space (“Itinerarios urbanos”). As a *trotaconventos*, or procuress/go-between, Celestina plays a role named for and defined by movement and mobility. She wanders and moves around the city, making both herself and her relationships to other

---

<sup>126</sup> Among many influential studies on space of the *Celestina*, see Ellis; Czarnocka; Gerli, “Precincts of Contention”; P. E. Russell, “Why did Celestina Move House”; Botta, “Itinerarios”; Snow, “Celestina’s houses”; Álvarez-Moreno; and Scarborough, “Urban Spaces”.

characters visible. According to Álvarez-Moreno, space is closely connected to the practices of everyday life and performativity involved in a place (449); Celestina occupies an expansive physical and social space that she creates through her actions and movements. The production of both space and meaning in the *Celestina* is a “constant relation between word uses and operational processes that create more than they represent, depict, or reflect reality” (Álvarez-Moreno 450). I want to draw on this understanding of space to argue that Celestina and Claudina’s frequent visits to the tavern make it a “practiced place” where the agency of these female drinkers is established and asserted as they cross a gendered boundary of patriarchal society.

Not all characters in the *Celestina* enjoy such freedom of movement. Melibea’s father, Pleberio, a traditional patriarch who views chastity as the most important womanly virtue, represents the illusion of control over female bodies and spaces; he confines his daughter within his house and his masculine imagination. Servants, too, were limited in their movements. Like a feudal servant, whose right to movement was controlled by his master, Sempronio’s apparently constant motion is restricted to escorting others at his master’s request. And Pármeneo, too, has to align his movements with his master’s schedule. When he wakes up in Areúsa’s bedroom, he panics and calls himself as a “traydor” for oversleeping: “De mucha pena soy digno. ¡O qué tarde es!” (8.211); “si voy más tarde no seré bien recibido de mi amo!” (8.212). Calisto, the master of two young male servants, controls their schedules, movements, and therefore their relationships with others.

Celestina, in contrast, embodies the new spatial realities of early modernity. For example, her movements blur or erase spatial dualisms like private/public, closed/open, high/low, and ordered/chaotic. By the advent of capitalism, Celestina offers her service in exchange for money, so as a result, she earns more control over her actions. The unfettered and far-reaching mobility

required for her work is a threat to society: “se quejan de los daños que se siguen de la libertad de movimientos que tienen las alcahuetas para moverse por toda la ciudad, así como de la corrupción que proviene de tener casas sospechosas repartidas por toda la geografía urbana” (Lacarra, “El fenómeno” 271). For example, when Celestina first visits Melibea at her father’s house, the female servant Lucrecia is astonished to find Celestina at Pleberio’s door: “¿Quién es esta vieja que viene haldeando? ...Celestina, madre, seas bienvenida: ¿quál Dios te traxo por estos barrios no acostumbrados?” (4.151). Lucrecia implies that members of the lower social classes did not generally have free access to or mobility within these spaces, but Celestina moves through even this neighborhood. Although Celestina seems to have lived in Pleberio’s neighborhood, Pármeno says that she now lives “al cabo de la ciudad, allá cerca de las tenerías, en la cuesta del río” (1.110). According to Gerli, as municipalities began to grow during the early modern period, the urban environment became characterized by “the dispersal and distribution of the population into neighborhoods defined strictly along socio-economic lines” and the lower classes gradually moved from the center to the fringes of town (“Precints of Contention” 72). Pleberio’s house, located at the center of town, incorporates “the traditional symbolic elements of aristocratic discourse.” (“Precints of Contention” 72). Celestina’s house/brothel also follows this spatial segregation of classes. In the fifteenth century, municipalities seized control of prostitution by establishing public brothels, and ordinances required that they be located on the outskirts of urban areas (Koehler 12). Interestingly, the first public brothel in Salamanca—where Rojas studied law—opened on July 17, 1497 (Lacarra, “La evolución” 40).<sup>127</sup> Celestina’s journey from her house to Melibea’s therefore entailed significant physical and social distance. As a go-between, Celestina goes between high and low social classes, and private and public spaces.

---

<sup>127</sup> For more on prostitution in fifteenth-century Spain and the *Celestina*, see Iglesias; Abril Sánchez; and Zafra.

The enforced confinement of Spanish women by their husbands or male relatives ironically allowed the prostitutes to enjoy walking around the streets and creating their own space outdoor (Cruz 140). Celestina's bodily motion through the city contains a set of possibilities and meanings that are unconstrained by conventional views of gender. Her expansive range of movement comes to include private spaces like the rooms and gardens of Pleberio's and Calisto's houses, as well as public spaces like the church, the plaza, and the tavern. Her presence has the power to modify the conventional values of certain spaces, "deconsecrating the religious space or appropriation of space" (Álvarez-Moreno 455-56). When Celestina enters a church, her presence is an assault on the sacred nature of that space.

More than churches or upper-class neighborhoods, however, Celestina's greatest challenge to the gendered medieval spaces took place at the tavern. Her strong appetite for wine sent her and her pitcher to the tavern six times every day:

CELESTINA: ...*Seyes veces al día tengo de salir, por mi pecado, con mis canas a cuestas, a le henchir a la taverna. Mas no muera yo de muerte hasta que me vea con un cuero o tinagica de mis puertas adentro. Que en mi ánima no ay otra provisión, que como dizen, pan y vino anda camino que no moço garrido.* (4.159)<sup>128</sup>

These incessant visits to the tavern become dots that connect to reveal her daily itinerary. The tavern has long been a tangible space for encoding the culture and economics of Spanish daily life. According to Castro Martínez, the tavern, especially in the late Middle Ages: "ante todo, era un espacio de compraventa y por tanto de intercambio económico, pero también un servicio público, un centro de integración o de exclusión, un lugar de expansión y convivencia, en suma, un espacio

---

<sup>128</sup> When Celestina repeats the proverb "pan y vino anda camino que no moço garrido," she compares herself to a traveler. According to María Jesús Fuente Pérez, bread and wine allowed travelers in the Middle Ages to endure the fatigue of the road. Celestina channels the spirit of these travelers, with their sense of adventure and eagerness for unexplored spaces (85).



que reproducía dentro de sus cuatro paredes una sociedad compleja” (“Tabernas y taberneros” 12). In this sense, the tavern was its own micro-society, with its own economy, social norms, and interpersonal relationships.

Over the last two decades, scholars have emphasized the multifunctionality and social meanings of public houses in early modern Europe.<sup>129</sup> Taverns, among the most widespread public houses, were places full of freedom, noise, rumors, disorder, and promiscuity (Rivera Medina, *La civilización del viñedo* 266-67). The tavern is comprised of the flexible, free movements of various agents, a combination that makes this space open and dynamic. As social destinations for locals as well as foreigners passing through town, taverns were venues for “pecados públicos,” like drunkenness, gambling, fraud, and illicit sexual activity. Wine—sold illegally or consumed by marginalized, lower-class women including orphans, servants, maids, and prostitutes—was closely linked to these prohibited activities (Rodrigo-Estevan, “El consumo de vino” 124). In Salamanca, many of the bodegas that sold wine were located in the same outskirts of the city as the municipal brothels, which probably improved sales in both industries (Lacarra, “La evolución” 41-42).

Because early modern European taverns fostered conditions that challenged the moral order, gender boundaries controlled access to them. Honorable, enclosed women, or *mujeres encerradas* in the tavern were frowned upon in the society, because it was considered as a moral transgression. Rivera Medina argues that notwithstanding the gendered boundaries, a certain group of women, usually widows after the death of their husbands, was actively involved with

---

<sup>129</sup> Kümin and Tlustý have noted that, according to British convention, the term “public house” refers to all establishments that served alcohol and therefore included both inns and taverns. While an inn was “a fully privileged house entitled to offer alcoholic drinks, hot food, accommodation, stables and catering for large parties,” a tavern had “more limited rights, selling mainly wine and cold food, but not normally providing hot meals or accommodation.” Because alcohol was a definitional requirement for a public house, coffee houses and salons were separate categories (6).

tavern culture. For example, in late medieval and early modern Bilbao, women served in tavern as “taberneras, como propietarias, empleadas o criadas, cumplían una función social, laboral y mercantile dentro del establecimiento.” (*La civilización del viñedo* 282) Women were indeed important parts of drinking establishments, however, drunkenness in public and misbehavior caused by social drinking were not acceptable for women. In the company of their husbands, women could participate in drinking bouts and feasts, but especially noble or upper-class women who drank alcohol in public houses were generally seen as sinners, whether or not their husbands were with them. As a result, social prejudice kept women out of the taverns, such that they normally drank in the private space of home, in the kitchen with meals (L. Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender* 23).

While women’s honor was a private-sphere, domestic commodity, men’s honor was established by control of household resources and reaffirmed by public displays of masculinity (Tlusty, “Crossing Gender Boundaries” 187). A man could demonstrate his masculine identity by drinking generous amounts of alcohol while maintaining his health, household, and economic viability (188). The tavern was the scene of such displays, as well as a place for workers to gather, away from hard work and demanding wives. To Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, male drinking in bars or taverns constitutes masculine identity precisely because it occurs outside the home and in a place women cannot enter (10). In other words, the gendered acceptance of men’s alcohol consumption and their free mobility combined to make taverns ‘male-only environments.’ Tavern sociability was an essential part of male social life in early modern Europe. In this sense, the tavern is a significant “practiced place” that is both shaped by and perpetuates gendered differences in alcohol drinking: while male drinking in bars or taverns is proof of manhood, female drinking in such places is a challenge to socially accepted norms (Gefou-Madianou 9).

As noted above, when, in the early fifteenth century, municipalities tried to assert control over prostitution by establishing public brothels operated by the city, they enacted ordinances prohibiting prostitution by clandestine, independent prostitutes like Celestina, Areúsa, and Elicia. For example, in Málaga, regional ordinances restricted the sale of wine and prohibited slaves and *mugeres públicas* or prostitutes from setting foot in a tavern (Rioja 188-89). In 1498, the Salamanca City Council enforced regulations against wine sellers, innkeepers, and tavern owners—all thought to be promoters of clandestine prostitution—that limited sales of alcohol and banned married men, students, and clerics from entering public houses (Lacarra, “La evolución” 42). Legal documents show that as municipal control increased, prostitutes—who had long been exceptions to social norms about entering tavern—were sometimes not permitted or welcomed in the taverns. In this legal and cultural context, Celestina and Claudina’s near-constant presence in the tavern, and the unabashed way they enjoyed themselves there—often without paying for their drinks—demonstrates their influence:

CELESTINA: ...*En mi ánima, descubierta se yua hasta el cabo de la ciudad con su jarro en la mano, que en todo el camino no oyé peor de: Señora Claudina. E aosadas que otra conoscié peor el vino y qualquier mercaduría. Quando, pensava que no era llegada, era de buelta. Allá la combidauan, según el amor todos la tenían. Que jamas volvía sin ocho o diez gustaduras, un açumbre en el jarro y otro en el cuerpo. Assí le fiauan dos o tres arrobas en vezes, como sobre una taça de plata. Su palabra era prenda de oro en quantos bodegones avía. Si ýuamos por la calle, dondequiera que ovíessemos sed, entrávamos en la primera tauerna. Luego mandava echar medio açumbre para mojar la boca. Mas a mi cargo que no te*

*quitaron la toca por ello, sino quanto la rayavan en su taja, y andar adelante.*

(3.143)

Before Celestina, Claudina was the original female mover, drinker, and tavern-goer. Claudina had been as mobile as Celestina: “Tan sin pena ni temor se andava a media noche de cimiterio en cimiterio, buscando aparejos para nuestro officio, como de día. Ni dexava christianos ni moros ni judíos, cuyos enterramientos no visitava” (7.196). Townspeople invited her to their feasts and bouts, and tavern owners and managers welcomed her and took her word as gold. But Celestina and Claudina did more than just drink at the taverns; they also must have built professional networks of other women, bar managers, and potential clients. The tavern was a space for both Celestina and Claudina to simultaneously satisfy their thirst and expand their influence. The two prostitutes practiced communal alcohol-drinking in taverns, using wine to create a sense of solidarity and unity in a male-only environment. Their tavern visits were daily rituals and performances of gender that resisted social strictures and reinforced female authority, even if the authority in question was that of two prostitutes.

As prostitutes and fixtures in the taverns, Claudina and Celestina not only managed to participate in masculine society but also to have their authority recognized there. According to Tlusty, “[i]n its more extreme forms...drunkenness among women came to be identified with sexual power of the prostitutes, and the magic power of the witch. Both represented inversions of the natural order and the ultimate perversions of early modern notions of female honor—and both inversions were aided, contemporaries believed, by the consumption of alcohol” (“Crossing Gender Boundaries” 197). Celestina and Claudina, as former prostitutes, procuresses, and witches with magical powers, are extreme examples of this identification. Celestina recalls the way that she and Claudina enjoyed the tavern as much as any male patron, turning it into a small world

where liberated women could escape patriarchal norms. Celestina, with Claudina by her side, could adapt to a variety of places and situations. The two women overcame the spatial barriers of a male-centered place and made it a space where men needed them. In this sense, Celestina's marginality allowed her to escape the social norms that confined more affluent women. Her marginal position allowed her to move, to enter the taverns, to drink, and, in the process, to overturn gendered spaces and conventions.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

Food and drink is a constant theme in the *Celestina*: characters eat and drink, characters want to eat and drink, characters talk about eating and drinking, and instances of eating and drinking drive the narrative. Wine is a complex and ambivalent textual element, and the way that Celestina drinks it—where, when, with whom, and how much—gives insight into her economic, social, and cultural identifications. Despite financial hardship, Celestina never goes a day—or a meal—without wine. And quantity aside, wine drinking has highly ritualized and individualized meanings for her.

The *Celestina* features highly confident and self-aware lower-class women who proudly consume wine in private, in public, and in each other's company. As a cultural material, wine plays multiple—medicinal, cosmetic, economic, social, and gastronomic—roles in the *Celestina*, permeating personal and collective identities without regard to gendered boundaries. And unlike the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, the *Celestina* presents alcohol drinking from a female point of view that regards the act of drinking as a component of both personal identity and the collective identity of a female micro-community. Celestina's habitual drinking can be interpreted as resistance, a performance against gender marginalization and gendered taboos, as it also constitutes and

reaffirms her individual and collective gender identities. Celestina constructs her identity around her rhetorical eloquence, her need to move, and her affinity for wine.

However, this performative drinking of Celestina has its limits. Celestina as a drunken prostitute is the literary representation created by a male author, which allows her to be transgressive and free outside of social and gender norms of the time, but, as Anne Cruz has convincingly argued, it also confines her role as prostitute as a social other (141). The male imagination of a prostitute limits Celestina's subversive power by reducing her roles to a binary of 'good women' or 'bad women.' Her excessive drinking habit becomes another defining characteristics of disorderly, immoral women.

Notwithstanding its limitations, however, Celestina manages to achieve a certain level of agency which enables her to break social restrictions, become more than a stereotypical character, and furthermore, forge a female community of marginalized, lower-class women. Although the *Arcipreste de Talavera* warns against a woman who "talks too much about wine," Celestina mentions the beverage constantly and proudly identifies as a female drunkard. Although the male servants Pármeneo and Sempronio espouse a misogynist view of female drinking and condemn "unfeminine" women who drink, women in the text consume and praise wine, and use it as a means of resistance against patriarchal social norms. Taken together, these divergent perspectives on women's wine consumption provide a window into subversive gender roles and identities in late medieval Spanish society.

## CONCLUSION

We have seen that wine flourished as both cultural artifact and literary subject during late medieval and early modern Spanish literature. I now, by way of conclusion, want to briefly consider the role that wine plays in two sixteenth-century Spanish Golden Age literary texts, Francisco Delicado's *La Lozana andaluza* (1528) and the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Lozana, a wayward *pícaro* and prostitute, is one of Celestina's most notable successors, and *La Lozana andaluza* depicts her colorful daily life in sixteenth-century Rome. From her childhood, one of Lozana's special gifts taught by her grandmother is to use her culinary ability to satisfy her relatives and even strangers. Eating, drinking, and cooking are all sensual experiences for this precocious *pícaro*, and imagery around the tastes, smells, colors, and textures of food reflect its symbolic power and an erotic subtext (Nadeau, *Food Matters* 117).

Wine in particular is a shorthand for hospitality and a tool for manipulation, as it was when Celestina encourages Pármeno and Sempronio to drink wine to stimulate their sexual desire. When Lozana invites a male client, wine becomes an attractive bait for him to come for her: "Véngase a mi casa esta noche y jugaremos castañas, y probará mi vino, que raspa. Sea a cena, hare una cazuela de peje, que dicen que venden unas cedías frescas vivas" (362; XXXVIII). Wine drinking is closely tied to arousing sexual appetites for Lozana and her clients as the Author strategically defines wine as a source of carnal appetite by extracting "*in quo est luxuria*" from the biblical context: "AUTOR: "¡Hi, hi! Veis, viene el vino, *in quo est luxuria*" (380; XLII). Lozana directly connects wine and prostitution when she uses a saying: "[q]uién te hizo puta? El vino y la fruta" (214; XII). She credits wine and fruit with making her a whore by drawing a connection between the act of eating and drinking and sexual activities. By consuming wine and fruit, Lozana symbolically absorbs the

meanings attached to them into her body, while inverting the elements that define the ideal woman, such as sexual honor and motherhood.

Nadeau has pointed out that Lozana's food memories in her *converso* kitchen enable us to underline Jewish and Muslim influences on Spanish foodways of the Middle Ages through the early modern period. For example, Lozana notes that her grandmother prepared "nabos sin tocino y con comino" (*Food Matters* 178), which reminds us religious restrictions on the consumption of pork in Jewish and Muslims laws. Especially throughout the first Mamotretos, her memories linked to food reinforce collective religious identity of *conversas* with other Spanish women who dwelled in Rome. Lozana's lover and servant, Rampín, takes her to Pozo Blanco, a neighborhood in Rome, that housed the marginalized Spinards, mostly of Andalusian origin who worked in serving-women, washerwomen, shirtmakers, and prostitutes.<sup>130</sup> There, Lozana meets a cast of Andalusian women that includes Sevillian *camisera* and her friends, Beatriz de Baeza and Teresa de Córdoba. Angus Mackay has noted that the verbs for textiles and needlework like *tejer*, *order*, and *pleitear* are interchangeable with metaphors of lovemaking and prostitution. The women were considered as interchangeable as the terminology, and those who survived by clothes washing, shirtmaking, and prostitution all belonged to the same category (34-5).<sup>131</sup> When Beatriz says "[n]o querría sino saber d'ella si es confesa, porque hablaríamos sin miedo", so Teresa proposes to ask Lozana whether she would use water or olive oil to make *hormigos*, a Jewish or *converso* pastry recipe with oil (196; VII).<sup>132</sup> When Lozana replies that she uses olive oil, Beatriz exclaims to Teresa: "¡Por tu

---

<sup>130</sup> Bruno M. Damiani, who has examined the historical milieu of *La Lozana andaluza*, has noted that Pozo Blanco was known for its great number of courtesans. In fact, some three percent of the town's total population were apparently prostitutes (184).

<sup>131</sup> The language of textiles have obvious sexual connotations, as when, for example, the young Lozana says that "la madre quiso mostrarle tejer, el cual oficio no se le dio así como el ordir y tramar, que le quedaron tanto en la cabeza que no se le han podia olvidar" (176; I), or when she tells her aunt: "Señora tía, yo aquí traigo el alfiletero, mas ni tengo aguja ni alfiler, que dedal no faltaría para apretar" (179-80; II).

<sup>132</sup> *Hormigos torcidos con aceite* is one of listed dishes in her food description in Mamotreto II.



vida, que es *de nostris*!” (200; VIII). Food serves as a marker of *converso* identity and it allows Lozana to construct social relations with other marginalized women in Pozo Blanco.

Throughout the text, wine, too acts as a signifier of group culture and identity. When Rampín offers Lozana wine in the steambath, she declines it because “torrontés parece” (225; XIII). According to Alonso de Herrera, *torréntes* is a white grape variety that “es mejor que otro ninguno blanco: guardase mucho tiempo, es muy claro, oloroso y suave” (43; Book II). Lozana prefers strong red wine so much that she would rather have no wine at all than a light white one. More importantly, Córdoba is one of the oldest origins of Torrontés in the Iberian Peninsula, following Ribadavia of Galicia (Cabello et al. 188). The fact that she recognizes the Torrontés wine shows her Andalusian root and her profound knowledge of grape and wine.

These women, including Lozana, are constantly in search of wine. Lozana tells her story—albeit a partially improvised version—to one of the *lavanderas*, who confesses that, in addition to being paid in food and wine (222; XII)—as Celestina was—an Italian *bodeguero* regularly brings her stolen wine. In this sense, the *bodeguero*’s frequent visits to the *lavandera*’s house reflects the intimate relationship between those two individuals but also between the two industries of alcohol and sex. The washerwoman tells Lozana about her constant supply of wine to other women: “¡que beban más que hila! Y vino, que en otra casa beberían lo que yo derramo porque me lo traigan fresco, que en esta tierra se quiere beber como sale de la bota” (219; XII). And she calls another neighbor “borracha” (222; XII), making it clear that she and her friends are not the only women in the neighborhood to drink wine to excess. The humble women of “Romana putana,” as Rampín calls the neighborhood of brothels and wine sellers (216; XII), seem to drink wine every day. They drink wine at home alone, but they also drink with other women who share their lifestyle. This

community of female drinkers recalls Celestina and Claudina, lower-class women who enjoy wine together, notwithstanding social prejudice against women who drink.

Wine is an indispensable element in feasting, where lower-class women actively participate in the drinking practice. When Rampín takes Lozana to his aunt's house, his aunt immediately sends him to buy wine for his dinner guest: "Todo está aparejado sino el vino; id por ello y vení" (226; XIII). When a bench is knocked over and the wine spills, his aunt sends Rampín back to the tavern for more wine. Rampín returns quickly, indicating that the tavern is located in the same neighborhood, a proximity also noted in the *Celestina*. Rampín's aunt is both embarrassed by her insufficient hospitality and hopeful that, if she serves Lozana wine, Lozana may get her husband a better job. The female community in Pozo Blanco is not as amicable as Celestina's female micro-society; one washerwoman notes that there is stiff competition for customers. And yet Lozana and other lower-class Spanish women in Rome share memories, food, and wine, as Lozana is integrated into a new female community.

As it does in *La Lozana andaluza*, wine plays important—if multiple and ambiguous—functions in another proto-picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*. The beverage is both a multifaceted symbol and a unifying structural element that connects the novel's seven *tratados* (Herrero 313). From the first *tratado*, the young Lazarillo's life revolves around wine and public houses. This son of a thief and a prostitute first encounters reality when he serves a cup of wine at the inn where his mother used to work, "padeciendo mil importunidades" (20-21; Tratado I). Although Lazarillo does not describe his mother's trials and tribulations, it appears that she was an *establera*, or an occasional and low-ranking prostitute (Rico 15n13). Lazarillo leaves his mother and meets his first master, a blind man who teaches him both the pleasures of wine drinking and the agony of never having enough food or drink. Andrés Michalski has argued that Lazarillo is

obsessed with food and drink because his entire life is an intense struggle to obtain food and defeat poverty. In other words, Lazarillo's relationship to food—that is, bread and wine—echoes the *pícaro*'s relationship to a generally brutal outside world (“El pan, el vino y la carne” 413).<sup>133</sup> When Lazarillo's blind master refuses to share his food and wine, the young *pícaro* decides to steal his wine. Lazarillo makes a tiny hole in the jug, so that the wine drops straight into his mouth. His ecstasy is short-lived, however: the wine jug falls on his face, leaving him with painful and lasting injuries. This scene demonstrates wine's ambiguous presence in Lazarillo's life. The stolen wine brings him intense happiness—“Estando recibiendo aquellos dulces tragos, mi cara puesta hacia el cielo, un poco cerrados los ojos por mejor gustar el sabroso licor” (32)—until, in a sort of surprise punishment, it falls on him: “Fue tal el golpecillo, que me desatinó y sacó de sentido, el jarrazo tan grande que los pedazos dél se me metieron por la cara, rompiéndomela por muchas partes, y me quebró los dientes, sin los cuales hasta hoy día me quedé” (33). Wine then serves a third function when the blind man applies it as medicine to Lázaro's scarred face: “¿Qué te parece, Lázaro? Lo que te enfermó te sana y da salud” (33). Stephan Gilman has noted that this first *tratado* ironically deploys wine as a means of physical salvation, a life-giving substance that nourishes Lazarillo and restores him to life.

Wine is a recurrent feature of the conflicts between Lazarillo and his master. When the enraged blind man furiously scratches Lazarillo's face, and innkeeper's wife and others respond by washing Lazarillo's face and neck with wine. The blind man remarks: “Lázaro, eres en más cargo al vino que a tu padre, porque él una vez te engendró, mas el vino mil te ha dado la vida...si un hombre en el mundo ha de ser bienaventurado con vino, que serás tú” (43). The blind man's

---

<sup>133</sup> I have already noted that in the medieval era, to share bread and wine with the poor was seen as an important act of charity, generosity, and hospitality. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, however, offers a very different view. As Lazarillo struggles to obtain food and wine, he reveals the greed and corruption of a privileged class, including ecclesiastics that had no compassion for the less fortunate.

prophecy that Lázaro's fate is connected to wine comes true in the last *tratado*, in which the adult Lázaro becomes a *pregonero* or town crier who sells wine for a living. His new master, the Archpriest of San Salvador, arranges for Lazarillo to marry a servant girl with whom the Archpriest maintains an illicit relationship, an arrangement that provides the cuckolded Lazarillo significant economic benefits. Having lost any remaining innocence or integrity, Lazarillo accepts both the role of cuckold and the profits of his wife's infidelity (Mancing, "Deceptiveness" 430). Wine has helped Lazarillo to finally escape from poverty, but at the cost of his dignity, morality, and spirituality (430).

Lazarillo's story, like Lozana's and Celestina's, relies on the connection between wine and female sexuality, as seen in his livelihood as a wine seller and the adulterous wife who recalls his unfaithful mother. Javier Herrero has argued that in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, wine as a symbol lies between the maternal love that poverty denied him and the humiliation that cuckoldry bestowed on him (314). Wine is as absent from his youth as the maternal love that he never knew and the generosity that he never experienced. As he ages, wine comes to symbolize the irrepressible female sexuality of adulteresses and occasional prostitutes, figures starkly opposed to patriarchal notions of the ideal woman.

In highlighting the symbolic value of wine as sex, and the role of wine in encouraging and enhancing sexual relationships, both *La Lozana andaluza* and *Lazarillo de Tormes* continue a tradition that dates from the biblical reference, such as *Song of Songs*. As I have shown in this study, wine functions more broadly as a cultural artifact that reflects gender relations in early modern Spain. In the two proto-picaresque novels briefly examined here, wine and women symbolically intertwine in a union that poses a physical and moral threat to patriarchal Spanish social and gender norms. Wine costs men their health and judgement, and women deceive men

and harm them. When the two dangers combine in a drunken woman, she is a powerful threat, indeed.

Throughout this study, I have argued that wine and the meanings attached to wine drinking practices offer important insights into cultural, religious, economic, and especially gender relations. In chapter 1, I examined the ways that three representative medieval texts—*Razón de amor*, *Poema de mio cid*, and *Siete partidas*—represent wine as a multivalent and ambiguous cultural artifact in Spanish literature. It has sacred and positive Eucharistic and medicinal functions. And as a commodity for daily consumption and trade, wine is essential to the medieval Spanish economy. Yet the beverage is strongly condemned for its intoxicating effect, which has led many a man to his downfall. In chapters 2, 3, and 4, I considered one literary text per chapter, examining how its representation of wine and wine drinking practices reveals the paradoxes inherent in patriarchal norms and gender relations in late medieval and early modern Spain. The duality of wine simultaneously reinforces and questions the male-predator and female-victim binary of sexual violence in the *Libro de buen amor*. The male author of the *Arcipreste de Talavera*, in his severe condemnation of drunken women as monsters to be punished, paradoxically reveals a masculine anxiety based on susceptibility to female sexuality. Finally, I read *Celestina* as a female drunkard who proudly and repeatedly embraces wine drinking as an act of resistance to patriarchal society. *Celestina* also redefines and reinforces collective female identity as she shares wine with her friend and mentor in the male-only environment of the tavern.

Not only has alcohol always been important to culture and society, it has also—always and still—reflected a gendered double standard. This study contributes to the field of literary food studies that reconsider and reframe the significance of food and drink for understanding the ways we live and the meanings behind them. The particular insight of this study lies in reading

representative literary texts from late medieval and early modern Spain, using wine as the primary lens for examining gender relations. It has demonstrated that food and alcohol can effectively transmit histories of oppression, resistance, cultural and economic transformation, and personal and collective experience. These varied representations of wine and its meanings contribute to a deeper understanding of ourselves and our communities, as they were and as they are today.

## REFERENCES

- Abril Sánchez, Jorge. "Una familia de meretrices: Prostitutas públicas y privadas, cortesanas, ramera y putas viejas en *La Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 27, 2003, pp. 7-24.
- Ackroyd, William. *The History and the Science of Drunkenness*. Tubbs, Brooks, & Chrystal, 1883.
- Adamson, Melitta Weiss. *Food in Medieval Times*. Greenwood, 2004.
- Alfie, Fabian "The Sonnet about Women who Marry in Old Age: Filth, Misogyny, and Depravity." *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature. Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, edited by Albrecht Classen, De Gruyter, 2017, pp. 389-406.
- Alfonso X. *Las Siete Partidas*. Edited by Gregorio López, Barcelona, 1843-44. 4 vols.
- Alonso de Herrera, Gabriel. *Obra de agricultura*. Alcalá de Henares, 1513.
- Alonso Pedraz, Martín. *Diccionario medieval español: desde las Glosas emilianenses y silenses (s. X) hasta el siglo XV*. Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986.
- Álvarez-Moreno, Raúl. "Spatial Practices in Medieval Spain: The Production of Space and its Processes in *Celestina*." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2011, p. 447-66.
- Amussen, Susan D. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. Columbia UP, 1988.
- Archer, Robert. *Misoginia y defensa de las mujeres. Antología de textos medievales*. Cátedra, 2001.
- Arcipreste de Hita. *Libro de buen amor*. 5th ed., edited by Alberto Blecuá, Cátedra, 2001.
- Aristotle. *Problemata*. Translated by E. S. Foster, Clarendon, 1927.
- . *The Works of Aristotle*. Edited by W. D. Ross, vol. 9, Oxford UP, 1952.
- . *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated by W. D. Ross, Infomotions, 2001.

- Armon, Shifa. *Masculine Virtue in Early Modern Spain*. Ashgate, 2015.
- Azuela, María Cristina. "La ambigüedad en la *Razón de amor*." *Nueva Revista Filología Hispánica*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1993, pp. 201-14.
- Badui de Zogbi, María, editor. *Simposio Internacional. El vino en la literatura Española medieval. Presencia y simbolismo. Mendoza (Argentina), 11 al 13 de Agosto de 1988*, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1990.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky, Indiana UP, 1984.
- Barahona, Renato. *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya, 1528-1735*. U of Toronto P, 2003.
- Bauer, Shaun A. *Forging Masculinities in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. 2012. Tulane U, PhD dissertation.
- Benedict of Nursia. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. Translated by Anthony S. Meisel and M. L del Mastro, Doubleday, 1975.
- Bennett, Judith M. and Ruth Mazo Karras, Introduction. *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, by Bennett and Karras, Oxford UP, pp. 1-17.
- Berceo, Gonzalo de. *Milagros de nuestra señora*. Edited by Michael Gerli. Cátedra, 2006.
- Bernaschina Schürmann, Vicente. "Las políticas de la amistad en *La Celestina*: el caso de Pármeno." *Celestinesca*, vol. 34, 2010, pp. 9-28.
- Blecua, Alberto. Introduction. *Libro de buen amor*, by Juan Ruiz, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Cátedra, 2001, pp. XIII-CXXIX.
- Bloch, Ariel A. and Chana Bloch. *The Song of Songs: A New Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*. Random House, 1995.
- Bloch, R. Howard. "Medieval Misogyny." *Representations*, no. 2, 1987, pp. 1-24.



- Boix Jovaní, Alfonso. "La comida, la Regula Benedictina y el *Cantar de Mio Cid*." *Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del Cincuentenario de la AIH*, edited by Aviva Garribba, Bagatto Libri, 2012, pp. 35-41.
- Bolufer, Mónica. "Medicine and the Querelle des Femmes in Early Modern Spain." *Medical History. Supplement*, vol. 29, 2009, pp. 86-106.
- Botello, Jesús. "'Allí prové que era mal golpe el del oído': Impotencia y esterilidad en el episodio de las serranas del *Libro de buen amor*." *La corónica*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2013, pp. 47-77.
- Botta, Patrizia. "Itinerarios urbanos en *La Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas." *Celestinesca*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1994a, pp. 113-32.
- . "La magia en *La Celestina*." *Cuadernos de filología hispánica*, no. 12, 1994b, pp. 37-69.
- . "El texto en movimiento (De la *Celestina* de Palacio a la *Celestina* Posterior)." *Cinco siglos de Celestina: Aportaciones interpretativas*, edited by Rafael Beltrán y José Luis Canet, Universitat de València, 1997, pp. 135-59.
- Bowers, Susan R. "Medusa and the Female Gaze." *National Women's Studies Association*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1990, pp. 217-35.
- Boyle, Robert. *El químico escéptico*. Edited by Javier Ordóñez and Natalia Pérez-Galdos, translated by Natalia Pérez-Galdos, Crítica, 2012.
- Breitenberg, Mark. "Anxious Masculinity: Sexual Jealousy in Early Modern England." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1993, pp. 377-98.
- . *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*. Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Brooks, Peter. *Body Works: Objects of Desire in Modern Narrative*. Harvard UP, 1993.
- Brosamer, Matthew James. *Medieval Gluttony and Drunkenness: Consuming Sin in Chaucer and Langland*. 1998. U of California, Los Angeles, PhD dissertation.

- Brown, Catherine. "The Archpriest's Magic Word: Representational Desire and Discursive Ascesis in the *Arcipreste de Talavera*." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 31, 1997, pp. 377-401.
- Brownlee, Marina Scordilis, "Permutations of the narrator-protagonist: The *Serrana* episodes of the *Libro de buen amor* in light of the Doña Endrina Sequence." *Romance Notes*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1981, pp. 98-101.
- . "Hermeneutics of Reading in the *Corbacho*." *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, edited by Laurie Finke and Martin B. Shichtman, Cornell UP, 1987, pp. 216-33.
- Burgo López, María Concepción. "El consumo alimenticio del clero regular femenino en el Antiguo Régimen: El ejemplo del monasterio de San Payo de Antealtares." *Studia Historica: Historia moderna*, vol. 5, 1987, pp. 221-40.
- Burgoyne, Jonathan. "'Si bien non comedes, conde': Food Rituals, Alimentary Imagery, and the Count of Barcelona's Comic Feast in the *Cantar de mio Cid*." *eHumanista*, vol. 25, 2013, pp. 31-50.
- Burke, Peter. *History and Social Theory*. Cornell UP, 2005.
- Burkert, Walter. "Oriental Symposia: Contrasts and Parallels." *Dining in a Classical Context*, edited by William J. Slater, U of Michigan P, 1991, pp. 7-24.
- Burns, Robert I. Introduction. *Las Siete Partidas*, translated by Samuel Parsons Scott, U of Pennsylvania P, 2001, pp. x-xxix.
- Burns, William E. *Astrology through History: Interpreting the Stars from Ancient Mesopotamia to the Present*. ABC-CLIO, 2018.
- Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1988, pp. 519-31.

---. *Gender Trouble: Tenth Anniversary Edition*. Routledge, 2002.

---. *Undoing Gender*. Routledge, 2004.

Cabello, Félix, et al. *La colección de variedades de vid de "El Encín"*. Consejería de Economía e Innovación Tecnológica de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2003.

Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel. "La ambivalencia de los signos. El 'monje borracho' de Gonzalo de Berceo (milagro XX)." *Propuestas teórico-metodológicas para el estudio de la literatura hispánica medieval*, edited by Lilian von der Walde Moheno, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003, pp. 107-49.

Campbell, Jodi. *At the First Table. Food and Social Identity in Early Modern Spain*. U of Nebraska P, 2017.

Cantera Montenegro, Enrique. "El pan y el vino en el judaísmo antiguo y medieval." *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, no. 19, 2007, pp. 13-48.

Cantos Benítez, Pedro de. *Escrutinio de maravedises, y monedas de oro antiguas, su valor, reducción, y cambio a las monedas corrientes*. Madrid, 1763.

Cárdenas-Rotunno, Anthony J. "The 'conplisiones de los onbres' of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* and the Male Lovers of the *Celestina*." *Hispania*, vol. 71, no. 3, 1988, pp. 479-91.

---. "Rojas's *Celestina* and Claudina: In Search of a Witch." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 69, no. 3, 2001, pp. 277-97.

Casado Quintanilla, Blas. "El vino en la sociedad medieval de la Península Ibérica." *El vino en época tardoantigua y medieval. Simposio internacional arqueología del vino. Museo arqueológico de Murcia, 22-24 de octubre de 2008*, edited by Juan Blánquez Pérez and Sebastián Celestino Pérez, Instituto de Arqueología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008, pp. 169-92.

- Castillo Hernández, Estela. "Del comer y beber en la antigua lírica popular hispánica: la presencia de la cultura cómica popular." *Lemir*, vol. 19, 2015, pp. 361-76.
- Castillo, David R. *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities*. U of Michigan P, 2010.
- Castro Martínez, Teresa de. *La alimentación en las crónicas castellanas bajomedievales*. Universidad de Granada, 1996.
- . "Tabernas y taberneros en el Reino de Granada." *Historia*, vol. 16, 2000, pp. 10-26.
- Cattell, Maria G. and Jacob J. Climo, Introduction. *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, by Cattell and Climo, Altamira, 2002, pp. 1-36.
- Cavallero, Pablo. A. "Algo más sobre el motivo grecolatino de la vieja bebedora en *Celestina*: Rojas y la tradición de la comediografía." *Celestinesca*, vol 12, no. 2, 1998, pp. 5-16.
- Celestino Pérez, Sebastián, editor. *Arqueología del vino. Los orígenes del vino en Occidente*. Consejo Regulador de las Denominación de Origen, 2005.
- Celestino Pérez, Sebastián, and Juan Blánquez Pérez, editors. *El vino en época tardoantigua y medieval. Simposio internacional arqueología del vino. Museo arqueológico de Murcia, 22-24 de octubre de 2008*. Instituto de Arqueología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008.
- , editors. *Patrimonio cultural de la vid y el vino*. Estugraf, 2013.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edited by John Jay Allen, 27<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 2, Cátedra, 2008.
- Chapman, Janet. A. "A suggested interpretation of stanzas 528 to 549a of the *Libro the buen amor*." *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. 73, 1961, pp. 29-39.

- . "Juan Ruiz's Learned Sermon." *Libro de buen amor Studies*, edited by G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, Monografias, 1970, pp. 29-51.
- Charters, Steve. *Wine and Society: The Social and Cultural Context of a Drink*. Elsevier, 2006.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales*. Translated by David Wright, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford UP, 2011.
- Chevalier, Jean and Alain Gheerbrant. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. Translated by John Buchanan-Brown, Blackwell, 1994.
- Cirlot, Juan Eduardo. *Diccionario de símbolos*. 10th ed., Siruela, 2006.
- Cixous, Hélène. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs*, translated by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, vol. 1, no. 4, 1976.
- Classen, Albercht. *Sexual Violence and Rape in the Middle Ages. A Critical Discourse in Premodern German and European Literature*. Walter de Gruyter, 2011.
- Coira Pociña, Juan. "El *Libro de buen amor* y la cultura popular: el comer y el beber como momentos de ocio." *Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita y el Libro de buen amor. Congreso homenaje a Jacques Joset*, edited by Franciscoa Toro Ceballos and Laurette Godina, Ayuntamiento de Alcalá la Real, 2011, pp. 79-96.
- Colish, Marcia L. *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400*. Yale UP, 1998.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge UP, 1989.
- Cooper, John M. "Aristotle on the Forms of Friendship." *The Review of Metaphysics*, vol. 30, no. 4, 1997, pp. 619-48.
- Corfis, Ivy A. "The Count of Barcelona Episode and French Customary Law in the *Poema de mio Cid*." *La corónica*, vol. 12, 1984, pp. 169-77.
- Correas, Gonzalo. *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*. Madrid, 1906.

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1873,

[archive.org/details/tesorodelalengua00covauoft](http://archive.org/details/tesorodelalengua00covauoft).

Crowther, N. B. "Water and Wine as Symbols of Inspiration." *Mnemosyne*, vol. 32, 1979, pp. 1-11.

Cruz, Anne J. *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain*. U of Toronto P, 1999.

Culham, Phyllis. "Women in the Roman Republic." *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by Harriet I. Flower, Cambridge UP, 2014, pp. 127-49.

Cull, John T. "Celestina's *veritas*: Fetishizing the *salve/salve* of Healing Wine." *Celestinesca*, vol. 33, 2009, pp. 29-56.

Czarnocka, Halina. "Sobre el problema del espacio en *La Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1985, pp. 65-74.

Daas, Martha A. "Food for Soul: Feasting and Fasting in the Spanish Middle Ages." *eHumanista*, vol. 25, 2013, pp. 65-74.

Damiani, Bruno M. "Un aspecto histórico de *La Lozana Andaluza*." *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 87, no. 2, 1972, pp. 178-92.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. U of California P, 1988.

Delicado, Francisco. *La Lozana andaluza*. Edited by Claude Allaigre, Cátedra, 1994.

Deyermond, Alan. "Some Aspects of Parody in the *Libro de buen amor*." *Libro de Buen Amor Studies*, edited by G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, Tamesis, 1970, pp. 54-78.

---. "Female Societies in *Celestina*." *Fernando de Rojas and Celestina: Approaching the Fifth Centenary*, edited by Ivy A. Corfis and Joseph T. Snow, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1993, pp. 1-31.

- . "Hilado-Cordón-Cadena: Symbolic Enquivalence in *La Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1997, pp. 1-12.
- . "'Was it a Vision or a Walking Dream?': The Anomalous Don Amor and Doña Endrina Episodes Reconsidered." *A Companion to the Libro de buen amor*, edited by Louse M. Haywood and Louise O. Vasvári, Tamesis, 2004, pp. 107-22.
- Diccionario de la lengua española*. 23<sup>th</sup> ed., Real Academia Española, 2014, [dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario](http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario).
- Diccionario de autoridades*, Tomo II, Real Academia Española, 1726-39, [web.frl.es/DA.html](http://web.frl.es/DA.html).
- Dopico Black, Georgina. *Perfect Wives, Other Women. Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain*. Duke UP, 2001.
- Douglas, Mary. "A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective." *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, edited by Douglas, Routledge, 2003a, pp. 22-46.
- . *Food in the Social Order*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Routledge, 2003b.
- Duque, Adriano. "Baptizing Wine. The Dialectics of Mixture in *Los denuestos del agua y el vino*." *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2013, pp. 239-59.
- Edwards, Justin y Rune Graulund. *Grotesque*. Routledge, 2008.
- Ellis, Deborah. "¡Adiós Parédes!: The Image of the Home in *Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1981, pp. 1-18.
- Ennen, Edith. *The Medieval Woman*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott, Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Escartín González, Eduardo. *Estudio económico sobre el Tratado de Ibn Abdún. El vino y los gremios en al-Andalus antes del siglo XII*. 2006. Universidad de Sevilla, PhD dissertation.
- Etxabe, Regino. *Diccionario de refranes comentado*. Ediciones de la Torre, 2012.

- Everett, Michael W., et al. *Cross-Cultural Approaches to the Study of Alcohol: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Mouton, 1976.
- Exum, J. Cheryl. *Song of Songs. A Commentary*. Presbyterian, 2005.
- Fabre, Antoine-François. *Diccionario de los diccionarios de medicina publicados en Europa. Tratado completo de medicina y cirugía prácticas*. Translated by Manuel Jiménez, Tomo I, Madrid, 1842.
- Farfán, Agustín. *Tratado breve de medicina y de todas las enfermedades*. México, 1610, [archive.org/details/2554006R.nlm.nih.gov](http://archive.org/details/2554006R.nlm.nih.gov).
- Fenster, Thelma S. and Clare A. Lees. Introduction. *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, edited by Fenster and Lees, Palgrave, 2002, pp. 1-18.
- Fernández-Morera, Darío. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise. Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain*. Intercollegiate Studies Institute Books, 2016.
- Ferraresi, Alicia. *De amor y poesía en la España medieval: prólogo a Juan Ruiz*. El Colegio de México, 1976.
- Fisher, Will. "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England." *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2001, pp. 157-87.
- Fontes, Manuel da Costa. "Female Empowerment and Witchcraft in *Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 19, no. 1-2, 1995a, pp. 93-104.
- . "Martínez de Toledo's Nightmare and the Courtly and Oral Traditions." *Oral Tradition and Hispanic Literature: Essays in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, edited by Mishael M. Caspi, Garland Publishing, 1995b, pp. 189-216.
- . *Art of Subversion in Inquisitorial Spain: Rojas and Delicado*. Purdue UP, 2004.



- Forastieri-Braschi, Eduardo. "La descripción de los meses en el *Libro de buen amor*." *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. 55, 1972, pp. 213-32.
- Framiñán Santas, Ana María. "El vino y la nobleza en la Edad Media: alimentación y cortesía." *Actas de la cultura del vino. Primer congreso peninsular. O Barco de Valdeorras. 10-12 de mayo, 2002*, edited by Isidro García Tato and Ana María Suárez Piñeiro, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, pp. 67-91.
- Franchini, Enzo. *El manuscrito, la lengua y el ser literario de la Razón de amor*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993.
- Francia Verde, Rafael, coordinator. *Historia y Arqueología en la cultura del vino*. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2015.
- Francomano, Emily C. "'Este manjar es dulce': Sweet Synaesthesia in the *Libro de buen amor*." *eHumanista*, vol. 25, 2013, pp. 127-44.
- . "The Early Modern Foundations of the *Querella de las mujeres*." *The Routledge Research Companion to Early Modern Spanish Women Writers*, edited by Nieves Baranda and Anne J. Cruz, Routledge, 2018, pp. 41-60.
- Fuente Pérez, María Jesús. "Con pan y vino se anda el camino: los viajes en la Castilla medieval." *Revistas Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, no. 8, 1995, p. 85-109.
- Galen. *On the Property of Foodstuffs*. Translated by Owen Powell, Cambridge UP, 2003.
- . *On Diseases and Symptoms*. Translated by Ian Johnstons, Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Gamella, Juan F. "Spain." *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture*, edited by Dwight B. Heath, Greenwood, 1995, pp. 254-69.
- García Vega, L. "El antifeminismo científico de Juan Huarte de San Juan, patrón de la psicología." *Revista de psicología general y aplicada*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1989, pp. 533-42.

- Garnsey, Peter. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Gázquez Ortiz, Antonio. *La cocina en tiempos del Arcipreste de Hita*. Alianza, 2002.
- Gefou-Madianou, Dimitra. Introduction. *Alcohol, Gender, and Culture*, edited by Gefou-Madianou, Routledge, 1992, pp. 1-31.
- Gellius, Aulus. *Noctes Atticae*. Translated by John C. Rolfe, Harvard UP, 1927.
- Gentilcore, David. *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe. Diet, Medicine, and Society, 1450-1800*. Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Gerli, E. Michael. "Ars Praedicandi and the Structure of *Arcipreste de Talavera*. Part I." *Hispania*, vol. 58, no. 3, 1975, pp. 430-41.
- . Introduction. *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*, by Martínez de Toledo, Cátedra, 1979, pp. 15-57.
- . "La 'Religión del amor' y el antifeminismo en las letras castellanas del siglo XV." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1981, pp. 65-86.
- . "Precincts of Contention: Urban Places and the Ideology of Space in *Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 21, 1997, pp. 65-78.
- . "The Greeks, the Romans, and the Ambiguity of Signs: *De doctrina christiana*, the Fall, and the Hermeneutics of the *Libro de buen amor*." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 79, 2009, pp. 411-28.
- Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Yale UP, 2000.
- Giles, Ryan D. "Depluming the Author: The *Corbacho* and the Crow of Myth and Fable." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 85, 2008, pp. 625-37.

- . "'Del día que fue conde': The Parodic Remaking of the Count of Barcelona in the *Poema de mio Cid*." *La corónica*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2009, pp. 121-38.
- Gilman, Stephan. "The Death of *Lazarillo de Tormes*." *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 81. No. 3, 1966, pp. 149-66.
- Gil-Oslé, Juan P. "La amistad, el remedio de la Fortuna en *La Celestina*." *Celestinesca*, vol. 29, 2005, pp. 171-95.
- Gil-Sotres, Pedro. "La higiene medieval." *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia: Regimen sanitatis ad regem argonum. X. I*, edited by Luis García-Ballester and Michael R. McVaugh. Publicaciones de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1996, pp. 569-860.
- Glick, Thomas F. *Islamic And Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Brill, 2005.
- González de Fauve, María Estela. "Las viñas y el vino a través de los documentos medievales." *Actas de Simposio Internacional. El vino en la literatura española medieval: presencia y simbolismo, 11-13 de agosto, 1988*, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1990, pp. 63-78.
- González, Agustín González. *El control de las administraciones públicas en el sector vitivinícola: el papel de los consejos reguladores*. 2014. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, PhD Dissertation.
- González-Casanovas, Robert J. "El discurso femenino en la segunda parte del *Corbacho*: Análisis sociosemiótico del enunciado y la enunciación." *Medievo y literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Granada, 27 septiembre – 1 octubre 1993)*, edited by Juan Paredes, Universidad de Granada, 1995. pp. 433-42.
- Grace, Lee Ann. "Multiple Symbolism in the *Libro de buen amor*: The Erotic in the Forces of Don Carnal." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1975, pp. 371-80.

- Gracia, Jorge J. E. "Rules and Regulations for Drinking Wine in Francesc Eiximenis' *Terç del Cretià* (1384)." *Traditio*, vol. 32, 1976, pp. 369-85.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. *Contested Meanings: The Construction of Alcohol Problems*. U of Wisconsin P, 1996.
- Halberstam, Judith. *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters*. Duke UP, 1995.
- Hanford, James Holly. "The Medieval Debate between Wine and Water." *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1913, pp. 315-67.
- Herbert, Amanda E. *Female Alliances. Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain*. Yale UP, 2014.
- Herrero, Javier. "The Ending of *Lazarillo*: The Wine Against the Water." *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 93, no. 2, 1978, pp. 313-19.
- Herrero-García, Miguel. *La vida española del siglo XVII*. Grafica Universal, 1933.
- Heusch, Carlos. "La comida, ¿Tema integral de *La Celestina*?" *Estudios humanísticos*, vol. 32, 2010, pp. 1-20.
- Hippocrates. *Hippocratic Writings*. Translated by Chadwick J and W. N. Mann, Penguin, 1983.
- Holtzman, Jon D. "Food and Memory." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 35, 2006, pp. 361-78.
- Homer. *The Iliad*. Translated by Barry B. Powell, Oxford UP, 2014.
- Horowitz, Maryanee Cline. "Aristotle and Woman." *Journal of the History of Biology*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1976, pp. 183-213.
- Huarte de San Juan, Juan. *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*. Edited by Guillermo Serés, Cátedra, 1989.

- Iglesias, Yolanda. "La prostitución en *La Celestina*: Estudio histórico-literario." *eHumanista*, vol. 19, 2011, pp. 193-208.
- Iglesias Rodríguez, Juan José, editor. *Historia y cultural del vino en Andalucía*. Universidad de Sevilla y la Fundación El Monte, 1995.
- Irizarry, Estelle. "Echoes of the Amazon Myth in Medieval Spanish Literature." *Women in Hispanic Literature: Icons and Fallen Idols*, edited by Beth Miller, U of California P, 1983, pp. 53-66.
- Jacob, Alfred. "The *Razón de amor* as Christian Symbolism." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1951, pp. 282-301.
- Jeanneret, Michel. *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance*. Translated by Jeremy Whiteley and Emma Hughes, U of Chicago P, 1991.
- Jenaro-MacLennan, Luis. "Los supuestos intelectuales del prólogo al *Libro de buen amor*." *Anuario de estudios medievales*, vol. 9, 1974-79, pp. 151-86.
- Jones, C. A. "Spanish Honour as Historical Phenomenon, Convention and Artistic Motive." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 33, 1965, pp. 32-39.
- Jouanna, Jacques. *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected Papers*. Translated by Neil Allies, Brill, 2012.
- Kallendorf, Craig W. Introduction. *Humanist Educational Treatises*, edited by Kallendorf, Harvard UP, 2008, pp. vii-xvi.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Common Women. Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. Oxford UP, 1996.
- . *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto Others*. Routledge, 2012.

- . "The Reproduction of Medieval Christianity." *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Christian Theology*, edited by Adrian Thatcher, Oxford UP, 2014, pp. 271-86.
- Kelly, Joan. "Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1400-1789." *Sign*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1982, pp. 4-28.
- King, Margaret L. and Albert Rail Jr. Introduction. *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, by Juan Luis Vives, U of Chicago P, 2000, pp. ix-xxviii.
- Kinkade, R. P., "*Intellectum tibi dabo...*: The Fuction of Free Will in the *Libro de buen amor*." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 47, 1970, pp. 296-315.
- Kirby, Steven. "Juan Ruiz's *Serranas*: The Archpriest-Pilgrim and Medieval Wild Women." *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond: A North American Tribute*, edited by John S. Miletich, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986, pp. 151-69.
- Kish, Kathleen. "The Wines of Celestina and the Omnibibulous H. Warner Allen." *Nunca fue pena mayor: estudios de literatura española en homenaje a Brian Dutton*. Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1996, pp. 359-66.
- Kjær, Lars and A. J. Watson. "Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 37, 2011, pp. 1-5.
- Koehler, Jessica Hadlow. *Celestina's Legacy of Whores: Prostitution in La Celestina and Its Imitations*. 1999. Princeton U, PhD dissertation.
- Kreglinger, Gisela H. *The Spirituality of Wine*. William B. Eerdmans, 2016.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "The School of Salerno: Its Development and its Contribution to the History of Learning." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1945, pp. 138-94.
- Kümin, Beat and B. Ann Tlusty. Introduction. *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, by Kümin and Tlusty, Routledge, 2002, pp. 3-11.

- Labarge, Margaret Wade. *A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life*. Beacon, 1986.
- Lacarra, María Eugenia. "El fenómeno de la prostitución y sus conexiones con *La Celestina*." *Historia y ficciones: coloquio sobre la literatura del siglo XV, Actas del Coloquio Internacional organizado por el Department de Filologia Espanyola de la Universitat de València, celebrado en Valencia los días 29, 30 y 31 de octubre de 1990*, edited by R. Beltrán, J. L. Canet and J. L. Sirera, Universitat de València, pp. 267-78.
- . "La evolución de la prostitución en la Castilla del siglo XV y la mancebía de Salamanca en tiempos de Fernando de Rojas." *Fernando de Rojas and Celestina: Approaching the Fifth Centenary*, edited by I. A. Corfis and J. T. Snow, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1993, pp. 33-78.
- Larsen, Kevin S. "Bed and Board: Significant Parallels between Plato's *Symposium* and Rojas' *La Celestina*." *Neohelicon*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1994, pp. 247-68.
- Larson, Donald R. *The Honor Plays of Lope de Vega*. Harvard UP, 1978.
- Lecoy, Félix. *Recherches sur le Libro de buen amor de Juan Ruiz*. Paris, 1938.
- Leeming, David. *Medusa: In the Mirror of Time*. Reaktion, 2013.
- Lemon, Rebecca. *Addiction and Devotion in Early Modern England*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2018.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"*. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1962.
- . *Juan Ruiz. Selección del Libro de buen amor y estudios críticos*. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1973.
- Llorente, Mercedes. "Portraits of Children at the Spanish Court in the Seventeenth Century: The Infanta Margarita and the Young King Carlos II." *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, vol. 35, 2010, pp. 30-47.

- Lobera de Ávila, Luis. *Banquete de nobles caballeros*. Augsburg, 1530, bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000116347&page=1.
- Lochrie, Karma, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz. Introduction. *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, edited by Lochrie, McCracken, and Schultz, U of Minnesota P, 1997, pp. ix-xviii.
- Long, Kathleen P. Introduction. *High Anxiety: Masculinity in Crisis in Early Modern France*, by Long, Truman State UP, 2002, pp. ix-xii.
- López Castro, Armando. "El motivo de la vieja bebedora: Celestina y María Parda." *La Celestina: V Centenario (1499-1999). Actas del congreso internacional*, edited by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, Rafael González Cañal y Gema Gómez Rubio. Cuenca, 2001, pp. 391-401.
- López Pita, Paulina. "El vino en el Islam: Rechazo y alabanza." *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III*, vol. 17, 2004, pp. 325-23.
- López Rodríguez, Irene. "La animalización del retrato femenino en el *Libro de buen amor*." *Lemir*, vol. 13, 2009, pp. 53-84.
- Lorber, Judith. *Paradoxes of Gender*. Yale UP, 1994.
- Lyons, Antonia C., and Sara A. Willott. "Alcohol Consumption, Gender Identities and Women's Changing Social Positions." *Sex Roles*, vol. 59, 2008, pp. 694-712.
- MacAndrew, Craig, and R. B. Edgerton. *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation*. Aldine, 1969.
- Mackay, Angus. "Women on the Margins." *Love, Religion, and Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain*, edited by Ian Richard Macpherson and Mackay, Brill, 1988, pp. 28-42.
- Mancing, Howard. "The Deceptiveness of *Lazarillo de Tormes*." *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 90, no. 3, 1975, pp. 426-32.



---. "La Celestina: A Novel." *Celestinesca*, vol. 38, 2014, pp. 63-84.

Mandelbaum, David G. "Alcohol and Culture." *Current Anthropology*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1965, pp. 281-93.

Manrique, Jorge. *Obra completa*. Edited by Augusto Cortina, Escasa-Calpe, 1979.

Maravall, José Antonio. *El mundo social de La Celestina*. Gredos, 1964.

---. "La función del honor en la sociedad tradicional." *Ideologies and Literature*, vol. 2, no. 7, 1987, pp. 9-27.

Marino, Nancy. *La serranilla española: notas para su historia e interpretación*. Scripta Humanistica, 1987.

Martin, Lynn. *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Palgrave, 2001.

---. "The Baptism of Wine." *Gastronomia*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2003, pp. 21-30.

Martín, José-Luis. *Vino y cultura en la Edad Media*. Centro de la Universidad Nacional Educación a Distancia de Zamora, 2002.

Martínez de Toledo, Alfonso. *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*. Edited by J. González Muela, Castalia, 1985.

Martínez Lillo, Sergio. "El consumo del vino en Al-Ándalus." *El vino en época tardoantigua y medieval. Simposio internacional arqueología del vino. Museo arqueológico de Murcia, 22-24 de octubre de 2008*, edited by Juan Blánquez Pérez and Sebastián Celestino Pérez, Instituto de Arqueología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008, pp. 253-80.

Martínez, H. Salvador. *Alfonso X, the Learned. A Biography*. Translated by Odile Cisneros, Brill, 2010.

- Matasar, Ann B. *Women of Wine. The Rise of Women in the Global Wine Industry*. U of California P, 2006.
- McFie, Helen. *The Medieval Debate between Wine and Water in the Romance Languages: Tradition and Transformation*. 1981. U of Pennsylvania, PhD dissertation.
- McGovern, Patrick. E. *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origin of Viticulture*. Princeton UP, 2003.
- McKendrick, Melvenna. *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age. A Study of the "Mujer varonil"*. Cambridge UP, 1974.
- . "Honour/Vengeance in the Spanish 'Comedia': A Case of Mimetic Transference?" *Modern Language Review*, vol. 79, 1984, pp. 313-35.
- McMillin, Linda A. "Sacred and Secular Politics: The Convent of Sant Pere de les Puelles in Thirteenth-century Barcelona." *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages. Vol II*, edited by P. E. Chevedden, D. Kagay, and P. Padilla, Brill, 1996, pp. 225-38.
- McNamara, Jo Ann. "The Herrenfrage. The Restructing of The Gender System, 1050-1150." *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, edited by Clare A. Lee, U of Minnesota P, 1994, pp. 3-30.
- McVaugh, Michael R. *Medicine before the Plague. Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*. Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramon. *En torno al Poema del mio Cid*. Editora y Distribuidora Hispano América, S. A., 1963.
- Miaja de la Peña, María Teresa. "'Con la mucha vianda mucho vino bevado': la comida y la bebida en el Libro de Buen Amor." *Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del Cincuentenario de la AIH. Vol. II*, edited by Aviva Garriba, Bagatto Libri, 2012, pp. 96-105.

- Michalski, Andrés. "El pan, el vino y la carne en el *Lazarillo de Tormes*." *La picaresca: Orígenes, textos y estructura. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre la Picaresca*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979, pp. 413-20.
- . "The Triple Characterization of Don Melón and Doña Endrina." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1988, pp. 271-86.
- Miguel Martínez, Emilio de. "*La Celestina*, madre rehusada del teatro español." *De La Celestina a La vida es sueño: Cinco lecciones sobre obras universales del teatro clásico español*, edited by Germán Vega García-Luengos, Universidad de Valladolid, 2009, pp. 15-44.
- Miller, Sarah Alison, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body*. Routledge, 2010.
- Minnis, Alastair. *Magister amoris. The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Oxford UP, 2001.
- Miñana, Rogelio. *Monstruos que hablan: el discurso de la monstruosidad en Cervantes*. U of North Carolina P, 2007.
- Miranda-García, Fermín and Yolanda Guerrero Navarrete. *Medieval: Territorios, sociedades y culturas*. Silex, 2008.
- Montanari, Massimo. *Medieval Tastes. Food, Cooking, and the Table*. Translated by Beth Archer Brombert, Columbia UP, 2012.
- Montgomery, Thomas. "The Cid and the Count of Barcelona." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1962, pp. 1-11.
- Moore, Stephen D. "The *Song of Songs* in the History of Sexuality." *Church History*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2000, pp. 328-49.
- Morales, Mónica. *Alcohol Drinking as Cultural Construction from Colonial to Early Twentieth-Century South America*. 2001. Purdue U, PhD dissertation.

Moreno, María Paz. *Madrid: A Culinary History*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

Morros, Bienvenido. "Las propiedades del dinero y del vino en el *Libro de buen amor* a la luz de las comedias elegíacas." *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 105, no. 1, 2003, pp. 19-50.

Muravyeva, Marianna G. and Raisa Maria Toivo, editors. *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Routledge, 2013.

Murray, Jacqueline and Konrad Eisenbichler, editors. *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Pre-Modern West*. U of Toronto P, 1996

Murray, Jacqueline. "Hiding behind the Universal Man: Male Sexuality in Middle Ages." *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, edited by Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, Garland, 1996, pp. 123-52.

Nadeau, Carolyn A. "Moscatel morisco: The Role of Wine in the Formation of Morisco Identity." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 90, no. 2, 2013a, pp. 153-64.

---. "Transformation and Transgression at the Banquet Scene in *La Celestina*." *Objects of Culture in the Literature of Imperial Spain*, edited by Mary E. Barnard and Frederick A. de Armas, U of Toronto P, 2013b, pp. 205-27.

---. *Food Matters: Alonso Quijano's Diet and the Discourse of Food in Early Modern Spain*. U of Toronto P, 2016.

Nader, Helen. Introduction: The World of the Mendozas. *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain. Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650*, by Nader, U of Illinois P, 2004, pp. 1-26.

Nepaulsingh, Colbert I. "Talavera's Imagery and the Structure of the *Corbacho*." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1980, pp. 329-49.

---. *Towards a History of Literary Composition in Medieval Spain*. U of Toronto P, 1986.

- Nichols, Madaline W. "Las Siete Partidas." *California Law Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1932, pp. 260-85.
- Obermeier, Anita. *The History and Anatomy of Auctorial Self-Criticism in the European Middle Ages*. Rodopi, 1999.
- Orduna, Germán. "El original del manuscrito de la comedia de Fernando de Rojas: una conjetura." *Celestinesca*, vol. 23, no. 1-2, 1999, pp. 3-10.
- Pagani, Gianluca. "A la mesa del Arcipreste. La cocina castellana del siglo XIV en los versos de Juan Ruiz: unas notas." *Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita y el Libro de buen amor. Congreso homenaje a Alan Deyermond*, edited by Louise Haywood, Francisco Toro, Francisco Bautista and Geraldine Coates, Ayuntamiento de Alcalá la Real, 2008, pp. 283-90.
- Palafox, Eloísa. "Celestina y su retórica de seducción: comida, vino y amor en el texto de la Tragicomedia." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2007, pp. 71-88.
- Paniagua, Juan Antonio. "En torno a la problemática del *corpus* científico arnaldiano." *Actes de la I Trobada Internacional d' Estudis sobre Arnau de Vilanova*, vol. 2, 1995, p. 9-22.
- Papakonstantinou, Zinon. "Wine and Wine Drinking in the Homeric World." *L'Antiquité Classique*, vol. 78, no. 1, 2009, pp. 1-24.
- Paster, Gail Kern. "The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfection and the Humoral Economy." *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1998, pp. 416-40.
- Pérez Vidal, José. *Medicina y dulcería en el Libro de buen amor*. Cupsa, 1981.
- Phillips, Rod. *Alcohol. A History*. U of North Carolina P, 2014.

- Piñero Ramírez, Pedro M. “«In taberna quando sumus». De Berceo al Lazarillo.” *Historia y cultura del vino en Andalucía*, edited by Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez. Universidad de Sevilla, 1995, pp. 201-20.
- Piqueras Haba, Juan. “La cultura del vino en la España antigua y medieval.” *Oleana*, vol. 26, 2011, pp. 109-53.
- . *La vid y el vino en España. Edades Antigua y Media*. Publicaciones de la Universitat de València, 2014.
- Poema de mio Cid*. Edited by Colin Smith, Cátedra, 1994.
- Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge UP, 1986.
- Poole, Kevin R. “Juan Ruiz’s Lenten Dream of Gluttony: Don Carnal, Doña Quaresma, and Oneric Structure in the *Libro de buen amor*.” *Comitatus*, vol. 40, 2009, pp. 123-51.
- Poza Yagüe, Marta. “Calendario.” *Base de datos digital de Iconografía Medieval*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009, [www.ucm.es/bdiconografiamedieval/calendario-medieval](http://www.ucm.es/bdiconografiamedieval/calendario-medieval).
- Lazarillo de Tormes*. Edited by Francisco Rico, 18th ed., Cátedra, 2011.
- Razón de amor. El manuscrito, la lengua, y el ser literario de la Razón de amor*, edited by Enzo Franchini, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993.
- Reina Ruiz, M. *Monstruos, mujer y teatro en el barroco: Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán, primera dramaturga española*. Peter Lang, 2005.
- Riddle, John M. *Goddesses, Elixirs, and Witches. Plants and Sexuality Throughout Human History*. Palgrave, 2010.
- Ridgaway, Brunilde Sismondo. *Hellenistic Sculpture I*. U of Wisconsin P, 2001.
- Rinella, Michael A. *Pharmakon: Plato, Drug Culture, and Identity in Ancient Athens*. Lexington Books, 2010.

Rioja, Eusebio. *Orígenes de la hostelería en Málaga y su provincia: mesones, ventas y tabernas en Málaga de finales del siglo XV*. Asociación de Empresarios de Hostelería de la Provincia de Málaga, 2002.

Rivera Medina, Ana María. "Vid, viñedos y vino en Sefarad: Cultivo elaboración y comercio de un vino diferenciador." *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, no. 20, 2007, pp. 199-233.

---. *La civilización del viñedo en el primer Bilbao, 1300-1650*. Netbiblo, 2011.

Robinson, Jancis and Julia Harding. *The Oxford Companion to Wine*. Oxford UP, 2015.

Rodrigo-Estevan, María Luz, "El consumo de vino en la baja edad media: consideraciones socioculturales." *La alimentación en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV-XV)*, edited by M. García Guatas, E. Piedrafitá and J. Barbacil, Institución Fernando el Católico, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013. pp. 101-34.

---, "Maneras de beber, maneras de vivir. El consumo de vino en época medieval." *Modos de beber*, coordinated by Dominique Fournier and Ricardo Ávila, Universidad de Guadalajara, 2016, pp. 33-66.

Rojas, Fernando de. *La Celestina*. Edited by Dorothy S. Severin, Cátedra, 1998.

Rosal, María. "La mujer y el vino en la literatura: historia de un desencuentro." *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, no. 146, 2004, pp. 321-31.

---. "Las cosas del comer. Hambre y saciedad en la literatura." *Espéculo*, 2011, <http://webs.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero47/cosacome.html>. Accessed 3 November 2018.

Rose, Susan. *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000-1500*. Bloomsbury, 2011.

Rossaroli de Brevedon, Graciela "Consejos, ejemplos y sentencias contra Beudos y Enbryagos." *Actas de Simposio Internacional. El vino en la literatura española medieval: presencia y*

- simbolismo, Mendoza, 11 al 13 de agosto, 1988*, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1990, pp. 157-76.
- Roth, Norman. *Daily Life of the Jews in the Middle Ages*. Greenwood, 2005.
- . "Theory and Reality." *Medieval Jewish Civilization. An Encyclopedia*, edited by Roth, Routledge, 2014, pp. 151-52.
- . "Christian Restrictions on Jewish Food." *Medieval Jewish Civilization. An Encyclopedia*, edited by Roth, Routledge, 2014, pp. 263-64.
- Ruiz, Juan. *Libro de buen amor*. Edited by Alberto Blecuá, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Cátedra, 2001.
- Russell, Brigitte Ford. "Wine, Women, and the Polis: Gender and the Formation of the City-State in Archaic Rome." *Greece & Rome*, vol. 50, no. 1, 2003, pp. 77-84.
- Russell, Peter E. "La magia, tema integral de *La Celestina*." *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios: del Cid a Quijote*. Ariel, 1978, pp. 241-76.
- . "Why did Celestina Move House?" *The Age of Catholic Monarchs 1474-1516. Literary Studies in Memory of Keith Whinnom*, edited by Alan Deyermond and Ian Macpherson, Liverpool UP, 1989, pp. 155-61.
- Ruys, Juanita Feros. Introduction. *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, edited by Ruys, Brepols, 2008, pp. 1-38.
- Salinero Cascante, María Jesús. "El imaginario del vino en la literatura medieval: la dualidad vida-muerte." *Cuaderno de Investigación Filológica*, vol. 33-34, 2007-2008, pp. 213-42.
- Sauer, Michelle M. *Gender in Medieval Culture*. Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Scarborough, Connie L. "Another Look at the Encounter with the *Serranas* in the *Libro de buen amor*." *Medievalia*, vol. 39, 2007, pp. 96-105.



- . "The Rape of Men and other 'Lessons' about Sex in the *Libro de buen amor*." *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, edited by Albrecht Classen. Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 565-77.
- . "Urban Spaces in the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*." *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, edited by Albrecht Classen, Walter de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 537-66.
- . "Sexual Imagery as Unifying Factor in *Razón de amor y los denuestos del agua y el vino*." *Hispanic Research Journal*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2011, pp. 207-20.
- . "Eating, Drinking, and Consuming in the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*." *A Companion to Celestina*, edited by Enrique Fernandez, Brill, 2017, pp. 262-72.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 9, no. 5, 1986, pp. 1053-75.
- Seidenspinner-Núñez, Dayle. "'¡Guay del que duerme solo!': The Discourse of Antifeminism and the Collapse of the Narrator in *Arcipreste de Talavera*." *Revista del Instituto de Análisis Semiótico del Discurso*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1997, pp. 159-77.
- Severin, Dorothy Sherman. "Celestina and the Magical Empowerment of Women." *Celestinesca*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1993, pp. 9-28.
- . Introducción. *La Celestina*, edited by Severin, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., Cátedra, 1998, pp. 9-46.
- Shoemaker, Robert Brink and Mary Vincent, editors. *Gender and History in Western Europe*. Arnold, 1998.
- Smith, Colin. Introducción. *Poema de mio Cid*, by Smith, Cátedra, 19<sup>th</sup> ed., 1994, pp.17-123.

- Smith, Dennis E. *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World*, Fortress, 2003.
- Snow, Joseph. "Celestina's Claudina." *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond. A North American Tribute*, edited by John S. Miletich, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986, pp. 257-78.
- . Prólogo. *Fernando de Rojas y La Celestina*, edited by Sánchez Sánchez-Serrano and Prieto de la Iglesia, Teide, 1991, pp. iii-vi.
- . "Celestina's houses." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 86, 2009, pp. 133-42.
- . "The Significance of *Celestina*." *A Companion to Celestina*, edited by Enrique Fernández, Brill, 2017, pp. 3-18.
- Solomon, Michael. *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain. The Archpriest de Talavera and the Spill*. Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Symonds, John Addington. *Wine, Women and Song. Students' Songs of the Middle Ages*. Dover, 2002.
- Tate, R. B. "Adventures in the Sierra." *Libro de buen amor Studies*, edited by G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, Tamesis, 1970, pp. 219-29.
- Taylor, Archer. "The Three Sins of the Hermit." *Modern Philology*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1922, pp. 61-94.
- New International Version*, Biblica, 2011.
- Thurst, B. Ann. "Gender and Alcohol Use in Early Modern Augsburg." *Historie Sociales/ Social History*, vol. 27, no. 54, 1994, pp. 241-59.

- . "Crossing Gender Boundaries: Women as Drunkards in Early Modern German." *Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Sibylle Backmann, Hans-Jörg Künast, Sabine Ullmann, Tlusty, Oldenbourg Akademieverlag, 1998, pp. 185-97.
- Torres, Miguel A. "Producción y comercialización del vino en el Mediterráneo." *La alimentación mediterránea: Historia, cultura, nutrición*, edited by F. Xaviera Medina, Icaria, 1996, pp. 197-205.
- Trotula. *The Trotula. A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*. Edited and translated by Monica H. Green, U of Pennsylvania P, 2001.
- Ullman, Pierre L. "Juan Ruiz's Prologue." *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 82, no. 2, 1967, pp. 149-70.
- Unwin, Tim. *Wine and Vine. An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*. Routledge, 2005.
- Varriano, John. *Wine: A Cultural History*. Reaktion, 2010.
- Vasvári, Louise O. "Vegetal-Genital Onomastics in the *Libro de buen amor*." *Romance Philology*, vol. 42, 1988, pp. 1-29.
- . "The Battle of Flesh and Lent in the *Libro del Arçipreste*: Gastro-genital Rites of Reversal." *La corónica*, vol. 20, 1991, pp. 1-15.
- . "Peregrinaciones por topografías pornográficas en el *Libro de buen amor*." *Actas del VI congreso internacional de la asociación hispánica de literatura medieval, Alcalá de Henares, 12-16 de septiembre de 1995*, edited by José Manuel Lucía Megías, Universidad de Alcalá, 1997, pp. 1563-72.
- Vaught, Jennifer C. *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*. Ashgate, 2008.

- Velasco, Sherry. "Marimachos, hombrunas, barbudas: The Masculine Woman in Cervantes." *Cervantes*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2000, pp. 69-78.
- Villalobos Racionero, Isidoro. "El vino en las letras españolas: una aproximación histórico-cultural." *Cuadernos de estudios manchegos*, vol. 33, 2008, pp. 14-39.
- Villena, Enrique de. *Arte cisoria*. Edited by Felipe-Benicio Navarro, Maxtor, 2006.
- Vives, Juan Luis. *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*. Edited and translated by Charles Fantazzi. U of Chicago P, 2000.
- Waldhauer, Oscar. "Myron's *Anus Ebria* and the Drunken Woman in Munich." *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 50, no. 2, 1946, pp. 241-46.
- Weissberger, Barbara F. "'Deceitful Sects': The Debate about Women in the Age of Isabel the Catholic." *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, edited by Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees, Palgrave, 2002, pp. 207-36.
- West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1987, pp. 125-51.
- Whinnom, Keith. "El género celestinesco, origen y desarrollo." *Literatura en la época del Emperador*, edited by Víctor García de la Concha, Academia Literaria Renacentista V, 1988, pp. 119-30.
- Whitbourn, Christine. *The Arcipreste de Talavera and the Literature of Love*. Hull UP, 1970.
- Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Wilson, Katharina M and Elizabeth M. Makowski. *Wykked Wyves and the Woes of Marriages: Misogamous Literature from Juvenal to Chaucer*. State U of New York P, 1990.

- Wilson, Thomas M. "Food, Drink and Identity in Europe: Consumption and the Construction of Local, National and Cosmopolitan Culture." *European Studies: An Interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History, and Politics*, edited by Wilson, Rodopi, 2006, pp. 11-48.
- Woolgar, C. M. "Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England." *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 37, 2011, pp. 6-18.
- Medina, F. Xavier "'Social Wine': Ethnic Identity and Wine Consumption in the Basque Diaspora in Barcelona (Spain)." *European Studies: An Interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History, and Politics*, edited by Thomas M. Wilson, Rodopi, 2006, pp. 111-128.
- Zaderenko, Irene and Alberto Montaner. Introduction. *A Companion to the Poema de mio Cid*, by Zaderenko and Montaner, Brill, pp. 1-41.
- Zafra, Enriqueta. "Risky Business: The Politics of Prostitution in *Celestina*." *A Companion to Celestina*, edited by Enrique Fernandez, Brill, 2017, pp. 173-8.7
- Zahareas, Anthony and Oscar Pereira. *Itinerario del Libro del Arcipreste: Glosas críticas al Libro de buen amor*. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990.
- Zanker, Graham. *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry and Art*. U of Wisconsin P, 2004.