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TRANSGENDERED SEX AND HEALING IN *CELESTINA*

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Celestina is arguably the most renowned *medianera* or female go-between of late medieval and early modern Iberia. A multivocational pimp, healer, and ex-prostitute who is employed to heal Calisto of lovesickness, Rojas portrays her pejoratively as a mediator who applies inappropriate remedies of cure. Instead of administering a medically sanctioned treatment, i.e. distracting Calisto from his excessive meditation on Melibea, Celestina unites the two young nobles and intensifies their desire.[1] The text suggests that Celestina causes Calisto's death and the demise of other characters.

Rojas uses a variety of strategies to malign her and to demonstrate her ineffectiveness, but perhaps his most understated tactic is Celestina's depiction as a disparaged, masculine seducer of women. Celestina's interactions with others are always specious because she is duplicitous: she says one thing but means another, and instead of remedying a disease, she exacerbates it. But her dealings with women are especially questionable because they constitute potential encounters for her own beguiling, cunning seduction.

Celestina has regular, private access to women in her many vocations, but instead of only providing beneficial services to them, the book indicates that Celestina's interventions always serve her own interests. Rojas extends the idea of Celestina's self-serving nature to the realms of gender and sexuality, where he shows that her meetings with women take place potentially for her own pleasure. By depicting Celestina as a threatening, masculine seducer of women Rojas equates *medianeras*' work with contemptible sexual and erotic practice, and warns readers that *medianeras* threaten the integrity of the patriarchal social order.

This feature of Celestina's denigration occurs within Rojas's larger project against women healers, as he aims to dissuade readers from seeking their services in everyday society.[2] To this end, Celestina's disparaging contact with

other women sometimes takes place in a traditional healing milieu, such as in Act VII where Rojas melds healing techniques and sexual advances in Celestina's attempts to relieve Areúsa of *mal de la madre*, that is, suffocation of the womb and wandering womb. Celestina's efforts to heal Areúsa's illness are intertwined with seduction of the young prostitute, and the ambiguous value of those methods threatens societal norms of sexuality and gender, and thus the general social order.

The scene begins when Areúsa complains of aches and pains in her chest, just above her stomach: "Mal gozo vea de mí si burlo, sino que ha quatro horas que muero de la madre, que la tengo sobida en los pechos, que me quiere sacar del mundo."[3] Celestina diagnoses her illness as *mal de la madre*, but instead of proceeding to heal her, Celestina attempts to arouse Areúsa for her own erotic amusement:

> CELESTINA. ¡Bendígate Dios y el señor Sant Miguel Ángel, y qué gorda y fresca que estás; qué pechos y qué gentileza! Por hermosa te tenía hasta agora, viendo lo que todos podían ver. Pero agora te digo que no ay en la cibdad tres cuerpos tales como el tuyo en quanto yo conozco; no paresce que ayas quinze años. ¡O quién fuera hombre y tanta parte alcançara de ti para gozar tal vista! (7.202)

Celestina's arousal technique consists of marveling at Areúsa's well-shaped breasts and figure, while wishing she were a man to enjoy the younger woman's body.[4] If Celestina is to be believed, that only a man could delight in holding and viewing Areúsa's body, then Celestina performs the male gender when she herself delights in it. Hence, she becomes aberrant in two ways, in her erotic advances toward another woman and in her shift in gender. This seeming blending of gender categories in Celestina, a woman/possible man who takes great pleasure in touching and viewing Areúsa, calls into question the aims of her propositions: are they sexual or prophylactic? Areúsa finally rejects Celestina's overtures and implores her to stop the teasing and to give her some medicine for her pain. Areúsa does not acknowledge Celestina's erotic advances, but instead renders them a mere nuisance.

But Celestina's techniques are more than bothersome or pestering, for she knows that the arousal of the afflicted woman client constituted a legitimate, medieval remedy of *mal de la madre*. Celestina is not simply a seducer of women in this scene, but is clearly a well-informed healer of that uterine disease, which held that the detachable uterus strayed from its correct place in a woman's body. Beginning with Galen and Avicenna, and propounded through the fifteenth century by doctors such as Bernard of Gordon in his *Lilio de medicina*, physicians sometimes called for the digital therapies of women healers as treatment for the malady.[5] The belief in suffocation of the womb stemmed

from classical writers and doctors such as Hippocrates, Galen, and Plato, and continued through the medieval and early modern periods:[6]

> The womb was thought of as a kind of animal, a frog or a toad, and it was believed that this being could at certain times wander about within the body of a woman producing a number of unpleasant symptoms such as shortness of breath, aphonia, pain, paralysis, choking and suffocation as well as a violent seizure of the senses. (Burke 111-112)

According to Celestina, all women have the painful disease at some time: "cada una se tiene [o ha tenido] su madre y [sus] çoçobras della" (7.202).[7] The proper remedy for the malady consisted of initially administering strong odors to the patient, although it could only truly be cured with sexual intercourse and eventual motherhood (Burke 111-112).

Since it was believed that retained seed or semen caused the disease, medical writers prescribed sexual remedies in order for seed to be expelled with digital stimulation. The problem of retained seed was believed to cause serious illness to women and men in the medieval and early modern periods, and it was commonly remedied with moderate coitus.[8] For this reason, coitus with husbands was prescribed as the most effective and readily available cure for mal de la madre. However, as Galen, Avicenna, and others propounded, manual treatments like masturbation and the digital therapies of midwives were encouraged for the patient's well-being when coitus was unattainable, hypothetically such as in the case of widows. Galen had recounted the story of a midwife who relieved a woman of a retracted uterus by administering medicinal remedies to her vagina by hand (*On The Affected Parts* 185). This account inspired medieval physicians to rely on women healers for *mal de la madre*'s digital cure.

In her edition of *Celestina*, Dorothy S. Severin rightly identifies the *medianera*'s arousal techniques in Celestina's efforts to prepare Areúsa for sex with Pármeno (7.202n25). However, at the same time that Celestina seeks to titillate Areúsa for Pármeno, she also delights in the sensuous young woman for her own pleasure, as Severin further suggests. Although Celestina's techniques do not explicitly conform to those described by Galen and medieval physicians, her interventions are medically legitimate because they aim for the expulsion of Areúsa's seed to cure her suffocation of the womb, whether through her own efforts or through coitus with Pármeno. Yet Rojas seeks to dismantle the legitimacy of these methods as they are applied by the woman healer. He makes the salutary goal duplicitous because it conceals Celestina's supposedly true objective, to fulfill her promise to Pármeno of sex with Areúsa.

Celestina's encounter with Areúsa in the scene was bolstered by conven-

tional, medical beliefs that called for women's manual intervention to relieve suffocation of the womb. But, in order to malign Celestina as a sexually deviant healer, the scene is amplified with Celestina's aberrant woman-to-woman seduction. Rojas injects it with a more heightened sexual and homoerotic weight than the descriptions of midwives' remedies in medical treatises. In so doing he manipulates the valid, medically-sanctioned mediations of women healers in order to distort their application as practiced by Celestina.

The scene between Celestina and Areúsa serves as a warning to readers because it alludes to three potentially hazardous results of women healers' interventions: 1. *medianeras* could delight in their women clients for their own pleasure; 2. they assume unstable gender identities; and, 3. all of Celestina's healing methods seem to fall short since her remedy of coitus with Pármeno fails to relieve Areúsa of *mal de la madre*. This is demonstrated at the beginning of Act VIII when Areúsa complains of continued distress (8.211). Her discomfort is part of the game of desire and sexual coercion between Pármeno and herself because Areúsa evidently uses the disease as a pretext to seduce Pármeno again. But, her ongoing pain also indicates the failure of Celestina's coital remedy, since, according to the medical parameters of *mal de la madre*, coitus and eventual motherhood healed the disease. *Celestina* suggests that coitus was an ineffective cure when it was prescribed and controlled by *medianeras* such as Celestina and her meretricious colleagues.

Rojas's depiction of the inefficacy of Celestina's sexual remedy, including the administering of her techniques and of Pármeno's, suggests the medianera's medical incompetence, and anxiety about her interventions. The scene between Celestina and Areúsa corresponds to the medical profession's increasing distrust of women healers. And Rojas maligns them by presenting their traditionally salutary interventions as overtly sexual, and by blurring their gender roles. Part of the medianera's threat to late medieval Iberian society was constituted by the suspected sexual implications of her healing ministrations and methods.[9]

Rojas's work reinforces this social concern about *medianeras* since Celestina's intimate relations with other women are alluded to throughout the text. This is evident not only in Act VII with Areúsa, but also directly prior to that scene in the same Act VII when Celestina describes to Pármeno her old friend and mentor, Claudina. The negative implications of Celestina's hygienic and erotic overtures toward the younger Areúsa are even more heightened when read in conjunction with her depiction of Claudina, Pármeno's mother and Celestina's friend and mentor:

> CELESTINA. ¿Quién sabía mis secretos? ¿A quién descobría mi coraçon? ¿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! (7.196)

Celestina's description of her associate demonstrates not only the women's affective connection, but also their possible physical one as Celestina again lauds, in this case, the masculine comportment of another woman, calling Claudina graceful and manly. The masculinization of Claudina as *varonil* is significant, and so is Celestina's admiration of this quality. With regard to gender, it illustrates that Celestina and women close to her transgress socially-accepted gender and, possibly, sexual boundaries. Celestina's unstable gender identity reappears later, as we have seen, in Act VII when she performs the male gender while delighting in Areúsa's body.

Celestina and Claudina defy binary female and male categories and are depicted as transgendered subjects. Celestina's inconstant gender is further highlighted when she appears negatively masculine as *barbuda,* indicating another way in which gender breaches accompany sexual transgressions in Rojas's scheme to malign the woman healer (1.103; 3.138). Celestina's beard is a grotesque marker of the male gender, and is explicitly linked to her questionable social roles. In Act I, Sempronio refers to her beard at the same time that he emphasizes her roles as a witch and a healer: "Días ha grandes que conozco en fin desta vezindad una vieja barbuda que se dize Celestina, hechizera, astuta, sagaz en cuantas maldades hay" (1.103). Sempronio directly links Celestina's gender aberration and old age to her evil talents in sorcery or witchcraft.

It is not coincidental that Rojas also connects Claudina's anomalous masculinity to her powers in witchcraft and magic. In Act VII, Celestina relates more details to Pármeno about Claudina:

> ¡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 officio como de día. Ni dexava christianos ni moros ni judíos cuyos enterramientos no visitava. De día los acechava, de noche los desenterrava. (7.196)

Claudina and Celestina practiced together as masculine sorcerers or witches, and the book suggests the interdependence of those two pejorative traits whereby the *medianera*'s male features connote participation in witchcraft or sorcery. Not only did Celestina and Claudina visit and disinter the dead but, as Celestina later recounts in the same episode, their collective work in witchcraft consisted of extracting teeth and stealing shoes from those who were hanged. Claudina was publicly castigated and denounced as a witch in the town square (7.198).

Rojas denounces women healers in general by suggesting Claudina and Celestina's connection to witchcraft, a common association during this period since those healers often used female corporal substances such as milk, menstrual blood, and pubic hair in their remedies. Claudina and Celestina's extraction of teeth from the dead corroborates this practice in *Celestina.* Rojas emphasizes the association of women's bodies, witchcraft, and healing by extending his arguments against *medianeras* to their aberrant gender and sex, thereby connecting those transgressions to the demonic.[10]

Hence, through her association with Claudina, Rojas links Celestina's masculine *barba*, her adoption of the male gender, her erotic attraction to other women, her healing practice, and her sorcery, in an effort to discredit her efficacy as a healer. But, there is more. Celestina and Claudina's gender shifts and homoerotic attractions occur simultaneously with early modern accounts that point to the societal presence of transvestites and other transgendered and nonconventional subjects who sometimes enjoyed social tolerance. While the acceptance of sexual and gendered "others" was by no means absolute in late medieval and early modern Iberia, several examples reveal their occasional appeal. Celestina and Claudina are analogous to those mundane subjects in a separate effort to denigrate societal "others" and subvert any favorable public sentiment they might have received.

For instance, a stunning account from Valencia in 1502, just three years after the début of the earliest printing of *Celestina*, describes a transvestite who was arrested in front of a church:

> En lo dit mes y any [September, 1502] fou presa una dona per ladre, pensant que era home, y confessant la dix que era dona y portaba una cosa de home, entre les cames, feta de aluda, y havia pres muller en faz de Sta. Mare Església y així tenia part ab dones, com si fos home, servint-se del dit instrument de aluda. E fon determinat en Consell fos penjada, y portantla a sentenciar, la Sra. Reyna la feu tornar, dient no se era dada la sentència com devia (...)[11]

It is significant that the passage elevates above the crime of robbery the transvestite's use of the dildo or "a man's thing" ("una cosa de home") with other women in front of the church.[12] Like Celestina and Claudina, he/she obfuscates simple gender categories of the female and male, while occupying a public area. The transvestite's supposedly "true" gender identity is revealed only under apparent questioning by authorities, despite the fact that her/his appearance outside the church does not cause an evident disturbance to passersby. Indeed the account suggests a conventionality to the transvestite's public presence, as it stresses her/his having taken a woman ("havia pres muller") in front of the church.[13] Thus the transvestite had contact with women as if she/

he were a man, while making use of the leather instrument.

This subject embodies a third gender that apparently becomes disruptive only insofar as she/he is believed to be a thief. Although this infraction associates him/her with illegal activity, the transvestite's placement before the church does not explicitly disturb the social order owing to gender or sexual transgressions. In the end, the Valencian Council sentenced her/him to death by hanging, but the Queen overturned the sentence and ordered that it be commuted.

Like Celestina and Claudina, the transvestite performs the male gender, indicating a breach in the normative binary categories of female and male. This transvestite's public visibility indicates that transgendered subjects may have constituted more customary fixtures of late medieval, early modern Iberian society than we have believed. Hence, rather than representing an anomaly, Celestina's discursive gender fluidity and attraction to other women may correspond to accounts of transvestites and other subjects who populated Spanish territories in the early modern period.

In a well known everyday example, scholars such as Marjorie Garber, Mary Elizabeth Perry, Rima de Vallbona, and Sherry Velasco have examined Catalina de Erauso, who lived much of his/her seventeenth-century adult life as a man fighting in Peru for the Spanish Crown. After being pronounced a chaste, biological woman, the Pope allowed Erauso to continue living as a man. Early modern accounts such as this indicate the occasional societal acceptance of these subjects, rather than their absolute discrediting.[14] In her recent study, Velasco demonstrates that transvestites such as Erauso often evoke in society the contrasting emotions of desire and fear (9). Rojas seems to recognize this potential in the *Celestina*, where he tries to undermine readers' possible desire for manly women.

A final case further exemplifies the subjects who openly participated in early modern Iberian society, and who implicitly constitute targets of Rojas's denunciation. Israel Burshatin has studied the life of the sixteenth-century hermaphrodite tailor and healer, Eleno de Céspedes (b. 1545), who lived for twenty years as a man after marrying and giving birth to a child as a woman. Eleno claimed to have changed genders when his interior genitalia fell out upon giving birth, which corresponded to a medieval and early modern physiological belief that was advanced by medical writers such as the sixteenth-century Juan Huarte de San Juan (607-618). Eleno's identity shift agrees with the medical idea that some subjects possessed mutable gender. This concept was particularly reasonable to Huarte and other physicians who believed that women and men shared the same genitalia, which was inverted in women and extroverted in men.[15]

Burshatin calls Eleno "a worthy descendent" of Celestina, since like her, Eleno's trades depended on needle, thread, and speech (431). Eleno's sewing skills were so highly sophisticated that he manipulated his body in such a way as to convince several inspectors—including a medical doctor—that he possessed male genitalia during a portion of his life. One remarkable aspect of Eleno's story is his lack of public notoriety for many years, even when military friends generally knew him as a hermaphrodite (423). Eleno blended into early modern Iberian society for at least his first forty-two years, until 1587 when he was denounced as a bigamist by an ex-military acquaintance.

The portrayal of Celestina links *medianeras* to such ordinary people in an effort to denigrate them, as Rojas highlights Celestina's attraction to women and her ability to perform the male gender. Act III further alludes to her possible sexual activities with Claudina when Celestina describes all she learned from her friend in their daily routine:

> CELESTINA. Della aprendí todo lo mejor que sé de mi officio. *Juntas comiémos, juntas durmiémos, juntas aviémos nuestros solazes, nuestros plazeres, nuestros consejos y conciertos.* En casa y fuera, como dos hermanas. (3.142; my emphasis)

Not only did Claudina teach Celestina everything she knew about her trades, but the two women ate together, slept together, shared each other's pleasure, and lived together like two sisters. From the beginning lines of Act III, Celestina's transgressive beard is plainly linked to her possible sexual infraction with Claudina, when Sempronio refers to her as "la barbuda" (138).

The phrase "juntas durmiémos" does not necessarily imply sexual intimacy; although, when read together with historical documents from the period about other pairs of sleeping women, the activity was sometimes charged with sexual meaning. For example, Valencian prostitutes such as Isabel Aragonesa and Beatriz Castellana were fined on August 18, 1509 for having been "halladas durmiendo juntas." A prostitute with the surname Gascó was fined twenty-six *sueldos* with Isabel de Aranda for having been "encontradas durmiendo juntas." On January 15, 1494, a prostitute called La Sevillana from Valencia's municipal brothel was punished fifty-one *sueldos* for refusing to comply with a judicial command in having returned to "vivir en concubinato" with La Castellana, another prostitute from the brothel (Pérez García 223-224). As Pablo Pérez García suggests, it is possible that statements such as "halladas durmiendo juntas" decry sexual activity between women (223).

Rojas may have used this euphemism to intimate sexual contact between Celestina and Claudina. The description of their life together in Act III reinforces the ways in which women's intimacy often threatened the patriar-

chal social order, that is, through their gender and sexual transgressions, as well as through what they learned from one another. Women passed down dangerous knowledge to other women, as evidenced by Celestina's claim that she learned all she needed to know about her multifaceted profession (*officio*) from Claudina.

Rojas further emphasizes and bolsters the peril of women's alliance through Celestina's relation with the young prostitute Elicia. Celestina and Elicia's friendship mirrors Claudina and Celestina's, since Act VII describes Elicia as a *medianera* in training. After Celestina's encounter with Areúsa earlier in the Act, Elicia chastises the old woman for not returning home promptly, since a client had requested her skills in remaking his daughter's virginity for the sake of a new marriage. Celestina reprimands Elicia in claiming that the young prostitute could have repaired the woman's virginity since Elicia had often watched Celestina's techniques:

> ¿Por qué tú no tomavas el aparejo y començavas a hazer algo? Pues en aquellas tales te avías de abezar y de provar, de quantas vezes me lo as visto hazer. Si no, ay te estarás toda tu vida, hecha bestia sin officio ni renta. Y quando seas de mi edad llorarás la holgura de agora, que la mocedad ociosa acarrea la vejez arrepentida y trabajosa. Hazíalo yo mejor quando tu abuela, que Dios haya, me mostrava este officio, que a cabo de un año sabía más que ella. (7.209-210)

Unlike Celestina's apprenticeship with Claudina, Elicia is an inadequate student since she hesitates to renew the young woman's virginity, a dubious skill that Celestina previously carried out seven times with the young woman referred to in the scene (7.209). Celestina's criticism of Elicia extends to her general disinterest in exercising the tasks necessary to survive as she ages.

Elicia and Celestina's relationship parallels Celestina and Claudina's, and it matches the affiliation between Celestina and another mentor, Elicia's grandmother. The allusion to Celestina's second teacher demonstrates again the questionable legacy forged by women's relations. Rojas shows that women inculcate dubious methods and values in other women since the odd task of restoring female virginity aims to deceive unwitting husbands and male lovers.

Celestina and Elicia's intimacy emulates Celestina and Claudina's in another way. Act XII links Celestina and Claudina anew when Celestina tells Pármeno: "Y tú, Pármeno, no pienses que soy tu cativa por saber mis secretos y mi vida passada y los casos que nos acaescieron a mí y a la desdichada de tu madre" (12.273). Almost immediately following these comments, Celestina asks Elicia to bring her shawl from the bedroom where the younger woman is sleeping: "¡Elicia, Elicia, levántate dessa cama, dacá mi manto presto" (12.273).

The proximity of these remarks indicates the similarity between both pairs of women, since Celestina's request surely implies that she and her protegée share the same bedroom and bed, as did Celestina and Claudina in the past.

Rojas maligns women with descriptions of their learned knowledge about how to deceive men, their gender changes, and their potential homosexual/homoerotic activity. He demonstrates women's gender instability and their attraction to other women in order to depict *medianeras* as deviants from the established social and patriarchal order. These characterizations contrast the accounts about Eleno Céspedes, Catalina de Erauso, and the transvestite in front of the Valencian church, which reflect the partial appeal of some early modern transgendered subjects. Their public presence and the possible openness of their relations with women challenge widely held assumptions about early modern society.[16] Through Celestina's overlap with such early modern subjects, Rojas aims to malign women who violate established gender and sexual limits.

These violators of the social order destroy it. Rojas's work implies that the social organization is predicated, in part, on heterosexual practice and human reproduction, two areas in which Celestina is at least partially deficient since she currently has no male partner nor does she have children. Her failure to reproduce offspring like women should has been identified as an offensive quality (González Echevarría). Furthermore, Burke points out that the uterine disease of *mal de la madre* is symbolic of the failure of maternal functions in *Celestina* (114). Hence, as *mal de la madre* represents an obstruction of women's typical reproductive cycle in Rojas's work, so do Celestina's erotic overtures toward women connote a barrier to ordinary heterosexual activity. The scene between Celestina and Areúsa has important implications for women's sexuality and identity, and for human regeneration, because instead of giving life through heterosexual reproductive coupling, Celestina's homoerotic propositions to Areúsa constitute the antithesis of motherhood and heterosexual reproduction.

Celestina prescribes the proper hygienic remedies for Areúsa's affliction of *mal de la madre*, but her methods are summarily discredited because she represents a transgendered, homoerotic order that anticipates the collapse of heteroerotic, societal integrity. Rojas distorts prescribed salutary medical mediations and makes them, in the case of Celestina, sexual in order to reveal the duplicitous, "perverse" nature of the woman healer.

But the effects of Celestina's portrayal extend beyond ordinary women healers to a broader range of everyday people as Rojas undermines the *medianera*'s social favor by presenting her sexuality and gender as deviant and indeterminate. Celestina's potentially erotic and sexual relations with women mentors, friends, and employees, such as Claudina, Areúsa, and Elicia, illus-

trate her divergence from social norms and connect her to a variety of culturally alluring "others" in late medieval and early modern Iberian society. With Celestina's portrayal as a masculine seducer of women, Rojas seeks to erode the methods of women healers, as well as the occasional social acceptance of ordinary transvestites and transgendered subjects who resemble Celestina.

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NOTES

[1] For a detailed discussion of this medically inappropriat"cure," see Solomon, "Calisto's Ailment."

[2] For a detailed exposition of Rojas's attack on women healers through Celestina's portrayal, see Dangler, *Mediating Fictions* (especially chapter three).

[3] References to the *Celestina* are from D. S. Severin's edition, by act and page numbers. This citation is 7.202.

[4] For a similar interpretation, see Burshatin, 443-446.

[5] See Lemay's "William of Saliceto on Human Sexuality" for further discussion of women's role in healing suffocation of the womb, especially 175-178. Bernard of Gordon discusses the midwife's role in the *Lilio de medicina*, fol. 173r.

[6] For further information on the disease and *Celestina*, see Burke, "The *Mal de la Madre* and the Failure of Maternal Influence in *Celestina*." The *mal de la madre* was alluded to as a disease until as recently as the beginning of the twentieth century (Burke 112).

[7] The pain associated with *mal de la madre* is probably the same discomfort linked to today's menstrual cramps.

[8] Because of the pivotal role that sex played in the maintenance of health, medieval medical treatises regularly included passages on coition, including Bernard of Gordon's *Lilio de medicina*, fol. 166v. Entire treatises were sometimes devoted to many aspects of coitus, such as the anonymous, fifteenth-century Catalan *Speculum al foderi*, and the sixteenth-century *Tractado del uso de las mugeres*, by the Castilian physician Francisco Núñez de Coria.

[9] Concern about the ambiguous sexual *and* salutary value of the *medianera*'s healing methods perhaps contributed to the reticence of some medieval writers on women's digital techniques. See the discussion on this point in Dangler, *Mediating Fictions*, 122-124.

[10] For a discussion on the link between women's bodies, witchcraft, and attacks on women healers, see Park, "Medicine and Magic," 147.

[11] Cited in *Libre de memòries de diversos sucesos e fets memorables*, volume II, 721. The work's introduction states that this case derives from the *Manual de consells* at Valencia's municipal archive, a document that recounts a variety of events intended to counsel municipal administrators, volume I, vii-xxvii. Cerveró also cites this anecdote under the rubric "Algunes notes al voltant de la sexualitat," 352-353.

[12] I opt for the dual female/male pronouns to refer to the transvestite because she/he is a subject who defies facile categorization.

[13] Joan Coromines asserts that since the thirteenth century, *muller* has always meant *wife* in medieval and modern documents. Since it derives from the Latin MULIER, -ERIS, Coromines attributes its infrequent use as *woman* in Vicent Ferrer's sermons to a calque from biblical Latin (832). However, the phrase makes little sense when translated as *wife*, since having "taken a wife" ("havia pres muller") occurred in front of the church rather than in a ceremony inside. Perhaps "havia pres muller" bears a euphemistic, ironic, or parodic portrayal of heterosexual coupling.

[14] For a consideration of Erauso's early modern popular appeal, see Velasco, *The Lieutenant Nun.*

[15] This monophysiology is also explained in Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, Chapter One (especially 17-47).

[16] Burshatin concurs in the case of Eleno Céspedes, 426.

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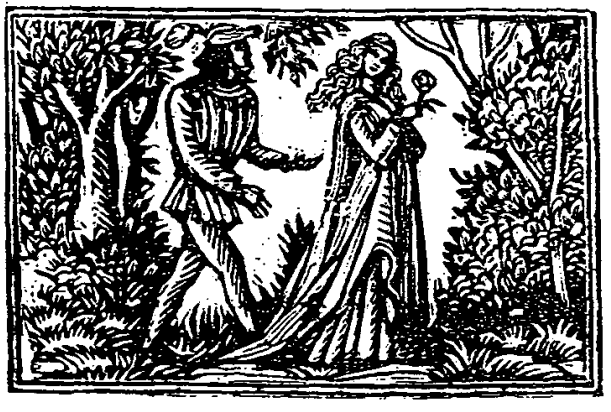

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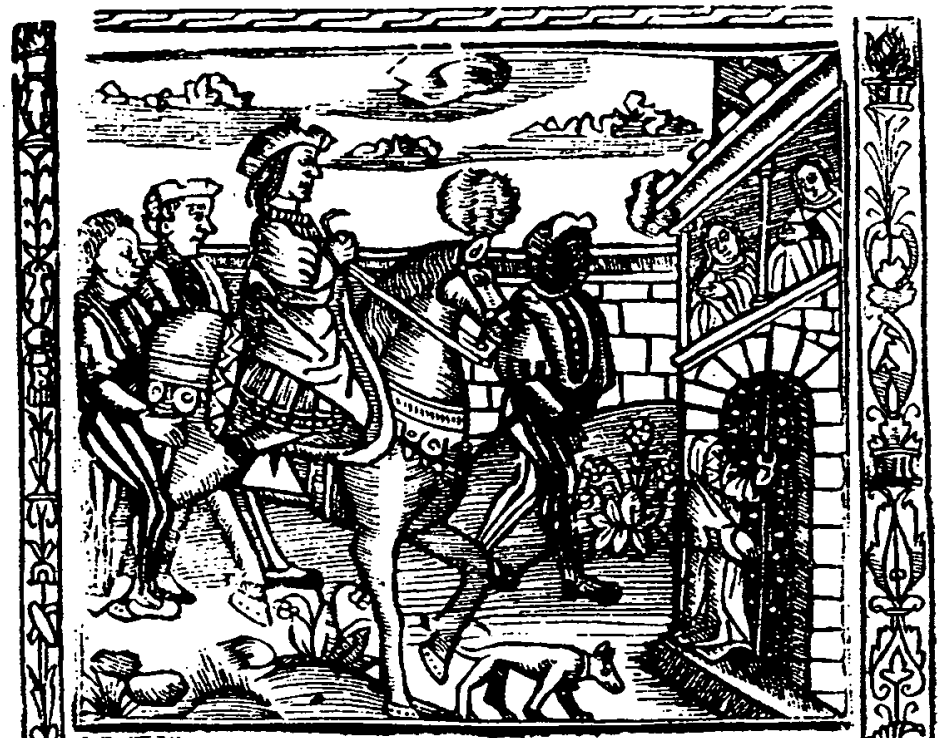

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Valencia 1529