The Gendering of Medicine in La Lozana andaluza

Luis F. López González (Vanderbilt University)

Francisco Delicado's Retrato de la Lozana andaluza dramatizes the life and deeds of a woman who earns her living by practicing prostitution and medicine. As the first word of the title indicates, the book purports to capture the realistic picture (retrato) of an Andalusian migrant living in the vibrant city of Rome from 1513 until about 1528, the year of the novel's publication. The main character, who changes her name from Aldonza to Lozana on account of her protean and extroverted persona, is steeped in the basic craft of curandería available to women during the sixteenth century in European societies. Perhaps because she has an avant-lalettre Quixotesque conscience of being a literary character (399), her every move and word have a strong element of posturing and performativity, always looking to outsmart and overtake everyone. Like most of the picaros who followed in her footsteps in Renaissance literature, Lozana's character is in a constant struggle to outwit her competitors in the realms of medicine and prostitution. She inhabits a world that fits into the mold that Fernando de Rojas theorizes with the Heraclitean dictum "omnia secundum litem fiunt" [all things are made in the manner of struggle] in the Prologue to La Celestina (213, my translation). Rome in Delicado's novel is an ebullient society where either you triumph over others, or they triumph over you, whereby winners gain renown and money.

In Lozana's characterization, Delicado represents a double tension regarding gender and medicine. Lozana cannot practice medicine formally, or even legally, because she lacks official training and is unlicensed. Medical licenses were granted by accredited governmental physicians to doctors who had completed a medical degree, and since women were not allowed to enroll in centers of higher learning, only men became licensed doctors. Although sometimes she undermines her own credibility by saying that she deceives her patients, Lozana also intimates that she knows more about medicine than university-trained doctors, and at least in Delicado's novel, her assessment may be true. The only three male physicians limned in the plot praise Lozana's healing prowess and also bemoan that her effective treatments are drying out their profits. Despite her efficacy, though, she is compelled to be a clandestine healer mainly by reason of her gender.

Lozana's underground medical occupation leads to the second tension developed in the novel. She is forced to operate largely on the margins of civilized society, serving the poorest and most marginalized without proper sanitation or adequate medical equipment. Although her knowledge on medicine comprises both genders, by and large only women (and conceivably their children) turn to Lozana's expertise to heal actual illnesses, while men come to her on pretext of infirmity, but they mostly want sexual gratification. There are cases when Lozana treats male patients, such as the man she medicates *in absentia* for hemorrhoids in Mamotreto XLIII, but it is uncommon. Characters like the "Canónigo" and Trujillo are the norm. They purport to have penile infections, andrological conditions that cause excruciating pain and undermine their manhood. Both characters are "cured" by means of having intercourse with Lozana. Trujillo, as we learn in due course, conducts himself as a *pícaro* who tricks Lozana into

ISSN 1540 5877

¹ To be sure, the Jewish doctor Salomón says that Lozana treats thousands of villagers, but the reader never sees her seeing male patients. The male characters who seek Lozana do so because they want intercourse, which is natural given Lozana's double profession.

offering her sexual services as alms, thus recalling the patron saint of prostitutes Saint Nefija. Coridón, likewise, seeks Lozana on account of his lovesickness, a psychosomatic illness thought to be caused by excesses, namely excess of black bile, excess of the frothy substance of semen, and excess of erotic desire. Delicado, and perhaps Coridón himself, will have known that medieval physicians prescribed coitus with the beloved or with a substitute as the foremost therapy for this erotic condition. Lozana, who is very familiar with Avicenna—though probably not with his encyclopedic medical epistemology—knew this antidote and counseled Coridón accordingly (434),² devising a blueprint for him to fool his beloved's husband to gain access to the object of his desire.

This article explores the gender dynamics of healing and healers in *Lozana* both in the eponymous character's role as *curandera* and the interactions with patients. I will demonstrate that Delicado represents Lozana as a quack and yet an uncannily effective healer with the double purpose of criticizing the system that excludes women from lawfully practicing medicine, on the one hand, and of critiquing male doctors' frivolousness and avarice, on the other. The author, moreover, shows how women depend on female healers to treat their immediate health care needs, at least in part due to women's apprehensions about showing their bodies to male physicians, which force them to seek help in the margins of society with female healers without official training who operate outside the bounds of licensed medicine. By depicting trained physicians as corrupt, greedy, incompetent, hypersexual, and even cruel, the author sheds light on the necessity to broaden the field of medicine to include female healers, such as Lozana, who could tend to the needs of women. The lack of gender equality in this regard causes Lozana to benefit less from cultivating a reputation as a competent healer capable of providing gynecological and obstetric care to women and their newborns. Her clandestine activity also places her in a vulnerable position to be abused by men.

Emily Kuffner has argued that Lozana relies on her erotic touch as a pragmatic healing methodology (65), a thesis that presupposes a gendered medical premise because, unlike her predecessor Celestina, Lozana does not exhibit homoerotic desire. She can employ this erotically tactile approach upon men only, not upon women, and yet, as I contend, Lozana's clientele in the diegesis is mostly women. Kuffner's argument, nevertheless, is cogent insofar as medicine in Delicado's novel is gendered at its core: Women require real medical help, while men mostly call on her for iatric services as a means to prey on her sexuality. As mentioned above, La Lozana andaluza revolves around two main topics of equivalent import: prostitution and medicine, both of which provide equilibrium not only to Lozana's aesthetic depiction, but also to the novel's plot. The protagonist exhibits excellence in both crafts, and her body becomes the very site on which these two professions interface, her nose being deformed from the sexually transmitted disease of syphilis, a condition she shares with Delicado himself who suffered from it for 23 years. As Barbara Fuchs argues, Delicado forges a strong identification with Lozana on account of their shared disease rather than their common fatherland of Córdoba (42-43). Lozana was infected with syphilis after her first lover Diomedes, a merchant from Ravenna, prostitutes her throughout the Oriental Mediterranean. Her fate, however, is sealed when Diomedes's father takes her children away from her and commissions a boatman ("barquero") to drown her in the sea. The boatman takes pity on her and frees her on the costal port of Livorno, destitute and seminude, from where she travels to Rome, commonly referred as *caput mundi*, or head of the world. She establishes herself in Pozo Blanco, a neighborhood teeming with Spanish Jews who

² All cites and quotes come from Claude Allaigre's Cátedra edition. From now on, I give the page number in the body of the text.

had been expelled from Spain by the Catholic monarchs Isabel de Castilla and Fernando de Aragón in 1492. In an astute ploy that accredits her onomastic "lozanía," she conceals a ring ("anillo") in her mouth from her father-in-law, a jewel that she sells in Rome to launch her career as healer and prostitute. The metaphor and symbol of the "anillo" (little anus) are rather evident, as Lozana will repeatedly sell her *anillo* to survive in a bustling metropolis where ethics and morals are deferred by the pressing need to subsist.

Delicado imbues his novel with medical discourses, and in doing so, he situates his main character within a literary tradition that traces its origins back to Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* (ca. 1342) and more directly to Rojas's *La Celestina* (1499). Even more than Juan Ruiz and Rojas, Delicado boasts vast knowledge on the principles of medicine, particularly on the disease he endured for over two decades. Before publishing *Lozana*, he had written two clinical treatises on syphilis, a condition generally known as "greñimón" and "el mal francés," the latter of which is mentioned by Tirso de Molina in his masterpiece *El burlador de Sevilla* (v. 2225), while Cervantes characterizes his protagonist Alférez Campuzano in the exemplary novella "El casamiento engañoso" as syphilitic.

Delicado entitled his treatises De consolatione infirmorum (now lost) and De modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale: Salutifero remedio a ogni piaga et mal incurabile, both published in 1525 in Rome. In a manner of speaking, Lozana can be interpreted as Delicado's third book on syphilis. As he asserts in the Epilogue "Cómo se escusa el Autor," Lozana's syphilis inspired him to write her biopic, completing the novel in 1524 while he was hospitalized for his syphilitic infection in Ospedale San Giacomo (Botta 248). Fuchs notes that by framing his novel around El modo de adoperare, "the Auctor offers an epistemological anchor for Lozana" (43). Also in the epilogue, Delicado refers the reader to his book *De consolatione infirmorum* to peddle the nostrum comprised of leño de India, or guaiacum sanctum (holy wood), as the foremost antidote for syphilis, crediting this quasi-magical tree for healing his own syphilis.³ He adds that the biogenetic nature of his illness ("antes que sanase"), like the book's every word ("palabra"), can be traced to melancholia (485). Like Delicado and Lozana, therefore, the book is also of a melancholic complexion, written to combat the author's own melancholia (Guardiola Morrilla 179). Significantly, the curability of the disease becomes the subject of contradictory statements both in his treatises and the novel. Delicado's second book De modo de adoperare includes in its title a negation of his assertion that the guaiac (the medicinal extract from the holy wood) healed him, writing that greñimón is a "mal incurabile." In Mamotreto LIX, likewise, Lozana tells the two doctors that the venereal condition is incurable because it falls within the providence of God, exacted on humans as penance for their moral and spiritual shortfalls (454).⁴ Ryan D. Giles, who interrogates the representation of Saint Nefija's legend in *Lozana*, points out that Delicado's coetaneous readers would have interpreted the disease as "the just rewards of unbridled lust," in keeping with "the moralizing diagnosis of contemporary preachers and doctors" (119), hence the belief that only a "holy wood" countervails the condition.

Louis Imperiale, who studies the interconnection between writing and eroticism in *Lozana*, wonders if Delicado was a devout clergyman or "un médico chocarrero." Regardless of

³ "Y si por ventura os viniere por las manos un otro tratado *De consolatione infirmorum*, podéis ver en él mis pasiones para consolar a los que la fortuna hizo apasionados como a mí. Y en el tratado que hice del leño de India, sabréis el remedio mediante el cual me fue contribuida la sanidad" (485).

⁴ Lozana expresses a similar opinion in her dialogue with the lovesick Coridón, instructing him to pretend to be a madwoman and proclaim that *she* can heal syphilis, which would convince everyone that she is clinically insane (439).

the category, Imperiale adds, Delicado was knowledgeable of the epistemic principles of medicine (295). Indeed, the novel contains innumerable diseased characters, including the city itself which Rampín endows with the characteristics of a female body, calling it "Roma putana" on account of the proliferation of brothels and prostitutes (216), consequently riddled with disease. And Lozana, who wittingly uses the polyandric binary "Roma/amor" once in the intradiegesis (480) and once more in the extradiegetic paratexts (505), is an ambulant healer who uses both her knowledge and her sexed body to heal. Imperiale points out that Lozana mocks the Aristotelian pseudo medical science practiced by licensed male doctors, favoring popular medicine and common sense over bookish physicians (296). With some extraordinary exceptions, the dichotomy between university-trained doctors and popular female healers stands as an unbreachable gendered divide. Only men could go to medical school, and popular healers were mostly women. This gendered fissure is readily palpable in the literary tradition from which Delicado's novel stems.

In Mamotreto II, Lozana credits her grandmother with her upbringing, including teaching her how to prepare traditional dishes, among which we find "talvinas" (178). The term stems from Classical Arabic (تأبينة, talbīna). Coupled with the superabundance of Arabic elements in the novel, Federico Corriente has determined that Delicado was likely of morisco origin (51– 72). (Lozana herself, though, as Teresa de Córdoba, Beatriz de Baeza and Marina Hernández discover in Mamotreto VIII, is a Jewish convert, and Francisco Márquez Villanueva has pointed out that Lozana operates within a Roman society populated by Spanish Jews and converts 87-97.) During Delicado's time, "talvina," or its variant "atalvina," was a Moorish dish as well as a medical recipe and a literary codeword. The term appears for the first time in Iberian literature in the Ovidian episode of don Melón and doña Endrina interpolated by Juan Ruiz in Libro de buen amor. Trotaconventos, who deploys the neologism to indicate that she will use the recipe to cast a love spell on doña Endrina, informs the lovesick don Melón: "E le faré tal escanto, e le daré tal atalvina,/por que esa vuestra llaga sane por mi melezina" (709bc). Medical terms dominate these Ruizian verses, so that "atalvina" is not merely a dainty dish, but also symbolic medicine for don Melón's lovesickness. As the reader later learns, doña Endrina's bewitched body heals don Melón's melancholia. The recipe has clear medical overtones, and subsequent physicians prescribed it as medicine. The Jewish convert Juan de Aviñón in Sevillana medicina (fourteenth century), for example, employs "ataluina" to concoct an enema for cleansing the superfluities of the body (233). In Menor daño de la medicina (1419), Alonso Chirino, a personal physician of King Juan II, recommends "ataluina" to treat ascariasis, or roundworms ("Ataluina de cañamones que pongan con ello miel y vinagre e simiente de verças [...] dar a beber para las lombrizes" Maíllo Salgado 122). Although it is plausible that Delicado is dialoguing with Aviñón's and Chirinos's medical treatises, he is likely establishing a connection between Trotaconventos and Lozana. Hence intertextually, Trotaconventos is Lozana's metaphorical grandmother, while Rojas's Celestina completes the literary genealogy, being Lozana's symbolic "mother" and role model.

Celestina appears in Delicado's creation both as a "historical" figure and as a fictional character.⁵ The author introduces his novel in the title of the *editio princeps* as a supplement to and an extension of *La Celestina*: "Retrato de la Loçana andaluza en lengua Española muy

⁵ Celestina's appearance as a fictional character is rather obvious by the multiple references of the book. In mamotreto 52, Sagüeso tells Lozana that Celidonia is a better pimp than Lozana because Celestina herself baptized Celidonia. Lozana responds by asserting her superiority not only over Celidonia but also over Celestina herself (419).

clarissima. Compuesto en Roma. El qual Retrato demuestra loque en Roma passaua y contiene muchas mas cosas que La Celestina." But Lozana's identification with Rojas's bawd goes beyond paratextual discourses. In Mamotreto XLVIII, the reader learns that Lozana not only owns a copy of Rojas's masterpiece, but also that she is literally holding the book as she bids Silvano, the Autor's friend, to reread it to her. La Celestina, a text that Delicado edited and published in Venice in 1534, is Lozana's vade mecum because she aims at emulating Celestina's feats within the fields of medicine and prostitution, while also betraying La Celestina's increasing influence in the pan-European imaginary. The intertextuality furthermore suggests that Lozana fashions her own poetic, ideological, and public identity both in relation and in contrast to Celestina. It is hardly a coincidence that the gendered dynamics I have delineated in Lozana were already at play in La Celestina. Men, as can be seen by the examples of Calisto, Sempronio, and Pármeno, approach Celestina to satisfy their sexual desires, notwithstanding Celestina's accomplishments as a healer. Perhaps hyperbolically, Sempronio calculates that she has performed clinical procedures to repair the maidenheads for well over five thousand young women, while Pármeno dubs her a "física de niños" (258). In Auto 5, scene 1, Celestina portends Delicado's opinion that pragmatic and experienced healers are preferable than university-trained doctors: "Es más recomendable el médico con experiencia que el muy leído" (342). One could argue that Rojas creates a permission structure that allows authors, Delicado first among them, to push boundaries of what can be accepted as aesthetic representation and criticism against institutions sponsored by the Crown and the Church.

Delicado limns yet another double tension in Lozana's characterization regarding her medical practice and knowledge. Lozana describes herself as a quack doctor who must pretend to have an unqualified understanding of the art of medicine in order to earn money when in reality she is a layperson who traffics with nostrums and empty words. She confesses her deceit to the Autor in Mamotreto XLII, the same section where Lozana lists the wide array of illnesses that she alleges she can cure, including fevers, roundworms, wandering wombs, as well as other conditions related to gynecology and obstetrics (381-84). Delicado creates a discernable contradiction by which Lozana simultaneously proclaims with pride her quackery and her expansive knowledge. Shortly after, Silvano also reveals the quackery of Lozana who "embaucaba las gentes con sus palabras," asserting that he witnessed her dispensing similar nostrums for radically different illnesses (386). Lozana fools people with words and with faux pharmaceuticals, trafficking with homemade herbal remedies and also with placebo-like vegetables. Indeed, the two examples given by Silvano paint a devastating picture of an unscrupulous healer who is unmoved by her patients' well-being, for she prescribes a radish dipped in vinegar to "cure" ingested poison ("tósigo") and radish dipped in wine to treat the buboes from people affected by the plague. Lozana conceals her trickery only to her patients, never to her peers, her biographer (Delicado-Autor), or the reader. Echoing Celestina's words to Elicia in act 7, Lozana exhorts her servant-turn-lover Rampín to assist her in treating patients despite his utter ignorance of anything unrelated to the underworld of lupanars and petty criminality. The line between knowing and not knowing, she believes, can be easily blurred, if not altogether erased, by assertive speech:

Que estas cosas quieren gracia, y la melecina ha de estar en la lengua, y aunque no sepáis nada, habéis de fingir que sabéis y conocéis para que ganéis algo, como hago yo, que en decir que Avicena fue de mi tierra, dan crédito a mis melecinas. (304, emphasis added)

If we believe Lozana's own words, which she reiterates in Mamotreto XLII after the Autor rather brusquely pontificates against her beliefs on superstition as well as on her faulty clinical knowledge, he plays a double trick on the gullible. She deceives them by making them believe that she knows all about medicine and that Avicenna was born in Córdoba, elevating Avicenna to the Olympus of Cordovan luminaries while snubbing another medical celebrity, Maimonides, who was actually born in Córdoba around 1138. Lozana, of course, is not mistaking these two physicians, but instead seeks to exploit Avicenna's reputation to beguile her victims more easily. Lozana, as Bruce W. Wardropper has observed, inhabits a world of utter amorality (481) and devoid of clear deontological boundaries, I would add. But the notions of morality and ethics are problematized in the novel, as Juan Goytisolo rightly points out regarding Lozana's social engagement. The protagonist's alleged quackery likewise is belied by the good reputation she enjoys among the multiplicity of voices within the narrative.

The novel's very first sentence compares Lozana to Seneca by highlighting their mutual birthplace (Córdoba), thus forming an intellectual equivalency. Later, the Embajador again likens her to the Stoic philosopher ("parecía un Séneca" 348), not only by reason of their intellect but also of their eloquence. In response to this assertion, the Caballero affirms that Lozana is a blood relative ("es parienta") of the (in)famous Jewish poet Antón de Montoro, known as "El ropero de Córdoba." The Caballero adds that Lozana is a compatriot of Seneca, Lucan, and Avicenna (348). Although the Caballero's tongue-in-cheek associations ought to be read as hyperbole, or even mockery, his words also have the effect of lifting Lozana's discursive genius and medical acumen. From this cast of characters, the author zeroes in on Avicenna as Lozana's foremost counterpart.

Born in Central Asia, current region of Uzbekistan, around 980, Avicenna became the most reputable medical personality in premodern Europe. His ecumenical text Canon of *Medicine* was an instant best seller immediately after Gerard of Cremona produced a translation into Latin in the twelfth century. Just as Hippocrates's and Galen's, Avicenna's teachings and theories were seldom challenged by other medieval or Renaissance physicians. Along with the Hippocratic and Galenic corpus, Avicenna's text became the core of the curriculum in European medical schools. Delicado, an aspiring physician himself, simultaneously upholds and enhances Avicenna's reputation. As noted previously, Lozana invokes Avicenna to deceive people because his name alone inspires awe and respect among the illiterate populace and the literate alike. Michael R. McVaugh notes that King Jaime II of Aragon encouraged his personal physicians to consult Avicenna's Canon of Medicine (10), going as far as providing the funds for his physician, Doctor Martí, to purchase a working copy of Canon (15). In addition to the multiple links between Avicenna and Lozana mentioned above, the latter is elevated above all other healers practicing in Rome, utilizing Avicenna as a point of reference. In a rare occasion in which the Autor's voice resembles an omniscient narrator, he vows for Lozana's efficacy and knowledge of medicine, opining that she "fue entre las otras como Avicena entre los médicos," reiterating the false notion that they are compatriots: "Non est mirum acutissima patria" [It is unsurprising

⁶ Lozana demurs the Autor's suggestion that she is gullible, retorting: "[...] para ganar de comer, tengo de decir que sé mucho más que no sé, y afirmar la mentira con ingenio, por sacar la verdad" (383).

⁷ Goytisolo, who staunchly defends Delicado's novel against the fulminating opinion of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, perceives Lozana's activities as ethical and moral insofar as she seeks to help others (and herself) without causing any harm on them: "La Lozana busca su goce a interés sin perder no obstante de vista la existencia del prójimo; su conducta revela un sentido ético que responde a lo que pudiéramos denominar una moral natural, fundada a la vez en la busca del placer y el propósito de evitar el mal ajeno" (51).

coming from persons born in such a sharp place]" (190, my translation). These are the last words from an omniscient narrator before he disappears from the diegesis only to gradually reappear as a character bearing the generic name "Autor." Although the subjective opinions from most characters ought to be taken askance, this opinion by a third-person narrator carries some gravitas, which does not mean that the reader must take his words as facts, given the polyphonic and dialectical nature of the work. In what follows, I will show how gender has a bearing on Lozana's practice and how the author satires the status quo that excludes women from officially practicing medicine.

The gender dynamics of Lozana's medical practice can be perceived through most of the novel, but I will focus on two main scenes that encapsulate the dynamics of the gendering of healing in Lozana's professional experience, namely mamotretos XXIII and L. Mamotreto XXIII, which narrates the encounter between Lozana, a clergyman, and a character called "Matrona," is peppered with echoes of La Celestina, including Lozana's initial greeting ("Paz sea en esta casa" 283)—evoking Celestina's words as she arrives at Pleberio's house in act 4 and the Matrona's "mal de la madre," which recalls Areúsa's selfsame infirmity as detailed in act 7. Lozana has been sent by the Jew Trigo exclusively to treat the matron's wandering womb (mal de la madre), which has been troubling her since childbirth. But the Canónigo, whose religious ordination never figures in his sexual commerce with prostitutes, seizes the opportunity to literally, in his own words, put his penis in Lozana's hands ("lo pongo en vuestras manos"), personifying his sexual organ for humorous and titillating effects: "Él y yo os obedeceremos" (286). The Canónigo's *cazurro* pun betrays his sexual desire and his lack of candor regarding the gravity of his condition. As suggested by other characters, the Canónigo is not feigning his infection, only exaggerating it to receive immediate attention from Lozana. He succeeds insofar as the Matrona's illness takes a backseat to his demand for treatment.

After the initial misunderstanding with the Matrona's black slave, who had tergiversated Lozana's message by telling her mistress that Lozana wanted to reveal news about the matron's long-diseased mother, Lozana tells her that she actually comes to tend to her wandering womb. The equivocal "mal de la madre" vis-à-vis "noticias de la madre" leads the mistress to suggest that she wants to rid herself of the witless slave, but that the Canónigo opposes her will. The clergyman, whose characterization lays bare the corruption of Rome and the Church, appears to have been aroused by Lozana's plumbness and sexual desirability, attributes underscored in Lozana particularly during these early years of her career. The Canónigo therefore disregards the context of the conversation to seek remedy for his own condition. The cleric, who is as onomastically protean—the author gives him three dramatic names "Canónigo," "Mayordomo," and "Maestro de casa" but never a proper name—as he is tawdry and salacious, ails of what modern taxonomy categorizes as dysuria. Indeed, Bernard of Gordon concludes book 6 of his Lilio de medicina with a chapter on dysuria entitled "De la disuria" in which he offers a description of the illness as well as its symptoms and therapies, but since neither Delicado nor

⁸ This dialogue is important because it shows that the Canónigo utilizes this ambiguity to advance his own erotic agenda, as the context of the dialogue is the slave's stupidity, not his illness:

CORTESANA.—Pues, ¿qué me enviastes a decir que me queríades dar nuevas de mi madre?

LOZANA.—¿Yo, señora? Corruta estaría la letra, no sería yo.

CORTEZANA.—Aquella marfuza me lo ha dicho agora.

LOZANA.—Yo, señora, no dije sino que me habían dicho que vuestra merced estaba doliente de la madre y que yo le daría remedio.

CORTEZANA.—No entiende lo que le dicen. No curés, que el canónigo tiene la culpa, que no quiere hacer a mi modo. (285)

Lozana explains the medical approaches to heal the Canónigo's urinary infection, Bernard's theorization of the condition would only distract us from the textual analysis. The clergyman, therefore, complains of acute pain and a burning sensation when urinating. He exaggerates his symptoms and prognosis to achieve his goal of literally putting his member in Lozana's hands and inside her:

MAYORDOMO: ¿Qué quiere qu' haga? Que ha veinte días que soy estado para cortarme lo mío, tanto me duele cuando orino, y según dice el médico, tengo que lamer todo este año, y a la fin creo que me lo cortarán. ¿Piensa vuestra merced que se me pasarían sin castigo ni ella ni mi criado, que jamás torna do va? Ya lo he dicho a vuestra merced que busque una persona que mire por casa, pues que ni vuestra merced ni yo podemos, que cuando duele la cabeza todos los miembros están sensibles. (285)

The clergyman frames the slave's stupidity within the context of his own illness, thus presenting his pain as more immediate and urgent than the household's well-being and the matron's own motherhood-related sickness. The priest reveals two tragic outcomes that may result from his infection. The first is probably an overstatement to get Lozana's attention, namely his false belief that he will have his penis removed, a penectomy that would sexually and symbolically decapitate him. The priest presents his penis as his thinking head. The paronomasia introduced with the words "lo mío," a euphemistic metonymy for his penis, and "cabeza" establishes a parallelism between his virility and life itself. The comparison also includes the vellicating suggestion that the clergyman thinks with his penile brain, not with his head, which intimates that his penis (passion) controls his head (reason). The second effect that vexes the Canónigo in equal measure is that a doctor urged him to abstain from engaging in intercourse for a year, which problematizes his assertion of a certain penectomy because this procedure presupposes permanent abstinence. Although Claude Allaigre in a footnote to his 1985 Cátedra edition of Lozana writes that the verb "lamer" is semantically ambiguous (285), context and tone indicate that he is talking about sexual abstinence: "Según dice el médico, tengo que lamer todo este año," a sentence that conveys both vexation and desire. Lamer, or licking, is juxtaposed here with *comer* in which the latter was commonly used as a euphemism for intercourse, as Rojas evocatively writes in La Celestina (Gerli 180). The author hints at a motif about physicians that would define them as a category: They are incompetent, and they cause pain. The Canónigo's pain is not only physical but also psychological because he cannot gratify his lust.

Lozana understands both his pain and his frustration, so she takes it upon herself to heal him with the stipulation that he trust her methods over those of the professional physician. She is attempting to establish bonds of trust between patient and healer. His penis ("miembro"), she assures him, needs caresses and flattery ("halagos y caricias"), rather than "crueldad de médico cobdicioso y bien vestido" (286). Along with Lozana's sexually charged and gendered medical treatment—gendered in the degree that a male doctor would never offer flattery and touch for the patient's penis even in Delicado's utterly im- or a-moral Rome—her words also betray the negative views she holds of trained physicians. Doctors, in her estimation, are avaricious and pedantic, not to mention unwilling to heal a treatable illness. At least in the novel, Lozana's appraisal is precise: Doctors are moved by greed, yet unmoved by people's pain. The epithet "cobdiciosos" is applied to male practitioners because they utilize their empirical knowledge for the opposite purpose of the oath of ethics, for they stimulate pain receptors to force patients to keep on calling on them. Lozana's allusion to doctors' expensive clothes is meant to drive home

the point that they are more concerned with appearances and lucre than with the patients' well-being. The Canónigo responds to Lozana's equivocal exhortation not to leave *it* in doctors' hands with his own erotic innuendo: "Señora, desde agora lo pongo en vuestras manos, que hagáis vos lo que, señora, mandáredes, que él y yo os obedeceremos" (286). The clergyman has achieved his goal of engaging Lozana's interest in his own sexual needs. She, therefore, promises to heal him in five days, and she fulfills her promise, effectively showing that her medical capabilities and her commitment to helping others are superior to those of the male doctors. Because intercourse is an integral part of her treatment, she is impregnated, only to abort or miscarry shortly after. Only when the Canónigo has succeeded in getting what he wanted from Lozana does the Matrona ask for a therapy for her gynecological illness, evoking a gorgeous poetic image from act 10 of *La Celestina*, namely Melibea exclaiming that a serpent is eating at her heart. On the canonic of the conformation of the canonic of the ca

The Canónigo is not the only one who exaggerates his sickness to engage in intercourse with Lozana. Mamotreto L comprises the most ironic and most grotesque sexual encounter of the novel, one that borders on rape. It begins with Lozana praising her own wit and antics before she is outfoxed by Trujillo whose braggadocio and hyperbolic statements should have alerted Lozana. He tells her that he has been wanting to visit her to kneel before her "real persona," but that his illness has prevented him from doing so. Trujillo's hyperbole is meant to be humorous by referring to her as regal yet thinking of her and using her as a whore. The themes of illness and sex converge to create a tragicomic scene in which Lozana simultaneously plays the role of healer and prostitute without remuneration. She discerns his chicanery, but she is also curious and misguidedly wants to find out where his extravagance leads. Not altogether without Lozana's connivance, Trujillo lays the groundworks to fulfill his desire with or without her consent. He entreats Lozana to come closer to him so that she can attest to his purported illness, the illness, she knows, being a synecdoche for his erect penis. The two engage in a dialogue fraught with double entendres meant to arouse both themselves and the reader by extension. Upon exhorting him to recount his "large" (luengo) story—yet another phallic insinuation—Trujillo recycles many of the motifs marshaled by the Canónigo in Mamotreto XXIII:

TRUJILLO: Señora, más es ancho que luengo. Yo, señora, oí decir que vuestra casa era aduana y, para despachar mi mercaduría, quiero *ponella en vuestras manos* para que entre esas señoras, vuestras contemporáneas, me hagáis conocer para desempachar y hacer mis hechos, y como yo, señora, no estó bueno muchos días ha, habéis de saber que tengo *lo mío* tamaño y, después que venistes, *se me ha alargado dos o tres dedos*. (411, emphasis added)

From a creative standpoint, the reader can infer that Delicado found the images of men putting their erect penises in Lozana's hands comical since he recycles the reference from the other *mamotreto*. But from a diegetic prism, Lozana finds Trujillo's erotic *cazurrería* equally distasteful and stimulating, telling him that if his is a medical case of priapism, no treatment can

⁹ We learn this shortly after when the Compañero is telling the Auctor: "Esta es la Lozana, que está preñada de aquel canónigo que ella sanó del lo suyo" (291).

¹⁰ The matron gives Lozana a description of her illness: "Señora, como parí, la madre me anda por el cuerpo como sierpe" (286). Lozana proceeds to offer a therapy that is in accordance with the medical knowledge of Delicado's time.

heal it, but if it is "accidental," namely caused by lust, she will heal it ("ya se remediará" 412). Though she uses the passive voice to convey her prognosis, Trujillo construes her words as a promise to engage with him. The fraught interaction is draped in clinical jargon as she plays the part of clinician because doctors were granted a special license to speak openly about sexuality, while for lay persons talking about sexuality was considered inappropriate and vulgar. He urges her to touch his aroused penis, which she does, subsequently asking her to show him "lo vuestro":

LOZANA: ¡Mis pecados me metieron aquí! Señor, si con vello entendéis sanar, veislo aquí; mas a mí porque vine, y a vos por cuerdo, nos habían d'escobar. (412)

Lozana expresses ambivalence regarding her presence in Trujillo's room. She willingly participates in the farce that reads like a pornographic sketch, yet she shows regret, going as far as to say that both deserve to be beaten with the stick of a broom, her for her naivety and him for his slyness. As can be expected, the encounter ends in intercourse, an experience that leaves a bitter aftertaste in Lozana and a sense of triumph in the trickster. Lozana, whose iatric skills and expansive experience with *pícaros* prove useless in this situation, overtly identifies with Saint Nefija on account of offering her sexual services as alms. Her reaction in the wake of this experience reveals more about her sense of self than she had previously admitted.

Significantly, the following *mamotreto* contains a heading that betrays Lozana's irritation toward her credulity and Trujillo's duplicity: "Mamotreto LI: Cómo se fue la Lozana corrida, y decía muy enojada." As the caption implies, she feels keen senses of shame, anger, but also fear. She avers that her fear of Trujillo prevented her from enjoying herself, which invites a serious reflection on whether her experience can be construed as a type of rape or at least without explicit consent. She is a prostitute whose job is (when actually being paid) to please men like Trujillo, and during this period of jurisprudence, prostitution and rape were incompatible in a similar way that a husband could not be accused of rape by his wife. Lozana appears to know this basic law, so she decides to suppress and conceal her misadventure to protect her reputation ("honra"). She subsequently admits that Trujillo bested her, thus stressing the irony from her statement that opened Mamotreto L: "¡A la fe, éste más supo que yo!" She adds: "Este majadero ha quesido descargar en mí por no pagar pontaje, y veréis que a todas hará d'esta manera, y a ninguna pagará; yo callaré por amor del tiempo," invoking Saint Nefija once again: "Engañó a la Lozana, como que fuera yo Santa Nefija, que daba a todos de cabalgar en limosna" (414). Lozana did not collect money from the sly Trujillo, but she learned a valuable lesson. When a Rufián wants to play a similar trick on her in Mamotreto LVIII, citing his and his friend's unyielding erections, she responds that they should cut their erect penises off and put them on their necks as relics of sorts (447). She is not about to follow in Saint Nefija's footsteps again.

Beyond the trite motif of the deceiver being deceived, Delicado is again pointing out that female healers are ripe victims for sexual abuse. It is true that in literature healing was mostly plied by old women with ill repute, such as Trotaconventos, Celestina, Lozana and their ilk. Even Celestina is afraid (or desirous in her old age) of being raped, as she facetiously expresses apprehension multiple times. Having to visit patients' homes for treatment introduced a degree of risk in female practitioners. Trujillo lures Lozana on pretext of an illness, only to abuse her trust as things progress. Through the analogous episodes of the Canónigo and Trujillo, Delicado castigates the gendered dynamics in a society that bestows its privileges onto male doctors while

ISSN 1540 5877

¹¹ Israel Burshatin construes Trujillo's excitement as a medical case of priapism, but it is unclear even for Lozana if his is a circumstantial erection or a medical problem (Burshatin 214).

marginalizing female healers. Lozana pledges to suffer her humiliating experience in silence to shield her *honra*, but knowingly or unknowingly, she also knows that by virtue of operating outside of the law, the system does not protect her. She must tread carefully so as not to be reported to the authorities for practicing medicine without proper licensing. Delicado, of course, does not dwell on the consequences for clandestine quackery other than circuitously making Lozana refer to Divicia a lighthearted anecdote about the "médicos de Ferrara." A jester named Gonela, Lozana relates, asked the duke of Ferrara to grant him the licensing fees for the amount of two *carlines* a year from the physicians, to which the duke consents because there were no more than ten doctors in his domain. Gonela then tricked people into medicating him for made-up infections, so he made the duke collect the fees from the poor peasants who had volunteered their medical help. Aside from this joke, Delicado never explains the process of licensing in the novel. These cultural norms that barred women from attending universities created a system in which ignorant and greedy male physicians are overpaid, while experienced lay female healers are uncompensated, abused, humiliated, and made to feel as if they ought to remain quiet even after being abused for trying, in Goytisolo's estimation, to help others alleviate their pain.

Delicado satires physicians, portraying them as absurd characters who lack the basic gravitas that premodern people conferred upon university-trained doctors. The parody begins early in the novel when Rampín's aunt (Tía) importunes Lozana to ask Lozana's fictitious husband for employment for Tía's husband, whom Delicado characterizes under the stage name of "Viejo," evoking the characterology of the *vetula* (*vetulo* here) of medieval elegiac comedy. Although everyone thinks Viejo is a consummate ass ("un asno") and a louche, Tía falsely paints him as candid and decent. Viejo, his wife claims, "está esperando unas receptas y un estuche para ser médico" (227). Through Tía's tongue-in-cheek assertion, Delicado pokes fun at male physicians by association, suggesting that they all are asses. Aside from his idiocy, he is also a lecher who asks Lozana to sleep with him because he would please her more than Rampín (238). Interestingly, the episodes containing doctors appear only toward the end of the novel in *mamotretos* LIX and LXI respectively.

Mamotreto LIX opens with two physicians, a Físico (general doctor) and Cirúgico (a surgeon), muttering a unisonous address to Lozana. As soon as they approach her, they want to know the genus of medicinal herbs she is carrying concealed in her skirt, adding "¿Hay curas? ¿Hay curas? ¡Dadnos parte!" (451). The first characteristic that draws our attention from this peculiar mode of discourse, one that Delicado's contemporaneous educated reader would readily identify, is an echo of Rachel and Vidas's unisonous speeches in Cantar de Mio Cid (ca. 1206). Coupled with their generic names and their tautological question, their tandem intercessions make them seem mechanical and risible. Second, it is unclear what exactly they want from Lozana when they exclaim "¡Dadnos parte!" What do they want a part of? The medicinal spices ("especiería")? Or are they asking for information on how to apply her pharmacopeia? In a footnote for his Cátedra edition, Allaigre interprets the physicians' words as humorous, a humor resulting from their expectation that Lozana will reveal her ignorance of medicine (451). I concur with Allaigre that it is a comical scene, but not because they seek to expose Lozana's quackery—she wields her supposed ignorance as a shield and a sword—but because their pathetic words reveal their own ignorance and greed. It is hardly a coincidence that the verb in the imperative is "to give." They want to benefit from Lozana's work. Indeed, after she responds with platitudes, the Físico bewails that their clientele has diminished because Lozana is healing everyone, and he shores up his grievance by telling her a fantastical tale.

In Saint Sebastian Way, the Físico blithely recounts, there were three moats ("fosas") filled with a water so salubrious that people who submerged their lower extremities for two hours thrice a week would heal from any illness they had from the waist down. The story, which conjures the mythography of Achilles's submersion in river Styx that rendered him impervious to injuries and plausibly disease, is meant to equate Lozana to these quasi-mythical moats. The water deposits had cut their income by half because they were treating illnesses arising from the waist up only. When the physicians discovered the reason for that medical phenomenon, they banded together to destroy these moats by means of making a brook wash the deposits downstream. To that very day, he avers, any animal that enters the flowing brook heals. This is a roundabout way of telling Lozana that all physicians of Rome ought to conspire to "destroy" the verb deployed to convey the destruction of the moats is "cegar," literally "to blind"—their competitor because Lozana "ni de la cintura arriba ni de la cintura abajo no nos dais parte" (453). This sentence may help explain the previous exclamatory sentence "¡Dadnos parte!" The physicians want Lozana to give them a share of her patients. Although it does not come to that, these words can be interpreted as a not-so-subtle threat, making her deduce that she must refer some patients to their practices lest they ruin her just as their predecessors destroyed the moats. The warning is even more palpable in a subsequent anecdote.

In a second story, which adds nothing new to the first other than drive home their warning ("nosotros debíamos hacer con vos como hizo aquel médico pobre que entró en Andújar" 453), the Cirúgico narrates that upon entering Andújar, a town in the province of Jaén in Andalusia, a doctor probed the diverse radishes indigenous to that region. Through his heuristic experiments, he found that these genera of radishes had similar healing qualities as the waters of the moats; whoever ate them was immunized from any disease, rendering his services unnecessary. The doctor immediately fled the town and went to establish his practice in a new village, prioritizing his cupidity over his own health. Though the tale has the same premise as the one about the water deposits, it also has differences. Unlike the Roman physicians who ruined the moats, this rural doctor is described as poor, and he does not prevent others from being healed by committing the atrocity of devastating the radishes, the same vegetable that Lozana allegedly used to treat patients with buboes and poison according to Silvano (386). The Cirúgico, subsequently, accuses Lozana of treating at least six people infected by the plague whom he was certain would end up in their practices, but Lozana's medicine assuaged their pain. The doctor establishes a direct contrast between her alleviating the patients' pain and doctors' actually inducing pain on their patients:

Digo que me habéis llevado de las manos más de seis personas que yo curaba que, como no les duelen las plagas con lo que vos les habéis dicho, no vienen a nosotros, y nosotros, si no duelen las heridas, metemos con que duelan y escuezgan, porque vean que sabemos algo cuando les quitamos aquel dolor. Asimismo, a otros ponemos ungüento egipciaco, que tiene vinagre. (453)

Delicado's negative representation of trained physicians cannot be clearer. The polysemic phrase "yo curaba" is highly ironic here. The verb "curar" stems from the first-declension Latin "curo, curāre," meaning "to heal," "to cure," and "to care for." In medieval Spanish, "curar" also meant "to think," which is the denotation in this context. The literal meaning of "yo curaba" is fitting because he is not healing anymore because Lozana is monopolizing the patients despite her being, in the doctors' estimation, less qualified than they are.

Celestina in act 1 of Rojas's Tragicomedia expresses the very same opinion about doctors, telling Sempronio that surgeons ("cirujanos") are overjoyed when they see injured people in their practice, inducing even more pain on them to make them believe that their injuries are life-threatening. Celestina vows to employ this inhumane methodology on Calisto to keep the money flowing ("como aquéllos [cirujanos] dañan en los principios las llagas y encarecen el prometimiento de la salud, assí entiendo yo fazer a Calisto" 254). Both Rojas and Delicado portray a society in which medical corruption is rampant, male physicians using their knowledge and resources to intensify pain, before assuaging it. This unethical conduct violates all principles that ancient medical theorists and practitioners had devised to care for the patient's health. The Hippocratic Oath is emphatic in the doctor's obligation to employ medicine to the "benefit" of patients and keep them from harm. In *Epidemics* 2.634–36, Hippocrates reaffirms the code of ethics by which doctors ought to abide, summarizing it in two basic principles: "To help, or to do no harm." In commenting this Hippocratic dictum, Philip J. van der Eijk points out that the precepts that doctors must refrain from causing harm to their patients and employ their skills and knowledge to help recur in Greek and Roman medical literature (101), adding that these principles conveyed that "the doctor should be careful when treating the patient not to aggravate the patient's condition" (102). Far from living by a defined code of ethics, these doctors manufactured pain in order to profit from it.

Celestina is unencumbered by the unethical obligation that doctors had (but often ignored) and decides to emulate their actions. Unlike Rojas's bawd, however, Delicado fashions Lozana's iatric identity, at least in part, through a contrast with doctors, depicting her as an effective healer with the virtues of quasi divine waters and radishes. The text is intentionally contradictory in many respects. Although it is true that Lozana speaks of herself and is described as a mountebank, she never uses her knowledge of medicine to harm her patients or provoke pain intentionally. Even in her response to the Cirúgico, Lozana hints at her supposed quackery, saying that her modus operandi is "si pega, pega, y míroles a las manos como hace quien algo sabe" (454, emphasis added). Even this demure attitude of "if it works, it works" is preferable to the doctors' heightening their patients' pain. However morally or ethically lax she may be regarding her sexuality (or even her approach toward medicine at times), she mostly treats disease and pain as a serious matter, which often spurs her to perambulate through Rome to find a treatment for her customers. If she is a quack, Lozana is a righteous quack with more integrity than male healers, a fact that irks doctors. Ironically, these doctors also come across as mountebanks because they too pretend to know what they do not ("porque vean que sabemos algo"). Lozana retorts to the doctor's words by accurately saying that they medicate their patients as if they were horses ("como a caballos, ungüento de albéitares" 453).

The Médico reiterates that Lozana is healing her patients properly, which prevents people from consulting them. He claims that they too know how to heal people's illnesses, but if they prescribe the right medicine and advise them on how to maintain a good health, patients will never return for consult. The Médico overtly asserts that Lozana's *bona fides* practice starkly opposes their greed: "Así es menester que huyamos de vos porque no concuerda vuestra medicación con nuestra cupida intención" (453–54). The dichotomy *vuestra medicación* and *nuestra cupida intención* form two opposing poles of the ethical spectrum. Because Lozana prioritizes people's haleness over profit, she fulfills her ethical promise of applying her expertise for the common good. The irony, tragic from the doctors' perspective, is that Lozana's bioethical integrity also turns into a lucrative cycle: She heals her patients, and because she heals them, they keep coming back. The physicians, by contrast, ply to exploit people's pain, employing their

medical knowledge to augment, rather than to alleviate, pain. Their corruption entraps them in vicious cycle: They heighten their patients' pain, so people avoid their practices. Lozana, it bears noting, takes the doctors' obsequious words with a grain of salt and so should the reader. But her response to their adulation does not detract from Delicado's caricatural portrayal of doctors, which also serves the dramatic purpose of foiling Lozana.

Mamotreto LXI contains an equally awkward interaction between Lozana and a Jewish doctor named Salomón whose envy and ill-will can be perceived from the onset. After she tells him disingenuously that she is struggling with money and that she cannot purchase thread ("lino") to sew and supplement her income, he retorts that she dispenses "mil remedios a villanos," again suggesting that Lozana operates in and outside the margins of civilized society. Salomón tells her that she must ask these villagers to pay her with thread. ¹² Lozana responds that she does not charge money for her medical services, that she only accepts voluntary gifts ("presentes"). While true that she does not have a consulting fee, it is also true that she employs myriad artifices to fleece clients and patients, and even then, Lozana tells Blasón, men offer "palabras de presente y no más" (344). This is yet another aspect of the dialectics of gendered medicine. Only women pay for her services, while men do not, a cognizance that makes one wonder why Trujillo's deceit shames and upsets her. Lozana's assertion that men do not remunerate her for her services, that they pay with words only is highly ironic, if not poetic justice, for she proudly proclaims that her medical knowledge lays largely in discourse. Generally, though, within her transactional conduct, she gives her remedies and often her own body, then accepts what her clients can afford. Salomón, though, still complains that her "presentes" amount to a higher sum than his profit ("ganancia"), claiming that his ganancia "es tan poca que valen más las candelas que gasté estudiando que cuanto he ganado después endevinando pulsos," concluding with a condescending question: "Mas vos, ¿qué estudiastes?" (460). Boyond his self-pity, Salomón creates a double contrast between himself and Lozana. On the one hand, she earns more money than him, and on the other, he has a university degree that has cost him countless nights of study and plenty of money spent on candles. The question he posits, of course, is rhetorical and hence not a question at all, but an attempt to make her feel that she has neither the ken nor the right to practice medicine, yet she is reaping the benefits of a profession that he believes should be available for only men to practice.

Lozana is not a typical premodern woman without gumption or words to defend herself. She responds to Salomón's acrimony by telling him a story of how she helped a married couple solve a problem, and they paid her handsomely, only to address the rhetorical question obliquely: "Decíme por qué no tengo yo de hacer lo que sé, sin perjuicio de Dios y de las gentes. Mirá, vuestro saber no vale si no lo mostráis que lo sepa otrie" (461). Lozana rehearses that which the previous doctors had told her, namely that she helped others with her knowledge. Hence, her healing does not harm people (or God). Through her words, Delicado submits that Salomón does commit a "perjuicio" against people and God, perhaps also causing pain in patients like his aforementioned counterparts. The irony is that their encounter concludes with Salomón, who is married, hiring Lozana as a go-between to assist him in mounting ("cabalgar") one of his neighbors who is both wedded and pregnant, promising a hefty payment if she facilitates their

¹² Later in the novel, Lozana tells Silvano that at one point she was visited by many villagers who "me tenían por médica," and she sent them home asking them to apply some "ayuda," and they healed (394). Lozana's gift of curing through her words evokes Jesus's divine capability of healing through the sheer power of his words. Giles has insightfully noted that through Lozana, Delicado parodies the thaumaturgic power to heal of the Virgin Mary, endowing her Lozana with a mock holiness who offers her body as a *pharmakon* (120).

tryst (461). His concupiscence adds yet another layer of criticism toward this doctor and toward the profession.

Lozana, therefore, encompasses an acerbic criticism toward the medical institutions of Delicado's time. By depicting male doctors as unethical, immoral, incapable, and greedy, the author suggests that more female healers are needed to fulfill the medical needs of Renaissance societies. University-trained physicians are depicted as purveyors of disease and pain, rather than as caring health care providers. They not only sabotaged the magical moats that kept people in good health, but also increase people's physical pain in order to justify their salary, prove their knowledge, and maintain a steady flow of income. The characterization of Rampín's uncle, who is described as an ass and also as an aspiring doctor (albeit facetiously), not only underscores Delicado's negative attitude toward male healers who operate within the boundaries of society and the law but actively undermines both by engaging in devious behavior. They are the disease, not the antidote. Lozana, by contrast, represents an opposing force. Although she is far from being altruistic and selfless, she has cultivated a body of knowledge on medical remedies that she prescribes by and large with integrity. Her treatments are nearly always in accordance with the clinical epistemology of her times, even as she is also described as prescribing placebo-like vegetables to her patients. Unlike doctors, however, Lozana does not trigger people's pain or hold back remedies so that patients can keep paying her a fee. On the contrary, she allays their pain with empathy and professionalism, mostly receiving pithy gifts as payment. Her alleged quackery, therefore, is problematized by the author and by Lozana herself. Delicado describes her as a quack and makes her describe herself as such, but she is also praised, even by trained physicians, for being precise with her diagnoses and treatments. At least in Delicado's novel, the ideal healer is not the university-trained doctor, but the pragmatic female healer who applies and shares her clinical knowledge for the betterment of her disadvantaged community. Notwithstanding the condescension of her male counterparts, Lozana continues with her resolve to help others ease their pain up to the very end of her poetic *Retrato*.

Works Cited

- Aviñón, Juan de. 1885. Sevillana Medicina. Sevilla: Enrique Rasco.
- Botta, Patrizia. "El léxico del marginalismo en *La Lozana andaluza*." *Hipogrifo* 6.1 (2018): 247–61.
- Burshatin, Israel. "Rome as Andalusia: Bodies and Borders in Francisco Delicado's *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza*." *Modern Language Notes* 129.2 (2014): 197–218.
- Corriente, Federico. "Los arabismos de La Lozana andaluza" Estudis Romànics 32: 51-72.
- Delicado, Francisco. La Lozana Andaluza, edited by Claude Allaigre (Madrid: Cátedra, 1985).
- Fuchs, Barbara. *Knowing Fictions: Picaresque Reading in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).
- Gerli, E. Michael. Celestina and the Ends of Desire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
- Giles, Ryan D. "The Erotic Legend of St. Nefissa and the *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza*." *Romance Notes* 48.1 (2007): 115–24.
- Goytisolo, Juan. "Notas sobre La Lozana andaluza." Triunfo 689 (1976): 50-55.
- Guardiola Morrillas, Juan. "Una lucha contra la bilis negra: La Lozana Andaluza y los analgésicos
- amor y la parodia." Celestinesca 42 (2018): 157–88.
- Kuffner, Emily. "En el tocar está la virtud': The Eros of Healing in *La Lozana andaluza*." *Corónica* 45.1 (2016): 63–87.
- Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. *Los arabismos del castellano en la Baja Edad Media* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998).
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. "El mundo converso de *La Lozana andaluza*." *Archivo Hispalense* 56.171 (1973): 87–97.
- McVaugh, Michael R. *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon*, 1285–1345. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Rojas, Fernando de. *La Celestina: Comedia o tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, edited by Peter E. Russell. Madrid: Castalia, 2001.
- Van der Eijk, Philip J. Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity: Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.