Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos

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Volume 44, numéro 3, printemps 2020

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1089815ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.18192/rceh.v44i3.6360

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Éditeur(s)

Asociación Canadiense de Hispanistas

ISSN

0384-8167 (imprimé)
2564-1662 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Kuffner, E. (2020). Eros in the Apiary: Bees and Beehives in Early Modern Spanish Erotic Literature. *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, *44*(3), 641–665. https://doi.org/10.18192/rceh.v44i3.6360

Résumé de l'article

In early modern Spain, bees inspired admiration for their exemplary sexual life since their supposedly asexual spontaneous generation made them models of chastity within the hive, an idealized masculine commune led by a king bee. However, bee imagery frequently appears in erotic literature and an astonishing number of Spanish texts on prostitution, including two of the most iconic, La Celestina (1499) and La Lozana andaluza (1528), which apply apiary metaphors to a female procuress. This article examines this seeming contradiction to argue that apiary metaphors applied to prostitution dehumanize the prostitute as an exemplary beast in the bestiary tradition.

EMILY KUFFNER

Eros in the Apiary: Bees and Beehives in Early Modern Spanish Erotic Literature

En la España áurea, la supuesta reproducción asexual de la abeja la convirtió en símbolo de castidad. El enjambre modeló una comuna masculina idealizada bajo el liderazgo de un "rey". Contrariamente, el simbolismo apiario aparece frecuentemente en literatura erótica, particularmente en textos sobre la prostitución incluso dos de los más icónicos, La Celestina *(1499) y* La Lozana andaluza *(1528), que tachan a la alcahueta de 'abeja.' El presente artículo examina esta contradicción aparente, alegando que las metáforas apiarias aplicadas a la prostitución deshumanizan a la prostituta, la cual sirve de bestia ejemplar en la tradición del bestiario medieval.*

Palabras clave: *abeja, literatura, prostitución, España, bestiario*

In early modern Spain, bees inspired admiration for their exemplary sexual life since their supposedly asexual spontaneous generation made them models of chastity within the hive, an idealized masculine commune led by a king bee. However, bee imagery frequently appears in erotic literature and an astonishing number of Spanish texts on prostitution, including two of the most iconic, La Celestina *(1499) and* La Lozana andaluza *(1528), which apply apiary metaphors to a female procuress. This article examines this seeming contradiction to argue that apiary metaphors applied to prostitution dehumanize the prostitute as an exemplary beast in the bestiary tradition.*

Keywords: *bee, literature, prostitution, Spain, bestiary*

In 1586, Luys Méndez de Torres published the first Spanish beekeeping treatise, *Tractado de la cultivación de las colmenas*, often credited with being the first to accurately describe the queen bee as female. However, although Méndez de Torres's hive leader is female, he stops short of using the term "queen," instead denoting the head bee the *maessa de enjambre*. Coincidentally, the same phrase, *maessa de enjambre,* appears in the 1528 novel *La Lozana andaluza* (Venice) concerning the protagonist, a Spanish prostitute living in Rome. Such allusions to female bees are an aberration in a period in which worker bees were gendered male, and classical authors

dating back to Aristotle had described the larger bee who ruled the hive as the king bee.[1] Early modern texts often described the hive as an androcentric utopia, drawing parallels between the beehive and the orderly communal life of monasteries. Moreover, due to their supposed spontaneous generation, early modern texts regard bees as asexual and, therefore, symbols of chastity. The assumption that a king bee ruled the hive went unchallenged until the publication of Charles Butler's influential *The Feminine Monarchie* (1609), the first English beekeeping treatise.[2] Butler, memorialized as the father of English beekeeping, not only popularized the idea of the queen bee (an assertion perhaps more readily accepted during Elizabeth's reign) but was also the first to accurately describe the production of wax and to ascribe male gender to the drones. Shortly thereafter, Jan Swammerdam's insect dissections in the 1670s definitively demonstrated that the queen bee was female (Ellis 105). Thus, the sixteenth-century references to the mistress of the hive in Méndez de Torres's beekeeping treatise, *La Lozana andaluza,* and similar fictionalized accounts of prostitution contradict the normative construction of the beehive as a patriarchal territory ruled by a male monarch. In this essay, I examine representations of bees in literature and nonfiction in which the male-gendered bee serves an exemplary function, presenting a model of chastity and orderly conduct, alongside several feminized and eroticized representations of the bee and its hive in texts on prostitution, notably *La Celestina* (1499) and *La Lozana andaluza* (1528), that describe the subversive and disorderly female protagonist through similar apiary metaphors. I argue that this seeming contradiction between the positive example of the male bee and negative portrayals of the female bee masks a didactic parallel in which prostitutes are satirized within the exemplary bestiary tradition as a beast whose representation serves to encourage the male reader to turn away from animalistic aspects of human nature and towards a spiritual detachment from the physical world. To demonstrate this, I first examine the theological and political symbolism commonly associated with bees in the early modern period and then analyze erotic apiary metaphors employed in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish poetry. This allows me to highlight how representations of the prostitute "queen bee" interact with and invert the normative meanings of apiary metaphors. My analysis reveals notable intertextuality between fictional and nonfictional sources and remarkable mutability of apiary symbolism even as early moderns anthropomorphized the natural world in ways that reinforce a heterodox gender and class-based natural order. The animalization of women in the exemplary bestiary tradition allows authors to use the

prostitute as a negative exemplar that urges the male reader to turn to his higher nature.

Humans had long observed the natural world searching for examples of teleological perfection on which to model human conduct. Classical texts such as Aristotle's *History of Animals* or Pliny the Elder's works on natural history drew parallels between animal and human worlds, frequently exhorting their human readers to follow the models set forth by nature. In the medieval period, the popularity of bestiaries, or compendiums of animal types in the tradition of the *Physiologus* (second century), continued this classical tradition. Generally, these beasts present an exemplary model to be imitated by the human such as the lion, who represented courage. However, other beasts warned the reader of conducts to be avoided, often underscoring the dangers of unchecked sexual desire. For example, fire stones, an imaginary beast appearing in medieval bestiaries that is an animate stone with male and female genders, must be kept strictly segregated. If the male and female enter into contact with one another they ignite and self-immolate, a clear warning of desire's destructive power in medieval Christian theology.[3] Similarly, the siren (half-woman, half-bird, fish, or sometimes both) lured sailors to their death, illustrating the perils of lust. Writers often drew parallels between sirens and human prostitutes, a move echoed by representations of the prostitute queen bee examined later. Thus, early moderns inherited a tradition of looking to nonhuman realms for exemplars of virtuous behavior or models of corruption to be avoided.

Studies of the bestiary tradition, and the broader interdisciplinary field of animal studies, have often privileged larger animals as a focus of study.[4] Early moderns, on the other hand, frequently esteemed the miniscule above the large, particularly in the sixteenth century, as scientific advancements brought new possibilities for a detailed examination of the minute. Admiration of the diminutive stemmed in part from the classical tradition. Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, for example, asserts that the insect's minuteness requires higher craftsmanship than that necessary to produce larger animals. As Eric C. Brown demonstrates, literary insects frequently serve as "humanity's Other," provoking one of two opposing reactions: identification or revulsion (xi). While many insects evoke fear and disgust in humans, bees are among the few species of insects (along with select others like the silkworm) that produce something of value to human society and are therefore frequently esteemed.[5] Early modern writers overwhelmingly depicted bee society as exemplary and applied apiary metaphors to everything from politics to theology, drawing on classical sources such as Virgil's *Georgics* and Aristotle's *History of Animals*, medieval bestiaries, and the sixteenth-century emblem book genre that paired images

with moral dictums. In the bee, humanity often perceived a higher self reflected in apiary society. Early moderns admired the bee's alchemical ability to transform flowers into honey, its imagined sexual restraint, and its ability to fly rather than crawl as do many of the insects perceived as repulsive by humans. As I demonstrate, early modern Spanish authors frequently encouraged their readers to follow the bee's example as a model in the struggle to overcome worldly temptations.

While bees and honey have long played a symbolic role in Christianity through hagiographical tales of desert fathers, early Christian hermits sustained with honey, and biblical references to the land of milk and honey, in Counter-Reformation Spain, the orderly collective life of the hive became a metaphor for divine order in works of natural theology. This genre evoked *admiratio,* a sense of wonder or marvel, through contemplation of the majesty of God's creation.[6] One example of Spanish natural theology, Fray Luis de Granada's *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* (1583), undertakes a detailed observation of the natural world that incorporates traditional knowledge and observation into Catholic doctrine. Fray Luis echoes Pliny, stating that in the insect realm, "replandece aún más el artificio y cuidado de la divina providencia que en los grandes animales" (336). He devotes three chapters to the praise of bees, which he states are more admirable than other insects because they produce something useful to humans (352). Fray Luis's bees live in a harmonious community that parallels monastic orders and serve as a model for the human reader, since "es más bien regida la república de las abejas que la nuestra" (361). Fray Luis's influential work demonstrates a normative portrayal of the exemplary hive as a model of teleological order.

Bees also exemplified moderation within early modern ideals of just rule and communal living. Fray Luis' depiction of the hive as a monastery was common since bees live in individual cells set within larger communities characterized by collective harmony, and since monasteries were the principal site of apiculture in the period. Fray Luis illustrates the tendency to compare beehives to monasteries, declaring that humans can observe in the beehive an "imagen de una congregación de religiosos de grande observancia" (355) since they lived together in a peaceful community, an idea that is repeated verbatim by Méndez de Torres's beekeeping treatise (15).[7] Likewise, the king bee often served as a metaphor for God, the king, or religious leaders like bishops. Sebastián de Covarrubias, the author of the first Spanish dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), states that the king bee has no stinger and is known for his clemency (3-4). The emblem tradition, an immensely popular genre in the early seventeenth century that paired images with aphorisms, similarly asserted that the king

bee had a stinger but refrained from employing it to demonstrate merciful rule. Likewise, Méndez de Torres claims that the mistress of the hive is born with a stinger, but chews it off as an act of self-restraint to prevent future conflict (72).[8] The insistence on restraint, particularly in the hive leader, models Christian self-denial, which allowed for either chastity or marital relations purely for procreative purposes.

Moreover, the king bee modeled the proper use of authority through monarchy, thereby serving as a metaphor for Christ or his representative on earth, the pope.[9] As Fray Luis exclaims in another phrase reproduced by Méndez de Torres, "no es mucho de maravillar que un hombre que exceda a todos los hombres en sabiduria hiziesse cosas dignas de tan grande admiración; mas que un animalico tan pequeño haga las mismas cosas tan bien ordenadas en su manera de vida, esto es cosa que sobrepuja toda admiración" (Granada 356; Méndez de Torres 15). As this quotation demonstrates, bees were often held up as a symbol of order and virtue to be imitated by the human world.

The bee particularly suited early modern Catholic didacticism due to its supposed chastity since moralizing texts ascribe bees a moral superiority that allowed them to pass judgement on human conduct. As Covarrubias recounts, bees reproduced asexually through spontaneous generation: "no se engendra de ayuntamiento de macho y hembra y no por eso son menos fecundas" (3). Accordingly, bees theoretically existed in a state of perpetual virginity untroubled by sexual desire, a concept found in medieval bestiaries and nonfiction works in which bees occupied a moral high ground from which to judge human conduct. For example, Covarrubias' definition of *abeja* [bee] states that its purity will provoke it to attack an unchaste person who enters its midst (4). Bartolomeo Platina's influential cookbook, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (1474), praises the bee's refined palate and similarly asserts that it will attack overly pungent humans such as those who smell of a recent amorous encounter (154-55). As these examples illustrate, the bee appears across genres as a moral exemplar that serves to underscore humanity's failure to embody spiritual ideals.

The bee's supposed sexual purity, which is asserted by Covarrubias and Platina, gave its sting didactic overtones that could symbolize the pain of lovesickness, as illustrated by the classical myth of Cupid and the bees, rediscovered and retold by humanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this tale first attributed to the third-century Greek poet Theocritus, Eros is stung while attempting to steal a honeycomb. When he complains to his mother Aphrodite, she jests that his arrows are analogous to a bee sting. The parable, immensely popular in Latin and vernacular Spanish and Italian versions during the sixteenth century, highlights the

duality of love as sweet yet painful. Sixteenth-century emblem books illustrated the proverb: Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (1531), for instance, contains two consecutive emblems (CXI and CXII) that reference the myth with the *motto* that all good things are accompanied by pain ["pro dolor, heu, sine te gratia nulla datur!" (Alciati 132), which is translated in the Spanish editions as "no hay bien que con dolor no esté mezclado" (Alciato 151)]. Thus, the bee's sting reminds the reader that worldly pleasure causes spiritual harm, subtly referencing Platina's warning that bees will sting the unchaste. The classical myth is also found in works of the Spanish Golden Age and forms the basis of the 1588 poem by Luis de Góngora (1561-1627), "Por los jardines de Chipre." In the poem, Cupid is stung while greedily sticking his hand into a hive in search of honey, and complains to his mother "madre mía, una abejita / que casi no tiene pico, / me ha dado mayor dolor / que pudiera un basilisco" to which she replies "de poco te admiras, hijo, / siendo tú y esa avecica / semejantes en el pico" (Góngora 254-55). In this poem and other retellings of the myth, Cupid's arrows are compared to the bee's sting since both inflict a small wound that nonetheless provokes intense pain. In Góngora's rendition, Venus interprets Cupid's injury as vengeance for causing her ill-fated love for Adonis. While the classical tradition focused on the psychological suffering caused by unrequited love, the myth's message easily assimilated into Christian ideology, which converted the bee sting into a symbol of carnal love since the momentary pleasure of sexual gratification imperiled the immortal soul, causing spiritual torment.[10] Therefore, Spanish neo-classical poems invoke the bee's orderly world, free of desire, and subtly encourage the reader to emulate the bee's chastity, rather than giving in to worldly temptations.

A similar didactic message is found in *El colmenero divino* (c. 1610), by the priest and baroque playwright Tirso de Molina. A religious drama, it combines theological with classical apiary references to warn human spectators to emulate the bee's purity in order to avoid the sting of carnal love. Tirso wrote several *autos sacramentales* (one-act religious dramas to be performed in public on critical religious occasions), among them *El colmenero divino*, written for the Corpus Christi celebrations*. El colmenero divino* expresses the profound religious sentiment that marks Tirso's drama while also elucidating an emergent baroque dualism that refers to body and soul through the imagery of bees and hives.[11] The drama includes named character roles as well as allegorical figures. Tirso portrays Christ as the eponymous Divine Beekeeper who establishes a terrestrial apiary with bees that represent human souls. The Devil is cast as a Bear eager to rob the hive. The Christian is bifurcated into the soul, personified as a Bee (*abeja*), and the body, represented as a Drone (*zángano*). Symbolic figures include The

World and Pleasure who collude with the Bear/Devil to tempt the Bee/soul away from the divine apiary, serving as a parable of original sin wherein the body is tempted by the false honey of the world to abandon the divine beekeeper's apiary for a deceptive worldly one.

Furthermore, Tirso's allegory illustrates divine mercy when the heavenly beekeeper redeems both body and soul through the offering of his flesh as sacred "honeycomb" (Molina 155). The apiary metaphors in this work set up a parallel between the carnal temptation of "la miel de la carne ... miel del deleite … del amor, y el interés ... la miel del lascivo amor" (Molina 150, 156, 157), and divine honey that represents heaven and salvation, described moreover as virginal when the divine beekeeper declares that "miel virgen es el panal, y virgen es la Colmena" (Molina 159). The separation of body and soul underscores the corporeal nature of the temptations that distract humanity from the divine, establishing a baroque contrast between misleading worldly illusions and intangible spiritual truth through apiary terminology.

A dramatized fall from grace that juxtaposes the bee with other less admirable insects illustrates Tirso's baroque disillusionment with false appearances and didactic message. The World decides to disguise himself as a false beekeeper whose counterfeit apiary tempts the soul away from God. As noted above, body and soul are embodied separately in this work, with the body as Drone and soul as a worker bee (Bee). When the body/Drone falls into temptation by eating the fake earthly honey, the soul (cast into a sinful state by the body's actions) loses its wings and plummets to earth from the heavenly apiary, after which it is denigrated as a *mosca* and an *avispa*; subsequently, divine redemption restores the bee/soul's lost wings, allowing it to ascend once more to the heavenly apiary (Molina 152-55). According to Tirso, bees are born without feet, "símbolo, que quien labra para el Cielo, / gustos de tierra ha de pasar de vuelo" (Molina 148).[12] Wings, therefore, represent salvation and the ability to surpass earthly temptation. Canto XXXI of Dante's *Paradiso,* a work with which Tirso was doubtless familiar, similarly figures the angels as a swarm of bees flying between heaven and earth. Thus, Tirso invokes the bee as a pure and sacred creature who seeks God.

Conversely, when the body gives in to temptation, it is associated with wasps or flies, two creatures despised by humans. Flies in particular were associated with corruption and decay, so that denoting the debased bee a fly demonstrates how far it has fallen from the spiritual ideals evoked by the bee's place in the exemplary tradition. Consequently, the human spectator is subtly implored to emulate the bee's purity, setting aside worldly desires, especially carnal love, in favor of divine love. The allegory ends with a

dramatic scene in which the World, the Devil, and their musicians fall through the trapdoor into a pit of flames, while a golden beehive appears above with a chalice and host inside it (Molina 158).

Tirso's allegory also draws on a distinction between *abejas* and *zánganos* rooted in the Greco-Roman tradition and used here to convey cultural norms related to gender and class that disparaged drones. Although *abeja* is gendered feminine in Spanish, the conventional literary bee is male, as seen in the comparisons of beehives and monasteries. This applies above all to the king bee mentioned previously, but also to his subjects. Virgil's *Georgics* misidentifies the (biologically male) drone as a female who stays in the hive to care for the young and maintain the home while the "male" worker bees took active roles as soldiers and workmen whose labor in the public sphere supported the enclosure of their "wives" the drones. Hesiod's *Works and Days* built on the Virgilian framework to denounce the laziness of the "female" drones, who lived comfortably in the hive through the industry of the "male" worker bees. Early modern Spanish texts reflect a similarly hierarchical apiary society. Fray Luis de Granada describes a "república muy bien ordenada, donde hay rey, y nobles, y oficiales que se ocupan en sus oficios, y gente vulgar y plebeya que sirven a éstos" (355). Fray Luis subsequently explains that the higher caste to which he refers are the worker bees, contrasted with their servants, the vulgar plebian drones. Since observation had revealed that drone bees did not produce honey, Fray Luis asserts that they are "glotones y holgazanes" (362). Likewise, Covarrubias states that the term *zángano* denotes "los holgaçanes y floxos, que solo sirven de comerse el sudor de los que trabajan" (263). These assertions naturalize distinctions in human social order, using observation of the hive as a mirror for human society with a virtuous worker bee aristocracy superior to the lower-class drones. Fray Luis alleges that the *abejas* must post guards around the honey to protect it from the shiftless drones who would otherwise steal it and describes the drones' expulsion from the hive in winter as a just punishment for thievery. Thus, the hive presents a model of the natural order. The drone/bee binary both exhorts the elite male to express his higher nature and relies on gender and class assumptions in which women and non-elite males should accept their divinely-ordered social position.

In the texts examined thus far, the bee's sting represents the consequences of succumbing to carnal desire; however, the same sting appears with ludic purpose in poetry that describes erotic encounters set in an idealized garden with the male bee as a chivalric lover.[13] The popular poetic conceit of the *abeja equivocada,* derived from classical literature that appears in verses of canonical Spanish poets such as Francisco Quevedo

(1580-1645) and Lope de Vega (1562-1635) serves to exemplify the erotic use of apiary imagery. In these poems, a bee comes upon a young girl in a lush garden, mistakes her beauty for that of one of the many flowers that surround her, and stings her with a kiss.[14] This series of poems draws on the traditional association of female beauty with flowers, found in Golden Age sonnets such as Garcilaso de la Vega's *carpe diem* poem "En tanto que de rosa y azucena." In some *hortus conclusus* poems, or love poems that take place in an enclosed garden that represents the closed body of the virginal maiden who is the love object, the fictionalized male bee appears as an idealized lover to seduce his horticultural paramour. As Jesús Ponce Cárdenas concludes, the desire of the poetic voice to metamorphose into a bee in order to sting his beloved reveals three erotic meanings: to penetrate, to deflower, or to orgasm (*Evaporar* 289). For example, Góngora's sonnet "Al tronco Filis de un laurel sagrado," describes an attempted rape thwarted by the "invidia interpuesta de una abeja" who wakes the sleeping maiden by stinging her lips (522). In this poem, the bee appears as a romantic rival envious of the human male, implying a phallic subtext. Similar equation of the bee-sting with human penetrative intercourse is found in Miguel Colodrero de Villalobos's "A una dama que lloraba de una picadura de abeja." The poetic voice chides 'Fili' that "es propio de las abejas el atreverse a las flores," and warns her that their sting "podrá muy bien hincharte," comically comparing the swollen bee sting with pregnancy (cited in Ponce Cárdenas, "En torno" 126-27). Likewise, in Luis Martín's madrigal "Iba cogiendo flores," a bee stings a maiden, who is smelling roses when it mistakes her lips for the flowers (88). Such poems emphasize the feminine beauty of the beloved's red lips and express a desire for sensual contact as in the case of a sonnet by Juan Bautista de Mesa (1543-1620) where the poetic voice laments, "¡Oh temeraria abeja! Pues tocaste donde aun imaginarlo no me atrevo" (122).

Consequently, the priapic male bee eludes the negative associations of carnal love, instead of furthering the ludic purpose of representing and satirizing elite male sexual desire. As I demonstrate below, when bees figure as female in erotic literature, apiary motifs take on a more sinister tone. All the authors surveyed here are elite men with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. The feminization of the bee in texts on prostitution references the ludic tradition of bee and flower metaphors in love poetry while exposing the mistrust of lower-class female sexuality in which non-elite women are classed as patriarchal property. While these texts seem to contravene the typical theological associations of apiary imagery, close analysis reveals that they subtly underscore a similar didactic message.

As mentioned earlier, in classical writing and the medieval bestiary tradition, animals served as models for human behavior, whether to be imitated or avoided. Apiary metaphors provided a foil for contemporary ideologies regarding femininity in part because early modern texts frequently compare women to animals due to their supposedly limited capacity for rational thought. This characteristic separates humans from animals in early modern ideology.[15] While bees generally epitomized the numerous exemplary qualities outlined earlier, they could also evoke negative qualities such as flattery.[16] In the "General Introduction" to López de Úbeda's satirical novel *La pícara Justina* (1605), the protagonist defends her status as *pícara* or female rogue by comparing herself to a bee, alleging that "la abeja con su miel convida y con su aguijón aterroriza" (251). Even within a contradictory cultural ideology that saw women as simultaneously erotic and repulsive, women had a place within the teleological order; as the fictional Justina goes on to explain, "no hay animal cuyas propiedades en todo y por todo, sean tan malignas que ... no tenga otras útiles y provechosas" (251). Fray Luis de Granada's description of bees quotes the same phrase almost verbatim, attributing it to Aristotle (Granada 336); Lopez de Úbeda places this well-known dictum in the mouth of a non-elite female in order to underscore the bestial nature of women who, unlike males, could not escape their animal nature. As Fray Luis tells his readers, four-legged animals naturally look downward towards the earth, while the man stands upright, and can, therefore, look upward or downward. As Fray Luis exclaims, "cuan baja cosa es el hombre si no se levanta sobre las cosas humanas;" authors such as Fray Luis use man's vertical positioning as a metaphor, urging men to look upward by using restraint to forgo bodily desires (127). Bees look upward as well, putting them in some ways above the brute beasts of the earth; thus, by invoking apiary imagery, these authors remind the male reader of his moral responsibility to overcome the carnal desires that diminish and animalize humanity.

La pícara Justina is one of a series of Spanish novels that utilize apiary metaphors to refer to their prostitute-protagonist. Given the many positive qualities associated with bees, these literary references to the prostitute, a generally maligned figure, as *abeja* may seem surprising. Their roots are found in the classical tradition that figures the pain of love as a bee sting. Unlike the *abeja equivocada* poems, these literary references depict the prostitute's sting as an economic loss that demonstrates female greed. In the classical tradition, the epigrams of the Greek poet Marcus Argentarius compare the courtesan's kiss to the sting of a bee. While the kiss (a euphemism for the sexual act) is sweet, the courtesan stings her client when it comes time to pay for services rendered. Argentarius tells "Melissa" (a

name etymologically linked to honey), "when you kiss, you drip sweet honey from your lips; / When you ask for money, I feel the savage wound of your sting" (Argentarius 214). This and other prostitute/bee metaphors invert the normative gender order; the female takes the role of the active worker bee with the male as a passive drone, preyed upon by female greed.

Since premodern prostitution functioned rhetorically as a gift economy rather than a transaction with fixed prices, prostitutes were frequently accused of demanding more in payment than their charms were worth and of entering prostitution out of a desire for lucre (obscuring the social reality that many women, if not most, were coerced into the sex trade). The concept of the male victim of transactional sex took on a particular resonance in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century as syphilis swept through Europe, bringing a new form of suffering as the aftermath of carnal pleasure. In "Escuchadme, cortesanas," an anonymous ballad from the *Romancero general* (1600-05), a lover describes the excruciating pain caused by the illness and exacerbated by the fasting undergone as part of his treatment. He blames his pitiful condition on the prostitutes that he used to frequent, complaining that he was a "zángano que llevaba a vuestras colmenas miel" (1315, 1319). The poetic voice uses apiary metaphors to present himself as a short-lived drone who no longer has any relevance to the worker bees as a source of "honey," and figures the house of prostitution as a hive, storing the profits under female economic control. Furthermore, the "drone's" complaint that he has been cast aside plays on the erotic connotations of *miel* as an allusion to either sexual pleasure or sperm, for example when the protagonist of *La Lozana andaluza* (Francisco Delicado, 1528), a novel examined in more depth subsequently, exclaims at the moment of climax "¡Ay qué miel tan sabrosa!" (Delicado 234).[17] The drone blames his illness and the resulting painful symptoms on the momentary pleasure received through transactional sex and vows to eschew engaging in the flesh trade forever if he recovers "con pluma," a phallic reference to the potential impotence resulting from syphilis (1315, 1319). In this context, the suffering caused by love is no longer mental torture, but rather a physical one with disabling, and perhaps even fatal, repercussions. The trope of the male victim of female duplicity also aligns with social attitudes towards syphilis; medical treatises and similar texts blamed women, and especially prostitutes, for spreading the disease; women are described in such texts as vectors, yet they were believed to suffer less from the illness, and in medical texts, the patient was (implicitly or explicitly) male. In this particular poem, the posturing of the male client as a drone serves to diminish him in comparison to the active female prostitute/bees in their hive/brothel,

warning the male reader against the illusory pleasure of sexual love, and revealing the fear of loss of virility.

These poetic references to prostitutes as bees and brothels as hives culminate in apiary metaphors applied to the *alcahueta*, or procuress, who endangers female chastity by penetrating the *hortus conclusus* and pollinating the flowers, drawing on botanical metaphors that describe women as flowers and on symbolism of the garden of love. The *alcahueta* is an older woman, often a former prostitute, who facilitates love affairs for a male protagonist (or protagonists). She is frequently vilified in literature and the legal code since laws dictated harsher punishments for procuring than for acts of illicit prostitution.[18] Even so, her literary portrayals were immensely popular; *La Celestina* (1499), the first Spanish novel to feature a lower-class former prostitute as a central character, inspired several later novels with a prostitute as protagonists such as *La Lozana andaluza* (1528), *La pícara Justina* (1605), *La hija de Celestina* (1612), and more. As many critics have noted, these novels, often denoted the female picaresque, frequently detail early modernity's misogynist views of feminine nature.[19] The first literary manifestation of the *alcahueta* in the Spanish tradition is Juan Ruiz's character Trotaconventos, who facilitates sexual encounters for the Archpriest and protagonist of the fourteenth-century *El libro de buen amor*. Ruiz utilizes a series of animal metaphors to describe Trotaconventos, among them "abejón" (927).[20] Trotaconventos' successor Celestina and many later manifestations of the *alcahueta* are hymen-menders as well as procuresses, playing a role in both de-flowering and re-flowering young women so that Celestina's house "serves as a parody of the protected garden" (D. Ellis 8).[21] When apiary metaphors apply to prostitutes as in the poetic examples cited earlier, the sting of love can signify the economic pain of paying for the sexual act; the *alcahueta,* on the other hand, stings the male client twice since she added her fee to the prostitute's wages. Since such encounters operated upon a rhetoric of gifts, the *alcahueta* uses the man's love or lust to extort vast sums to sate her avarice, profiting from the sexual labor of others without toil just as the drones were believed to profit from the worker bee's industry. Apiary metaphors in these texts underscore cultural narratives of women's greed and corruption, such that the *alcahueta,* like the sirens of the bestiary tradition, serve to warn the male reader of the bestial nature of women.

Celestina repeatedly applies apiary imagery to her role as a mediator of female sexuality. The wily former prostitute and brothel-keeper facilitate a love affair between the noble Calisto and the beautiful Melibea (a name that invokes both honey and beauty) in collusion with Calisto's servants, who later murder Celestina out of avarice for a larger share of the profits.

Celestina inflames Calisto's passion by displaying Melibea's girdle, given to Celestina as a talisman, and gloats about her control over Melibea by stating that:

> la mayor gloria que al secreto oficio de la abeja se da, a la qual los discretos deben imitar, es que todas las cosas por ella tocadas convierte en mejor de lo que son. Desta manera me he avido con las çahareñas razones y esquivas de Melibea; todo su rigor traygo convertido en miel, su yra en mansedumbre, su aceleramiento en sosiego (Rojas 182).[22]

Celestina appropriates the exemplary tradition of animal imagery found in the bestiary and other sources, admonishing her interlocutors that the wise should emulate the bee as she does. She uses a series of contrasts to portray Melibea as savage and animalistic, a description at odds with Melibea's actual behavior, which up to this point has been that of a virtuous maiden. By recasting Melibea's maidenly reticence as rage and wild behavior, Celestina promises to tame her, indicating her eventual acquiescence to Calisto's sexual advances. Celestina as bee converts the dew of Melibea's virtuous resistance into the honey of conquest, figuring Melibea, in turn, as a passive flower.[23] Celestina inverts the normative erotic meaning of bee symbolism, which encourages rejection of desire, through her claim to have converted Melibea's rejection of Calisto's suit (the reaction expected of her social position) into "honey," "docility," and "tranquility" following her loss of sexual innocence through Celestina's intervention. The honey in Celestina's metaphor conveys sexual access, both through its preexisting erotic connotations, and its use as a contrast to *rigor,* implying that sweetness will replace resistance. Celestina's active role in penetrating Melibea's enclosure threatens Pleberio's patriarchal control over Melibea's body, illustrating the "engaños de la alcahueta" that Rojas warns his reader against in his didactic prefatory remarks (87). Taken as a whole, the novel reinforces the duality of bee sting imagery: Melibea and Calisto's sexual licentiousness stings in the form of Melibea's suicide, Calisto's accidental death, and Celestina's murder. On the other hand, the downfall of these characters reinforces class bias since none of the lower-class prostitutes or servants suffer the consequences of licentious behavior. Instead, only the corruption of the elite woman Melibea is depicted as problematic.

Following Celestina's death, the prostitute Elicia offers a eulogy that returns to apiary metaphors to describe their relationship.[24] She laments, "¡O Celestina ... tú trabajavas, yo holgava; tú salías fuera, yo estava encerrada ... tú entravas contino como abeja por casa" (Rojas 303). In this declaration, Celestina is a worker bee whose mobility allows Elicia to remain enclosed

in the domestic sphere. This statement echoes the rhetoric of Hesiod's *Works and Days* in which the toil of the worker bees allows the drones to live comfortably in the hive; Elicia describes Celestina as a protector who allows Elicia to live safely enclosed in the home.

Consequently, Celestina's active role in the public sphere shields Elicia from the repercussions of clandestine prostitution outside the legalized brothel system. Elicia's body serves as the economic driver, but Celestina's mediation with clients allows her to profit as well. For Elicia, however, this economic exploitation is a marker of ease while Celestina takes on the active role in the transactions, finding clients and bringing them to the house, underscoring the economic nature of domestic space in the practice of prostitution. Celestina's self-construction as a bee gives her autonomy, enjoying access to otherwise closed spaces, and, as Elicia's statement substantiates, her home figures as a hive where the economic honey she elicits from her clientele can be stored. In *La Celestina*, apiary metaphors illustrate the dangerous accumulation of economic power in female hands that threatens patriarchal control. Implicitly, Elicia portrays her clients as passive drones who bring honey to the hive, as in the *Romancero* poem cited earlier, Celestina's successor Lozana will make this inference explicit.

The immense popularity of *La Celestina* inspired many imitations and successors, among them *La Lozana andaluza*. This novel recounts the fictionalized life story of the eponymous protagonist who, following an attempt on her life, escapes to Rome, where she makes her living as a prostitute, procuress, and purveyor of medicinal and beauty supplies to her clients in the flesh trade and the city's elite courtesans. The frontispiece promises to deliver "munchas mas cosas que *La Celestina*," a pledge fulfilled by moving the *alcahueta* from marginal character to the protagonist (Delicado 165). Moreover, the novel expands on the apiary trope established by *La Celestina* and *El libro de buen amor*, adding various references to the house of prostitution as a beehive. While in *La Celestina,* the deaths of Celestina, Calisto, and Melibea restore order, Lozana's tale has a less visible moral message, though subtended by the same concerns about female avarice. *La Lozana andaluza* differs markedly from her precursor in that prostitution in early sixteenth-century Rome was both legal and unregulated, and was not confined to a particular area of the city.[25] Early in the novel, Lozana's future lover Rampín (who she later marries) shows her around the city of Rome, declaring as they enter the courtesan district that "por esta calle hallaremos tantas cortesanas juntas como colmenas" (Delicado 213). This is the first mention of courtesans and of apiary motifs, tying the two together thematically, an analogy upon which Lozana later expands.

Lozana arrives in the city destitute and quickly establishes herself as a prostitute and procuress while also building a business providing beauty supplies to the elite courtesans who dominated the sex trade in Rome – both in the novel and historically. In the third and final section of the novel, Lozana redefines her place in transactional sexuality through an extended monologue that utilizes apiary metaphors to construct her home as a beehive and herself as the king bee. Lozana vaunts her intimacy with the courtesans, then declares that she will no longer deliver her services, but instead will force her customers to seek her out at home, stating that "mi casa será colmena, y también, si yo asiento en mi casa, no me faltarán munchos que yo tengo ya domados, y mitirillo por encarnazar" (376). The last phrase *mitirillo por encarnazar* has been interpreted in various ways: a reference to becoming fat [*encarnar*], or, as Claude Allaigre speculates in his edition, a statement that she will use her current clients as bait [*carnada*] to attract more (Delicado 376). However, it could also refer to coronating [*encoronar*] if *mitirillo* refers to a *mitra* or the mitre worn by a bishop, which was often depicted in religious apiary symbolism wherein the king bee appears in a bishop's mitre, thus reinforcing Lozana's place as monarch.[26] Likewise, *encarnazar* implies the religious overtones of *encarnar*, to become incarnate, a definition offered by Covarrubias (347).

Consequently, Delicado may be parodying religious symbolism by depicting Lozana as the pseudo-religious head of an erotic hive, establishing a double entendre between *carne* and incarnate, in other words, fattening herself through carnal commerce. In this monologue, Lozana reigns as king bee over her clients, described as drones, to invoke the erotic dichotomy of the active bee versus passive drone. Also, her statement is an economic reference: Covarrubias explains that the phrase "tener la casa como una colmena, es tenerla muy proveyda de todo lo necessario" (224).[27] Consequently, Lozana insists on dominance over her clients, who are passive and tamed. As her career in Rome progresses, Lozana moves from selling her own body to profiting primarily from the sexual labor of the worker bees, or the prostitutes for whom she acts as a procuress, thus living as a king bee who profits from others' sexual labor. Like Celestina before her, Lozana inscribes her home as a beehive, revealing male clients' insecurity over perceived passivity in the face of female economic autonomy, and moral concerns about the profits from prostitution and procuring. While the king bee demonstrates nobility by abstaining from manual labor, the eroticized queen bee in Lozana's monologue epitomizes female vice.

The economic autonomy offered by procuring threatened patriarchal control over women's sexuality and amplified moral concerns regarding

women profiting from sinful activity. Prostitution was especially profitable in the early modern Rome of *La Lozana andaluza* since it was legal and mostly unregulated, though prostitutes and courtesans paid a yearly tax. As a result, most of the profits went to practitioners themselves rather than being filtered through pimps, brothel owners, or go-betweens. Therefore, earnings remained largely in female hands, leaving both clients and moral opponents of prostitution (though these are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories) resentful of female economic independence. However, as Margaret Boyle demonstrates, some of the profits generated through the exercise of prostitution funded public displays of repentance by former prostitutes.[28] Tessa Storey similarly demonstrates that the Magdalen convents established in Rome shortly before *La Lozana andaluza's* publication were largely funded by the requirement that prostitutes and courtesans donate one-fifth of their estate to these institutions upon their death (63-64).

Notwithstanding these attempts to redirect some of the profits into repentance and rehabilitation, prostitution was an extremely lucrative business. Consequently, through the description of her house as a beehive, Lozana asserts economic independence developed by the exploitation of carnal desire. The use of this apiary motif could point to religious or moral meaning, as in Tirso's allegory wherein the temptation of earthly desires imperils the immortal soul. Moreover, it reveals unease over female economic independence by depicting female agency as an erasure of male autonomy, turning the male client into a tamed drone. Lozana's status as "libre y no sujeto a ninguno" creates both admiration and rancor in her fellow characters even as she manages to evade attempts to circumscribe her economic autonomy.[29]

Throughout the novel, male characters seek to profit from Lozana's labor. In one instance, a client named Sagüeso states that Lozana is a "colmena de putas" (Delicado 417). Sagüeso explains that if he could control Lozana as he does the aging courtesan Celidonia, he would be the "duque del todo," indicating that Sagüeso wishes to be Lozana's pimp (417). This role is already taken on by her servant and later husband Rampín, though Lozana asserts throughout the novel that she controls the relationship, and he is frequently described as her servant.[30] Consequently, when Sagüeso states that Lozana is a "beehive of whores" he inscribes her economic value as a procuress through apiary symbolism; by controlling the other prostitutes of the novel, she takes on a central and economically lucrative role as mediator of female sexuality (417). Sagüeso continues to develop his apiary metaphor throughout this episode, stating that Lozana is a "maestra de enjambres," the same term used by Méndez de Torres sixty years later to

describe the hive leader (418). This allusion is couched within Sagüeso's original complaint that he cannot control Lozana as he does Celidonia, whom he claims is richer and worth more on her own than Lozana except that she is not "mistress of the hive" (418). Thus, Lozana's value derives from her ability to control and profit from female sexuality, both her own and that of others. This is followed by a debate between Sagüeso and Lozana over her worth relative to Celidonia in which Lozana states that "en dinero y en riquezas me pueden llevar, mas no en linaje ni en sangre" (418). This ludic reference to the Spanish obsession with blood purity is followed by an accusation that Celidonia is approaching old age and will lose her sexual appeal, and therefore her earnings. Lozana, however, will retain her economic value as she metamorphoses from a role as an active prostitute to a celestinesque *alcahueta* who profits from the sexual labor of others. Ultimately, Sagüeso concedes the argument (as foreshadowed by his initial statement that he would prefer to pimp Lozana rather than Celidonia) and states that to celebrate her success, he will "bailar como oso en colmenar," depicting himself as a predator with the potential to destroy the apiary (419). Lozana can only remain in her position as queen bee by retaining economic control over the sexuality of the prostitute/bees in her hive. However, her clients' attempts to wrest this control away from her indicate that objection to prostitution often stemmed as much, if not more, from economic considerations than a desire to reform morality.

Whether or not Lozana maintains the autonomy she prizes has been a matter of much critical debate. Many critics assert that her intention to retire to the island of Lipari is a signal of her repentance of a life of vice, a hagiographical reading of Lozana as a penitent, and the island as a metaphor for heaven or Mary Magdalen's cave.[31] However, the novel's ending is profoundly ambiguous, much like the metaphorical symbolism of bees. While Lozana announces her intention to retire, indicated both in the chapter title and later statements, Delicado appends a letter from Lozana to her "amigas y en amor hermanas" in Rome; given that both *amiga* and *hermana* frequently functioned as synonyms for prostitute in the era, the letter is clearly addressed to her fellow practitioners in the sex trade. In the letter, she declares that she has not gone to Lipari as planned, having been "detenido por vuestro amor" and reassures her fellow prostitutes that their trade will always flourish in the Holy See (503-05). Moreover, on the frontispiece, she is depicted en route to Venice, and in the act of providing cosmetic services to a group of courtesans, among them the aforementioned Celidonia. Delicado's authorial decision to include Lozana's letter after his own end materials indicates that she retains autonomy.

By relying on apiary metaphors, *La Lozana andaluza, La Celestina,* and related works invert the normative gendering of bees, and in doing so, reveal masculine fear that the economy of prostitution allows women to usurp an unnatural autonomy by negotiating the sale of other women's bodies. As many critics have pointed out, literary representations of prostitution generally present a misogynist portrayal of their female protagonists; however, not unproblematically so, since Lozana and some of her fellow fictional prostitutes manage to evade male control. Moreover, this misogyny draws on the class-based assumptions revealed by Spanish distinctions between drones and worker bees; non-elite women, like the drones who are natural servants to their superiors, are assumed to be more animalistic, and more sexually available than their elite counterparts. In such texts, primarily written by and for elite males, self-control, and by extension virtue, are prerogatives of class. By utilizing apiary metaphors to describe the economy of prostitution, authors apply an entomological gaze to an imagined gynocentric sphere that expresses male anxiety about the female usurpation of patriarchal control over the sexuality of other women.

Nevertheless, these texts retain the same didactic message as the theological apiary references- they encourage elite men to turn to their higher nature, avoiding the animalizing influence of non-elite women, at the same time depicting men as victims of female duplicity. Observations of the natural world often serve to reinforce existing stereotypes by projecting the androcentric imaginary of the early modern human worldview onto the microcosm of the apiary realm. Even as early modern writers exhort the elite male to call upon their higher nature, they relegate women, especially non-elite women, to the role of exemplary beast.

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NOTES

1 Berenbaum demonstrates the persistence of the king bee motif into the present.

2 Worker bees are biologically female (though sterile), while drones are male. Sixteenth-century apiary observation had shown that drones did not produce honey and were expelled from the hive in winter, though the reasons for this behavior was unclear. Similarly, neither the bee's role in pollination nor the exact processes through which they produced honey and wax were understood. On the history of apiculture, see Buchmann, H. Ellis, Preston, and Readicker-Henderson.

3 Hassig examines sexuality in the bestiary tradition.

4 For a few representative examples of animal studies collections that do not mention the insect realm, see Fudge's collection *Renaissance Beasts*, Wolfe's *Zoontologies,* or Rothfels's *Representing Animals.* One notable exception is Reaktion Press's Animal series, which examines a number of insects.

5 Eric C. Brown's introduction to *Insect Poetics* gives a concise overview of insect imagery from classical sources to the present. For studies of revulsion as a response to insects, see Coutts, and Few. For an overview of entomological literary metaphors, see Berenbaum. The texts cited here reveal more about human projections onto the natural world than about bees themselves; Catriona Sandilands provides a more agential reading of bees within a "speculation about the multi-species possibilities of bee-human political life" (158).

6 The discipline of natural history arose as a result of the humanist drive to "read the book of nature," concurrent with the fascination with collecting curiosities. For humanist scholars, *admiratio,* or wonderment at the unexpected, gave way to experience or knowledge with repeated study (see Findlen for a discussion of the place of *admiratio* in sixteenth-century humanist thought, 54).

7 Intriguingly, Méndez de Torres reproduces nearly all of the first paragraph of Fray Luis's chapter on bees in his prologue, indicating that he had read and admired Fray Luis's text. Throughout his practical tips for fellow beekeepers, he maintains that bees exemplify moral conduct.

8 Another variant of exemplary animal self-mutilation appears in the bestiary, wherein the beaver chews off his own testicles to escape hunters who would use them for their medicinal properties. The reader is implored to undergo a similar spiritual "castration" by avoiding sexual temptation (see Syme 166-67).

9 Saldarriaga (112) and Weissberger (65) discuss the bee as metaphor for the pope.

10 For more on the reception of classical apiary lore into early modern Spanish poetry, see Ponce Cárdenas (*Evaporar* 287-92) and Lida de Malkiel.

11 The immense popularity of the theater provoked heated debates regarding public morality; many theologians mistrusted fiction, warning that plays warped perceptions of reality. Others like Tirso believed that the theater could "deleitar enseñando" by conveying a didactic message through a fictional medium. See McKendrick 115-40. While some critics dismiss this *auto* as derivative, and Wardropper goes so far as to call it "absurd" (313), Ignacio Arellano reminds us that Tirso's autos must be read in the theological tradition rather than the dramatic and asserts that they reveal an "elaboración estructural, alegórica y musical, que supone un paso adelante notable" (61). Patricia Saldarriaga demonstrates the intertextual influence of the emblem

tradition in this work that constructs a dramatized emblem wherein the soul (*abeja*) is separated physically from the body (*zángano*), but, like an emblem must be understood through a holistic interpretation of the inscription, image, and commentary.

12 According to Covarrubias, bees are denoted *sine pedibus* in classical writing (3).

13 Eroticized cross-species encounters appear frequently in the classical tradition, as with the myth of Leda and the swan and numerous tales of the *Metamorphosis.* The poems cited here draw on this tradition. For an analysis of bestiality in the classical tradition, see Dekkars (5-20).

14 Ponce Cárdenas (*Evaporar* 288) and Lida de Malkiel (83) examine this poetic motif in the Spanish tradition. Ponce Cárdenas demonstrates the influence of the Italianate tradition in Góngora's *Soledades*.

15 Especially frequent are the comparisons of women to horses, mules and other animals that could be ridden, signifying their subordinate position in society and in sexual relations.

16 Covarrubias, for example, states that "la abeja es hieroglífico del adulador, que en la boca trae la miel descubierta y escondido el aguijón con que después mata" (3).

17 See Alzieu, Jammes, and Lissorgues (29) for erotic subtext of "honey."

18 From the late Middle Ages until 1623 prostitution was legal in Spain and viewed as a lesser evil that protected society from the greater ills of adultery, rape and sodomy. However, procuring and pimping were universally condemned and seen as far more serious evils than prostitution itself. Older women who sexually exploited younger ones were the targets of especially harsh rhetoric and legal punishments (for historical context, see Perry, Karras, and Jiménez Monteserín). The *alcahueta* as a literary figure has antecedents in both Arabic and Greco-Roman literature (see Armistead and Monroe; Rouhi).

19 See, for example, Anne J. Cruz (*Discourses* 144-63) and Enriqueta Zafra (*Prostituidas*). The term female picaresque implies that these novels are variants of the picaresque novel, which many of them satirize (*La pícara Justina,* for example, satirizes the popular *Guzmán de Alfarache*); however, I concur with Cruz and Zafra that these novels follow in the Celestinesque tradition rather than being a derivative subgenre of the picaresque novel (Cruz, *Discourses* 135; Zafra, *Prostituidas* 17).

20 For a study of animal imagery in the *Libro de buen amor,* see López Rodríguez.

21 Neither pollination nor honey production was understood until much later. It was clear that bees visited flowers and made honey from them, but early moderns had no conception that this process also benefitted plants.

22 E. Michael Gerli demonstrates that erotic subtext in this scene utilizes erotic subtext and "linguistic camouflage" to substitute a material object for the true object of desire, in this case Melibea (83-91).

23 Deborah Ellis analyzes Celestina's use of apiary imagery alongside the other two insect symbols used, the spider and the ant, concluding that entomological metaphors appropriately capture Celestina's relationship with domestic space, since the bee moves freely both inside and outside the home, but does not contextualize *La Celestina* with other representations of the *alcahueta* as bee, nor does she note the erotic connotations of bees.

24 Celestina frequently laments, in the *ubi sunt* tradition, that her business has fallen on hard times and that her house used to be more profitable (Rojas 235-36). This assertion is belied by other statements in the text that all the residents of the city use her services, though they do so in secret (Rojas 141-42). Both these sets of statements are repeated by her successor, Lozana.

25 For an in-depth study of the sex trade in early modern Rome, see Storey.

26 Preston includes several images of the king bee as bishop (68-69).

27 My reading contravenes earlier interpretations of the novel, such as Cruz and Zafra, that ascribe diminishing economic status to Lozana in the novel's final section (Cruz, *Discourses* 148-50; Zafra, *Prostituidas* 122-23). While Lozana frequently laments her poverty, these stylized *ubi sunt* laments are offset by the statements of fellow characters who refer to her as fat (implying that she has a well-supplied house) or state that she has gotten rich (Delicado 387, 400). In contrast, many critics assert that Lozana's retirement to the island of Lipari at the novel's close symbolizes her repentance from a life of prostitution (see Zafra, "Ir romera" 497; Macpherson 214 for examples of this argument). However, as Zafra acknowledges and as I demonstrate below, the novel's close is profoundly ambiguous ("Ir romera" 497).

28 See especially Boyle (19-29) on the relationship of active prostitution and the economic support of repentant prostitutes.

29 The adjective "free," when applied to an early modern woman was far from complimentary, generally functioning as a synonym for unchaste.

30 Their relationship, while affectionate, is also primarily economic; he tells her that he will advertise her services to prospective clientele ("os pregonaré que traés secretos de Levante" [Delicado 239]). Rampín's presence as Lozana's husband and pimp often increases the price of her services, as for example when he tells a waiting client that he cannot see Lozana because she is crying since she cannot pay the rent. The client then states "yo le daré para que pague la casa" (265).

31 See Macpherson (214) who defends the first of these hypotheses, and Zafra, (*Prostituidas* 122), who argues for the second.

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