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CELESTINA'S MUSLIM SISTERS¹

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The possible existence of Arabic analogues or even putative Semitic congeners of *Celestina* and of its central character has received little serious attention. To be sure, the type of the sly crone as go-between has been noted, both in Hispano-Arabic poetry and in the *Dove's Neck-Ring* of Ibn Hazm of Córdoba.² Such parallels, although interesting, imply, at most, the presence of a common motif, but certainly no genetic relationship. Recent scholarship suggests that it might be productive to approach *Celestina*, once again, with renewed attention to the multi-religious, pluralistic culture of medieval Spain.³ As has been suggestively argued in a paper by Juan Martínez Ruiz and Joaquina Albarracín Navarro: "*La Celestina* deberá estudiarse partiendo de la realidad hispánica ajena a otras literaturas románicas, de la convivencia, durante más de ocho siglos, de cristianos, moros y judíos, del continuo trasiego de usos, modos, costumbres y formas de expresión de los tres grupos étnicos y sociales."⁴ Indeed, as Francisco Márquez Villanueva now convincingly argues, in regard to the basic problem of the go-between and, more specifically, of the social and cultural context of *Celestina*, we should perhaps "completely forget the word *Renaissance*."⁵ In the present article, we would like to draw attention to certain parallels between *Celestina* and the great (if all too often unrecognized) Arabic masterpiece, *Kitāb Alf Layla wa-Layla—The 1001 Nights*.⁶

One tends to think of the *1001N* as a relatively modern work. And, when we speak of it in its better known forms, this is indeed the case. The vast "Egyptian Recension," which is the basis of most modern Western translations, was only put together in the late eighteenth century. But Jean Antoine Galland, the first Western translator, was working from a much shorter, late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Syrian text, when he brought out his best-selling—we might even say, sensational—French adaptation, beginning in 1704.⁷ Now, after years of preparation, the *1001N* has finally been edited, by Muhsin Mahdi, according to its earliest known medieval sources.⁸ The relatively short medieval work that emerges from Professor Mahdi's edition is something quite different from the vast, multi-volume compilation familiar to those of us who have worked with the various Arabic editions, with the translations of Payne, Lane, Gabrieli, Littmann, and Vernet, or with the scandalous, and even plagiaristic adaptation of Burton.⁹ But there can be no doubt that the *1001N* already existed as an extensive and complex work in medieval

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times and we now have a much clearer idea of what that collection was like. With regard to its medieval origins, it is worth noting, too, that the *Nights* are crammed with medieval and even ancient personages and allusions which take us back, not only to Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo of the eighth through the fifteenth centuries, but to Pre-Islamic India and Persia.¹⁰ There are, indeed, several medieval literary allusions to the *Nights* in Arabic writings of the ninth through the eleventh centuries and, to confirm definitively the work's high-medieval Arabic existence, a priceless ninth-century fragment of the *Nights* is extant in the library of the Oriental Institute in Chicago.¹¹

No Hispano-Arabic version or Hispano-Romance translation of the *1001N* or of any extensive portion of it has come down to us, to show that the work as a whole might have circulated in medieval Spain, but individual stories and entire works later absorbed into the *Nights* are indeed well represented in medieval Spanish literature. The famous story of Tawaddud (NN436-462), the brilliant and beautiful slave-girl, who, through her own knowledge and sharp wit, saves her master from bankruptcy, was translated into Spanish in the fifteenth century under the title of *La doncella Teodor*.¹² The *Sendebār*, known in Western Europe as the *Seven Sages of Rome*, was incorporated in its entirety into the *Nights* (NN578-606) and was well known in medieval Spain, where it was translated from the Arabic into Spanish in 1291.¹³ The story of *The Closed Chamber of Toledo*, present in late versions of the legend of Spain's conquest by the Muslims, is also included in the *1001N* (N272).¹⁴ The famous strophic song of *Las tres morillas en Jaén* derives from an obscene *1001N* anecdote, *Hārūn al-Rašīd and the Three Slave Girls* (N387).¹⁵ And the picaresque *exemplum* of *The Weeping Bitch* (*De Canicula Lacrimante*), which includes the essential rôle of an aged, devious woman go-between, occurs both in the *Nights* (NN584-585) and in the early twelfth-century *Disciplina Clericalis*.¹⁶ So there is plenty of evidence that bits and pieces of the *Nights* were, in fact, well known in medieval Spain.

In some form or another—we are not certain exactly how—the outer frame story of the *1001N* was also known in the West, both before and during Rojas' lifetime. The outer frame was adapted by Giovanni Sercambi (1348-1424) in story CXVIII (=19) of his *Novelle* (completed in a first version in 1374 and revised ca. 1399-1400). In Naples, Astolfo, husband of the "bellissima e gentile" Lagrinta, returns home to find her in bed with her lover, the squire Nieri. Astolfo, being a true *gentiluomo*, does not take vengeance, but departs to the court of King Manfredi, where he remains, in a state of profound melancholy—reminiscent of that experienced by King Šāhzamān in the Arabic version. On secretly witnessing the relations of Manfredi's Queen Fiammetta with a crippled beggar, Astolfo decides that, by comparison, his own fate is not as bad as he had first imagined, and he puts on a joyful mien. Wondering at this change of heart, the king presses Astolfo for an explanation. The truth is revealed and both Astolfo and the king now witness another rendezvous of Fiammetta with the crippled rogue (*gaglioffo*). Profoundly disillusioned, Astolfo and Manfredi decide to undertake a secret journey, "con intenzione di mai non ritornare fine que qualche avventura non ci viene alle mani che ci faccia certi del nostro ritorno." After extensive travels, they are sitting under a tree, when a man approaches, carrying a large chest, out of which emerges a beautiful woman. While the man sleeps, she engages in sexual relations with both protagonists, thus proving to Manfredi that "la femina guardare no si può che non fallisca." They return to Naples, "dove ciascuno con bel modo la moglie castigòe." In the light of this narrative, there can be no doubt that Sercambi knew the *Nights*' outer frame story. It has been shown that the latter is made up of three independent folktales that have been combined into one continuous narrative.¹⁷ Since Sercambi reproduces the Arabic ensemble, not just some of its parts, his source must have

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been the finished *Nights*, and not the discrete oral folk tradition from which the latter was derived.¹⁸

In the early sixteenth century (1516), in *Orlando furioso*, Ariosto adapted the frame story of the two kings' disillusionment caused by feminine infidelity, turning it into a bawdy Italian *fabliau* (*canto* 28.4-74). Ariosto also knew of a gigantic bird (corresponding perhaps to the *ruhḥ*) and the flying horse—a distant analogue, if not an antecedent, to Don Quijote's Clavileño.¹⁹ It is worth noting that Ariosto could hardly have used Sercambi as a source, since each author's version of the story varies widely from that of the other, while both faithfully reproduce different aspects of the same Arabic original.

Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, the authors of *Tirant lo Blanch* (written between 1460 and 1490), also knew the frame story of the *Nights*: As Tirant, disguised and in hiding, watches from a window, he sees his beloved, Carmesina, and her *donzella*, Plaerdemavida, disporting in a garden beside a stream (*séquia d'aigua*), in the company of two other damsels. At the insistence of the Viuda Reposada, Plaerdemavida, who has disguised herself as the black gardener, a man named Lauseta, pretends to fondle Carmesina and then leads her into the hut where the gardener keeps his tools. The young women laugh and take it all in jest, but it is, of course, a stratagem of the Viuda, who wants to separate Tirant from Princess Carmesina. In desperation and fury, Tirant later enters the garden, again in disguise, and slits the throat of the innocent and unsuspecting Lauseta (*negre hortolà*), who was out of town during the scene concocted by the Viuda.²⁰ Here, clearly—as in Sercambi and Ariosto—there is an echo of the *Nights'* outer frame story, in which King Šahriyār and his brother Šāhzamān, in disguise, watch through the lattice as the king's wife copulates with the black slave, Mas'ūd, in a garden, beside a fountain (in the company of twenty of her female attendants and twenty black slaves who are simultaneously doing the same). Tirant's killing of Lauseta, which, in context, is a normal enough response, given the culture, may perhaps correspond to Šāhzamān's earlier having dispatched—with a sword—both his own wife and the slave he surprised in amorous dalliance with her.²¹ It is significant that the authors of *Tirant* have obviously seen the *1001N* story quite independently from the Sercambi narrative, where the garden scene is not developed, the differences between the wives and their lovers are social and physical, but not racial, and there is no bloody vengeance.²² Here then, is clear textual evidence that the *Nights'* frame story had reached the Iberian Peninsula, albeit its periphery, by the late 1400's. All the same, whether Fernando de Rojas, in its Castilian heartlands, actually knew the *1001N* or any part of it is a very different matter.

There are in the *1001N* an impressive number of aged female go-betweens. The type is known in Arabic simply as *'ajūz* ('old woman'; lit. 'helpless one'). Some of the go-between figures in the *Nights* seem to be kindly, well-meaning assistants; others, like Celestina, are sly and devious creatures, motivated solely by personal gain, who have little regard for the well-being of the lovers they serve. The difference between the Arabic and Spanish portrayal of the procuress has to do with the differences in the nature of marriage in Islam and Christendom. In Islam, where the sexes are more strictly segregated, the institution of marriage-broker, male or female (*ḥattāb[a]*), constitutes a perfectly honorable profession. At the same time, the fact that Islam recognizes divorce makes matrimony a much more flexible state. This situation often encourages the illicit arts of the procurer or procuress (*qawwād[a]*).

Here is a partial accounting of the occurrences of such figures in the *Nights*: In N18, a treacherous old woman leads astray one of the three ladies in the *Story of the Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad*. In N33, a hag leads the Barber's fifth brother

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to the house of a beautiful damsel, where he is humiliated, cruelly deceived, and brutally beaten. In NN121-122, in the story of 'Azīz and 'Azīza, a piously tearful old woman takes the hero to the house of an exquisitely beautiful girl, who has him seized and obliges him to choose between marriage and death. In the story of Ni'ma and his Slave-Girl Nu'm (NN237-238), the Umayyad governor Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 714) uses a crone, posing as a pious holy woman, to gain access to Ni'ma's house and lead off his beautiful slave-girl. But the same old woman, later (in NN243-245), also helps to reunite the anguished lovers. Again, in *The Story of the Mock Ḥalīfa* (N292), an old woman persuades the protagonist to visit Zubayda, the Ḥalīfa's main wife, thus leading to the loss of his beloved Dunyā. The sly machinations of a cunning old go-between, in *The Story of the Old Woman and the Merchant's Son* (NN598-602), are too complex to outline here. The innumerable rogueries of *Dalīla the Crafty* (NN700-701) include leading the beautiful Ḥātūn, wife of Amīr Ḥasan, to an assignation with a handsome young merchant. Again, a cunning and persistent old woman serves as go-between in the complex love-affair between Ardašīr, prince of Shiraz, and Ḥayāt al-Nufūs, princess of Iraq (NN719-738). Thereafter, in NN894-5, an old woman makes it possible for a Muslim flax-merchant to unite with the wife of a Frankish Crusader. A number of additional examples could be cited.²³ Those given above, however, make it clear that old women occur as go-betweens almost at regular intervals throughout the *1001N*.



Zubayda and the old woman (N41) (*Les mille et une nuits: Contes arabes traduits par Galland...*, vol. II [Paris: Ernest Bourdin, n. d.], 488).

In all these cases, we are being regaled by the *topos* of the aged woman who acts as go-between. Beyond this community of Pan-Mediterranean motifs, there seems to be no possible direct relationship with *Celestina*. There is, however, one story in the *1001N* which transcends such vague, generic similarities, and in which parallels with Fernando de Rojas' masterpiece are not only arresting and numerous, but also border on the textual, and

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therefore merit our closer attention. This is *The Tailor's Story*, one of the enframed tales contained in *The Story of the Hunchback* (Mahdi NN140-143; Payne NN24-34).

Because of the unreliable character of most manuscripts, editions and translations of the *1001 Nights*, the nature of the relationship between the *The Tailor's Story* and the passage from *Celestina* under consideration cannot be appraised correctly without a brief discussion of the textual transmission of the *1001N*.

All but one of the many printed Arabic texts of the *1001N* in existence today derive from four basic editions: Calcutta I,²⁴ Breslau,²⁵ Būlāq I,²⁶ and Calcutta II.²⁷ Yet none of these four editions has any claim to "critical" status, in the proper sense of that word, for they regularly introduce changes in both the diction and the content of the manuscripts used, normally by classicizing what is colloquial in the sources, and by incorporating stories from manuscripts other than the one(s) serving as a basis for the edition. As a result, compilations that never existed in the manuscript tradition have been created, all without the slightest hint of a critical apparatus that might alert the unsuspecting reader to the alterations of the text that are being foisted upon him. Then too, as Professor Muhsin Mahdi points out, "the manuscripts of *1001N* which the four printings utilized had themselves been transcribed only a decade or two before being printed in that extensively revised fashion—all were transcribed during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first four decades of the nineteenth."²⁸ This means that they were composed almost a century after Jean Antoine Galland's pioneering French translation.²⁹ Galland's contribution was initially based on the oldest known manuscript, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, to which he subsequently claims to have added stories derived from an oral source. There is good evidence to indicate that the modern manuscripts on which the four printed editions were based were even influenced by Galland's translation, and that some of his French tales were retranslated into Arabic. Furthermore, the modern manuscripts on which the four earliest printings relied, were also compilations produced, upon request, by scribes eager to satisfy the demand being made upon them for "complete" versions of the text, by scholars who took the title of the book literally, and were disappointed to find that, in the older manuscripts, the nights hardly added up to the magic number of 1001.³⁰ Thus, no critical edition of a work as influential as the *1001N* existed until 1984, when Mahdi published his edition based on the manuscript used by Galland.³¹ This means that the translations made into European languages, during the nineteenth century, rest on textual foundations that are not, strictly speaking, scholarly. If we consider only the three major translations made into English, we will find that Lane was translating (primarily) from Būlāq I,³² Payne from Calcutta II,³³ and that Burton, when he was not plagiarizing wholesale from Payne, was also leaning heavily on Calcutta II.³⁴ At the same time, all three authors were not above incorporating stories from various other sources into their amazingly eclectic recensions. Thus, if the modern manuscripts used by the four earliest printers were actually compilations, then the printed editions relying on these manuscripts were compilations of compilations, and the nineteenth-century European translations of the printed editions only succeeded in raising the art of compilation to the third power. All this suggests rather strongly, that one overriding purpose in publishing and translating the *1001N* during the past two centuries has been, primarily, to promote literary entertainment rather than scholarship. While this approach cannot be faulted from a creative point of view, it does raise crucial literary-historical problems that must be faced as we proceed.

Professor Mahdi's recent edition is a most welcome departure from the remarkably confusing state of affairs that prevails in studies of the *1001N*, insofar as it lays the foundation for a more reliable critical tradition than has hitherto been possible. In his

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examination of the early manuscripts, he distinguishes two main families: the Syrian and the Egyptian. The earliest extensive source known, with which Galland worked, and which served as a basis for Mahdi's edition, belongs to the Syrian family and happens to include *The Tailor's Story*. On the following pages, we provide our translation of Mahdi's edition of the Arabic text, accompanied by a critical apparatus indicating variant forms of key Arabic phrases, as they appear, not only in Mahdi, but in the major recensions of the Egyptian family, namely Calcutta I, Būlāq I, and Calcutta II. Insofar as Lane was translating from Būlāq I, and Payne from Calcutta II, we also include their translations of these passages, offering our own version of Calcutta I, which is the most aberrant edition, and which has not yet been translated. For Breslau, which tends to coincide with Mahdi because, here, it was using the Syrian, Galland MS, we provide Habicht's own, often paraphrastic and frequently unliteral, translation. The bracketed numerals we insert in the text refer to passages corresponding with *Celestina*, as classified thematically below.

THE TAILOR'S STORY³⁵

NIGHT 140

—Know, O assembly, that my father was one of the leading wealthy men of Baghdad, and that he was blessed with no son aside from myself. When I grew up and reached the age of reason, he was dispatched by death to the mercy of God (may He be exalted!) and he left me great wealth, so that I began to dress handsomely, and to enjoy a most pleasant life. God had made women distasteful to me, until one day, as I was strolling through the alleys of Baghdad, I saw a group of women coming toward me on the road. I fled from them and entered a cul-de-sac. I had not sat there for more than a short time, when a window was opened and there appeared from within it, a girl bright as the blazing sun, such that my eye had never seen one more beautiful. She smiled when she saw me, while she tended some plants at the window. Fire exploded inside my heart, dislike of women was turned to love, and I remained sitting, until the approach of sunset, in a state of distraction, when the Judge of the city appeared riding his mule. Then he descended, dismounted, and entered the house in which the girl dwelt, from which I realized that he must be her father.

[1] *Then I returned to my house full of sorrow, and feverishly collapsed on a bed of suffering.*³⁶ My relatives came to me, not knowing what was wrong with me, and I provided no answer to their questions. I remained thus for several days, while my family were reduced to tears on my account, until an old woman came in to me and saw me, and my condition became obvious to her. She sat next to my head and addressed me kindly, saying: [2]—*O my son,*³⁷ be of good cheer; acquaint me with your problem, and I will be the means of bringing about your love union.— Her words made an impression upon my heart so that I sat up and conversed with her.—

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said: —How pleasant and unusual is your story, O sister.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live and the King spares me?—

NIGHT 141

That night she said:

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—It has reached me, O King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —When the old woman saw me she chanted and began to recite a poem:—

[49 lines of love-poetry follow]

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said: —How pleasant and unusual is your story, O sister.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live?—



Tāj al-Mulūk and the old woman (NN132-133) (Edward William Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights...*, I [London: Chatto & Windus, 1889], 519).

NIGHT 142

That night she said:

—It has reached me, O auspicious King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —Then the old woman said: [2]—*O my son*,³⁸ acquaint me with your tale.— So I told her my story, and she said to me: [2]—*O my son*,³⁹ she is the daughter of the Judge of Baghdad, and is kept in close confinement. The place where you saw her is her floor of the building. Her father and mother occupy the large chamber below it, while she dwells alone on her floor. I often visit her, and yet I will take charge of this affair, [6] *for you will achieve your love-union only through me*.⁴⁰ Be strong.— I took courage when I heard her words and began to eat and drink, while my family rejoiced over me. The old woman left me that day, and at dawn she came back to me with her face altered, and said: [2]—*O my son*,⁴¹ do not ask what the girl did to me when I mentioned you to her, for the last thing I heard her say about you was: [3-4]—*If you do not shut up, O ill-omened old woman, and <do not> increase*

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*your prattling, I will assuredly do you the harm you deserve,*⁴² and if you mention this subject to me again, I will tell my father.— And yet, [2] *O my son,*⁴³ I swear by God that I will return to her once more regardless of what harm may befall me.— When I heard that, my illness increased and I began to say: —Alas, how hard is love!— The old woman began to visit me every day, as my illness became prolonged, while all my family, and all the physicians and doctors despaired of me. And one day the old woman came in to me, sat at my head, put her face next to mine, and said: [5]—*To give joy to my family, I desire from you a reward for good tidings.*⁴⁴— *When I heard that, I sat up and said to her: —I have the reward for your good tidings.*⁴⁵— She answered me: —O my lord, yesterday I went to the girl and found a way of dealing with her, for when she saw me with a broken heart and a weeping eye, she said to me: [2]—*O my maternal aunt,*⁴⁶ what is the matter with you, and what are you brooding over, that your breast is thus contracted?— So I said (as I wept) [2]—*O my lady,*⁴⁷ I have just this moment come to you [6] *from a youth who is seriously ill; whose family have despaired of him; who one moment faints, and who recovers the next, and [6] who is, without any doubt, perishing on your account.*⁴⁸— The girl said, as her heart relented: —What does this have to do with you?— I replied: [2]—*He is my son;*⁴⁹ some days ago he saw you at the window while you were watering your plants, and after beholding your face and wrist, his heart became attached to you and he fell madly in love with you. It is he who recited these lines:

[10 lines of love-poetry follow]

[2] *O my lady,*⁵⁰ when he sent me to you for the first time, [6] *there happened to me, on your account, what is well known to you.*—⁵¹

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said to her sister: —How pleasant and how rare is your story.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live and the King spares me?— And the King said: —By God, I will not kill her until I have heard the story of the hunchback.—

NIGHT 143

That night Šahrazād said:

—It has reached me, O auspicious King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —Then the old woman said: [2]—*O my lady*⁵² [6] *there happened to me, on your account, what is well known to you,*⁵³ so I went to him and informed him of it, and I despaired of him, [6] *for he became ill because of it, and took to his bed.*⁵⁴ *He is a dead man without any doubt.*⁵⁵— The girl said, as her complexion paled: [6]—*Is all this because of me?*⁵⁶— I said: —Aye, by God, [2] *O my lady,*⁵⁷ therefore what do you command me to do about him now?— She said: —When it is Friday, before the congregational prayers, let him come to this house, and when he arrives, I will descend to open the door for him, and lead him upstairs to my floor. He will sit here, and he and I will be together for a short while; then let him leave before my father returns.—When I heard, O assembly, the words of the old woman, [5] *the pain I had suffered ceased.*⁵⁸ She sat at my head, and then said: —Be ready on Friday, if God wills. [7]—*Then I gave her all the clothes I was wearing,*⁵⁹ and she departed, whereas I no longer felt any pain, and my family spread the good

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news of my recovery to one another. I remained in anticipation until Friday, when the old woman approached and came in to me, asking after my condition. I informed her that I was well and in good health. Then I arose and donned my clothes; I fumigated myself with incense and anointed myself with perfume. She asked me: —Why do you not go to the public bath and wash off the traces of illness?— I replied: —I have no need for the public bath, since I have already washed myself with water, yet I do want a barber to remove my hair.— Then I turned to the slave-boy and said to him: —Bring me a barber who is an intelligent man, not given to excess, lest he give me a headache from speaking overmuch.— So the slave-boy went forth and brought me this barber, wicked old devil that he is.—

The Tailor's Story subsequently develops along lines that are entirely different from *Celestina* and are thus not relevant to our present purpose. In contrast, each of the details we have boldfaced and italicized in the above translation bears a strikingly close correspondence to features present in Fernando de Rojas' work, although we must stress that, in the case of the latter, they are scattered about the text, in such a way that most of them do not occur in the same sequence as in the *1001N* story. Let us now look at these parallels: First of all, there is a general similarity in that, in both narratives, the young lover's passion is aroused through a purely chance encounter with the lady, although the individual circumstances are very different in either case. There are, however, throughout the episode, a number of close agreements in terms of detail: (1) Both in the *Nights* and in *Celestina*, the young man returns home and takes to his bed gravely ill: "[I] feverishly collapsed on a bed of suffering....he became ill...and took to his bed"; in *Celestina*, Calisto orders Sempronio to make up his bed: "Abre la cámara y endereza la cama" (*Auto I*, p. 47).⁶⁰ (2) We also note the intimate terms of relationship used by the protagonists toward one another: In the *1001N*, the old woman addresses the youth as her "son" and tells the girl: "He is my son"; the girl calls the go-between "my maternal aunt" and the latter answers her as "my lady", "my daughter". *Celestina* addresses Melibea in identical terms as "señora, hija" (IV.91); Melibea answers her as "madre" (IV.92), and Calisto also addresses her as "madre mía" (XI.164) and describes her as his "aunt" ("es mi tía") (I.59). (3) Melibea initially repulses *Celestina* with violent imprecations: "desvergonzada barbuda" and "alcahueta falsa" (IV.95), recalling the "ill-omened old woman" (*'ajūz an-naḥs*) of the *1001N*. (4) In her earlier rejection of Calisto, Melibea uses words that are quite similar to those of the Arabic story: "La paga será tan fiera cual [la] merece tu loco atrevimiento" (I.46-47). So too, in the *1001N*, the girl addresses the go-between: "I will assuredly do you the harm you *deserve*." (5) The old woman returns after her successful interview and cries out: "I desire from you a reward for good tidings (*al-biṣāra*)."⁶¹ Just so, *Celestina* addresses Calisto: "¡Dáme *albricias*! Decir te lo he" (VI.113).⁶¹ (6) Just as the Muslim go-between tells the damsel that her lover is "seriously ill...[and] perishing on your account....he is a dead man without any doubt," so *Celestina* describes Calisto to Melibea as "un enfermo a muerte," *whom only she can cure* ("...que con sola una palabra de tu noble boca...", etc. [IV. 94]).⁶² The final hint reminds us of the Arab go-between's telling the girl that the whole problem arose "on her account," as well as her warning to the lover: "For you will achieve your love-union *only through me*." (7) Finally, just as in the Arabic story, in *Celestina* Calisto first promises the bawd some articles of fine clothing as a reward: "un manto y una saya de aquel contray, que se sacó para frisado" (VI.113), but ends up giving her a precious golden chain instead: "En lugar de manto y saya,...toma esta cadenilla..." (XI.164).⁶³ We might mention too, in closing, the difference in rank between the merchant's son and the Judge of Baghdad's daughter, analogous to possible social differences between Calisto and Melibea, without forgetting that the more egalitarian

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society of Medieval Islam was not organized along the rigid vertical lines that held Medieval Europe within the bounds of feudalism.⁶⁴

In *The Tailor's Story*, we have, then, not only a general situation very similar to that of *Celestina*—as we saw in our many other examples of the go-between motif in the *1001N*—but here also there are a series of minor details, which agree, sometimes in a remarkably similar way, with the Spanish work. Did Fernando de Rojas, the *converso*, perhaps know some lost Spanish version or adaptation of the *1001N*? In principle, such a hypothesis is, as we have seen, not *ipso facto* impossible. As Mahdi shows us, *The Tailor's Story* already existed in the medieval forms of the *1001N* and, thanks to Sercambi, Ariosto, and the authors of *Tirant lo Blanch*, we know that the crucial frame story from the *Nights* was circulating in Mediterranean European communities during the period when Rojas composed *Celestina*, at the same time that living Arab and Spanish go-betweens were busily plying their trade in these same communities. Therefore, in theory at least, Rojas could have seen, heard, or actually experienced some form of *The Tailor's Story*. All the same, we have absolutely no evidence—beyond the internal testimony of the two narratives themselves—that such was actually the case. A good part of Rojas' personal library has survived to the present day and there is, needless to say, no trace of such a work in it. Indeed, had such a trace survived, this article would not have been necessary.⁶⁵ Regardless of any possible genetic relationship between individual episodes, both *Celestina* and the Arabic '*ajūz* spring from the common cultural background of a Mediterranean honor and shame society, in which women were carefully quarantined from contact with the opposite sex and the rôle of the go-between consequently acquired crucial significance.⁶⁶ All of the striking agreements we have pointed out could very well have been generated by the cultural context, or by the shared traditional and literary *topoi* found in both works. Here we will prudently rest our case. But with one additional observation: In 1980, Maria Kotzamanidou published a most important study of a still inadequately edited Arabic shadow-play, written in Egypt in the late thirteenth century: *Tayf al-Ḥayāl* ('The Phantom of the Imagination'), by Ibn Dāniyāl, who, to judge by his name, was, like Fernando de Rojas, either a Jew, or a Jewish convert, in this case, to Islam.⁶⁷ This play has, as one of its main characters, an old woman go-between, Umm Rašid, who is so similar to *Celestina* as to command our close attention. Just like the Spanish bawd, the Egyptian Umm Rašid is an all-rounder and multi-professional: She is a seamstress, a perfume vendor, a cosmetic-maker, a gynecologist, a sorceress, an associate of the devil, and a maker of magic potions, as well as a go-between. Both women, too, preside over houses of prostitution and both "have their measure of professional pride and self-respect."⁶⁸ So close are both characterizations that it is hard for us to restrain our enthusiasm for comparative studies as we contemplate them. Is there, perhaps, some distant (or not-so-distant) genetic relationship between these two texts? Do they perhaps revert to some common, now lost or still unknown source? Or do they merely spring from a shared cultural context of go-betweenery personally experienced by each author? If the latter, then such a cultural context, embracing both Arabic and Spanish, must have been a very close one. Consider the fact that the old woman in the *1001N*, like *Celestina*, resorts to a professional trick which consists in falsely reporting back to her lovelorn employer that his lady has repulsed her, all the more to milk his generosity to the limit. In this respect, the medieval Tunisian author Al-Nafzawī (wrote ca. 1410), in the chapter "On Pimps and Procuration" of his *Perfumed Garden*, is worth quoting. In the absence of an unequivocal Arabic original, we cite the recent anonymous translation at a place in which the author refers to old women ('*ajā'iz*) and effeminates (*muḥannaṭūn*) who specialize in the art of procuration. These, he states,

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have many crafty ways of extracting money which can easily fool many an old hand. For instance, the pimp, whether male or female, will approach some man and say, "I'd like to pair you off with the daughter—or wife—of so-and-so." The name of some high-class lady never before aspired to is dropped, and then comes a description attributing to her all the qualities that will induce the victim to set his heart on her. The story will be continually hammered home until the man in question finally calls on the procuress to fulfil the promises she has made. She, for her part, has him believe that she is risking her life for him, all the while drawing the matter out with promises. With each new promise and every detail added to the picture of things in store for him the man's eagerness mounts as the pimp all the while extracts money from him first for her hairdresser, then for her slave-girl, and so on all along the line. She will make him believe that she, the procuress, is the go-between essential to the attainment of his end. A type such as this may also deceive her client by feeding him the sort of tale or hopeful message that he unwittingly leads her to suppose he will believe. She follows this up by saying, "Just see now what you can send the lady." He then finds himself in such transports of delight that he is quite unable to think what to give and has to ask. In the end he asks the pimp, and she tells him exactly what she wants. When the old drab has got all she wants out of him, she goes off...⁶⁹

Until disproved, the relationship we have noticed must, therefore, continue to be viewed as generic rather than genetic; as a type-scene in Mediterranean literature about procuring. But the discovery of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow-play, together with the parallels we have just discussed in the *1001N*, and those in the *Perfumed Garden*, all point to the necessity of studying the complex problem of *Celestina's* sources with renewed attention to their analogues in the vast and (more often than not) stubbornly ignored *terra incognita* of "Spain and the [Eastern] tradition."⁷⁰



"I will put [the crate] on my head, as a female broker, and I will go about and search for her in the houses" (N315) (Lane, II [1889], 400).

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NOTES

¹ The present paper was read by S. G. A. in preliminary versions at the Northern California Renaissance Conference (Davis, California, April, 1984) and at the Convention of the Modern Language Association of America (Chicago, December 27-30, 1985). See *La Corónica*, 14:1 (1985-1986), 91-92. We wish to thank our friend John Hayes who kindly read a later version of this paper, and made many valuable suggestions for improvement, all of which we have gratefully adopted.

² On Muslim go-betweens and *Celestina*, see especially María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"*, 2d ed. (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1970), pp. 543, n. 18, 547-548, 550; also Emilio García Gómez, "Celestinas en la España Musulmana," *Correo Erudito*, 1 (1940), 190-191; Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1954), pp. 435-437; Amado Alonso, "Sobre antecedentes de *La Celestina*," *RFH*, 4 (1942), 266-268.

³ Note Francisco Márquez Villanueva's groundbreaking article, "*La Celestina* as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," *RLC*, 61:4 (1987), 425-453; also "'Os Judeus Casamenteiros' de Gil Vicente," *Les cultures ibériques en devenir: Essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979), pp. 375-379.

⁴ J. Martínez Ruiz and J. Albarracín Navarro, "Farmacopea en *La Celestina* y en un manuscrito árabe de Ocaña," *La Celestina y su contorno social*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona: Hispam, 1977), pp. 409-425, at 419.

⁵ Márquez Villanueva, "*La Celestina* as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," p. 447.

⁶ Certain parallels between *Celestina* and the *1001N* were explored by Fernando de Toro-Garland: "La Celestina en *Las mil y una noches*," *Revista de Literatura*, 29:57-58 (1966), 5-33; also *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* (Nijmegen: Instituto Español de la Universidad de Nimega, 1967), pp. 627-634. On pp. 15-16 of his *Revista de Literatura* article, Toro-Garland even cites the passage that, in particular, will concern us here, but fails to compare it systematically with *Celestina*, thereby missing the point we will be making.

⁷ On Jean Antoine Galland's translation (12 vols., 1704-1713), see Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885* (Liège and Leipzig: H. Vaillant-Carmanne & O. Harrassowitz, 1892-1922), IV, 93ff.; Nikita Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits: Essai de classification* (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1949), pp. 69-76. See, too, Mia I. Gerhardt's work (to be used with caution, because it is based on translations and rests on outmoded literary theory): *The Art of Story-Telling: A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 10-11, 12-14, 67; and now Georges May, *Les mille et une nuits d'Antoine Galland ou le chef-d'oeuvre invisible* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la France, 1986).

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⁸ Muhsin Mahdi (ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984). Mahdi's base text is, precisely, the MS used by Galland.

⁹ Payne and Lane use different Arabic versions. Their translations are reasonably accurate, although the latter expurgates his text according to Victorian canons. Enno Littmann's German translation (*Die Erzählungen aus den Tausendundein Nächten*, 2d ed., 6 vols. in 12, Wiesbaden: Insel, 1981), followed by Francesco Gabrieli's Italian translation (*Le mille e una notte*, 4 vols., 5th ed., Torino: Einaudi, 1981) and Juan Vernet's Spanish one (*Las mil y una noches*, 3 vols., Barcelona: Planeta, 1964) are a vast improvement on the now archaic-sounding French and English versions. We have not been able to see the translation by Juan A. G. Larraya and Leonor Martínez Martín, 3 vols., Barcelona, 1965, cited in Julio Samsó, *Antología de Las mil y una noches* (Madrid: Alianza, 1982), p. 394, n. 33. As Mahdi points out, the trouble with all these Western renderings is that they are based on eighteenth-century Arabic originals which were extensively altered, both in content and language, without regard for modern philological norms (p. iii). On Burton's version, once widely accepted as authoritative, but copied and adapted wholesale from Payne, see Christopher Knipp, "The Arabian Nights in England: Galland's Translation and its Successors," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 5 (1974), 44-54; also Gerhardt, p. 82. Despite Burton's faults, in particular his anti-Victorian tendency to wallow in filth where his original has none, the notes to his text are sometimes useful. In subsequent citations, where stories are identified by the nights in which they are told, we normally follow Payne's translation, unless otherwise indicated. For references to the translations of Lane, Payne, and Burton, see nn. 32, 33, 34 below.

¹⁰ For medieval allusions in the *1001N*, see Juan Vernet Ginés, *Las mil y una noches y su influencia en la novellística medieval española* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1959), p. 21.

¹¹ For the ninth-century fragment and early allusions to the *1001N* in Arabic literature, see Nabia Abbott, "A Ninth-Century Fragment of the 'Thousand Nights': New Light on the Early History of the *Arabian Nights*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 8 (1949), 129-164. The *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm (ca. 935-990) indicates that the work was of Persian origin:

The first people to collect stories, devoting books to them and safeguarding them in libraries, some of them being written as though animals were speaking, were the early Persians. Then the Ashkānian kings, the third dynasty of Persian monarchs, took notice of this [literature]. The Sāsānian kings in their time adding to it and extending it. The Arabs translated it into the Arabic language and then, when masters of literary style and eloquence became interested, they refined and elaborated it, composing what was similar to it in content.

The first book to be written with this content was the book *Hazār Afsān*, which means "a thousand stories." The basis for this [name] was that one of their kings used to marry a woman, spend a night with her, and kill her the next day. Then he married a concubine of royal blood who had intelligence and wit. She was called Shāhrazād, and when she came to him she would begin a story, but leave off at the end of the night, which induced the king to spare her, asking her to finish it the night following. This happened to her for a thousand nights, during which time he [the king] had intercourse with her, until because of him she was granted a son,

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whom she showed to him, informing him of the trick played upon him. Then, appreciating her intelligence, he was well disposed towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the household named Dinār Zād who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for *Humā'ī*, the daughter of *Bahrām*, there being also additional information about it [...]. Thus also the kings who came after [Alexander] made use of the book *Hazār Afsān*, which although it was spread over a thousand nights contained less than two hundred tales, because one story might be told during a number of nights. I have seen it in complete form a number of times and it is a truly coarse book, without warmth in the telling.

The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), II, 713-714.

¹² On Tawaddud (NN436-462) and Teodor, see Hermann Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Tübingen: Der Literarische Verein in Stuttgart, 1879), pp. 506-517, 613-630, and Walter Mettmann, *La historia de la doncella Teodor: Ein spanisches Volksbuch arabischen Ursprungs* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962). The narrative has survived as a popular chapbook almost down to the present day in various areas of the Hispanic world. Mettmann cites 26 Spanish editions up to circa 1890, 13 Portuguese editions through 1906, and one Brazilian edition (1856) (pp. 91-93). Thanks to our friend, Professor Manuel da Costa Fontes, we can add two more Portuguese editions to the list: *Historia da donzella Theodora em que se trata da sua grande fermosura e sabedoria. Traduzida do castellano em portuguez, por Carlos Ferreira Lisbonense* (Lisbon: Mathias José Marques da Silva, 1864), 24 pp.; and another printing, with essentially the same title page (Porto: Cruz Coutinho, 1869), 16 pp. For Philippino rhymed translations (including Tagalog: 1918, 1921, 1938; Ilocano: 1927, 1930), see Damiana L. Eugenio, "Awit" and "Korido": *A Study of Fifty Philippine Metrical Romances*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 301-312. Lastly, we should not forget that the theme was taken up by Lope de Vega in his play *La doncella Teodor* (B. A. A. E.E., vol. 246 [Madrid: Atlas, 1971], pp. 203-273). For still more eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spanish chapbook versions, see Pilar García de Diego, "Pliegos de cordel," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 28 (1972), 317-360: p. 333, and now also François Lopez, "Notes sur le fonds ancien des recits en prose dans la 'littérature de cordel'," *Les productions populaires en Espagne 1850-1920* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), pp. 9-23, and Jean-François Botrel, "Les historias de colportage: Essai de catalogue d'une Bibliothèque Bleue espagnole (1840-1936)," in the same volume, pp. 25-61: 36 (mo. 62).

¹³ *The Malice of Women* (NN578-606) corresponds to the Spanish *Sendebár*: Ángel González Palencia (ed.), *Versiones castellanas de "Sendebár"* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1946); John E. Keller (ed.), *El libro de los engaños* (Valencia: Castalia, 1959); Emilio Vuolo (ed.), *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres* (Naples: Liguori, 1980). Concerning the O. Sp. *Sendebár*, see María Jesús Lacarra, *Cuentística medieval en España: Los orígenes* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1979). In a form derived from another branch of the same narrative, the *Sendebár* has continued to circulate in Spanish as a popular chapbook up to relatively recent times under the title: *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. For a Madrid, 1859, ed., see *Society of the Seven Sages: Newsletter*, 4, November, 1977. Note also Anthony J. Farrell, "En torno al sentido del *Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*, Burgos, 1530," *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. Alan M. Gordon and Evelyn Rugg (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), pp. 232-234. The Judeo-Spanish version, printed early in

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this century, is, however, based on the Greek (S. G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman, "New Evidence on the Publications of Yacob Abraham Yoná," *La Corónica*, 11:1 [1982-1983], 79-86).

¹⁴ Compare the locked tower (N72: *The City of Lebtait* [=Toledo or Ceuta?]) with the story of the locked chamber of Toledo: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último godo*, 3 vols., (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942-1956), I, 4 (=PCG, chap. 553), and Enno Littmann's comment, *Tausendundeine Nächte in der arabischen Literatur* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), p. 36. For more Spanish forms of the story, see María Goyri and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas*, ed. Diego Catalán et al., 12 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 1957-1985), I, 17-22, 96-98; now also Michelle Débax, "Cómo el rey Rodrigo entró en la casa de Hércules," *Actas del Congreso Romancero-Cancionero, UCLA (1984)*, 2 vols., ed. Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda with Samuel G. Armistead (Madrid: Porrúa, 1989), I, 179-204.

¹⁵ N387 includes two variants of the same story; the motif reappears in song form in N963 (Payne, IX, 62-63). On this poem, which has been described as a *zajal* (which it is not, since it has no *vuelatas*), see Julián Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (New York: Da Capo, 1970), pp. 162-170; María J. Rubiera Mata, "De nuevo sobre las tres morillas," *Al-Andalus*, 37 (1972), 133-143; for the song's early forms and continued existence in modern oral tradition, see Eduardo Martínez Torner, *Lírica hispánica: Relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto* (Madrid: Castalia, 1966), pp. 96, 409 (nos. 41, 253); Margit Frenk, *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)* (Madrid: Castalia, 1987), nos. 16A-16B. The Spanish song reflects, of course, a *topos* of medieval Arabic poetry and need not derive specifically from the *1001N*. For the Near Eastern antecedents of this song, see Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Nafzawi, *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers*, translator anonymous (London: Spearman, 1975), pp. 297-298. It is a pleasure to thank our friend, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, for pointing out the existence of this hard-to-find work to us and generously providing us with a copy of it.

¹⁶ For *De Canicula Lacrimante*, compare NN584-585; *El libro de los engaños*, pp. 29-31; and Pedro Alfonso, *Disciplina Clericalis*, ed. Ángel González Palencia (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1948), 32-34 (chap. XIII); other forms: Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*, 2d revision (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), no. 1515.

¹⁷ See Enno Littmann, "Alf Layla wa-Layla," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1979), I, 358B-364B, at p. 362B.

¹⁸ See Giovanni Sercambi, *Novelle*, ed. Giovanni Sinicropi, 2 vols. (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza, 1971), II, 525-531, and the analysis in Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1900), pp. 443-445. On Sercambi, see Ann West Vivarelli, "Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelle* and the Legacy of Boccaccio," *MLN*, 90 (1975), 109-127; Donald McGrady, "Were Sercambi's *Novelle* known from the Middle Ages on?," *Italica*, 57 (1980), 3-18. The crippled rogue's arrogant, indeed violent, treatment of the queen, in reproaching her for her delay in opening the door, suggests that Sercambi may also have known *The Story of the Enchanted Youth* (NN7-9), where, adding humiliation to adultery, the prince's wife beds down with a black slave in a filthy hut, after being similarly reproached and mistreated for her late arrival (Payne, I, 60-61). The crippled condition of the *gaglioffo* may perhaps suggest yet another echo of the *Nights*,

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where male characters are often seen as mutilated or disabled (NN10, 28, 31, 32, 33 et alibi). At first glance, the term *gaglioffo* ('lout, rogue'), which is qualified by Bruno Migliorini and Aldo Duro (*Prontuario etimologico della lingua italiana*, 3d ed. [Torino: G. B. Paravia, 1958], s.v.) with the words "etimo incerto," suggests an intriguing connection: That the term might somehow be related to the sixteenth-century Spanish *germania* word *gelfe* 'esclavo negro' (John M. Hill [ed.], *Poesías germanescas* [Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Publications, 1945], p. 115a; *Voces germanescas* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 1949], p. 91) or more likely *Gelofe*: "esclavo negro...de tierra de Gelofe" (Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Léxico hispanoamericano del siglo XVI* [London: Tamesis, 1972], p. 426b). Both Spanish forms derive from the early Senegalese (Wolof) word *jólof* ('Wolof; a speaker of Wolof; the land inhabited by speakers of Wolof'). For various forms of the word, see A. Meillet and Marcel Cohen, *Les langues du monde* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1924), p. 556. We are indebted to Professor William A. Stewart for his learned advice concerning Wolof. But, aside from obvious phonological difficulties in connecting the Spanish forms to the Italian word (*g-*, *-gl-*), Juan Corominas' etymology of the related Spanish *gallofa* (*DCECH*, III, s.v.) is convincing, and any connection with *gelfe*, *gelofe*, would seem to be meritless. Again, most slaves sent to Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean would probably not have been Senegalese, but Central and East Africans, who reached the Mediterranean through Egypt or by a variety of trans-Saharan routes, as, for example, was the case, centuries later, with Muhammad 'Alī ibn Sa'id (alias Nicolas Said), of Bornu, who, between 1849 and 1851, arrived at Tripoli as a slave and, after incredibly complex adventures in East Africa, Turkey, and Eastern and Western Europe, came to serve as a soldier in the Union Army, during the Civil War (Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Ante-bellum America: A Sourcebook*. [New York: Garland, 1984], pp. 655-689). In any event, Sercambi's *gaglioffo* need not be black in order to support the narrative's derivation from the *1001N*.

¹⁹ For the frame story, monstrous bird, and flying horse, see Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, ed. Dino Provenzal, 4 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1955), *canti* 28.4-74, 33.84-87, 4.18-19. The *ruhḥ* appears in the second voyage of Sindbad (NN543-544) and the flying horse occupies NN357-371. Since the Sindbad stories were probably not a part of the *1001N* in its medieval modalities, Ariosto may have heard of the *ruhḥ* through some other channel (if indeed his monstrous *augello* really corresponds to the *ruhḥ*). Concerning the *ruhḥ* and its Classical analogues, see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 301-302. On the winged horse, of Indic origin, and Clavileño, see Vernet, *Las mil y una noches y su influencia* (1959), p. 20, but the problem is much more complex and Cervantes' flying horse almost certainly did not come directly from the *Nights*. See Rodolfo Schevill, "El episodio de Clavileño," *Estudios...in Memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1927-1930), I, 115-125; Joseph E. Gillet, "Clavileño: Su fuente directa y sus orígenes primitivos," *Anales Cervantinos*, 6 (1957), 250-255; Paul Aebischer, "Paléozoologie de l'*Equus Clavileñus*, Cervant.," *Études de Lettres*, 6 (1962), 93-130; Albert Henry, "L'ascendance littéraire de Clavileño," *Romania*, 98 (1969), 242-257; Franklin O. Brantley, "Sancho's Ascent into the Spheres," *Hispania*, 53 (1970), 37-45. From the perspective of Ariosto, see Rajna, *Le fonti*, pp. 114-120 (on the Ippogrifo) and 445-448 (on the relationship between Sercambi, Ariosto, and the *1001N*). Rajna concludes: "La novela ariostea e la sercambiana risalgono dunque indipendentemente a un comune progenitore" (p. 448). We note, in passing, that Sercambi includes the motif of the woman imprisoned in a chest, while Ariosto does not.

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²⁰ See *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Martí de Riquer, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969), II, chaps. CCLXXXIII (204-205) and CCLXXXVI (210).

²¹ See Payne, I, 3-5; Lane (I, 5-7) bowdlerizes his text. Later, Šahriyār has his wife and all his slave-girls and concubines killed (Payne, I, 8); Mahdi (ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, I, 65.

²² There does, however, seem to be a vestige of the garden scene in Sercambi, for it is in a garden that Lagrinta first meets the squire Nieri: "...divenne che più volte trovatasi la ditta donna a solazzo a certi giardini con alquante donne e baroni..." (ed. Sinicropi, I, 525.14-16). Sercambi, born in Lucca, a few kms. from Livorno, and Ariosto, from Reggio Emilia and Ferrara, like the Catalan authors of *Tirant*, participated in a Pan-Mediterranean mercantile culture (reflected earlier in Boccaccio's "epopea dei mercatanti," and later in Rojas' *Celestina*, in which Melibea's father, Pleberio, owned a fleet of merchant ships that, if some scholars are correct, appear to have sailed the seas [!] of Toledo) open to multiple influences from the East. It is no wonder then that, in each case, the authors independently picked up and adapted the frame story of the *1001N*.

²³ Additional instances: An old woman serves as an emissary between prince Tāj al-Mulūk and the princess Duniyā (NN132-137); a virtuous old woman who poses as a Celestina-like character hawks her wares from door to door (N315) to arrange for the escape of the fair Zumurrud, held captive by perfidious Christians (NN308-326); in *Uns al-Wujūd and the Vizier's Daughter Al-Ward fī l-Akmām* (NN371-381), the girl's nurse serves as go-between for the two lovers (she may, perhaps, be a younger woman). We note, too, the evil old woman who devises an elaborate deception by which Hārūn al-Rašid's chief wife, Zubayda, can justify the disappearance of her rival, a beautiful slave-girl favored by the Ḥalifa (N41). An important facet of Celestina's character is her magical and medicinal knowledge and this is also characteristic of Muslim "Celestinas." Note the wise old woman in *The King's Daughter and the Ape* (NN355-357) and the commentary by Toro-Garland (1966), pp. 30-31.

²⁴ 1st ed.: *The Arabian Nights Entertainments in the Original Arabic. Published under the Patronage of the College of Fort William by Sheykh Uhmud bin Moohummud Sheerwanee ool Yumunee* (1814-1818), 2 vols.

²⁵ 1st ed.: *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis. Herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht* (1825-1838), 8 vols. After Habicht's death, and between 1842 and 1843, H. Fleischer added 4 vols.

²⁶ 1st ed.: (1835), 2 vols.

²⁷ 1st ed.: *The Alif Laila or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, Commonly known as The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Now, for the First Time, Published Complete in The Original Arabic, From an Egyptian Manuscript Brought to India by the Late Major Turner Macan, Editor of the Shah-Nameh.* Edited by W. H. Macnaghten (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1839-1842), 4 vols.

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²⁸ *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, p. v.

²⁹ 1st ed.: *Les mille et une Nuits, contes arabes, traduits en Français* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Claude Barbin au Palais, 1704-1717), 12 vols.

³⁰ On this point, see E. Littmann, "Alf Layla wa-Layla," p. 362A.

³¹ See n. 8, above.

³² 1st ed.: *The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called in England "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments," a new translation from the Arabic with copious notes* by Edward William Lane (London: Charles Knight and Comp., 1839-1841), 3 vols.

³³ 1st ed.: *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night: Now first completely done into English prose and verse from the original Arabic* (London: Villon Society, 1882-1889), 9 vols.

³⁴ 1st ed.: *Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, now Entitled the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares-London: Kamashastra Society, 1885), 10 vols.; (1886-1888), 6 supplementary vols.

³⁵ Based on Mahdi's ed., *The Thousand And One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, I, 328-334. References: Calcutta I: 1814. Cited from the reprint: *Arabian Nights Entertainments In the Original Arabic, Reprinted from the Edition Published by Shuekh Uhmud Son of Moohumud of Shirwan in Yumun. The Two Vols. In One, Containing Two Hundred Nights* (Calcutta: Asiatic Lithographic Company's Press, 1829), 274-278. Būlāq I: 1835. Cited from the reprint ed. Al-Šayḥ Muhammad Qittat al-'Adwī, *Alf Layla wa-Layla: at-tab'at al-'ūlā*, 2 vols. (Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muṭannā, 1964?), I, 88-89. Calcutta II: W. H. MacNaghten (ed.), *The Alif Laila or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, Commonly known as The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Now, for the First Time, Published Complete in The Original Arabic, From an Egyptian Manuscript Brought to India by the Late Major Turner Macan, Editor of the Shah-Nameh*, 4 vols. (Calcutta and London: W. Thacker & Co. and W. H. Allen & Co, 1839-1842), I, 236-238. Breslau: Maximilian Habicht (ed.), *Tausend und Eine Nacht. Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis*, 8 vols. (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1825-1838), II, 212-226. Habicht: *Tausend und Eine Nacht. Arabische Erzählungen. Zum erstenmal aus einer Tunesischen Handschrift ergänzt und vollständig übersetzt von Max. Habicht, F. H. van der Hagen und Karl Schall*, 20 vols. (Vienna: Anton von Haykul, 1826), V, 32-39. Lane: 1839-1841. Cited from Edward William Lane (trans.), *The Thousand and One Nights*, 3 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889), I, 329-331. Payne: 1882-1884. Cited from John Payne (trans.), *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night: Now First Completely Done into English Prose and Verse, From the Original Arabic*, 9 vols. (London: For subscribers only, 1884), I, 269-272.

³⁶ *Fa-jīt 'ilā baytī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-talaqqahtu 'alā firāšī d-danā mahmūm. Būlāq I: Tumma 'innī ji'tu manzilī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-waqa'tu 'alā l-*

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firāši mahmūman (Lane: 'I then returned to my house, sorrowful; and fell upon my bed, full of anxious thoughts'). Breslau: *Fa-jīt 'ilā baytī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-talaqqahtu 'alā firāši d-danā mahmūm* (Habicht: 'Ich kam in meine Wohnung in einem Zustande, sehr verschieden von dem, in welchem ich sie verlassen hatte, erregt von einer Leidenschaft, die um so heftiger war, da ich ihre Regung noch niemals empfunden hatte; und ich legte mich in einem heftigen Fieber, welches eine große Betrübniß in meinem Hause verursachte, zu Bette'). Calcutta I: *Fa-qumtu musri'an wa-raja'tu 'alā warā'i qāšidan ilā l-baytī wa-'anā min al-ḥubbi makrūbun wa-l-'aqlu min-nī maslūbun wa-l-fū'ādu bi-'alhāzi-hā manhūbun wa-hāja bi-jismiya r-rasisu li-fiqdāni l-anīsi n-nafisi* ('So I arose hastily and turned back seeking my home, being saddened by love, with my mind captivated, my heart seized by her glances, while fever raged in my body for lack of the precious companion'). Calcutta II: *Tumma 'innī ji'tu 'ilā manzilī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-waqa'tu 'alā l-firāši mahmūman* (Payne: 'So I went home, sorrowful, and fell on my bed, oppressed with melancholy thoughts'). Here, Lane's "anxious thoughts," and Payne's "melancholy thoughts" reflect the Arabic *mahmūm* found in both Būlāq I and Calcutta II, from which those two authors were translating, respectively. In contrast, Mahdī is reading *mahmūm* "feverishly."

³⁷ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī wa-nūra 'aynī* ('O my son and light of my eye'). Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

³⁸ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī*. Not in Habicht or Calcutta I. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

³⁹ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

⁴⁰ *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-ka 'illā min-nī*. Būlāq I: *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-hā 'illā min-nī* (Lane: 'Thou canst obtain an interview with her only through me'). Breslau: *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-ka 'illā min-nī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Fa-lā budda min wuṣūli-ka 'ilay-hā* ('You will certainly be united with her'). Calcutta II: *Wa-lākin lam ta'rif wišāla-hā illā min-nī* (Payne: 'And thou shalt not come at her but through me').

⁴¹ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

⁴² *Id lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi wa-<lā> takturī kalāma-ki la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqī-hi min aš-šarri*. Būlāq I: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'an hādā l-kalāmi la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqīna-hu* (Lane: 'If thou abstain not, O ill-omened old woman, from this discourse, I will treat thee as thou deservest'). Breslau: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi wa-takturī kalāma-ki la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqī-hi min aš-šarri* (Habicht: 'Ihr seid sehr dreist, mir solch einen Antrag zu machen, und ich verbiete euch, mich jemals wiederzusehen, wenn ihr solche Reden führen wollt'). Calcutta I: *Yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'in lam taskutī wa-taqṭa' hādā l-kalāma fa'altu bi-ki mā yubkī-ki* ('O ill-omened old woman, if you do not hold your peace and desist from these words, I will do with you what will cause you to weep'). Calcutta II: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'an hādā l-kalāmi la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqīna* (Payne: 'An thou leave not this talk, pestilent hag that thou art, I will assuredly use thee as thou deservest').

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⁴³ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son').

⁴⁴ *Surran min ahli 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Lane: 'O my son, I desire of thee a reward for good tidings'). Breslau: *Surran min ahli 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Habicht: 'Denket auf das Geschenk, welches ihr mir für die ganze Nachricht, die ich euch bringe, zu machen habt'). Calcutta I: *Surran urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* ('For the sake of joy, I desire from you a reward for good tidings'). Calcutta II: *Yā waladī 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Payne: 'O my son, I must have of thee a present for good news').

⁴⁵ *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indī biṣāratu-ki*. Būlāq I: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika min-hā raddat rūhī 'ilā jismī wa-qultu la-hā: la-ki 'indī kullu hayrin* (Lane: 'My soul returned to my body at these words, and I replied, Thou shalt receive from me everything that thou canst wish'). Breslau: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indī biṣāratu-ki* (Habicht: 'Diese Worte brachten eine wunderbare Wirkung hervor, ich erhob mich auf meinem Sitze und erwiederte ihr mit Entzücken: "Am Geschenke soll's nicht fehlen"). Calcutta I: *Fa-lammā sami'tu bi-dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indiya l-biṣāratu wa-'a'zamu min-hā* ('And when I heard that, I sat up and said to her:—I have the reward for good tidings and even more'). Calcutta II: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika min-hā raddat rūhī wa-qultu la-hā: la-ki kullu hayrin* (Payne: 'With this, life returned to me, and I said, "Whatever thou wilt is thine"').

⁴⁶ *Yā hālatī*. Būlāq I: *Yā hālatī* (Lane: 'O my aunt'). Breslau: *Yā hālatī* (Habicht: 'Meine gute Mutter'). Calcutta I: *Yā hālatī*. Calcutta II: *Yā hālatī* (Payne: 'O my aunt').

⁴⁷ *Yā sayyidatī*. Būlāq I: *Yā bintī wa-sayyidatī* (Lane: 'O my daughter and mistress'). Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Mein liebes und verehrungswürdiges Fräulein'). Calcutta I: *Yā bintī* ('O my daughter'). Calcutta II: *Yā sittī* (Payne: 'O my lady').

⁴⁸ *Min 'indī fatan mudnifin...wa-huwa lā ṣakka hālikun min ajli-ki*. Būlāq I: *Min 'indī fatan yahwā-ki wa-huwa muṣrifun 'alā l-mawtī min ajli-ki* (Lane: 'From visiting a youth who loveth thee, and he is on the point of death on thy account'). Breslau: *Min 'indī fatan mudnifin...wa-huwa lā ṣakka hālikun min ajli-ki* (Habicht: 'Von dem jungen Herrn...er wird aus Liebe zu euch das Leben verlieren'). Calcutta I: *Min 'indī fulānin il-hazīni l-walhāni...wa-huwa lā ṣakka qādin nahbu-hu li-'ajli-ki* ('From so-and-so, the sorrowful, the impassioned...whose death is close, without a doubt, on your account'). Calcutta II: *Min 'inda fatan yahwā-ki wa-huwa muṣrifun 'alā l-mawtī min ajli-ki* (Payne: 'From a youth who loves thee and is like to die for thy sake').

⁴⁹ *Huwa waladī*. Būlāq I: *Huwa waladī wa-ṭamaratu fu'ādī* (Lane: 'He is my son, and the child that is dear to my soul'). Breslau: *Huwa waladī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Huwa waladī*. Calcutta II: *Huwa waladī wa-ṭamaratu fu'ādī* (Payne: 'He is my son...and the darling of my heart').

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⁵⁰ *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Werthes Fräulein'). Not in Calcutta I, or Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵¹ *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā*. Not in Būlāq I and, consequently, not in Lane. Breslau: *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* (Habicht: 'Ihr erinnert euch wohl, werthes Fräulein, wie streng ihr mich kürzlich behandeltet, als ich euch von seiner Krankheit erzählen und euch ein Mittel vorschlagen wollte, ihn aus der Gefahr, in welcher er sich befand, zu retten'). Calcutta I: *Fa-jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* ('So there happened to me, on your account, what is well known'). Calcutta II: *A 'lamtu-hu bi-mā jarā lī ma'a-ki* (Payne: 'I told him what passed between thee and me').

⁵² *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Werthes Fräulein'). Not in Calcutta I, or Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵³ *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā*. Not in Būlāq I and, consequently, not in Lane. Breslau: *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* (Habicht: 'Ihr erinnert euch wohl, werthes Fräulein, wie streng ihr mich kürzlich behandeltet, als ich euch von seiner Krankheit erzählen und euch ein Mittel vorschlagen wollte, ihn aus der Gefahr, in welcher er sich befand, zu retten'). Calcutta I: *Fa-jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* ('So there happened to me, on your account, what is well known'). Calcutta II: *A 'lamtu-hu bi-mā jarā lī ma'a-ki* (Payne: 'I told him what passed between thee and me').

⁵⁴ *Wa-marida li-dālika wa-lazima l-firāša*. Būlāq I: *Fa-zāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-wisādata* (Lane: 'Upon which his disorder increased, and he took to his pillow'). Breslau: *Wa-marida li-dālika wa-lazima l-firāša* (Habicht: 'Als sein Uebel sich verdoppelte'). Calcutta I: *Fa-zdāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-firāša* ('And his illness increased, and he took to his bed'). Calcutta II: *Fa-zāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-wisādata* (Payne: 'Whereupon his disorder increased and he took to his bed').

⁵⁵ *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālah*. Būlāq I: *Wa-mā huwa 'illā mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Lane: 'He is now dying, and there is no doubt of his fate'). Breslau: *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Habicht: 'Seit dieser Zeit ist er dem Tode nahe'). Calcutta I: *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālata* ('He is a dead man without any doubt'). Calcutta II: *Wa-mā huwa 'illā mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Payne: 'And [he] will surely die').

⁵⁶ *Hādihi kullu-hu li-'ajli*. Būlāq I: *Hal hādā kullu-hu min 'ajli* (Lane: 'Is this all on my account?'). Breslau: *Hādā kullu-hu li-'ajli* (Habicht: 'Ist er wirklich nur aus Liebe zu mir so krank?'). Calcutta I: *Hādā kullu-hu li-'ajli* ('Is all this because of me?'). Calcutta II: *Hādā kullu-hu min 'ajli* (Payne: 'Is all this on my account').

⁵⁷ *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Yā ḥabibatī* ('O my love'). Not in Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵⁸ *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu min al-alam*. Būlāq I: *Zāla mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam wa-starāḥa qalbī* (Lane: 'The anguish which I had suffered ceased; my heart was set at rest...'). Breslau: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam* (Habicht: 'Mein Uebel sich minderte'). Calcutta I: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam* ('The pain I had suffered ceased'). Calcutta II: *Zāla mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam fa-ṭāba qalbī* (Payne: 'My anguish ceased and my heart was comforted').

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⁵⁹ *Tumma dafa'tu la-hā jamī'a mā kāna 'alayya min atwābī*. Būlāq I: *Wa-dafa'tu 'ilay-hā mā kāna 'alayya min at-ṭiyābī* (Lane: 'And I gave her the suit of clothes which I was then wearing'). Breslau: *Tumma dafa'tu la-hā jamī'a mā kāna 'alayya min atwābī* (Habicht: 'Indem ich ihr einen ganz vollen Beutel gab'). Calcutta I: *Wa-dafa'tu 'ilā l-'ajūzi šurrata darāhimin* ('And I gave the old woman a purse full of silver'). Calcutta II: *Wa-dafa'tu la-hā mā kāna 'alayya min at-ṭiyābī* (Payne: 'So I took off the clothes I was wearing and gave them to the old woman').

⁶⁰ All subsequent references are to *Auto*, and to the page numbers in the edition of Dorothy S. Severin: *La Celestina: Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Madrid: Alianza, 1971). Note that Lane's translation of 1001N, at this point, reads: "[I] fell upon my bed, full of anxious thoughts" (Būlāq I, Calcutta II: *mahmūm*), corresponding to Calisto's "pensamientos tristes" (I.47).

⁶¹ At this point Būlāq I and Lane's translation attest to two further parallels: Calisto immediately answers Celestina's demand for *albricias*: "¡Oh, por Dios, toma toda esta casa y cuanto en ella hay y dímelo o pide lo que querrás" (VI.113). So also in Būlāq I and Lane, the Arab merchant's son answers: "Thou shalt receive from me everything that thou canst wish" (*la-ki 'indī kullu ḥayrin*). Here, also, on hearing the go-between's request for a reward, the merchant's son says that his "soul returned to [his] body at these words" (Lane, I, 330). Later, after words corresponding to "the pain I had suffered ceased" (Mahdi: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu min al-alam*), Būlāq I adds "my heart was set at rest" (*wa-starāḥa qalbī*) (Lane, I, 331). In these passages from Būlāq I/Lane, one cannot but recall Calisto's exclamation on seeing Celestina: "¡Sano soy, vivo soy!" and his description of the old bawd as the "vivificación de mi vida, resurrección de mi muerte" (I.64). Again, when Celestina returns from her successful mission to Melibea, Calisto, overjoyed, exclaims: "Ya me reposa el corazón, ya descansa mi pensamiento" (VI.109). Būlāq I is, of course, a relatively modern eighteenth-century Egyptian recension, supported by the derivative Calcutta II (*fa-tāba qalbī*). All the same, these readings could very well hark back to a medieval original and thus cannot be rejected out of hand.

⁶² One important *topos* of both narratives is the concept of love as a disease. On this point, we refer to the comments of Keith Whinnom (ed. Diego de San Pedro, *Obras completas*, II: *Cárcel de amor* [Madrid: Castalia, 1971], pp. 13-14 and n. 16). See, too, John Livingston Lowes, "The Loveres maladye of hereos," *MPh*, 10 (1913-1914), 491-546, and Bruno Nardi, "L'amore e i medici medievali," *Studi...Angelo Monteverdi*, II (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modense, 1959), 517-542; also Emilio García Gómez, "El collar de la paloma y la medicina occidental," *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: C. S. I. C., 1954), I, 701-706; Aldo D. Scaglione, *Nature and Love in the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 60-65, 181-183. For additional bibliography and discussion, see J. T. Monroe, "Wanton Poets and Would-Be Paleographers (Prolegomena to Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal No. 10*)," *La Corónica*, 16:1 (1987-1988), 1-42, at pp. 22-32, 38-42.

⁶³ On the artistic function of the chain, see Alan D. Deyermond, "Hilado-Cordón-Cadena: Symbolic Equivalence in *LC*," *Celestinesca*, 1:1 (1977), 7-12; 2:1 (1978), 25-30; John Lihani, "The Intrinsic and Dramatic Values of Celestina's Golden Chain," *Studies in Honor of Gerald E. Wade*, ed. S. Bowman et al. (Madrid: Porrúa, 1979), pp. 151-165; Manuel da Costa Fontes, "Celestina's 'Hilado' and Related Symbols," *Celestinesca*, 8:1

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(1984), 3-13; 9:1 (1985), 33-38. Here, as elsewhere, we are indebted to Joseph T. Snow's indispensable *Annotated Bibliography* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1985). A gift of clothing is fully in line with established practice, as much in Medieval Spain as in the Near East. See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1944-1946), III, s.vv. *calças* and *manto* (p. 747.23-26). On the great value of good clothing in the Middle Ages, especially in the Near East, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 5 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967-1988), I, 150; IV, 151, 153, 172. In giving the go-between articles of clothing, the merchant's son (and Calisto) do her a far greater honor than would seem immediately apparent in terms of modern values: "Receiving the discarded garment of one's superior, and in particular of a ruler, was a high honor, customary in the Near East since remote antiquity" (Goitein, IV, 184; also 191, 262). This custom is related to the "robe of honor" (*hil'a*), so frequently mentioned in the *1001N*: "The Fatimid government...operated large workshops, especially for the manufacture of textiles required for the imperial wardrobe and for the distribution of robes of honor" (Goitein, I, 115). These remarks are also true for most medieval Islamic dynasties (including the Umayyads of Andalus), under whom the manufacture of royal *tirāz*-cloth was a state monopoly. Calisto, on the other hand (as also apparently in the earlier Medieval Spanish instances cited by Menéndez Pidal), orders Celestina's "manto y saya" especially made from new cloth he has been keeping at home.

⁶⁴ This is not to argue, of course, that Melibea may be a *conversa* over against Calisto as a *cristiano viejo*. On such theories as an oversimplification of a very complex problem, see Márquez Villanueva, "La Celestina as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," p. 452.

⁶⁵ On Rojas' personal library, see Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: The Intellectual and Social Landscape of "La Celestina"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 430-456, 530-536. The absence of such a hypothetical source means nothing: "Rojas all during his life had access to many more books than he owned" (438). Beyond borrowed volumes, the possibility of an orally transmitted narrative cannot be discounted—on the contrary, it must be considered when dealing with a work such as the *1001N*.

⁶⁶ As Márquez Villanueva has pointed out, there are substantial differences between the procuress in Arabic and in Spanish society and literature ("La Celestina as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," pp. 443-445 et alibi).

⁶⁷ On *Tayf al-Hayāl*, see Maria Kotzamanidou, "The Spanish and Arabic Characterization of the Go-Between in the Light of Popular Performance," *HR*, 48 (1980), 91-109; for a plot summary of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow-plays, see Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama: Ibn Dāniyāl," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 13 (1982), 83-107. Given the considerable importance of *Tayf al-Hayāl*, both for Arabic and for Spanish literature, we look forward to Peter D. Molan's forthcoming unexpurgated edition, translation, and brilliant literary analysis of that work.

⁶⁸ Kotzamanidou, p. 97. On the multi-professionalism of Trotaconventos and Celestina, see Félix Lecoy, *Recherches sur le "Libro de buen amor" de Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita*, ed. Alan D. Deyermond (Westmead, England: Gregg International, 1974), pp. 321-322; Augusta Espantoso Foley, *Occult Arts and Doctrine in the Theater of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (Geneva: Droz, 1972), p. 19. On Celestina's professional pride,

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see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Originalidad*, pp. 515-519. On Celestina's medical knowledge, see Guillermo Folch Jou et al., "La Celestina: ¿hechicera o boticaria?" *La Celestina y su contorno social*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona: Hispam, 1977), pp. 163-167. On the go-between as medieval-sorceress-evolving-into-Renaissance-witch, see Michael J. Ruggerio, *The Evolution of the Go-Between in Spanish Literature Through the Sixteenth Century*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 78 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). All these crafts were also cultivated by Celestina's Muslim sisters: See Al-Nafzawī, *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers*, chap. IV, "On Pimps and Procuration," 72-96. The following passage suggests that various Celestina-like activities continued to be widely practiced in the late eighteenth century by certain Jewish women in Turkey: "Il y a beaucoup de Juifs épars dans toute l'étendue de l'Empire Ottoman....Leurs Compagnes font le métier de Courtière. Elles portent aux jeunes Femmes enfermées dans les Harems, des marchandises en pierreries, étoffes, cosmétiques, &c.; mais elles sont bien & duement visitées par les Eunuques, qui ne leur font aucune grace. Il faut qu'elles soient bien connues, pour être admises en la présence des Princesses du sang Ottoman. En un mot, ces Femmes Juives ressemblent assez à nos Revendeuses à la Toilette; elles en connoissent toutes les allures, &c." (Sylvain Maréchal, *Costumes civils actuels de tous les peuples connus...*, II [Paris: Pavard, 1788], fascicule [30]: *Notice historique sur les turcs*, p. 17).

⁶⁹ Al-Nafzawī, pp. 82-83. In the introduction to his translation of this text (pp. 7-16), the anonymous translator (who gives only his initials: H. E. J., on p. 16) indicates that since there is no critical edition of the Arabic text of the *Perfumed Garden*, he is working on the basis of a modern copy of a single, unpublished MS which he does not identify (p. 12). He also points out that it is probable that Al-Nafzawī's original version was relatively short, and that later compilers added to it, adducing as one proof for this statement that even sixteenth-century authors are quoted in the recension he is using (p. cit., n. 20). Such a shaky state of textual affairs raises the question whether we are entitled, chronologically speaking, to consider the passage quoted above an analogue to medieval Spanish works such as *Celestina* and *Libro de buen amor*. To any possible objections on this score, we point out that the medieval author Abū l-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Yamanī, Ibn Qulayta (or Fulayta), al-Kātib (d. 845) includes the very same passage in his work *Ruṣd al-labīb ilā mu'āṣarat al-ḥabīb* ('Guidance of the Intelligent to Intimacy with the Beloved'), chap. 12, "Dikru l-qiyāda wa-ahli-hā" ('On Procuring and its Experts'), Escorial Arabic MS No. 563, fol. 103 recto; 105 verso. See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, 2 vols. (I, Paris: E. Leroux, 1884; II, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1943), I, p. 388. In the process of binding, the folios of the Escorial MS have been placed out of order. Hence an entire folio interrupts our passage at the place indicated below. In the original, the words in angular brackets have been crossed out by the hand of the scribe. Punctuation, on the other hand, is editorially ours. The Escorial MS version reads as follows:

[103 recto, l. 4] wa-li-l-'ajā'izi wa-l-muḥannaṭina min ahli ḥāḍihi ṣ-ṣinā'ati hiyalun 'alā 'aḥḍi d-darāhimi tajūzu 'alā kaṭīri man yuḥādiru r-rijāla wa-dālika 'anna l-wāhidata 'awi l-wāhida min-hum ya'ti r-rajula fa-yaqūlu la-hu: "'urīdu 'ajma'u bayna-ka wa-bayna binti fulānin aw zawjati fulānin," yaḍkuru la-hu mra'atan min dawāti l-aqdāri l-jalilati lam yakun yaṭma'u fi-hā, tumma yašra'u la-hu fi waṣfi-hā bi-mā ta'allāqa qalbu [read: yu'alliqu qalba]-hu bi-hā wa-yukarriru-hu <bi-hā> huwa ḥattā yakūna huwa l-muṭāliba la-hā bi-mā wa'adat-hu fa-tūhimu-hu 'anna-hā tuḥāṭiru ma'a-hā bi-naḥsi-hā li-'ajli-hi wa-tuṭīlu ntizāra-hu bi-l-mawā'idi wa-tuzīdu fi ḥirṣi-hi bi-l-mawā'idi wa-l-awṣāfi wa-hiya ḥilāla dālika ta'ḥuḍu darāhima-hu tāratan li-māṣīṭati-hā wa-tāratan li-jāriyati-hā, wa-tūhimu-hu 'anna-hā rasūlu ḥājati-

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him ilay-hi, wa-rubbamā dassat 'alay-hi ba'du [105 verso, l. 1] l-'ajā'izi bi-mā tulqī-hā 'iyyā-hu mimmā <tulqī-hi> yuṣaddiqu qawla-hā 'inda-hu wa-min al-biṣārati 'alā lisāni-hā, tumma taqūlu la-hu: "nzur mā tursilu bi-hi 'ilā l-mar'ati," fa-mā yadrī min dahaṣi-hi wa-faraḥi-hi mā yu'ṭi ḥattā yas'ala-hā fa-tuṣira bi-mā 'arādat, fa-'idā qad ḥāzat min-hu mā turidu min-hu 'amadat ilā ba'ḍi 'atrāfin...

In discussing *The Tale of the Tailor*, Burton points out that the old woman's tactics are "the usual 'pander-dodge' to get more money," adding that "the old woman's account [to the lover] was all false, to increase apparent difficulties and *pour se faire valoir*" (*The Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night*, I, 302, nn. 2, 3.). The same stratagem is employed by Trotaconventos in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*: "Amigo, segund creo, por mí avredes conorte; / por mí verná la dueña andar al estricote; / mas yo de vos non tengo sinon este pellote: / si buen manjar queredes, pagad bien el escote" (ed. Jacques Joret, 2 vols. [Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1974], stanza 815; also 782 ff).

⁷⁰ A forthcoming article, finally identifying Calisto's enigmatic "abuela con el ximio," not to mention his knife-brandishing grandfather (*Celestina*, I.51)—after years of double-speak emanating from the well-blinded perspective of exclusivist Occidentalism—will reinforce such a contention.



Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Duniyā (N135) (Lane, I [1889], 535).

"¡Oh! Váleme
Santa María!
¡Muerto soy!"

Ilustración
al
Auto XIX

Javier
Serrano
Pérez

Madrid:
Anaya,
1986.

