SEWING ON THE FRAME

Medieval Iberian Frametale Collections as Book-length Narratives

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation treats the early Castilian frametale collection between the 13th and 15th centuries and the place of the frametale in literary histories and theories of book-length fictional narrative, including the novel. My goal is to study these frametales as objects, that is in the manuscript and early print formats in which they were produced and have endured, and in historical context, not to establish their histories, but to use their historical specificity to read them as literature at a time when that concept was just taking form. I move from materially grounded analyses of these book objects as late medieval Iberian productions negotiating Latin and Semitic narrative and book-making traditions, to the place of the frametale genre in narrative theory more broadly. Where possible, I have juxtaposed medieval literary concepts of literature and reading to more recent narrative and novel theory, seeking not to fuse the two in a method that would elide the alterity of late medieval fictions, but to show how often both discourses resort to an implicitly codicological understanding of narrative to articulate their projects. I argue that focusing on the frametale within narrative theory enables a productive bridge between narrative theory and histories of the book and reading.

This dissertation investigates the late medieval frametale collection and the individual incunables and manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna*, *Sendebar*, and the *Conde Lucanor* that I discuss from three primary angles:

1) That it represents the textualization of an oral storytelling tradition, and thus is a popular because suitable form for early vernacular prose, and important to consider when studying the emergence of written literature and book-length narrative.

2) That these frametale collections model the shift from wisdom or didactic literature to a concept of fiction that often still uses exemplary rhetoric but complicates it with the pleasures of ambiguous interpretation inherent to heteroglossic or polyvocal forms.

3) That the frametale has long been an important vehicle for *translatio studii* because it allows for the importing culture to reconfigure the translation on both the macro and micro level to be legible in new contexts and to figure cross-cultural exchange.

I take the title and informing metaphor for this dissertation from hand bookbinding. The sewing frame is a tool, usually wooden, used for aligning a group of signatures—folded groupings of paper—and holding them together tightly against suspended cords so that the binder can stitch the signatures together tightly and uniformly, attaching each signature to the previous one and onto the hanging cords. The hanging bands or cords make it possible to align the individual signatures and attach them neatly and securely. I am using the term to refer metaphorically to the narrative devices that the authors of late medieval frametale collections employed to connect a series of shorter narratives into a longer work. It also refers to my argument that, during the late medieval period, beginning in the thirteenth century and increasingly over the next two centuries, writers of longer-scale fictions begin to conceive of and compose them as "book-length" works, thus building in narrative structures that function like the cords that give the book an increased durability and greatly increase the chances that the materials enclosed within will continue to be bound together.

Whereas the "frame" of the frametale refers to the overarching fiction or narrative frame, by the late medieval period the book itself becomes the frame, a set of spatial expectations that invite certain verbal structures. Like the cords so prominently hung from the sewing frame but later virtually invisible within the book itself, some of the features so common to the frametale become subsumed in the structure of the book; so much so that we have lost sight of them. I am reading for those features of narrative most at home in the book, and asking which of our assumptions about literature, and later the novel, depend on encountering a work in this format.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents

for inspiring and cultivating my curiosities

and supporting me even as those curiosities became more obscure

and to my teachers

for illuminating those obscurities

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INTRODUCTION

Sewing on the Frame: Medieval Iberian Frametales as Book-length Narratives

This dissertation treats the early Castilian frametale collection from the 13th to the 15th century and the place of the frametale in literary histories and theories of book-length fictional narrative, including the novel. My goal is to study these frametales as objects, that is in the manuscript and early print formats in which they were produced and have endured, and in historical context, not to establish their histories, but to use their historical specificity to read them as literature at a time when that concept was just taking form. I also wish to move from these materially grounded analyses to the place of the frametale genre in narrative theory more broadly. Where possible, I have juxtaposed medieval literary concepts of literature and reading to more recent narrative and novel theory, seeking not to fuse the two in a method that would elide the alterity of late medieval fictions, but to show how often both discourses resort to an implicitly codicological understanding of narrative. I argue that focusing on the frametale within narrative theory enables a productive bridge between narrative theory and histories of the book and reading. While there were theories of literature in the medieval Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, and early vernacular traditions of the late medieval Mediterranean, they tended not to be conceived of as theory. Nor did they tend to be derived from, or to account for, prose, for secular writing, or for material book production (and certainly not all together), crucial components of the novel.

I take the title and informing metaphor for this dissertation from hand bookbinding. The sewing frame is a tool, usually wooden, used for aligning a group of signatures—folded groupings of paper—and holding them together tightly against suspended cords so that the binder can stitch the signatures together tightly and uniformly, attaching each signature to the previous one and to the hanging cords (see image #1). The hanging bands or cords make it possible to align the individual signatures and attach them neatly and securely. I am using the term to refer metaphorically to the narrative devices that the authors of late medieval frametale collections employed to connect a series of shorter narratives into a longer work. It also refers to my argument that, during the late medieval period, beginning in the thirteenth century and increasingly over the next two centuries, writers of longer-scale fictions begin to conceive of and compose them as "book-length" works, thus building in narrative structures that function like the cords that give the book an increased durability and greatly increase the chances that the materials enclosed within will continue to be bound together.

Whereas the "frame" of the frametale refers to the overarching fiction or narrative frame, by the late medieval period the book itself becomes the frame, a set of spatial expectations that invite certain verbal structures. Like the cords so prominently hung from the sewing frame but later virtually invisible within the book itself, some of the features so common to the frametale become subsumed in the structure of the book; so much so that we have lost sight of them. Critics of these frametales sometimes refer to their narrative frames as scaffolding, used to erect the novelistic expectations that I would argue are carried forward by the codex itself, assuming that they reflect a primitive stage in the development of long narrative. To me, this is precisely their interest: that their authors use the frametale to work out methods for combining a series of shorter narratives into a larger structure in which the meaning of the shorter narratives changes

in context and becomes more complex. More often than not, these collections contain really fabulous (in most senses of the word) stories that are understudied because our critical apparati have a difficult time getting at them.

I am reading for those features of narrative most at home in the book, and asking which of our assumptions about literature, and later the novel, depend on encountering the work in this format. As such, I am reading primarily for the formal (narrative and graphical) organizations of these frametale collections across a series of pages, for example, systems of punctuation that create narrative units and announce how those units will be combined. The focus on the codex also productively allows us to discuss both the manuscript and early print production of book-length narratives. I will carefully address the codicological histories of the individual works that I discuss, especially with respect to discrepancies between the boundary of a literary text that we now call "a book" and the physical books that contain their earliest extant redactions, because the exact co-incision of a book-length narrative and a material book is a very late phenomenon. Although it seems difficult to imagine now, "For a long time binding was considered a step apart from printing in the process of bookmaking. Right up to the twentieth century, it was possible to buy a set of unbound sheets from the printer or publisher, to be bound at the cost of the purchaser."[1] Until the nineteenth century, books and works did not often coincide, that is to say, that the writer or even copier of a literary text did not (and often could not) assume that the work would be bound on its own and read by an individual reader as a discrete book object. So let us say that we are reading for how the idea of the codex as a potential form as much as the exact codex informs assumptions about composition, the idea that Ivan Illich calls "the bookish text."[2] To call a work a "book-length" narrative asserts that its extension and organization (its assumptions about parts and length) derived from the expectation that it would be received as a book.

Starting with the term "the book," I must begin by clarifying how I will use certain terms, especially because we use some so often and variously that we have lost track of their specific meanings, while others have significantly diverged from their (by no means consistent) medieval uses.

DEFINITIONS

The Book

The book gets many of its names from the materials from which books were originally made. A "book," etymologically speaking, is a series of pieces of tree bark (from the Old High German *buch* "bark," which is attested in Old English as early as the twelfth century). The Spanish word "libro" also derives from the material used to make the object we now call the book, from Latin *liber*, which means "tree bark." Codex, the more technical term used to describe the format we most commonly refer to in English (Spanish *códice*) as the book, derives from the Latin *caudex*, the trunk of a tree.

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[1] Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in Finkelstein and McCleery.
[2] Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, 115.

The codex's heyday was the third century, when it replaced the scroll as the dominant shape for longer blocks of text, including narrative. In *The Birth of the Codex*, Roberts and Skeat connect this ascension to the use of the form to transmit the teachings of early Christianity.[3] According to this argument, whereas the scroll was (and remains) the form of the sacred text of Judaism: the Torah, the sayings of wise teachers in Judaism (as Christ was originally understood by many to be) were written down by followers in a more manipulable format: the codex. Once the sayings of Jesus became the foundational text for a new religion, the codex form followed the ascendancy of Christianity so that few of the works that were not transferred into the new format remain today—unless they were lucky enough to be cut up and used in the bindings of other books. The sacred text of Islam, the *Qur'an*, was from its earliest redactions, a codex. Another popular tale tells of the rival libraries of Pergamum (in Asia Minor) and Alexandria (in Egypt). The holdings of the library of Pergamum were written on animal skins and folded into codices, hence the term "pergamino," or "parchment." The library of Alexandria contained papyrus scrolls, which were stored rolled up in cubbyholes with a tag containing the title dangling from them on a string. Legend has it that with the destruction of the library of Alexandria, the codex form used in its rival library at Pergamum won out.[4]

The codex demands a substrate that is durable but not brittle, that will hold together when bent at the middle to be folded into signatures. Papyrus is brittle and often breaks when folded down the middle, even after it has been pounded so thoroughly that its long stiff fibers relent. Other vegetable fibers used to make paper—cotton, hemp, and linen—proved to make much better pages and offered a smoother writing surface, especially after sizing. Parchment (animal skin) is more pliable than paper and the finer forms of it (most luxuriously the vellum made from uterine calves) are thin and translucent, finer than paper crafted around the Mediterranean during much of the medieval period. Most historians of the book assume that the codex evolved from the scroll some time in the early centuries of the common era. The earliest codices have been unearthed in the Egyptian desert near Nag Hammadi, the town that now lends its name to the book structure found there, a variation of the Coptic binding. The codex allows many types of textual organization impossible in a scroll. It is perhaps difficult to comprehend just how major this technological innovation was. In *A Short History of the Printed Word*, Chappell and Bringhurst attempt to call attention to this shift as a technological breakthrough.

> Another major step was the division of the stream of writing into standardized units of transmission. That is a fancy way of saying chopping the text up into pages. Simple as it sounds, this step was slow in coming. Cutting up the scroll into uniform but arbitrary portions, and sewing them down the side to make a codex—a manuscript book—must at first have seemed a leap into arid technological abstraction. Once that leap is made, many other things are possible: page numbers, running heads and indices, for instance.

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[3] Important studies of the codex that focus on the use of the form in religious communities include Roberts and Skeat *The Birth of the Codex* and Anthony Grafton's *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*.

[4] For more on early libraries and formats see Lionel Casson, *Libraries of the Ancient World*.

> The codex does for the text what the alphabet does for the language. It articulates it—just the way the joints articulate the hand.[5]

I am particularly interested in these articulations: subheadings, page numbers, tables of contents, that begin to create distinct codicological spaces, and how those, in turn, become distinct narrative spaces. While these elements were over a millennium into their development by the late medieval period when the frametales were written, they became more standardized and more sophisticated on the European continent only during the twelfth century, and about four to five centuries earlier in the Arab world, in both cases following the introduction of paper, which spurred book production by offering a cheaper substrate.

Despite the etymologies for the words, at this point the book's "bookness" does not derive from the materials out of which it was made, nor even from its contents, but from the structure that these materials initially facilitated. A blank book is still a book. The book is a sculptural three-dimensional space often used to display text and images in a desired sequence. In a debate about the idea of "bookness" over the BookArts listserv, bookbinder and artist Philip Smith offered the following definition:

> Bookness: the qualities that have to do with a book. In its simplest meaning the term covers the packaging of multiple planes held together in fixed or variable sequence by some kind of hinging mechanism, support, or container, associated with a visual/verbal content called a text.[6]

This definition highlights the dimensionality and manipulability of the object. Broadsides and posters are not books. A book necessarily exists in time (a fourth dimension?) because not all of its planes can be accessed at once. Although the speed and captivation of the moving image was touted as a quality that guaranteed that it would supersede the book (especially before the internet made possible the creation of "pages" combining in ways not previously imaginable text, image, moving image, and sound), both objects (a film reel, a book) are inert when they are not running, and can be tuned into with varying degrees of attention and absorption. A book takes time to read, which makes it difficult to display as an object, especially one that cannot be touched. This very tangibility is also a crucial component of the book: what sets it apart from other information or text containers, and allows it to hold its contents apart from other objects and flows in the world. The book is worldly, existing in time and space like the human bodies to which it is often made to refer analogously, but also apart from it. As a given physical book circulates, it accumulates the impressions of its former possessors in the form of underlining, marginalia, doodles, emendations, and sometimes the dry rot, mold, and holes that come from neglect, poor storage conditions, and the appetites that insects and vermin have for many of the materials from which books are made.

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[5] Chappell and Bringhurst, *A Short History of the Printed Word*, 39.
[6] Accessed at http://www.philobiblon.com/bookness.shtml November 17, 2009.

While the book offers these sequences, another of its salient qualities is its ability to make planes cohere—most often through its spine. In addition to offering a long duration of reading, the book endures as an object. For many medieval Christian authors, this ability to collect and cohere had a spiritual resonance that connected reading to salvation and to ethical practice. The influential fourth-century bishop and scholar St. Augustine of Hippo was one of the first to use codicological metaphors pervasively. Augustine, and the church Fathers after him, lived in a world of ever increasing textual production and one of their primary challenges was to assert the place of sacred Scripture amidst these proliferating discourses. In *The Confessions* Augustine asserts that God has "colligens me a dispersione in qua frustatim discissus sum," that is that God has "gathered me together from the state of disintegration in which I had been fruitlessly divided."[7] To Augustine the attraction of the sensual world and of pagan literature are distracting, and only faith and God can imbue experience with cohering sense. He imagines that world created by faith as a book, saying to God: "You have extended like a skin the firmament of your Book, your harmonious discourses, over us by the ministry of mortals."[8]

To cite just one later example, overwhelmed by the amount of texts available to him, as readers were to be over the next many centuries, the twelfth-century exegete Hugh of St. Victor writes the *Didascalicon*, a guide to reading. Hugh of St. Victor would like to imagine his life shaped by his reading and held together by the centrifugal force of the Bible, the text that determines which of the world's myriad texts merit reading. Hugh imagines that certain philosophical inquiries will lead one astray like a person lost in the woods, but faith will allow a reader to build a fortress of heaven-bound learning.

> Debet siquidem prudens lector curare, ut, antequam spatiosa librorum volumina prosequatur, sic de singulis quae magis ad propositum suum et professionem verae fidei pertinent instructus sit, ut, quaecumque postmodum invenerit, tuto super aedificare posit, vix enim in tanto librorum pelago et multilicibus sententiarum anfractibus, quae et numero et obscuritate animum legentis saepe confundunt, aliquid unum colligere poterit, qui prius summatim in unoquoque, ut ita dicam, genere aliquod certum principium firma fide subnixum, ad quod cuncta referantur, non agnovit.
>
> [Truly, the judicious student ought to be sure that, before he makes his way through extensive volumes, he is so instructed in the particulars that bear upon his task and upon his profession of the true faith that he may safely be able to build on this structure whatever he afterwards finds. For in such a great sea of books and in the manifold intricacies of opinions which often confound the mind of the student both by their number and their obscurity, that man who does not know briefly in advance, in every category so to say, some definite principle that is supported by firm faith and to which all may be referred, will scarcely be able to conclude a single thing.][9]

To Augustine and Hugh the book represents the anchoring assurances of faith, particularly the ability to create priorities because of the firmness of first principles. The book is the promise

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[7] St. Augstine, *Confessions*, II.1.1. Chadwick translation, 24.
[8] St. Augustine, *Confessions,* as cited in Gelley, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages*, 29.
[9] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, Book 6: Chapter 4. Jerome Taylor translation, 142.

that various life experience and human endeavor—in these metaphors and within each author's own book-length projects—can be sifted and made meaningful.

During neither the late medieval period nor today does the "book" refer only to the physical object or shape, but also to the concepts that extend from that physical form. When many late medieval authors refer to "the book," they meant a unit of composition, one of the larger ones in a given work. A book could refer to a unit of narrative, for example the books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Juan Manuel divides his collection the *Conde Lucanor* into five books. A work could be referred to as the "Book of Something" in the absence of a formal title or as if the "book" itself were a genre: the *Libro de Buen Amor*, *Le livre de la Cité des Dames*. In Arabic, the term for book is "Kitāb," which occupies a similar semantic range to "libro," thus *Kitāb Alf Layla wā layla.* The next division after the book, in both the Latinate (including Romance) and Arabic traditions was the chapter/capitulum/capítulo, which means "head," or bāb, which means "door" or "entry."[10] While most of the frametales utilize premises for uniting their intercalated fictions that derive from oral culture: storytelling debates, séances, or oral instruction, we see that in the course of the frametale's development the parts of narrative begin to establish set tags and locations in the codex.

Some of the manuscript codices that I treat in this dissertation are individual books that contain individual works, but most of the works were bound into miscellanies. One of the arguments of this dissertation—if not the primary one—is that most "miscellanies" are not that miscellaneous, but rather that the codicological contexts for each work have much to tell us about how they were received.[11] Thus the "codicological context" for a work entails not only how a work was laid out, but also how that layout works within a given codex. In this period we see an increasing disposition of text according to spatial logics and that the spatial arrangement affects the work's meaning. Features of a given text can be foregrounded to highlight or downplay connections between the works in a given volume, or to suggest the reading practices—i.e. scholastic, meditative—appropriate to a given work.

The idea of the book includes not just concepts about formal unity, but also the social and institutional relationships that the book organizes. At a November 2009 panel on "The Future of the Book" at the Commonwealth Club of California, the panelists opened the presentation offering their definition of "the book," each definition informed by how each panelist works with the category in their own profession. Kevin Hunsanger, one of the co-owners of the San Francisco used bookstore Green Apple defined the book as an "object that can be shared" and "something that creates community." For Hunsanger, the fact that a book could have multiple owners and often bear the marks of previous owners while passed along to new readers, was a significant property. A later question emphasized that this ability to lend as freely as the physical finitude of the book allows, is also crucial to the functioning of libraries, and that this property is limited by the licensing agreements for most digital publications.

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[10] There is need for a study comparing *divisio textus* in the Semitic and Latin traditions. After taking on Hellenistic traditions of book production, the development of the book thrived in the Arab world during the medieval period and was centuries ahead of book production in most of the European continent until the resurgence of book production and the move out of the monastic scriptoria in the thirteenth century.
[11] For interesting work on this topic see the Wenzel edited volume *The Whole Book* and Francisco Rico's 1999 article "Entre Códice y libro."

Dan Clancy was the panelist least interested in the book as object, or any properties of text organized as book that adhere in the format. To Clancy, one of the primary spokespeople for Google and public face for their defense of the GoogleBooks project to authors, publishers, academics, and librarians who worry that, in their rush to build the world's biggest library of digitized texts, Google will destroy many of the valuable infrastructures that adhere within and among books,[12] books are "a bunch of dead trees wrapped around cardboard." Clancy conceded that for long narrative the physical printed book still offers an amenable format, but he argued that otherwise its reign is over now that text can be organized and disseminated electronically. Famously in book-centric circles, that most codicological of longer narratives, Lawrence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* proved a difficult object for the scanners at GoogleBooks. Paul Duguid's article "Inheritance and Loss: A Brief Survey of GoogleBooks" describes how the scanners at GoogleBooks were consistently stumped by the blank page and the black page in Sterne's graphically innovative novel, in some cases failing to scan them because the page "contained no data."[13] That Google did not seem concerned about these types of mistakes has made Duguid and others alarmed that the digitizers and technicians involved fail to understand important principles of the book and the dynamism between format and form and content that so many authors have deliberately manipulated in the composition of their "book-length" works.

The panel brought two of Clancy's primary combatants in the GoogleBooks settlement within feet of him: Brewster Kahle, founder of the Internet Archive, which for decades has been doing the work that Google began with GoogleBooks in the early 2000s (scanning print materials) but on the non-profit public archive model and focusing on works out of copyright. Kahle connected the book as a long form to the Enlightenment, and to humanism. For Kahle it is the form that enables humans to debate and work through contentious issues. Pamela Samuelson, a law professor at the iSchool at UC Berkeley who has been one of the most prominent shapers of the academic and legal communities' objections to the GoogleBooks settlement, highlighted the "wholeness" and "depth" of the book. For Samuelson, the mode of writing and argument that the book enables distinguishes it from other forms. Whereas the book has been the most widely used form for the storage and retrieval of texts for centuries, now that other formats are possible and increasingly prevalent, we will henceforth be asking: which types of texts should be made into books? What kind of writing and reading does a book enable or encourage that another format cannot? And which types of books can we stop printing without losing something essential to the form? Newspapers? Phonebooks? Edited volumes? Scholarly articles? Journals? Short stories? Short story collections? Novels?

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[12] While too complicated to get into here, the GoogleBooks settlement is one of the more contentious arenas for the debate around the status of the book and the status of the library at the current moment because it promises to redefine long-standing legal and institutional mandates for making books available. While the ability to sort rapidly through its big banks of texts present the opportunity for new forms of scholarship, its challengers worry that the agreement Google proposes takes too much control over their own intellectual and creative labor away from authors and publishers, and undermines the work of libraries who amass and preserve texts not to make money through selling advertising space.

[13] Duguid, "Inheritance and Loss: A Brief Survey of GoogleBooks." *First Monday* 12:8-6 (August 2007). Accessed April 16, 2010.

Indeed at the moment that I am writing this dissertation, there are several heated discussions about the future of the book, the death of the book, and the end of print. Certainly the media and forms of written communication are changing faster than they have for many centuries. In a recent "state of the art" article about libraries, historian and Harvard librarian Robert Darnton details the major technological changes in communication from the invention of writing (3000 BCE) to the codex (2nd century CE) to moveable type (approx. 1450 CE), concluding with the invention of the internet in 1974 and the founding of Google in 2008.

> When strung out in this manner, the pace of change seems breathtaking: from writing to the codex, 4,300 years; from the codex to movable type, 1,150 years; from movable type to the Internet, 524 years; from the Internet to search engines, nineteen years; from search engines to Google's algorithmic relevance ranking, seven years; and who knows what is just around the corner or coming out the pipeline?[14]

Popular articles like this attest to the clear awareness that the status of the book as a particular type of text/image object is changing so rapidly that we have a difficult time determining the significance of the changes. But because the book is not a static container that holds some content, but a format that determines the shapes that content can take and thereby demands that we study "content" in ongoing negotiation with form, this debate also concerns which discourses we value and whether new media will encourage or thwart those discourses as they are currently conducted. In some cases, the capacity for increased dissemination is pitted against traditional methods of organizing and storing text and while we negotiate these decisions, it will be important to think through which texts should be given (or retained in) physical printed form and to understand what the codex format uniquely accomplishes.[15] I intend to accumulate some of those features most relevant for narrative in the course of this dissertation.

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[14] Robert Darnton, "The Library in the New Age" in the *New York Review of Books*, June 12 2008. Accessed April 20, 2010.

[15] As a side note, the irony is not lost on me that I will not turn in this dissertation as a printed and bound object because only one year ago the University of California changed its dissertation filing procedures. Established scholars repeatedly assert that graduate students, at least in the humanities and social sciences, must produce a "book-length" work of scholarship to receive a doctorate, meaning that the dissertation is expected to be a sustained argument and not a series of more or less connected articles, as suffices in the sciences. The unit of the "book," and even more particularly the "monograph" remains important to how the humanistic disciplines conceive of their work and the production of "the book" determines hiring and tenure decisions even while academic publishers strain to publish them as material objects. The dissertation has long been a "not quite book" or "becoming-book," but this particular dissertation will not have a place in the "brick-and-mortar" library with the printed dissertations filed over the past many decades. Instead, an electronic version of this dissertation will be made available by an outside vendor—ProQuest—which may increase its potential readership, or may mean that it is lost within a few decades when technologies change and it becomes too difficult or expensive to archive these materials. While this dissertation seeks to account for "book-length" productions, and was imagined around the printed books and manuscripts that I write about, and demanded physical access to those materials in libraries on other continents—and while I wrote it in consultation with printed books as often as I consulted journal articles electronically—its institutional existence will be exclusively digital.

Narrative

In this dissertation I am interested in how narrative becomes organized within the codex as *litteratura*—Latin for "lines of text," and how the codex is uniquely able to arrange lines of text. The potential for narrative organization presented by the book was crucial to the development of literature along these lines. But it is necessary to delimit the way that I am using the term "narrative" and to pull out a few features. The narrative critic most interested in typologizing book structures is Gérard Genette. He opens *Narrative Discourse* reviewing the ways that "narrative" has been used and divides the usages among terms, deciding "to use story for the signified or narrative content, to use narrative for the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself, and to use narrating for the productive narrative action and, by extension, the whole of the real or fictional situation in which that action takes place,"[16] and I will use those terms in the way Genette specifies. Genette is interested in fictional narrative, and not other narrative forms such as history or hagiography, and that is how I am reading these frametales: as fictional narratives. But because the frametales I write about present fables and exemplary narratives, it will be necessary in an analysis of them to think through the differences between exemplary and novelistic narrative, using both medieval and contemporary definitions of the literary to do so.

As Genette explains in his study, narrative gets its time—its duration—from its physical form or more abstractly the "space" it takes up across the pages of a book.

> The temporality of written narrative is to some extent conditional or instrumental; produced in time, like everything else, written narrative exists in space and as space, and the time needed for "consuming" it is the time needed for crossing or traversing it, like a road or a field. The narrative text, like every other text, has no other temporality than what it borrows, metonymically, from the time of its own reading.[17]

The "space" that Genette refers to here is the disposition of these lines of text across the pages enclosed within a codex. Book-length narratives have long but variable temporal duration but a fixed spatial extension. The reader can skip or doze or skim, re-engaging to find that the story still coheres or that she has failed to pick up enough details to render sense from the narrative. The codex attempts to organize the attention of its reader, and often because of its length accounts for these nods, building in less dense sections for rest, so that readers will make it across the expanse. Often narrative theorists use landscape to imagine the space of narrative—as Genette uses the road and field—and each metaphor implies a different approach to reading and perhaps a different understanding of genre.

An important aspect of how narrative in particular extends temporally is what Genette (and many others) take to be narrative's "double time structuring." Here, in Seymour Chatman's words:

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[16] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 27.
[17] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 34.

> A salient property of narrative is double time structuring. That is, all narratives, in whatever medium, combine the time sequence of plot events, the time of the *histoire* ("story-time") with the time of the presentation of those events in the text, which we call "discourse-time." What is fundamental to narrative, regardless of medium, is that these two time orders are independent.[18]

This "double-time structure" produces the unique "texture" of narrative and the manipulation of its inherent tension produces the propulsions and delays of a story. Many narratologists use related pairs of words for the terms story and discourse. Genette's are *histoire* and *recit*, and the distinction that Shklovsky makes is between *fabula* and *sjuzhet*.[19] I will use Shklovsky's terms throughout this study. *Fabula* or the "storyline" refers to the materials from which the narrative is made, a series of events imagined to have an independent sequence, and *sjuzhet* refers to their plotting in a particular order in a given narrative, and ordering which, when it diverges from the *fabula*, calls attention to the "double time structuring" of narrative.

Which brings us to the question: what is the relationship between narrative and the book? If, "a book is a sequence of spaces," how do those spaces begin to create the double temporality of narrative that the narratologists describe? The book presents all of its material in a partial simultaneity; they can all be viewed in a quick flip-through, or held in the hand, but they can only really be accessed—that is read—in time. Literature, unlike some of the other "texts" that the book can contain, is primarily verbal, but a verbal creation with a significant visual component. W.J.T. Mitchell consistently writes about the visual properties of text, coining the term "imagetext" to refer a composite synthetic work consisting of both word and image, and using "image/text" to describe the complicated relation of visual and verbal elements. In his chapter on Lessing in *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, Mitchell discusses the "ut pictura poesis" or "sister arts" debate that would define each art form based on a dominant aspect of its medium or technique. Lessing takes a clear stand on this issue; to him, writing is verbal and painting is plastic. Therefore, writing that attempts to describe, and especially writing with long ekphrastic descriptions, is writing attempting what is most proper to painting. Conversely, painting that is allegorical or otherwise attempts to "tell a story" is painting that encroaches on the domain of writing. This distinction further asserts that narrative exists (is perceived) in time and the visual arts exist in space. But Mitchell notes the scholars like Joseph Frank who assert the spatial properties of writing "in so far that it is written"[20] because writing exists in space. "Works of art, like all other objects of human experience, are structures in space-time, and that the interesting problem is to comprehend a particular spatial-temporal construction, not to label it temporal *or* spatial."[21]

I will return throughout the dissertation to how the "book-length" narrative is a "particular spatial-temporal construction," one that distributes text across a series of planes held

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[18] Chatman, "What Novels Can do that Films Can't," in the W.J.T. Mitchell edited *On Narrative*, 118.
[19] Shklovsky, *The Poetics of Prose*, 170. See also Chatman's introduction to *Story and Discourse* for a review of these terms.
[20] Mitchell, *Iconography*, 99.
[21] Mitchell, *Iconography*, 103.

together on a hinging mechanism. For codex-organized narratives, the double temporality of the narrative that the narratologists describe provides one of the strongest cohesion-producing tensions of these narratives. The set sequence of planes enables an author to anticipate that a reader will encounter the text in a determined sequence (if not always predict what each page will look like) and attempt to make the meaning of the text accumulate in predictable ways. The ability to flip backwards and forwards through the text allows the author to move the reading subject back and forth through time using space, and facilitates a perspective on time difficult to access without this positioning. We will see that the frametales' authors encourage recursivity and understand that ethical development actually demands it.

The Novel

Ian Watt begins *The Rise of the Novel* explaining

> There are still no wholly satisfactory answers to many of the general questions which anyone interested in the early eighteenth-century novelists and their works is likely to ask: Is the novel a new literary form? And if we assume, as is commonly done, that it is, and that it was begun by Defoe, Richardson and Fielding, how does it differ from the prose fiction of the past, from that of Greece for example, or that of the Middle Ages, or that of seventeenth-century France? And is there any reason why these differences appeared when they did?[22]

For Watt, the novel emerges when a significant percentage of the narrative in a work aims for the "formal realism" that Watt describes. He defines "formal realism" somewhat circularly as those narrative conventions most often employed in the novel:

> the premise, or primary convention, that the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience, and is therefore under an obligation to satisfy its reader with such details of the story as the individuality of the actors concerned, the particulars of the times and places of their actions, details which are presented through a more largely referential use of language than is common in other literary forms.[23]

This type of circular definition is fairly typical of definitions of the novel that seek to differentiate the novel from other types of narrative and to choose one moment for its rise. It is terribly thorny to define the novel and while many theorists create a list of "criteria" for the novel, often the novel is defined in terms of what it is not: it is not an epic. It is not a romance. It is not a history. It is not rhetorical argument. But it is a genre that comes perilously close to these and other discursive realms, often incorporating elements of them.

One of the more satisfying definitions of the novel is Bakhtin's, which defines the novel as the genre that absorbs other genres, noting

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[22] Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 9.

[23] Watt, 32. Critics of Spanish literature might choose early 17th-century Spain for the "rise of the novel" with Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which influenced the English writers that Watt discusses.

> the novel's special relationship with extraliterary genres, with the genres of everyday life and with the ideological genres. In its earliest stages, the novel and its preparatory genres had relied upon various extraliterary forms of personal and social reality, and especially those of rhetoric (there is a theory that actually traces the novel back to rhetoric…) …Since it is constructed in a zone of contact with the incomplete events of a particular present, the novel often crosses the boundary of what we strictly call fictional literature.[24]

For Bakhtin, the novel does not so much grow out of these extraliterary genres as use them as a premise in the early stages of its development. Because it is a moving target, to Bakhtin "The novel, after all, has no canon of its own. It is, by its very nature, not canonic. It is plasticity itself,"[25] although he does identify novelistic elements in a number of earlier narratives, including frametales loosely defined.

Bakhtin identifies three main characteristics of the novel: "1) its stylistic three-dimensionality, which is linked with the multi-layered consciousness realized in the novel, 2) the radical change it effects in the temporal coordinates of the literary image, 3) the new zone opened by the novel for structuring literary images, namely, the zone of maximal contact with the present."[26] For Bakhtin, the novel collapses the distanced speech and images of the epic and through laughter, formal and characterological riotousness, and polyvocality—what he terms *multiglossia*—creates this "zone of maximal contact" with the present. To take any of the initiating moments of the novel with their attendant definitions as the endpoint of the narrative structures begun in the late medieval frametale would be to impose a false teleology on this project. I mention them here only to invoke the trajectory from past to present that many novel theorists create wherein at one moment a number of characteristics present in narrative to some degree crystallize into what they term "the novel." In this dissertation I will argue that we find in the course of the development of the late medieval frametale many features that come to be defined as essential to the novel, including many that Bakhtin mentions: the use of rhetoric as its justification, polyvocality, multi-perspectivalism, and stylistic three-dimensionality.

But one feature of the novel distinguished by theorists bears directly on the questions here. Early in his essay "Epic and Novel," Bakhtin asserts a generic alliance between the novel and the book, stating "Of all the major genres only the novel is younger than writing and the book: it alone is organically receptive to mute forms of mute perception, that is, to reading."[27] In "The Storyteller," Walter Benjamin also connects the novel to the printed book.

> The earliest symptom of a process whose end is the decline of storytelling is the rise of the novel at the beginning of modern times. What distinguishes the novel from the story (and from the epic in the narrower sense) is its essential dependence on the book. The dissemination of the novel became possible only with the invention of printing. What can be handed on orally, the wealth of the epic, is of a different kind from what constitutes the stock and trade of the novel. What differentiates the novel from all other

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[24] Bakhtin, 33.
[25] Bakhtin, 39.
[26] Bakhtin, 11.
[27] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 3.

> forms of prose literature—the fairy tale, the legend, even the novella—is that it neither comes from oral tradition nor goes into it.[28]

Though, like Bakhtin, Benjamin makes too absolute an opposition between novel and epic, he is correct to note that oral narrative was composed to be transmitted person to person without written mediation.[29] The storyteller, as opposed to the novelist, tells his tales in a communal setting. In Benjamin's idealized depiction

> An orientation toward practical interests is characteristic of many born storytellers…every real story contains, openly or covertly, something useful. The usefulness may, in one case, consist in a moral; in another, in some practical advice; in a third, in a proverb or maxim. In every case the storyteller is a man who has counsel for his readers.[30]

Benjamin's critique of the novel in "The Storyteller" shares much with the more strictly Marxist critiques of Georg Lukaçs and Frederic Jameson who identify in the novel the expression of an individuality that only emerges in capitalist society. To these critics, the members of the bourgeoisie, the class with the literacy and leisure time to take an interest in reading literature, desires to read "a full and authentic report of human experience" because they have become alienated from others in the course of modern industrialization, one of the products of which is, of course, the printed book. In Benjamin's terms "It took the novel, whose beginnings go back to antiquity, hundreds of years before it encountered in the evolving middle class those elements which were favorable to its flowering."[31] For each of these critics, this evaluation is a critique of the societies for whom the novel is the favored narrative form, and symptomatic of that era's organization of human experience. Whereas Augustine imagined faith as God's book, Lukaçs writes that "The novel is the epic of a world that has been abandoned by God."[32] Therefore, to Lukaçs the most common protagonist of the novel is a seeker because there is no single correct path and the way cannot be known. For Benjamin the novel embodies a similar state of being lost or without basis for establishing authority: "The birthplace of the novel is the solitary individual, who is no longer able to express himself by giving examples of his most important concerns, is himself uncounseled, and cannot counsel others."[33] The late medieval frametales that I read in this dissertation have given up on neither counsel nor God, and are just establishing their conventions within the book in the centuries just before the advent of printing in Europe. They often display features of both the genres that the novel "leaves behind" and of the novel as it comes to be, and we can productively read them as transitional.

The Frametale

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[28] Benjamin, 87.
[29] See, for example, the theories of oral composition of Lord and Parry.
[30] Benjamin, 86.
[31] Benjamin, 88.
[32] Lukaçs, 88.
[33] Benjamin, 87.

A frametale is a narrative genre in which a series of intercalated tales are connected through the fiction of an oral storytelling performance in the framing narrative. In her excellent overview of the genre, Bonnie Irwin defines it as follows: "A frametale is not simply an anthology of stories. Rather, it is a fictional narrative (usually prose but not necessarily so) composed primarily for the purpose of presenting other narratives. A frametale depicts a series of oral storytelling events in which one or more characters in the frametale are also narrators in the interpolated tales."[34] Irwin emphasizes the frame as premise, and her definition implies an order of composition wherein the author creates a frame to enclose a set of shorter tales already at hand. The tales in the narrative frames do to a certain extent represent pre-existing oral traditions. Therefore there are collections that represent the wiles of women, the deception of worldly riches, the antics of a wise fool character, the wisdom of the elders. Many of the tales inserted into late medieval frametales claim they have counsel for their readers or listeners. They claim a relevance to the world outside of the text. Structurally, some of the frames are very loose—the merest of justifications for gathering these stories together. Others are tight-knit. Sometimes that "knitting" stems from an increased dynamism between the framing narrative and the intercalated tales. The frametales are inherently metaleptic, with the significance of one narrative level pertaining to the others, and the pronounced interdiegetic narration (one character telling a story about another set of characters or a past moment) indicates a particular capacity in the frametale to amass and relate smaller units. Thus, the frametales tend to create intricate diegetic structures, with multiple narrative levels, and include multiple embedded tales, and "Chinese box" or "Russian doll" structures. Tales *en abîme* and more muted forms of echoing establish resonance between stories on these different narrative levels.

The frametale is a particularly spatial form. In his pioneering work on the topic Joseph Frank defines the spatial form as one wherein narrative has the ability to freeze an instant in time, a feature generally considered more characteristic of lyric. Frank says of the country-fair scene in Madame Bovary that "this scene illustrates, on a small scale, what we mean by the spatialization of form in the novel. For the duration of the scene, at least, the time-flow of the narrative is halted; attention is fixed on the interplay of relationships within the immobilized time-area."[35] The time it takes to tell the interdiegetic narratives in the frametale creates this type of "freeze frame." The frametale thus very readily lends itself to structuralist and early poststructuralist analyses (such as those of Genette, Todorov, Shklovsky, and Barthes) interested in identifying both the horizontal (prolepsis, dilation) and vertical (diegetic levels) axes of narrative. In this dissertation I want to examine how these two axes play out in the three-dimensional dynamic space of the codex and to understand how they construct a particular reading environment. I will be looking at mostly fourteenth and fifteenth-century book objects, both manuscripts and incunables, of three specific narratives: the *Conde Lucanor*, *Sendebar*, and *Calila e Dimna*.

In addition to the tightness or looseness of the frame, we can also understand the frametales based on whether their framing narratives are written or oral; the "found document" is a written convention and "instruction through tale-telling" oral. With time, the frame of the book begins to absorb the narrating instance. For the texts that this dissertation treats—the late medieval frametales—their authors did not necessarily assume that the stories would be read at

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[34] Irwin, "What's in a Frame?" 28.
[35] Frank in McKeon, 790.

all. Wolfgang Iser posits that each work addresses itself to an ideal or imagined reader, one who has the context (linguistic, educational, personal) to render optimal meaning from the text. In addition to Iser's imagined reader or imagined addressee, we might add the category of imagined performance context. Because of literacy at the time and the dynamic depicted in their framing narratives, we can surmise that the imagined performance context for the frametale was the *viva-voce* performance: one person reading aloud from the book to an assembled audience, or an individual reader with significant experience reading aloud or listening to others read aloud. In his study of reading habits in late medieval Europe, Paul Saenger observes that "True silent reading, that is reading with the eyes alone, developed only with the evolution of a more rigorous intellectual life in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in the *studia* of Cistercian abbeys and at the cathedral schools of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from which the universities would emerge."[36] During the time of transition from primarily oral methods to increasingly individual and written modes—not only of reading but also composition—oral and written practices were understood in relation to each other, as Brian Scott argues in *The Implications of Literacy*. For communities with increasing literacy (the European laity of the 13-15th centuries), the *viva-voce* performance context was quite common. Some readers would pick up the book to consult individual sections or, less commonly with the less dynamic frametales, to read through the book. But more often, other people would listen while somebody read the book out loud. Chaucer depicts this type of reading in *Troilus and Criseide* as does Cervantes in the *Don Quixote*. But the frametale's end is the creation of a narrative object, a delimited space of literature. There is also the tradition of the "fake-book," the book as a repertoire for future performances, which is how John K. Walsh's interprets the *Libro de Buen Amor*. This latter option has two famous examples in the compendia of the troubadours and the *exempla* collections of Franciscan and Dominican preachers, each products of the thirteenth century where this dissertation begins.

Some literary critics define literary frames very broadly. In her study of twentieth-century self-conscious metafiction, Patricia Waugh asks "What is the 'frame' that separates reality from 'fiction'? Is it more than the front and back covers of a book, the rising and lowering of a curtain, the title and 'The End'?"[37] A frame often produces an object or experience as aesthetic, and so the concept has been be used very broadly to describe all the gestures and rituals that delimit an entity as such. The idea of a "frame" invites us to consider whether the framing narrative functions like the paratexts that Genette describes or like the "parergon" that Derrida works out from his study of Kant in *The Truth in Painting*, liminal rituals that invoke an inside and an outside. The role of framing in aesthetic theory lies outside the scope of this project but such work would certainly illuminate features of the genre.

In its broadest extension, we can interpret many narratives as frametales, including *The Turn of the Screw, Gil Blas, The Princess of Clèves*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Wuthering Heights*. Mary Ann Caws in *Reading Frames in Modern Fiction* uses "frame" somewhat less broadly than Waugh to describe all "techniques for putting the selected picture into relief: delays and pauses to surround, with temporal and spatial borders, the central focused part."[38] For Caws, frames occur within most narratives and are used to set off a scene or description as especially

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[36] Saenger, "Silent Reading," 384.
[37] Waugh, *Metafiction*, 28.
[38] Caws, 262.

significant, the key to the interpretation of the remaining narrative. To Caws these moments merit study because "The study of frame is always a self-study of our reading habits as well as the picture itself; by the sharp cropping of its sides, it knows its self-reflection to be at once finished and contained."[39]

In a 2009 issue of *Narrative* on Framing, Eric Berlatsky calls the margins and especially gutters of a book "frames," using the graphic novel or comic as the most blatant example, but also considering each embedded narrative in *The Arabian Nights* a frame. He concludes the essay using "frame" to refer to the experience of all differentiations within textual space.

> A reader is always and perpetually asked to close differing, and sometimes contradictory, messages in the form of frames. For a reader to enter a text is not merely to cross one border into a representational world, but to confront a wide variety of frames, to navigate them, and to emerge with a text that is largely his or her own construction.[40]

Berlatsky claims to take the graphic novel as the model for the framing he describes, but lingering in this description is the computer screen with multiple "windows" open, an image likely to be not only in mind but before Berlatsky's eyes as he wrote. But for Berlatsky, as we will see later for some of the poststructuralist critics who work on narrative levels, framing produces generic expectation and readerly choice: a reader must choose to activate the interpretation presented by a given frame. While there are frametales of a sort throughout the novel's long run, it might be useful to limit the extension of the term. *The Turn of the Screw* is a frametale; it begins with a narrator who receives a found document and part of our interpretation of the work hinges on how we understand the writer of that document: the governess who narrates her experience in a possibly haunted household. *Wuthering Heights* offers the model of a framing narrative formed by an oral tale, as two servants discuss the former masters of their house of employ. But to use the term "frametale" as Berlatsky does above is to extend it to refer to all novels with strong prologues, significant intertextual references, pronounced episodes, or narrative embedding, which dilutes the specificity of the term in a number of respects. However, at places in the dissertation there will be opportunity to discuss how twentieth-century novelists imagine their connections to late medieval frametales and to explore some of the features that late medieval and these more recent frametales share.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Late Medieval Frametales

Although two of the frametales discussed in this dissertation—*Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* — were among the most widely disseminated narratives in the late medieval Mediterranean, they are no longer the best known of the late medieval frametales. Contenders for that title would be the Arabic *Alf Layla wā Layla* aka *The Thousand and One Nights*, Giovanni Bocaccio's Italian *Il*

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[39] Caws, 265.
[40] Berlatsky, "Lost in the Gutter: Within and Between Frames in Narrative and Narrative Theory" *Narrative* 17.2 (May 2009), 184.

Decamerone, and Geoffrey Chaucer's Middle English *The Canterbury Tales*. Further East, the Persian *Shahnamah* and the Sanskrit *Pançatantra* (from which *Calila e Dimna* derives) remain widely known.

Jacques Le Goff describes the twelfth century as the "time of the exemplum" on the European continent and we might productively understand the centuries following as the time of these *exempla*'s compilation. During these centuries many authors compile shorter narratives into collections and later authors use these compendia as models for more unified works that also connect shorter narratives, uniting them under the narrative frame that Irwin describes. The late medieval frametales contain a large amount of entertaining and instructive narrative materials from a wide range of traditions—portions of which show up in other works of fiction or theatre (for example, versions of both Ex. 27 and Ex. 35 of the *Conde Lucanor* show up as scenes in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*.) But while so many of the stories have clearly attested afterlives, the influence of the form overall is more difficult to trace. Therefore in this dissertation I am looking at a development within the frametale, from the form's first translation into Castilian to the first Castilian frametale composed as an original work.

Even delimited to a discussion of late medieval frametales, the genre is broad enough that it resists being studied as a corpus in anything but the most macro terms, or, as some critics have done, by following a given individual story across collections (such as the story of the half friend or Donzella Teodor), examining how it signifies differently in each. Most of the frametales use the fiction of an oral storytelling performance to create the narrative frame. *The Canterbury Tales* presents a collection of pilgrims en route to Canterbury who tell tales to amiably spend the time in transit. Boccaccio's youths set up a formal structure for an exchange of tales to decorously pass the time amidst a society ravaged by the plague. The storytelling imperative is much stronger in *Alf Layla wā Layla* or *The Thousand and One Nights*, wherein Shahrāzād convinces her father the vizier to marry her to King Shahriyār because she believes that she can beguile him with her stories and make him halt his daily executions of women. The premises for all of these frametales are oral but I would argue that *The Canterbury Tales* lapses most often into bookishness because the tales told by some of the pilgrims (the Pardoner, The Tale of Melibee) strain aural verisimilitude. Chaucer, Boccaccio, and Juan Manuel all have characters interrupt the tales that they tell or that another character is telling, which lends to the diegetic verisimilitude.

One of the most influential medieval frametales was certainly the Latin *Disciplina Clericalis* authored by the recently converted Jew Petrus Alphonsi in Northern Iberia at the beginning of the twelfth century. The author was fluent in Arabic and Hebrew and this collection collects a number of narratives taken from the Semitic oral tradition, in order to make them available to the Latin reading public to the north. In fact, Petrus Alphonsi's orientation was northward; perhaps understanding the greater currency that they would have to the north where they were still rare, Petrus Alphonsi consolidated not only the Semitic narrative tradition but also the practical science that secured him a post as doctor to Henry I of England. María Rosa Menocal emphasizes the influence of the narrative frame of Petrus Alphonsi's collection as a foreign export, asserting that "What Petrus brought out of the House of Arabic and into the House of Latin, and thence into all the vernaculars that became the literary languages of modern

Europe, was not merely individual stories but the taste for a particular way of telling tales."[41] A father on his deathbed, passing on a hodgepodge of tales to his sons, forms the premise of this collection. The frame is very loose, and the justification for each tale told, slight.

We should conclude that the materials that Petrus Alphonsi compiled continued to circulate on the Iberian Peninsula orally and, very likely, that copies of his collection were known and read there. Also surely circulating on the Iberian Peninsula were the Semitic narrative genres of which *Alf Layla* was only one popular example. *Kalilah wā Dimnah* appears to have been translated into Hebrew as well as Castilian in the thirteenth century, and Juan Manuel takes stories from *Calila* for the *Conde Lucanor* attesting to its circulation in the fourteenth century. Juan Manuel uses the Near Eastern frametale *Barlaam e Jospehat* as the base for the first half of his *Libro de los Estados*, which proves not only that it was known but also Juan Manuel's desire to incorporate these materials into new Castilian works and not just make translations of them. We should also interpret *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* within the Semitic sapiential or wisdom literature tradition, which was widely translated into Castilian in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and which included *Bocados de Oro*, the *Libro de los Cien Capítulos*, the *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*, and the *Poridat de Poridades*.

More formally schematic and repetitive than the frametales, were the Arabic (and later Hebrew) *maqāmāt*. First flourishing in Abbasid Baghdad with al-Hamadānī in the late tenth century and al-Ḥarīrī in the early twelfth, the *maqāmāt* are short narratives in rhymed prose that end with a short verse. We know that the *maqāma* was not only known but also influential on the Iberian Peninsula because in the early twelfth century the Cordoban Ibn Shuhayd wrote the *Risālat al-tawābi' wā l-zawabi'* which references al-Hamaḍānī's collection and Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqustī wrote the *al-Maqāmāt al-luzūmiyya* as an explicit challenge to al-Ḥarīrī.[42] The *maqāma* features repetitive and formulaic episodes, each episode starring the same set of characters, not unlike an early television sitcom (before the DVD compilation of TV shows encouraged season-long plot arcs). Thus the premise for their collection is very thin, and only the characters and the formal consistency make the collection cohere. The *maqāma* was also a popular genre for the Hebrew writers writing in the Golden Age of that language, and its first flourishing as a language of secular expressions since Biblical times. See, for example, al-Ḥarīzī's *Sefer Tahkemoni* and Jacob ben Eleazar's *Sefer ha-meshalim*.

The Latin corpus offers three other long narratives that we can confirm were known in the Iberian Peninsula by the sixteenth century, and can suspect were known beforehand. These include Petronius's *Satyricon,* Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* sometimes also called *The Metamorphoses*. Bakhtin mentions these late Latin collections in his essay "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse," as well as *The Attic Nights*, apparently a very long fiction (filling several volumes) organized around the conversation at a very long dinner party. While these narratives are not strictly frametales they all contain embedded tales and multiple narrators. The techniques used to connect the episodes in Ovid's collection are too complicated to detail here, but include repeated motifs and overlapping sets of characters. The *Satyricon* and *The Golden Ass* use a wandering narrator to connect a number of episodes and portray people

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[41] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, 151.
[42] For a review of the maqāmā in al-Andalus see Drory in Menocal et al, *The Literature of al-Andalus*.

from varying social milieus, as the picaresque authors would do later.[43] While most of the action takes place on the diegetic level of the framing narrative, both Encolpius and Lucius meet other characters who tell their stories.

The medieval Latin genre of the *exempla* collection develops parallel to the frametale on the European continent. Following the Fourth Lateran council in 1215, preachers were required to instruct their congregations to plumb their souls and understand exactly how they were sinning. *Exempla* collections were initially compiled to create a stock of illustrative stories for preachers to use in the composition of sermons, and later, as fictionalized by Gower in the *Confessio amantis*, to create books that an individual reader might use to do the same, or at least that premise. The thirteenth century saw an increase in the production of compendia of many sorts. Émile Mâle refers to it as the "century of the Encyclopedias" because of the ambitious encyclopedia projects of Vincent of Beauvais, Bartholomeus Anglicus, and Brunetto Latini. Even more influential than the encyclopedia was probably Bible production. Up until the twelfth century, the books of the Bible circulated separately, but in the twelfth century bookmakers begin to create single volume Bibles containing all the books of the Hebrew and Christian Bible. These Bibles have tables of contents and indices, and reflect an overall increase in the number and sophistication of techniques used to make their contents more navigable.

In addition to the *Decameron*, in the Italian tradition some would consider that Dante's works borrow their structure from the frametale. I would argue that the sonnet cycle plus commentary of *La vita nuova* borrows as much from the scholarly expectations for literary interpretation, and can be related to Dante's project (shared by Boccaccio, Petrarch, Gower, and Chaucer, and well analyzed by A.J. Minnis at the close of *The Medieval Theory of Authorship*) to present himself as an authority/*auctoritas* by providing a gloss on his own literary productions. The impressive architecture of *La divina commedia* takes place in space more profoundly than it does time, and as with Apuleius, while Virgil and Dante meet many characters who tell their stories, the narrative level at which they walk remains paramount, making this collection only a frametale in the looser sense of the word.[44] Moreover, it is verse whereas most of the frametales are prose and often prosimetric.

In Middle English, three other frametales followed Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*: John Gower's *Confessio amantis*, Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. The *Confessio amantis* uses the written frame of the confession manual for its organization, but then also a wandering protagonist/sinner to connect the episodes. Lydgate's and Hoccleve's work is, as it sounds, more firmly in the "mirror for princes" genre. Writing about the same time as Chaucer, Langland produced the gangly narrative *Piers Plowman,* which resembles the Castilian *Libro de Buen Amor* in the way it generates a series of premises for short episodes without bothering to build in a unifying feature beyond that provided by the protagonist. Like the

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[43] See the Guillermo Enrique Hernández 1982 dissertation on this topic, Lazarillo de Tormes *and Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Department of Comparative Literature. University of California, Berkeley.

[44] However the juxtaposition of "divine" and "comedy" in the title suggests that Dante imagined his project to be moving into new generic territory, which we have seen Bakhtin describe as characteristic of the novel, and I think the *Divina Commedia* could be productively included in an examination of the late medieval frametale as a genre that established many bookish narrative conventions.

protagonist of *The Satyricon* and to a certain degree *The Golden Ass*, Piers wanders through a Menippean landscape of varying literary textures or chronotopes.

The frametale form does not appear to have been as popular in France until much later, perhaps because of the popularity of chivalric and legendary narratives. *Sendebar* was translated into French from Arabic in the early fourteenth century as the *Liber regius* in the court of Joan of Navarre,[45] but perhaps the most famous of the French frametales is Marguerite of Navarre's *Heptameron*, which self-consciously used Boccaccio's *Decameron* as an intertext and was not produced until the late fifteenth century.

Description of the Frametales Discussed

In this dissertation I discuss three Castilian frametales: *Calila e Dimna*, *Sendebar*, and the *Conde Lucanor*. Juan Manuel's collection the *Conde Lucanor* (1335 A.D.) was the first frametale composed in a European vernacular, preceding Boccaccio's *Decameron* by a decade. Its fictional frame depicts a storytelling situation: Count Lucanor asks Patronio for advice and Patronio answers with an *exemplum* and then an explication of that *exemplum*. Each exemplum ends with the appearance of a character named Johán (Juan) finding the story good and writing it down. Thus the time of the telling is overlaid on the time of reading and writing, though the action of writing receives no more than short summary. The opening and closing to each *exemplum* repeats with alarming precision almost verbatim across *exempla*. These gestures have the monotony of stitching, of the sewing of fascicles onto a frame. Here the verisimilitude is of texture; this could not be oral experience. The manipulation and framing of source materials in the *Conde Lucanor* reflects a later development of ideas about the frametale. While the translations of *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna* produced in the thirteenth century remained close to their Arabic originals (if the fifteenth-century versions in which they survive are an indication), Juan Manuel self-consciously adapts the form to his own ends.

Calila e Dimna (1251 A.D.) and *Sendebar* (1253 A.D.) were translated from Arabic in the middle of the thirteenth century under the auspices of Alfonso X (*Calila*) and his brother Fadrique (*Sendebar*). I have already described some of the contexts within which we must interpret their translation and will have more to say about that in Chapters 3 and 4. Both *Calila* and *Sendebar* present a storytelling dynamic in their narrative frame and both offer their intercalated tales as instruction to a ruler by a sage character, though the transfer of that sagacity is greatly complicated by the framing narrative of *Sendebar*. We should interpret both within the *speculum principis* or *Fürstenspiegel* tradition of instruction for princes, as well as within the "wisdom literature" tradition more generally. Both collections were widely translated and disseminated across the medieval Mediterranean and both collections later reach the Iberian Peninsula through a separate branch of their textual tradition, which moved from Arabic into Hebrew and then Latin before being taken up by the early printers, who recognized an audience for these books of didactic narratives and translated them into Castilian. This "Occidental" branch of Calila was translated as the *Libro contra los peligros e engaños de mundo*, while the Sendebar story became in this branch the *Libro de los siete sabios*. The two branches of the *Calila*

[45] See Kinoshita, "Translatio/n."

tradition seem to have had independent existences because toward the end of the fifteenth century manuscript copies of the direct translation from Arabic were produced within decades of the incunable versions from Latin. In general, both *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* exhibit less of a pervasive concern with their status as "written" than the *Conde Lucanor*, though I will hone in on those moments in each that depict textual production.

BROADER CONTEXTS

The Frametale in the Literary History and Theory of the Novel

The frametale should occupy a more prominent position in literary histories of the novel as crucial to the development of book-length narratives, of which the novel is currently the privileged form. The frametale perhaps finds its most sympathetic interpreters in the Slavic critical tradition, and not in Anglophone or Francophone literary histories or theories of the novel. The frametale occupies an implicit position in the literary histories suggested by the Russian Formalists, in, say, the succession of chapters in Tzetzan Todorov's *Poetics of Prose* or Shklovsky's *Theory of Prose*. Vladmir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* examines the features of individual tales but stops before suggesting how these tales could be combined. These studies are theories of narrative, not of the novel, but Shklovsky and Todorov focus on longer narratives and do not assume that the frametale can be studied merely by looking at the shorter narrative materials within. Todorov describes narrative using linguistic metaphors such as morphology and syntax. For Todorov, *Alf Layla* is a predicative literature because its characters are "narrative men," characters with little interiority who exist merely to tell their stories and enable the narrative's prolongation. While some of the better Hispanic studies of these story collections, such as that of Blecua and Lacarra, describe the written traditions that the authors of frametales invoke to lend form to their collection—and admirably entertain both Semitic and Latin models—they do not take sufficient account of how these collections hold stories together differently. This is where—so I am arguing—the book comes in.

Without using the term "frametale," the Russian critic Bakhtin discusses them throughout the essays collected in *The Dialogic Imagination*. He mentions many of the Hellenistic and later medieval frametales (in the looser definition) in his essay detailing the historical poetics of narrative, "Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel," as well as in "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse" and "Epic and Novel." The Bakhtinian features of the novel already described—especially dimensionality and *multiglossia*—characterize the frametales, which tend to proliferate narrators and diegetic levels. The juxtapostion of voices and points of view "frees consciousness from the tyranny of its own language and its own myth of language."[46] More interested in the late medieval frametales specifically, Viktor Shklovsky who asserts that "The modern novel was preceded by the short story collection,"[47] although he refuses to determine a causality between the two genres.[48] We might argue instead that the novel and the short story collection represent two diverging paths of development, with the

[46] Bakhtin, 61
[47] Shklovsky, 65.
[48] Such inconclusiveness does not surprise us in the brilliantly suggestive but elusive analyst.

short story collection using the frame of the book and the unifying force of the author's proper name but not otherwise attempting to link the narratives within the plot.[49] Shklovsky describes a number of these linking mechanisms: the "threading" produced by the protagonist who moves through episodes, as in *The Golden Ass*, the embedded tales characteristic of the *Pançatantra* (*Calila*), *Kalilah wā Dimnah* (*Calila*), *The Seven Viziers* (*Sendebar*) and the *Thousand and One Nights*, and the use of intercalated narratives to "decelerate" narrative progress and dilate the space of narrative middle in *The Seven Viziers* and the *Thousand and One Nights*. All of these devices suggest how shorter narratives can be combined into longer ones and Shklovsky implicitly suggests the importance of writing to this combination when he asserts that "These devices are confined to the domain of written literature. The cumbersome nature of the material does not permit such an interrelationship of parts in the oral tradition. The relationships among the parts is so formal that it can be discerned, perhaps, only by a reader, and not by a listener."[50]

History of the Book and Narrative Theory

The importance of the codex format to the history of the novel has been under-explored though implicitly codicological metaphors undergird much narrative theory. The codex probably provides the connecting link between important moments in the premodern global production of long narrative: post-Augustan Rome, the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean, Abassid Baghdad, 13th-century Toledo. While different combinations of material, social, and linguistic factors affected the shape these works took in each case, these historical moments shared certain elements: increasing lay literacy, increased availability of the material substrates for written literature, and massive translation projects—all resulting in large libraries. The frametales begin to be translated into the European vernaculars during the same century of Europe's biggest boom in book production before print (the thirteenth), and both the book and the frametale continue to be developed and refined during the fourteenth century, and suggesting a link between the form and the format.

We should very likely connect the frametale to spikes in lay literacy. Indeed in "From Oral to Written: An Anthropological Breakthrough in Storytelling," his study of narrative in pre-literate and literate societies, Jack Goody asserts that "narrative (already in 1566, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, used for 'an account, narration, a tale, recital') is not so much a universal feature of the human situation as one that is promoted by literacy and subsequently by printing."[51] From Goody's point of view, there is no narrative before reading and writing. Prompted by Bakhtin, Goody examines many of the longer narrative experiments before the novel, but unfortunately his study of the late medieval frametale is hampered by his reliance on a problematic secondary source that accounts for the appearance of the form in the Mediterranean and the Near East through a vague shared linguistic inheritance: "Europe's natural links with the other cultures that derive from the ancient sources of the Near East."[52]

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[49] We could even take the early seventeenth century and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and *Novelas ejemplares* as a moment when the genres diverge.
[50] Shklovsky, 66.
[51] Goody in Moretti, vol. 1, 3.
[52] Normal Daniel in Goody, 19.

According to Goody's plotting, something like Indo-European or the Greek development of the Sumerian alphabet becomes a unifying initial cause for narrative and the explanation for similarities between longer compositions composed across the Mediterranean. To explain this much through writing itself diminishes the impact of material and economic exchanges on the development of narrative. Widespread literacy demands not only the development and spread of writing technologies: systems to represent linguistic phenomena, but the development of the technologies of textual reproduction on which these texts' dissemination depends: ink, paper, and later moveable type, as well as the industries that produce those materials. I will have the occasion throughout this project to problematize many of the East to West trajectories along which the frametales have been imagined to have traveled to arrive in the late medieval Mediterranean, but there is no denying that it follows papermaking technologies along this route.

In the case of late medieval Iberia, some very concrete historical realities create the conditions for the possibility of the novelistic form. The first paper mill on the European continent was established at Játiva in 1095.[53] Paper production began in Baghdad in the eighth century, after Chinese prisoners of war were forced to teach their captors how to set up the mills. Whereas Chinese paper was made of the more delicate mulberry bark, the Arabs pioneered breaking down linen fabric to make paper, as well as the use of laid-wires and chain-wire moulds.[54] Many of the Muslim polities in Iberia built up large libraries, notably the Córdoba-based caliphate and especially al-Hakam II, and later among the taifa kingdoms, the Banū Hūd in Zaragoza. Some of the features of textual organization of interest to me stem from the proliferation of texts and the push to extensive rather than intensive reading,[55] with the concomitant need for an individual to navigate more texts while doing so more quickly. With its readily legible system of parts the frametale was particularly suited to inter-cultural and inter-linguistic translation programs, and does appear to have followed trade routes from Baghdad to Toledo.

The Manuscript Book

I have deliberately set up this project to account for both manuscript and print productions, because doing so focuses attention on what the codex format accomplishes irrespective of the method of its content's reproduction. There are many continuums to trace between manuscript and print production. In his work on Early Modern print, Roger Chartier repeatedly remarks that many of the conventions for page layout and codicological organization were developed in manuscript production, and we could take the proliferation of books in the late medieval environment as the inspiration to create the technology of moveable type instead of assuming the reverse, that the new technology produces an increase in texts. It does, but the trend of increasing textual production was already underway in manuscript production and only encouraged (and changed) by the advent and development of printing. However, there are

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[53] See Kilgour, Lefèvre and Martin, and Bloom on this topic, if cursorily.
[54] Kilgour, 59.
[55] See Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire" and Ann Blair "Reading Strategies" for discussions of the idea of extensive versus intensive reading.

some fundamental differences between books produced by hand and books reproduced mechanically. Michael Camille claims that "all manuscripts are images," meaning that they are inextricably verbal and visual creations, an "imagetext" to use the term that W.J.T Mitchell coins to refer to the overlay of verbal and visual properties. (Mitchell's own best example is William Blake.) Printed books more neatly distinguish between verbal and textual elements, which sometimes results in a less dynamic interaction between the two.

After the work of Zumthor and Cerquiglini, there is no avoiding *mouvance* or *variance* as irrefutable qualities of manuscript production. No manuscript copy could be identical to another and by the late medieval period writers are terribly aware of this variability and even composing in opposition to it. However the authors and copiers of the late medieval frametales work at a moment when there are some institutional supports for the copying of texts, such as the *pecia* systems around the universities and methods of coterie publication set up by popular authors. We will witness in Juan Manuel a desire common to authors working in the fourteenth century to attempt to assure some textual stability for their works, an attempt to guarantee that their readers will encounter the materials in the exact shape that they designed by warning, exhorting, and explaining in the prologue. These authors address a plea to "colligens me a dispersione" not to God but to their anticipated redactors.

Attention to the specifics of manuscript production has changed the approach to medieval literature in the American and European academies over the past few decades. While the ideas of the "New Medievalism" (first announced in an issue of *Speculum* in 1990) are becoming more widespread, the methodologies usually employed for textual criticism, such as codicology and paleography have not had the impact that they could on literary studies. Nor have they been cross-pollinated to the extent they could with the theories of materiality more prevalent in new media studies nor the insights coming from the histories of the book and of reading. While critics of French and Middle English literature have explored these avenues more frequently in the past two decades, John Dagenais was one of the first North American scholars to use manuscript study to change the approach to criticism about a canonical medieval Spanish text, in his case the *Libro de Buen Amor*. Dagenais's study has greatly impacted studies of medieval Hispanic literature, inspiring similar work on the *Conde Lucanor* within the past few years, such as Lawrence de Looze's *Manuscript Diversity, Meaning, and Variance in Juan Manuel's* El Conde Lucanor. In this dissertation I consider the variants between manuscripts of the frametale to identify those features of the text considered most intrinsic to the collection. I am also interested in what the codicological contexts have to tell us about the texts' reception.

FRAMEWORK for the DISSERTATION

This dissertation investigates the late medieval frametale collection and the individual incunables and manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna*, *Sendebar*, and the *Conde Lucanor* that I discuss from three primary angles:

- That it represents the textualization of an oral storytelling tradition, and thus is a popular because suitable form for early vernacular prose, and important to consider when studying the emergence of written literature and book-length narrative.

• That these frametale collections model the shift from wisdom or didactic literature to a concept of fiction that often still uses exemplary rhetoric but complicates it with the pleasures of ambiguous interpretation inherent to heteroglossic or polyvocal forms.

• That the frametale has long been an important vehicle for *translatio studii* because it allows for the importing culture to reconfigure the translation on both the macro and micro level to be legible in new contexts and to figure cross-cultural exchange.

Textualization

We can look at the very beginning (literally the first lines) of the manuscript book to think about the textualization of oral traditions that bookish conventions establish. The transition from *incipit* to title is a transition from a mode of speaking to a method of using the site within the book as the gesture of initiation. Before the book had a title, the work was referred to by its opening lines or "incipit." Many manuscript works begin with "And here begins…," the statement functioning like a speech-act, ritualistically declaring the work into existence. Manuscript M of the *Conde Lucanor* (BN Madrid 4236) begins on the first page declaring: "Aq(ui) comie(n)ça el libro que es dicho del conde lucanor."[56] These words have not been set off on their own page, but rather occur on the first page of the very worn (but durable parchment) first page of the manuscript, followed immediately on the next line by the prologue text. Manuscript P begins "Este libro fizo don juan fijo del muy noble ynfante don manuel."[57] (The image from the facsimile is too blurry to reproduce.) Escorial h-iii-9 declares "Este libro es llamado de calila e dina. El qual departe por enxe(n)plos de omnes e aves e animalias."[58] Sometimes the scribe would write these incipits in their own voice, though more often—as here—they describe the books that they are copying. The text of the *Conde Lucanor* within the architectonic and majestic Manuscript S of Juan Manuel's Complete Works does not declare itself into existence with words but rather with a beautiful 9-line initial "E" that initiates the Prologue to the *Conde Lucanor*, separating it from the *Anteprólogo* and a table of contents for the *capítulos*, the most bookish invocation in the objects I discuss.

In *Paratexts*, Genette describes the "prehistory" of the paratextual phenomena that interest him in twentieth-century literary publications.[59] Genette: "What holds true for all the other paratextual elements holds true for the preface as well: its separation from the text by the presentational means familiar to us today is tied to the existence of the book, that is, the printed text. Here again the manuscript era is characterized by an easily comprehensible economy of means."[60] Here we might want Genette to make finer discriminations amidst his prehistorical morass but he is most interested in very *longue durée* and in tracing trends—such as the increased use of white space and even new pages to set off textual elements—in the ongoing development of the book. Fèbvre and Martin attribute the emergence of the title page as a

[56] BN Madrid 4236, 1R.
[57] Real Academia Española manuscript 15, 1R.
[58] Escorial h-iii-9.
[59] Though by prehistory he means "the whole period from Homer to Rabelais."
[60] Genette, *Paratexts*, 163.

distinct space in the codex to the printers' awareness that the first page of a book was often soiled by handling and their desire to start the body text on the first verso rather than the first recto page. According to them "the title page made its debut between 1475 and 1480,"[61] that is, after print, though we see the first part of the process across the manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* just described.

While I will be using these histories of the book as a way to understand and compare the manuscript and incunable versions of the frametales that I discuss, we witness the transition from oral to written within the frametales as well. Of all the narrative genres, the frametale is perhaps the most ekphrastic because it describes the circumstances of its own composition, providing what Ross Chambers calls its "narrative situation." Moreover the ekphrasis is self-reflexive. The frametale brokers the transition from a predominantly oral storytelling environment to the dialogism possible between a static (if not inert) text and a silent (if not passive) reader, by depicting oral storytelling in order to show how its conventions move into the book, and in that process making those conventions legible to individual readers.

Fiction and Didacticism

We have already looked at Benjamin's comments to the effect that the novel is a genre that has no counsel for its readers. The frametales I am analyzing are all works of "wisdom literature," works that explicitly, even vociferously, assert that they have counsel for their readers, because "Counsel woven into the fabric of life is wisdom."[62] Many early long narratives are pitched somewhere between didactic and entertainment literature, between narrative used to illustrate a rhetorical point and narrative as end in itself. These narratives connect meaning-making and self-making as processes that demand creating a cohesive whole out of potentially disparate parts. They model the possibility that the self can be constructed like a text, that readers can revisit themselves as ongoing constructions in time as they revisit earlier moments in the text, so as to learn from interpreting a previous reading as a mistake. These narratives assert that ethical instruction through reading might consist of precisely this sort of specular recursivity.

Trying to deduce literary theories from the late medieval commentary tradition, Judson Boyce Allen outlines what he calls the "ethical poetic" of the later middle ages. He declares that poetic production at the time was understood as an ethical rather than an aesthetic endeavor, concluding that poetry was considered a branch of ethical inquiry, "de ethice supponitur." Many other scholars of late medieval textual norms (Copeland, Carruthers, Minnis) who explore how authors of literary fictions manipulate the conventions of already authoritative discourses, show that the authors rely on expectations for ethical reading that develop in a monastic environment—such as *meditatio*, and which are later inflected by scholasticism, wherein processes such as *divisio textus* assume an ethical valence. Michael Camille, in his study of image-text in late medieval manuscripts (particularly in the margins), observes that "With the increase in both devotional and bureaucratic literacy and the rise of new methods of textual organization and analysis in the later twelfth century, the page layout or *ordinatio* of the text

[61] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 84.
[62] Benjamin, "The Storyteller," 86-87.

supplanted monastic *meditatio*. Now it was the physical materiality of writing as a system of visual signs that was stressed."[63] Camille argues that marginal illustration of manuscripts only really begins when "the idea of the text as written document superseded the idea of text as cue for speech."[64]

Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* takes up the problem that ethical practice was formerly a memorial practice and when it "moves into the book" must draw on those conventions while creating textual sites that produce ethical self-evaluation and instruction and spur the reader to internalize the lessons read. Carruthers traces the importance of this concept to fiction by noting the "medieval understanding of the complete process of reading [did] not observe in the same way the basic distinction we make between 'what I read in a book' and 'my experience.'"[65] To Carruthers, medieval reading was a "hermeneutical dialogue" between author and reader, one that enabled the reader to take on experiences read as if they were the reader's own. I interpret the dialogue presented in the narrative frames of the frametales as a blatant figuration of the "hermeneutical dialogue" Carruthers understands to be present in most late medieval assumptions about reading as an ethically instructive activity.

John Dagenais works with Allen's ideas about literary didacticism to articulate an "ethics of reading" assumed by many late medieval authors especially pertinent to narrative. Like Allen and Carruthers (as well as A.J. Minnis and Rita Copeland), he ends his investigation of theories of late medieval ethics by examining how they play out in literary production.

> We find an interesting development in early fourteenth-century Castile in works such as Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* and Juan Ruiz's *Libro*. In these works a narrative frame grows up around exempla and proverbs. And this frame, too, is exemplary. Its function is to portray explicitly the application process, *in bono* or *in malo*. The frame provides a story that exemplifies possible applications of ethical material, and it dramatizes the consequences of right or wrong application. Our initial impulse is to view narratives such as the *Conde Lucanor* or the *Libro* as innovative because they use a rudimentary storyline, which they interlard with pithy sayings and mini-narrative units such as exempla. We read these narratives as (failed) early experiments in extended fictions, mere "frame tales" that do not realize the quasinovelistic status to which they aspire. Works like the *Conde Lucanor* and the *Libro* come into much clearer focus, however, when we view them as collections of previously authenticated proverbial and exemplary material to which is now added, in fictional form, the implicit but hitherto invisible application of this material to a "real-life" situation. Narrative fulfills, glosses, the application to the world of human values that is the justification for the existence of exempla and proverbs in the first place.[66]

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[63] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 20.
[64] Camille, 18.
[65] Carruthers, 169.
[66] Dagenais, 74-75.

While I do not accept Dagenais's either/or between fiction and didacticism, I take from him that these narratives attempt to change their readers' ethical orientation by teaching those readers feel implicated by the narratives *using narrative itself* to do so. To Dagenais the narrative frame accomplishes this implication. While the exemplary narrative uses a frame to effect the didactic interpretation of narrative, the multiple framing characteristic of the frametale actually becomes a form of complication, producing the dimensionality that Bakhtin considers most typical of the novel, a complication that makes the narrative more relevant even as it makes it more ambiguous.

Translatio

The late medieval frametales were widely copied and translated. The form lends itself to adaptation, and presents wisdom as something that can be carried across a linguistic border and still be valuable on the other side. A desire to absorb the cultural wealth of a recently vanquished enemy motivated the projects of *translatio studii* important to the development and spread of the frametale at several moments: in Abbasid Baghdad, in the Córdoba of the First Caliphate, in the court of Alfonso X. Sometimes in the process the frametale is used to domesticate or subjugate the translated culture. The frametale may be one of the most global literary forms and it challenges prevalent notions about the directionality of flows of literary production. I have already described many of the narrative forms thriving in medieval Islamic Spain, or al-Andalus, among which the frametale was picked up in the translation projects that followed the southward moving forces of the "Reconquista." Because of the strong Arab presence on the Peninsula it is no surprise that the first paper mill on the European continent was established in Iberia, nor that the first frametale in a Romance vernacular was composed there.

Description of the Chapters

The first chapter investigates those structures in the frametale that insist that its readers accept it as more than a collection of stories that could be read in any order and could contain any arbitrary number of tales. I look at how these works establish patterns, and thus readerly expectations, and how those patterns are reinforced through an overlay of narrative, graphic, and codicological cues. By codicological cues I mean those patterns of ordination that affect but go beyond *mise en page* and *mise en texte*: cross-referencing, repetition of the narrative "point," sequence, and the sense of an ending. These techniques establish the "grammar of legibility" for the narrative, and thus the "grammar of narrative."

Looking at the four fifteenth-century manuscripts of *El Conde Lucanor*, I determine for each the "lexia" or unit of reading that readers identify as a first step towards assembling the grammar of narrative. I connect this "reading competence" to a methodology for parsing experience outside of the text, looking for the anagogical push of each work's exemplarity as a push to change the frame of reference of its readers. In addition to the *ordinatio* and *divisio textus*, I look at *mise en abîme* structures and narrative self-reflexivity as means by which the work's didactic project is defined and enacted. I also look at how *mise en abîme* structures create

a dimensionality like the time-space constructed through the book, theorizing the *mise en abîme* as Todorov does, as "the narrative of narrative." I understand that the *mise en abîme* creates a "legend" for fiction if we image the book-length narrative as both map and territory: something to cross but something that, after crossing, the reader can look back on and re-interpret.

I connect these systems of *ordinatio* to the stated didactic projects of each work and examine how the frametales both depend on and exceed the punctuating points that attempt to tether them to an ethical poetic. Next, I look at how each texts also presents the failure of self-construction or assertion through textual production, and skepticism about what can be learned from a book. I end the chapter looking at the idea of *semblanza* so central to Juan Manuel's narrative, and use Nabokov's *Pale Fire* to help draw out the connection between resemblance and specularity and to give a much later example of how the codex format can be used to structure narrative.

While I continue discussing some of these issues in the next chapter, middleness is the focus of Chapter Two. I begin looking at the model of the medieval frametale, and especially the *Thousand and One Nights*, for John Barth's postmodern experimental fictions, considering the reach of the medieval frametale to inform both modern narrative and theories of the novel. I then turn to *Sendebar*, the work of the three with the most structurally obvious middle because the framing narrative has very clear tensions that need to be resolved. Peter Brooks's ideas about "narrative desire" inform my understanding of the tensions that hold the middles of these narratives together. Next, I consider what middleness looks like in the *Conde Lucanor*, where I work with the central stories in the collection that are kept together across manuscripts and that tend to concern "muddling," the difficulties attendant to interpretation because of the arbitrary nature of the sign. I connect the idea of narrative middleness to the writing of prose in the vernacular, and to changing ideas about salvation and authority.

Frametales call attention to the relational context of each utterance, and present meaning in language as socially and contextually determined. I build on the points about exemplarity begun in Chapter One by discussing exemplarity as *ex-emire*: a clearing amidst middleness and muddling, and return to the question of fictionality to discuss middleness as a crucial component of the reading experience of the novel. A meditation on gender in the late medieval frametale runs across the chapter and at the end I turn explicitly to the repeated figuration of marriage in the *Conde Lucanor* to consider how Juan Manuel uses the relationship to invoke his "ideal reader," or rather his understanding of the ideal communicative exchange.

The third chapter shifts to questions of the frametale's internal structure that may stem from the linguistic structures of the source language and decisions made about narrative structure in the process of translation. The basis for this reading is Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes's *Influencias sintácticas y estilísticas del árabe en la prosa medieval castellana*, which details the many Arabic constructions and syntactical features visible in the first Castilian translations of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*. I extend Galmés de Fuentes's arguments about grammatical syntax to narrative syntax and to the interplay of text and image, or textimage. The central work of this chapter is *Calila e Dimna*, and particularly Escorial manuscript h.iii.9, which is clearly a copy of an Arabic book, its source visible in sentence structure as well as in its narrative syntax and illustration program. I contrast this manuscript to some of the Arabic manuscripts and some of the exemplars of the Latin branch of this work, the *Directorium humanae vita*e, translated into

Spanish as the *Exemplairo contra los peligros e engaños del mundo*. I conclude that we can generalize about the relative hypotaxis or parataxis of these versions, extrapolating from Todorov's use of these linguistic categories to account for narrative syntagmatics. I connect these observations to points about the frametale's didactic project, particularly around the idea of concatenation, the links between animal fables and historical exempla, which, through repeated motifs (which the illustrations also stress), signal the ethical interpretation of the collection structurally as well as thematically.

The late medieval Castilian frametale was a genre between Latin and Semitic traditions, which has since been dichotomized as between East and West. The premise of the fourth chapter is that both the establishment of the frametale as "book length" and the frametale as favored genre for *translatio studii*, use the analogy of the book as building: narrative held together by structure that is not necessarily plot, and able to establish implicit and explicit hierarchies between parts. Because its use of buildings accumulates meaning through array, and thus takes more time to lay out, the majority of this chapter treats the *Conde Lucanor*, but I also look at how *Calila e Dimna* presents *translatio studii* as both a journey and a theft through its series of prologues, and describe the function of Çendubete's "house of learning" in *Sendebar*. I discuss a tendency across all three frametales to figure *translatio studii* as a forceful wresting of power away from a rival or superior in power. This also provides an opportunity to interpret the misogyny that so often characterizes the *Fürstenspiegel*. Female characters often represent a threat to the patrilineal succession of power, which partially accounts for the association of the feminine with deception across these collections, and of the feminization of the Semitic in the *Conde Lucanor*.

CHAPTER ONE: *Ordo*, Exemplarity, and Excess in the *Conde Lucanor*

In the introduction, I described the role of the late medieval frametale collection in the literary histories of the narratologists, especially those of the Russian Formalists, and even more particularly in the studies of Shklovsky and Todorov. We saw that the genre's high degree of structure makes it a suitable genre to illustrate their theories, which extend a linguistic model to account for narrative morphology and syntax. As for the other historians of the novel who even discuss the late medieval frametale, many note that it must be an important precursor but do not discuss how aside from the form's premise for the collection of materials otherwise disparate. In this chapter, I will discuss many ways the frametale genre proves a crucial site for the organization of multiple narratives into a cohesive codicological structure.

We have seen that the frametale or novella was a pivotal genre for the textualization of storytelling norms developed in an oral performance context before the novel and as the most literal example of more abstract forms of narrative framing that develop within the novel. As Bonnie Irwin notes, the frametale "provides a means for textualizing an oral tradition"[67] by demonstrating to readers how they can transfer the fictional orientation skills learned in an oral performance context to reading, whether that reading be a communal *viva voce* performance or a silent and individual encounter with a document. The frametale portrays an oral storytelling situation on the one hand, and frames the entire text *en abîme* on the other, representing both the situation in which a "reader" listens to somebody read the text and that in which the silent reader encounters the text. This two-fold process eases the reader into the bookish narrative experience. "By depicting an oral composition and performance and drawing from traditional sources, the frametale provides the medieval audience with a continuity of reception between the act of listening and that of reading…the frame tale can show a literate listening audience how it might become a reading audience."[68]

Using linguistic metaphors to describe the syntagmatics of narrative combination, in this chapter I will look at the manuscript tradition of the first frametale composed in a European vernacular, Juan Manuel's the *Conde Lucanor* (1335). I will read for the interplay between narrative and graphic cues that its scribes use to display the narrative structure and make it traversable for a reader as a very particular spatio-temporal sequence organized across and through the codex. Using the metaphor of grammar highlights the principle mechanism of these texts' "articulation" across pages: the creation of a narrative pattern highlighted by scribal cues that renders the narrative's structure visible and legible and therefore traversable. By depicting a storytelling dynamic in the frame and framing the individual narratives within, the frametales effect a transfer from oral to written tradition and establish written fiction as an aesthetic experience that will henceforth be framed by the codex itself: literature.[69]

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[67] Irwin, "What's in a Frame", 32.
[68] Irwin, 35.
[69] In medieval Latin "litteratura" means "lines" as well as letters, and the etymon reveals the literal beginning of the abstraction.

Around each *enxienplo* or intercalated tale in the collection, Juan Manuel enacts the shift that I described in the move from *incipit* to title, by which a narrative dynamic imagined in speakerly terms becomes textualized and spatialized, given a site within the dynamic but somewhat stable space of the codex, a shift that signals the succession and absorption of the oral performance tradition as the context for written production. Each *enxienplo* in the collection begins "once upon a time," and presents the speaking dynamic between Lucanor and Patronio: "Acaesció una vez que el conde Lucanor estava fablando en su poridat con Patronio, su consegero, et díxol..."[70] [And so it happened one time that Count Lucanor was talking in confidence with Patronio, his advisor, and said…] But each *enxienplo* ends with the tale's redaction into a book by a character whose name resembles the author's, and the addition of the couplet that closes each *enxienplo*, creating a metafictional emblem for the book the *Conde Lucanor* and the capstone moment in each *enxienplo*: "Et entendiendo don Johán que estos enxienplos eran muy buenos, fízolos escribir en este libro et fizo estos viessos en que se pone la sentencia de los enxienplos."[71] [And understanding that these examples were very good, Don Juan had them written in this book and wrote these verses in which he put the meaning of the examples.] These repeated gestures give the tales their place as writing and bind the shorter units of the work together.

This book that Don Johán is compiling, the metafictional emblem for the work the *Conde Lucanor*, is an example of what Lucien Dallenbach in his work on the *mise en abîme* calls aporetic duplication, the figuration of the work in the work "that is supposed to enclose the work that encloses it."[72] This duplication underscores the importance of the compilation of the work as an entirety, and references the material existence of the work in the reader's hand. This is the moment in the late medieval frametale that best represents the process of "sewing on the frame" of this dissertation's title: lining up each tale as neatly as possible, pressing them together, and attempting to create the formal impression that the work is a regular, cohesive whole. To a greater degree than many other fourteenth-century frametales, the *Conde Lucanor* relies on the material substrate of the book as much as the fiction of an oral storytelling performance to undergird its framing narrative.

Like all frametale collections, the *Conde Lucanor* collects a variety of shorter narratives into a narrative frame depicting a storytelling scenario. But the frame is not nearly as dynamic as that of *The Canterbury Tales*, wherein the tales told are informed by shifts in the dynamics of the narrative frame, i.e. by one pilgrim's desire to best or tease another of the pilgrims (as, for example, the Miller does with the Knight). In her study of late medieval Iberian narrative, María Jesús Lacarra considers this dynamic interplay between narrative levels a feature of the best, most compelling, frametales, because the action on any diegetic level complicates action on the others.[73] Instead, in the *Conde Lucanor*, the framing situation is always the same: Count Lucanor presents a scenario to his advisor, Patronio, and Patronio offers an analogous tale to show Lucanor how to proceed. Juan Manuel calls these intercalated tales "enxienplos" and they derive from mostly written but possibly also oral sources, from the Latin *exempla*

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[70] For example, from the beginning of Ex. 1, *Conde Lucanor*,19.
[71] From the end of Ex. 1 of the *Conde Lucanor*, 26.
[72] Dallenbach, 35.
[73] Lacarra, *Cuentistica*, 189.

collections of Jacques de Vitry and Bromyard, from the Aesopic tradition, and from numerous Semitic tale collections: *Calila e Dimna*, the *Disciplina clericalis*, and a number of untraced sources.[74]

Book One of the *Conde Lucanor* contains 50 or 51 of these tales. Books 2-5 of the *Conde Lucanor*, which appear in only two of the manuscripts, repeat the narrative frame but do so to enclose aphoristic or doctrinal rather than narrative materials, but again with the premise that Patronio is offering these instructive materials to Count Lucanor. The framing narrative connects all five books. There are three prologues to the *Conde Lucanor*: a *Prólogo* present in all manuscript versions, a *Prólogo General* intended to cap Complete Works collections of Juan Manuel—both written in the first person, and an *Anteprólogo*, a summary of the *Prólogo General* for other collections—written in the third person. By depicting a count and his advisor in conversation in the narrative frame, Juan Manuel clarifies the work's didactic mission, and connects the establishment and discernment of narrative pattern throughout all books of the *Conde Lucanor* to this didactic project. A reader's ability to recognize the narrative grammar is what will enable him to reproduce its structure later, to recognize a problem and himself supply an analogous tale that illustrates how to proceed. The text imagines that the reader arrives at a situation as he first arrives at the book, with the hapless naïveté of Count Lucanor, but through acquiring this interpretive ability will conclude it as Patronio, the wise advisor. In the absence of any other "character development" in the *Conde Lucanor*, we have only this invocation of the reader's own ethical instruction as the progress between the framing characters' static positions.

Each manuscript of the *Conde Lucanor* clearly indicates the movement from framing narrative to intercalated tale, and in the process limns the complex geometry of the frametale. Reading precisely for the spatial display of diegetic levels across manuscripts will allow us in this chapter to discern the narrative devices that hold the work together and suggest how these devices signal a transition from the compendium to the book-length work conceived and executed as such: a text to be read altogether in a determined sequence. I am reading for macrostructures or macrotextual structures,[75] but in particular for those macrostructures that begin to internalize the implicit structure of the codex. The use of sequence, cross-referencing, and an emphasis on reading for context by using embedded stories, each highlight the additional meaning that a reader can glean by reading the work from beginning to end.[76] I will also read for how the didactic message of the work reads differently if we look at just one story, or if we read a given story within the context of the entire collection. This analysis will take into

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[74] Devoto designates several tales as "de ambiente oral," because the characters have Arabic names or are described as "Moros." I will return to the topic of how Juan Manuel tags or does not tag the provenance of his materials in Chapter Four, where I also discuss the genre of the work, which some claim is a frametale, others an *exempla* collection, whereas others prefer to use the terms that Juan Manuel uses to describe the *Conde Lucanor*, a "fabliella," or "libro en manera de un grand señor que fablava con un su consejero."

[75] As defined by María Corti in "Testo o macrotesto?"a "macrotext" is a "combinatory system of stylistic and/or thematic elements evident in each story, which provides a unity to the collection and a progressive discourse."

[76] See also Stephen M. Wheeler's work on *The Metamorphosis*, which he conceives in precisely these terms, the organization of Ovid's "carmina perpetua" into a series of Books.

account the variants between the manuscripts and will focus on the elements shared by all late medieval copies of the work.

The Manuscripts

The *Conde Lucanor* divides its parts into *libros*/books (I-V), and then into *capítulos*/chapters containing *enxienplos*/*exempla*.[77] Only two of the manuscripts, and one that I discuss (Manuscript S), contain Books 2-5. The four late medieval manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* each present the various narrative or diegetic levels differently, setting off and naming the titles in a distinct fashion, but basically following the same division of parts or *divisio textus* across manuscripts. Alberto Blecua ends his work on the textual transmission of the *Conde Lucanor* bemoaning the impossibility of properly relating the manuscripts of the work because of the great variation between texts, especially in the closing *viessos* to each chapter.[78] It does appear that all four of the manuscripts produced before 1500 were executed independently. We can also surmise that the first book of the *Conde Lucanor* containing the *enxienplos* was composed earlier, circulated independently, and was more popular, because only Manuscript S (and the 16th-century Gayangos manuscript: BN Madrid 18.415 from the same stemma as S) contains it. For the purposes of this study on late medieval conceptions of the book-length work, I am less interested in the sixteenth-century Gayangos manuscript and the 16th-century Argote edition.[79]

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[77] When referring to the narrative unit in Juan Manuel's work I use the term that he does: *enxienplo*. I use Spanish term because Juan Manuel was working with this narrative unit as understood within a specifically vernacular adaptation of the medieval rhetorical tradition developed in medieval Latin. When referring to the Latin tradition I will use "exemplum." I will have more to say later about how the *exemplum* (from the Latin tradition) exists in concert but also in tension with the frametale, a form that Juan Manuel would have known from both its "Eastern" (Arabic, Hebrew) and "Western" (Latin, French) models.

[78] Blecua, 124. For a thorough description of the variants between the manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* see Alberto Blecua's *La transmission textual de* El Conde Lucanor. As decisive as Blecua will be about the relationship between manuscripts is to assign M and H to one branch, G and A to another, and S and P each to their own copying tradition. For thorough physical descriptions of the manuscripts see Michael Hammer's unpublished doctoral dissertation *Framing the Reader: Exemplarity and Ethics in the Manuscripts of the* Conde Lucanor (UCLA 2003). For conscientious interpretations of each manuscript as a particular reading/reception of the collection, see Lawrence de Looze's chapter "Characterizing the Early Texts" in *Manuscript Diversity, Meaning, and Variance in Juan Manuel's* El Conde Lucanor.

[79] Manuscript G, the Gayangos edition, is a seventeenth-century humanist copy of the text. It contains all five parts of *The Conde Lucanor*. Its scribe (Gayangos himelf?) wrote it in a cursive hand and was much less interested in presenting the work as a book to its readers. De Looze identifies it as a "Humanist copy text" and "a private text" in contrast to the public presentational nature of Manuscript S. The Argote edition, while fascinating for the changes it makes to the story order (moving all the historical *enxienplos* to the beginning and the presentation of all of the concluding *viessos* together, separate from their tales) and for its prefatory materials extolling Juan Manuel's Spanish prose style and personal nobility, which Argote certainly connected, is also late enough the be less pertinent to late medieval presentations of book-length story collections. While more studies should include comparisons of both manuscript and printed versions of a given work or tradition, and while I will do so in Chapter 3, it makes less sense to do so for this chapter. Moreover, Argote appears less interested in Juan Manuel's collection as a series of narratives than as an exemplar of Castilian prose at an early stage of its development.

Manuscript S (BN Madrid 6376) We can understand Manuscript S within the fourteenth and fifteenth-century trend for creating "Complete Works" collections for a single author.[80] It is the largest format (330x205 mm) codex, has stiff parchment pages, and contains all Juan Manuel's works, including two others that are framed *exempla* collections: *The Libro de los Estados* and *The Libro Infinido*. It contains the *Prólogo General*, the *Anteprólogo*, and a table of contents for the *Conde Lucanor*, which is the second work in the codex after the *Libro de los Estados*. The gothic textualis hand (Blecua calls it "gótica textual redonda") is consistent throughout the codex, and the text runs in two columns. Most of the text is written in dark brown ink, and the decorated initials alternate between red and green. All extratextual elements: the table of contents and the *exemplum* titles, have been painted red. The *viessos* at the end are set off by line indents and are followed by a blank space, ostensibly for an illustration of the *enxienplo* (see image #2). Manuscript S enjoys a privileged status among the manuscripts and is the basis for most critical editions, even though it contains a unique final *enxienplo* (Ex. 51) and dates from the last half of the fifteenth century. It presents the *Conde Lucanor* as a five-book work: three of which are non-narrative collections of gnomic poetry, and the last a summary of Christian doctrine.

Speaking of manuscript S in *Manuscript Diversity, Meaning, and Variance in Juan Manuel's* El Conde Lucanor, Lawrence De Looze notes that "The medieval world treated the written text almost as a concrete object, even an architectural one: hence the disposition in columns as well as the careful articulation of display scripts by which one entered the text, as if through a series of porticos."[81] The large size, heft, durable pages, and clear disposition of text into two columns on each page all indicate that the codex was organized for ceremonious and possibly public communal reading, or at least to commemorate the author. While perhaps not closest to Juan Manuel's hand or intention for the work, it does appear closest to the object that he invokes in the General Prologue: the autograph manuscript that he requests be kept safe with his corpse at the monastery of Peñafiel. This parallel partially accounts for Manuscript S's privileged status among the *Conde Lucanor*'s textual editors; Manuscript S is often treated as the best manuscript in the Bédieriste sense.

Manuscript P (Real Academia Española 15) Manuscript P, the Puñonrostro manuscript, binds the first part of the *Conde Lucanor* with *Sendebar* and a *Lucidario*[82] into a medium-sized codex (255x198 mm). The *Conde Lucanor* leads the codex, followed by *Sendebar*, with the *Lucidario* at the end. Smaller pieces have been wedged between these longer dialogic works: two more *enxienplos* at the end of the *Conde Lucanor* (that in contrast to Ex. 51 of Manuscript S

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[80] See Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book* on this topic.
[81] De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 35.
[82] The *Lucidario* is another dialogic work, more encyclopedic that the frametale collections, and less concerned with ethical or social questions than with natural philosophy. Originally composed in Latin in the late eleventh century, it was translated into Castilian in the thirteenth century. Kinkade's *Los Lucidarios españoles* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968) remains the most definitive study of the tradition. In another study (1972) Kinkade proposes that the courts of Sancho IV provided the bridge between Alphonsine and Manueline literary projects and for the development of the frametale collection from the Arabic translations to the fourteenth-century versions in European vernaculars.

are left out of critical editions of the *Conde Lucanor*), a letter to San Bernardo, and a couple of shorter pieces that treat theological problems. The pages have been laid out on more or less the same grid, which makes the different works within read as related parts of a whole. The semi-cursive Gothic hand is consistent throughout. The text ink is brown with all punctuation, including *calderones*, in red. The scribes have drawn out the similar features of the *Conde Lucanor*, *Sendebar*, and the *Lucidario*, highlighting their dialogism and didactic intent by marking the shifts in speaker similarly across the works (see images #3 and #4). However, the rubrication is not as scholastic as in Manuscript M but rather emphasizes the multiple short sections or chapters and their relationship to the dialogic frame. There is no table of contents for the volume or any of the individual works, and while a scribe has added two *enxienplos* to the end of the *Conde Lucanor*, the last three *enxienplos* of the collection are incomplete. The *viessos* at the end of each *enxienplo* are not indented or given line breaks but have been set off by *calderones* that signal that they are a distinct element without calling attention to them as verse.

Manuscript M (BN Madrid 4236) The codex itself is smaller format (200x145 mm) than the other manuscript copies of the work and was designed for use: durable not fancy. The outer sheet of each signature is parchment but the inner pages are paper, probably an economizing measure. The *Conde Lucanor* (the first book only) starts off the volume, followed by an exchange of letters between Alonso de Cartagena and the Marquéz de Santillana, and then *El Binario*, another dialogic work that takes up salvation not from Juan Manuel's more pragmatic angle but as theological debate. While a later hand has written in a table of contents for the volume as a whole, the earlier scribes did not create a table of contents for the *Conde Lucanor* itself.

As with Manuscript P, the consistent graphic treatment of the texts within the codex that contains Manuscript M unites the individual works visually and underscores their structural parallels. But whereas the unifying principle of P was formal: dialogic narrative, M appears to be united around the theme of decorum or nobility, because the short texts concern *caballería* and the framing narrative suggests that the lessons of the *Conde Lucanor* might be most appropriate for a noble. The scribes of Manuscript M use more elaborate marginal notations and division headings than the scribes of other volumes, setting off each *enxienplo* within each *capítulo* by noting in the left margin where it begins. (In the other manuscripts, a *calderón* suffices; see image #5.) Its layout suggests that the manuscript was designed to be used as a reference work. Jonathan Burgoyne concurs and considers this manuscript the textual instantiation that best supports his argument in *Reading the Exemplum Right: Fixing the Meaning of the* Conde Lucanor, that the work was designed to force the reader to discriminate and choose the "right" reading, by which Burgoyne means both the "correct" and the "conservative" interpretation because these indexical marks highlight the exemplary frame. The well developed marginal notation leads De Looze to conclude about Manuscript M that

> This manuscript is more interested in the narratives told as *exempla*, together with their verse summations, than in the narrative context that gives rise to it or in the play between narrative levels…Ms. M seems quite indifferent to the *CL*'s narrative frame and in how/why Patronio comes to tell his tale…the mechanics of the *mise en page*'s focus on

> the intra-diegetic world of exemplary tales, with little attention paid to the over-arching Lucanor-Patronio context that unifies the collection as a work of literature.[83]

From this observation De Looze concludes that "Manuscript M is more interested in ideas than in literature *qua* literature."[84] While a provocative proposition, de Looze does not fully unpack the significance of "literature *qua* literature" or "unifying the collection as a work of literature." Could we not understand these scribes' attention to the shifts between parts of the story as non-hierarchical, as not subordinating the internal framing context to the *enxienplo*, but rather highlighting precisely the "play between narrative levels"? While the additional subheadings do make it possible for a reader to locate an *enxiemplo* without recourse to the frame, allowing the reader to skip over the routinized exchange between Count Lucanor and Patronio, by marking the shift between diegetic levels, this version better enables readers to grasp the ordination principles of the work. Perhaps literature is at base precisely this: the construction of multiple diegetic levels into complex narrative space using primarily *littera*—lines of text. Moreover, a reader would learn only so much about a given story from its title or from the closing *viessos*, both of which vary more between manuscripts than the stories themselves. The titles tend to describe the characters in the interdiegetic narrative, and the *viessos* name just one of many moral points that a reader could derive from the tale. A reader would have to already be familiar with the materials to be able to use it as a reference work.

Manuscript H (Real Academia de la Historia 9/5893) Manuscript H is the only manuscript that binds Part 1 of the *Conde Lucanor* by itself between two covers, a larger and thinner volume than M, about the size of P. From the doodles on the back endpaper (see image #6) to the large marginal manicles (see image #7), this book bears marks of having been directed to younger readers. The paper is of poorer and thinner quality and the hybrid (gothic and humanist) hand is bigger than the tight neat script of the other manuscripts. There is more white space, more "leading" between lines, and bigger margins. On the front page a couplet reads: "aun no(n) eres bien ave(n)turado sy/el pueblo no(n) ha burlado de ty" [You aren't really fortunate until the village has mocked you.] Again, I understand this epigraph as an indication that the book was directed towards readers who had not yet read or experienced widely.[85] This work begins with a table of contents for the *enxienplo* collection, the only other manuscript to include a table of contents beside Manuscript S. The order of the *enxienplos* in Manuscript H deviates more from the order in the other manuscripts, moving forward some of the religious, specifically martyrological, *enxienplos* from the end of the collection, which, when combined with Ex. 3, "Del salto que fizo el rey Richalte de Inglaterra en la mar contra los moros," and Ex. 4 "De lo que dixo un genovés a su alma cuando se ovo a morir," frontloads the theme of death and the importance of salvation and the afterlife.

While, by comparing all the manuscripts and attending to the importance differences produced by the varying orders between manuscripts, I argue against the tyranny that Mansucript S exerts on the interpretation of the *Conde Lucanor*, I am using the numbering for the

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[83] De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 45.
[84] De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 45.
[85] We can also read it as a complement to the closing *viessos* to *enxienplo* 2 in H: "Por dicho de las gentes, sol que non sea mal, al pro tenet las mintes et non fagades al," a recurring message of Book One.

enxienplos from that manuscript because they are used in most critical editions of the text.[86] I will indicate where the order is different in other manuscripts but for the most part am focusing on those components of the work that remain consistent across all four medieval exemplars of the work. I agree with the interpretations of the *Conde Lucanor* that argue for reading the additional *enxienplos* at the end of Manuscripts P and S as important readings of the work during the fifteenth century, but because they aver from both the framing narrative, which in all four manuscripts announces at the beginning of Ex. 50 that Patronio is wearying of telling tales to the count and would like to wrap up, and other coherence-creating structures (such as Ex. 25 and 50 both depicting Saladin,) I consider Ex. 50 the most fitting end to the collection. Ex. 50 closes the collection in three of the four medieval exemplars.[87] However, it is interesting to consider Ex. 51 as an intentional excess of the narrative frame by a later compilator seeking to extend the capacity of the collection, even if it was not a part of Juan Manuel's design. It is also an indication of a blurry boundary around the *Conde Lucanor*, a place where it was possible to append additional stories, both because there is no clear closure to the "plot" as there is in *Sendebar*, and because the work has implicitly modeled that so often narrative materials exceed the interpretive frames that attempt to determine their reading. Of interest is that the scribe of S found it necessary to note in the framing narrative the inclusion of this last *enxienplo*, whereas P's scribe does not bother to explain why Patronio continues to tell tales after claiming to be done, nor does he include the narrative frame in the two *enxienplos* that follow. Because the scribe of S followed the collection's narrative grammar, and manipulated it accordingly, the *enxienplo* that he included has been more usually received as part of Juan Manuel's intended project.

Ordinatio and *Divisio Textus*

We can generalize across the manuscripts about the narrative grammar of the first book of the *Conde Lucanor*. Juan Manuel establishes the narrative grammar of the work through repetition. Especially when compared, as it so often is, to the *Libro de Buen Amor*, the other narrative masterpiece of fourteenth-century Castilian, the frame structure of the *Conde Lucanor* strikes us as static and over-determined. Most of the graphic ordinations, not surprisingly, mark precisely these recurring shifts in the narrative. In general, those shifts are as follows: the *enxienplo* opens with the count asking Patronio for advice regarding a specific situation he has encountered while going about his day-to-day business as a political ruler. ¶ Then follows the exchange between the two already discussed: Patronio offers to tell a tale, and Count Lucanor accepts. ¶

[86] All citations are from the Serés edition of the text based on S, unless I specify a manuscript.

[87] To me, the ideal critical edition of the text could present the 50 most oft represented tales, and then present these additional tales from Manuscripts S and P in an appendix. Appendices could also include a chart comparing the order of the tales across manuscripts, a comparison of the *enxienplo* titles and closing *viessos* across manuscripts, and a chart showing whether the manuscripts contain just Part 1 or Parts 1-5 of the *Conde Lucanor*, and with which other works the *Conde Lucanor* was bound. For a review of the debate concerning whether Ex. 51 is authoritative see John England 1999 and the review of the debate in Hammer's dissertation. Hammer concludes as I do that the *enxienplo* is no more intrinsic (and perhaps even less intrinsic) to the collection than the *enxienplos* added in the Puñonrostro manuscript that but mentions the articles by Flory, England, and Blecua that argue for its inclusion.

Then follows the *enxienplo* with its new cast of characters. ¶ After the enxienplo, Patronio explicates the analogy between the tale he has just told and Count Lucanor's situation to a greater or lesser degree, ¶ Count Lucanor declares the tale good, ¶ the narrator declares that Lucanor acts on the advice, ¶ and the Don Johán character appears to redact the story and composes a poetic maxim on the spot to close it.

The repetitions produce an array of analogical procedures, modeling not the answer to all of life's questions, but rather the means by which a tale can come to illuminate any given situation by reference to a set of stock stories already validated as both wise and useful, the corpus of wisdom that Patronio transfers to Lucanor and, Juan Manuel hopes, by extension, to the reader. At the end of the *enxienplo*, Patronio directly addresses the count: "Et vos," and summarizes what he has just illustrated. The count accepts the advice, and in the greatest condensation in the book, enacts it without detail. The text reads only: "El fízolo así." If the analogical story has been close enough, or with the help of Patronio's commentary, the reader should understand what it might mean to "fízolo así" and the task of making that connection and imagining what the Count will do is likely intentional, a detail that engaged readers must activate themselves. The manuscripts tend to mark these transitions with whichever punctuation mark indicates the "primary thought unit" in that manuscript, in the case of S just rubrication but in the others *calderones*: ¶, the mark I used above, and the symbol that has come to mean "paragraph," showing how often a form of punctuation preceded the use of white space to indicate a textual unit. Within the *enxienplos*, scribes often use a *calderón* to indicate a change of speaker or an important plot point.

The *ordinatio* of the scribes follows the *ordinatio* of the stories but with varying degrees of precision.[88] As discussed above, Manuscript M contains the most determined and intentional graphic grammar. Each shift between speakers is rubricated and marked by a *calderón*, even indirect speech—each narrative level set off between *calderones* even if only one sentence long.[89] The rubricator of Manuscript P notes only certain shifts, but always tags the major ones of each *enxienplo*: the premise for the story, the beginning of the story, Patronio's turn to the Count Lucanor at the end of the *enxienplo* to address him as "Et vos," and the verse couplet at the end. Unlike Manuscript M, Manuscript P does not set off the verse couplet so that each line occupies its own line, but rather notes the line break with another *calderón*. The absence of line breaks fails to produce the sententious concluding moment of Manuscript S. Manuscript S sets off the

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[88] By *ordinatio*, Parkes means the process of assigning markers that, in turn, establishes the "grammar of legibility" for any given text. *Compilatio* refers, most basically, to composition, the process of making a text out of other texts, excerpting and arranging the material into a new structure.

[89] Jocelyn Penny Small traces the use of the *calderón* or "paragraph mark" to Hellenistic Greece. From the fourth century onwards, the *paragraphos*, a short horizontal stroke, was drawn at the beginning of a line to indicate a break in otherwise continuous text or in drama to indicate a change in speaker. (13) However, she notes that "The paragraph (as we now know it) as a regular unit of layout on the page, does not appear in print until the sixteenth century." (15) Most frequently across all five manuscripts, rubrication and/or *calderones* indicate a change of speaker, alternations between two voices or the shift between narration and direct speech. In keeping with its more infantile aspect, Manuscript H has more *calderones*, interposing between units of thought within a given character's speech as well as between speakers. (Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*)

verse couplet line by line (so that the rhyming words align vertically) and follows each with the statement: "Et la historia deste exienplo es esta que se sigue" and a 12-line space for, ostensibly, an illustration of the story. (see image #2) Because these illustrations were never completed, the black spaces instead produce a contemplative pause, and perhaps invite the reader to imagine the scene that could have been painted in that space. Certain capital letters within each *capítulo* are marked yellow, but there are no *calderones* in Manuscript S.

While the more infantile aspect may lead us to guess that Manuscript H might also have the clearest and most remedial system of punctuation, it does not. The *calderones* frequently do not indicate changes of speaker and/or shifts between diegetic levels, as they do in the other three manuscripts. Rather, the rubricator appears has added them wherever a capital E (which often indicates the conjunction "and") appears, and the rubricator often misses shifts between speakers, a transition that the rubricators of other manuscripts mark consistently with either a *calderón*, a rubricated "et" or proto-ampersand, or a vertical slash mark (see image #7). A final *calderón* in each *enxienplo* sets of the closing *viesso*.

In Manuscript M, the closing *viessos* have been set off and indented; a larger *calderón* sets off the *viessos* on the right and a small cross ends the second line. There appear to have been at least two rubricators working on the manuscript, perhaps each responsible for a separate quire, because the style of the *calderones* varies page by page, but is consistent within a page: either angular brackets or the more standard round c-shaped marks with a flourished line extending over the upper right (see image #8). The rubricators worked assiduously, inserting a *calderón* at almost every "Et" and at every instance of direct speech, including shifts between speakers. The verse couplet serves a different function, referencing oral and memorial culture, not written and material culture. The verse couplet is set off from the preceding prose block by its indentations and often by a blank line or two. It announces the end of the inset story and offers itself as excerptable, memorable: the condensation of the story into a point that should be remembered and applied to analogous situations.

What does not change between manuscripts? In his study of the manuscripts, Lawrence de Looze observes that all manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* give pride of place to the exemplary stories that Patronio tells, treating their narrative frames as a shabby premise for holding them together. Yet none omit these frames. Whereas the sententious *viessos* have been collated and presented separately even though the poetry is hackneyed,[90] each manuscript (and the sixteenth-century edition) present the apologues within the narrative frame depicting the dialogue between Patronio and Lucanor. It would have been possible to present only the exemplary tale and the title, as *exemplum* collections like the *Libro de los Gatos* do, and to remove the back and forth between Lucanor and Patronio. We see that while arguably static, all the scribes understood this exchange to be crucial. That is, the context for each is crucial. We will see that this message about context is one of the most insistent in the work and that Juan Manuel makes it on multiple diegetic levels.

[90] In a section in the Argote edition and in a compendium of wisdom literature texts: M-92 in the Menéndez y Pelayo library in Santander.

In his "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," Barthes, using Benveniste, notes that establishing the grammar of the text is not only the work of a structuralist critic but the work that each reader must do to make sense of a particular story world: "To understand a text is not only to follow the unwinding of the story, it is also to identify various levels, to project the horizontal links of the narrative sequence onto an implicitly vertical axis; to read a narrative is not only to pass from one world to another, it is also to pass from one level to another."[91] Whereas in S/Z, the text is an "unfurling" (a "galaxy of signifiers" or the "carpet of the codes" [92]) here Barthes describes a geometric space that resembles the four-dimensions of the codex: a stacking up of episodes or details into a discernable order form beginning to end.

The work of paleographers helps us to understand how the generic conventions that direct movement between narrative levels are displayed in very literal terms as *litteratura* in the late medieval manuscript tradition. M. B. Parkes provides a particularly pertinent concept with what he calls the "grammar of legibility": the "complex of graphic conventions by which the written manifestation of language operates to facilitate access to the information it conveys."[93] Parkes coins this term to describe multilingual texts produced in the British Isles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for the most part Latin works glossed in the vernacular. The visual grammar he describes connects these two sets of parallel texts—the Latin body and the vernacular gloss—through a series of signposts for expected moments in the text: chapter headings, section headings, paragraph breaks. We should assume that at the historical moment in question, it was often deemed necessary to make the codes that held together a given text explicit. Given the rise not only in literacy, but more particularly lay literacy, during the 13-14th centuries in Europe, and the concomitant and exponential increase in book production that I reviewed in the Introduction, we should not be surprised that at this moment (if gradually and diversely) the conventions for the presentation of text expand and become codified, creating assurances that a given text would be legible to its unknown recipient through a series of codes.

Parkes reminds us that many of the conventions were established by drawing very explicitly on the material form of the codex: "With the appearance of the codex came the possibility of more diverse arrangements of the physical page."[94] The spatial displays of text relate verbal and even narrative parts through spatial hierarchies. He notes that during this period a number of textual devices took advantage of the white space of the page to better differentiate elements of a text, so that even after a cursory glance the reader would understand what type of work was before him. Chartier notes about the shift in page layouts between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries the trend to use white space between textual elements to establish their parts and ordering.[95] The use of different sizes and colors of script and of

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[91] Barthes, "Introduction to the Structuralist Analysis of Narrative," 102.
[92] Barthes, *S/Z*, 5 and 55.
[93] Parkes, 2.
[94] Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, 70.
[95] In *Spaces Between Words*, Paul Saenger notes that texts produced in the Arab Mediterranean utilize white space to distinguish between textual elements and that the first medieval Latin and romance vernacular texts to do so were copied in centers of learning where there would have been Arabic books to serve as a model. While this use of white space in Arabic books has something to do with the spread of papermaking technologies in the Arab world centuries before it reached Europe, it has more to do with

different methods of spacing around textual elements characterizes the *mise en page* of manuscripts in the centuries before print and comes to greatly influence the layout of the first printed books. By the time we get to the fifteenth century, when most manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* were produced, these conventions have become fairly regular. However, Parkes observes that the conventions are inherently arbitrary and only make sense in relation to each other.

> A hierarchy of scripts can only indicate the relative importance of different units of the written text if the scripts are different. The conventions employed to identify words must be distinguished from those conventions used to identify sentences and the grammatical constituents within the boundaries of a sentence: where spaces were used to separate words, larger spaces or marks of punctuation were necessary to separate sentences, clauses, or phrases. This complex of graphic conventions became the process by which the written medium of communication functions. A written text presupposed an indeterminate audience disseminated over distance or time, or both. A scribe had no immediate respondent to interact with, therefore he had to observe a kind of decorum in his copy to ensure that the message of the text was easily understood. This *decorum*—the rules governing the relationships between this complex of graphic conventions and the message of a text conveyed in the written medium—may be described as 'the grammar of legibility.'[96]

To call this graphic system a grammar (in the contemporary not medieval sense of the word) implies that its syntax allows for combinations that follow the rules that it establishes, but that these rules are not absolute but rather function because they cohere internally within a bounded space. And the "world" in which these grammars cohere internally is that of the text disposed within a series of pages bound in a codex, or at least one work within a codex. The fictional world is no less arbitrary, but only makes sense through the rules it establishes.

I have been referring to these rules as a grammar, but Barthes, and later Derrida, also refer to it as a protocol, a term that also derives from medieval codicological procedures. Ivan Illich in *In the Vineyard of the Text*, notes that Hugh of St. Victor refers to scribal procedure as a *protocollum*, and that the metaphoric use of the word "protocol" to mean "way of proceeding" was *protocollum*, derived from the term for the first page glued to the manuscript in preparation for writing. The metaphor itself at one point was derived directly from the codex form.[97] These

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Arabic script, in which there must be separation between words because of the ligatures between letters within a word. (120-123)

[96] M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers*, 2.

[97] Bruce Holsinger, when discussing how Barthes was informed by medieval exegetical models when writing S/Z, also discusses "protocollum." The passages from Barthes are originally from his collection of interviews, *The Grain of the Voice*:

Barthes: When writing is placed in its historical or even anthropological context, it can be seen that for a long time writing was attended by great ceremony…In certain Christian monasteries of the Middle Ages, the copyists began their work only after a day of meditation. Personally, I call the set of those 'rules' (in the monastic sense of the word) which predetermine the work…the 'protocols' of the work. The etymology is clear: it means the first page glued to the manuscript in preparation for writing.

types of spatial patterns make sense only within the space of the book and show how the imaginary double temporality of narrative inheres in the codex differently than it did in the scroll and would come to in the scrolling digital page. We have seen how the codex provides the context for the interpretation of a collection of narratives imagined to create a finite, bounded, but lengthy reading experience and, in general terms, how those dimensions are displayed in the late medieval manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor*.

The *Conde Lucanor* clearly signals these shifts between diegetic levels, so that the readers understand that they are moving in and out of the imaginative world projected by Patronio. To give an example, this time from the second *enxienplo* in the *Conde Lucanor*, the Count has yet again approached Patronio "en grant coydado et en grand quexa de un fecho que quería fazer,"[98] [in great consternation and distress about an action that he wanted to pursue] and described his quandary to him. In their routinized exchange, each character constantly names his addressee, and the narration names the speaker to clarify the context for each statement. The narrative depicts Patronio offering to tell an analogous tale and the count accepting:

> --Señor conde Lucanor –dixo Patronio--, mucho me plazería que parásedes mientes a un enxienplo de una cosa que acaesció una vegada a un omne bueno con su fijo.
>
> El conde le rogó quell dixiese que cómmo fuera aquello. Et Patronio dixo: --Señor, assí contesció que un omne bueno avía un fijo.
>
> [--Sir, Count Lucanor—said Patronio--, it would greatly please me if you would focus your mind on the example of what befell a good man and his son while traveling. The count asked that he tell him how that was. And Patronio said: --Sir, it has been told that a good man had a son…]

I have set the text off with line breaks as we might expect in a contemporary novel,[99] and as Serés does in his critical edition, but the manuscripts do not present the text this way (see image #2). Within running text with rudimentary punctuation, the repetition of names clarifies what can go without saying once scribes and later typesetters use blank space to convey what was formerly expressed through declaration. While the manuscripts delineate multiple diegetic levels, the display is different from what we might expect in a more modern narrative that uses pages or paragraph breaks to signal distinct narrative spaces.

In his study of the manuscripts of the *Libro de Buen Amor*, John Dagenais says of "divisio textus" that "Division was as basic and incontrovertible a tool of knowledge in the medieval

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Holsinger: The monastic analogy employed here reveals the same fascination with medieval textual culture the inspires the Loyola essay. The material text figures importantly in the "metonymic labor" sustaining textual production: resuscitating the lost codicological sense of 'protocol' from the medieval Latin protocollom….If reading and writing are labor, then of course the text is the material product of that labor, a textile or needful thing that the exegetical craftsman renders useful." *The Premodern Condition*, 186.

[98] *Conde Lucanor*, 26.

[99] Though inserting a line break each time the speaker changes is the most conventional, it is just one way to mark change of speaker in the contemporary novel. The different methods for distinguishing between speakers manipulate clarity and pace to different effects.

period as the scientific method is to ours" and notes that it became much more widely employed in the thirteenth century as the method to organize patristic and literary texts.[100] The *divisio textus* of each work, the way the text is broken text into smaller narrative units, produces what Roland Barthes calls *lexias* in *S/Z*.[101] But unlike Barthes, who programmatically declares that his division of Balzac's text (its "starring") and his assignation of codes is random, we will take these graphic breakdowns of the minimal units within a *capítulo* or *enxienplo* as significant. Culler, in his ever-clear unpacking of Barthes, defines a *lexia*: "A *lexie* is a minimal unit of reading, a stretch of text which is isolated as having a specific effect or function different from that of neighboring stretches of text….The level of *lexies* would, then, be the level of one's primary contact with the text at which items are separated and sorted out so as to be given various functions at higher levels of organization."[102]

The punctuation in the manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* creates *lexias*, or significant minimal narrative units, for the *Conde Lucanor*. The *calderones* set off the short narratives that Juan Manuel's stand-in, Patronio, strategically presents, and sets off or frames the narratives to produce a particular effect, a quite deliberate use of narrative to rhetorical ends. The punctuator of Manuscript H was looser or lazier but the scribes of the other three manuscripts—and especially Manuscript M—use the punctuation to set off *lexias* of narration. Because of this ordination, the reader moves easily from the premise of the story, to the story, and then back to Patronio's interpretation and Don Jóhan's validation of the story. By establishing this very specific and repetitive narrative topography Juan Manuel indicates what each of the parts are and how they relate. The punctuation emphasizes the many narrative frames and by announcing these boundaries Juan Manuel makes the function of each section clear.

Bruce Holsinger argues in *The Premodern Condition* that Barthes derived his methodology of assigning narrative parts or *lexie* to five codes from his study of medieval Biblical exegesis, which suggests that to use Barthes' theory to read late medieval narrative (and especially one that invokes scholastic reading practices) is less inappropriate than it may at first appear. But noting how Barthes adapts the medieval methods that he uses, Holsinger observes that in moving from the four medieval exegetical codes of the historical, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogic, to Barthes' five codes: the hermeneutic, the semantic, the symbolic, the proiretic, and the cultural, what Barthes evacuates is the ethical category.

> For when Barthes in *S/Z* outlines the "five major codes under which all textual signifiers can be grouped," he cannot help but invoke the "scholasticism of the four senses" that Christian theology had for a millennium located in the text of the Bible….But "the first step in the metamorphosis was the jettison of the moral sense of scripture.[103]

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[100] Dagenais, *Glossing*, 121.
[101] Which Miller translates as "lexia" in the English *S/Z*, and Culler translates as "lexie."
[102] Culler, 202. The term "lexia" is picked up by some of the first theoreticians of hypertext literature to refer to asection of text, most influentially by George P. Landow in *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology*. N. Katherine Hayles also uses it in *Electronic Literature: New Horizons for the Literary* and in *Writing Machines*.
[103] Holsinger, 181.

While Barthes took from the scriptural exegetical model the assumption that these levels were available simultaneously in the text, but sometimes require moving from one to the other—say from the historical to the allegorical—he does not imagine that the authors of modern fictions have designs on the ethical outlooks or decision-making frameworks of their readers. In these next sections I assert that Juan Manuel's project is decidedly moral and anagogic and that we can locate that anagogic turn not only *in* but *as* particular textual elements. In the prologue, Juan Manuel enjoins the reader to recognize the ethical use value of the work and activate it. The push to anagogic interpretation is laid out in each *enxienplo*, visible in its narrative structure, and underscored by each text's punctuation, in particular through the use of *calderones* or capital letters within the narrative to mark its turns, especially the shifts between speakers.

The narratives address readers by way of the Conde Lucanor, the "Et vos" at the end of each *enxienplo* a deliberate attempt to hail readers as an audience that can learn from the tales within.[104] The end of each tale is expressly anagogic. Juan Manuel also asks his readers to consider ordering their lives as he does his text and moreover that "wisdom" is having access to such an internalized text as navigating system. What he invokes is the marked up text that Carruthers describes comes to function as emblem for the spatially executed memorial structure of ethical orientation in the later Middle Ages: "The most comprehensive model of the medieval view of what constituted *memoria* is the medieval book itself, especially those fully 'marked up' codices, punctuated and ornamented to the last, precise hair…As codicologists speak of paper or parchment or stone as a 'support' for writing, so the book itself is the chief external support of *memoria* throughout the Middle Ages."[105] Carruthers stresses throughout that the book functioned as a support and not replacement for memory, and here we see it do so by visually presenting the progression from historical to anagogical interpretation.

In his often astute analysis of the *Conde Lucanor*, Jonathan Burgoyne identifies the markers of "divisio textus" in the *Conde Lucanor* as simultaneously visual, verbal, and generic. Burgoyne laments a tendency to dismiss these textual markers as so much rudimentary narrative scaffolding, and later abandoned by novelists, noting that if we interpret them thus we miss how they guided the reception of this text in ways that could inform how we read later "more developed" novels. The dismissal also obscures the narrative conventions that go without seeing once its writers (and bookmakers) take for granted that narrative has the ability to create a hierarchy of parts across a delimited series of pages. Burgoyne writes:

> Following the omnipresent textual flags in the *Conde Lucanor*, a reader could choose, or read in the sense of the Latin *legere*, by separating, selecting, gathering together, and even memorizing the divisible parts of Juan Manuel's stories. Such a reader could easily locate an intriguing political, social, or moral program to contemplate, an amusing *exemplum* for practicing one's hermeneutical skills, an authoritative "unmasking" of the same problem and *exemplum*, or a useful *refrán* that could come in handy in any conversation, sermon, disputation, or personal problem. Rather than dismissing—or lamenting—these structural cues as primitive narrative devices, they are probably the

[104] Although a concept more likely to be known to Juan Manuel and his redactors would be the Horatian "de te fabula narratur," the narrative injunction that the narrative concerns *you*, the reader or listener.
[105] Carruthers, 194.

> traces of an author who was supremely aware of his audience, or more specifically his audience's reading practices: its *modus legendi*."[106]

Burgoyne assumes that this *modus legendi* involved manipulating the narrative to gain access to particular pieces of information, drawing on the etymological associations of "legere" as a gathering, by which a collection of diverse elements, a *florilegium*, is like a garden, from which the reader can gather the flowers the author has cultivated within the delimited plot of the book. However, Burgoyne describes the reader's relationship to the materials once he had already made it through the volume and become familiar with its contents. Because on first reading, the titles on the *enxienplos* would not necessarily make it clear to which sort of situation they would be relevant, given that most describe their main characters and at most one plot point. On the first pass, the reader would experience the narrative more like the forest from which the *exemplum* cuts out a clearing, a section of experience to revisit and learn from, the metaphor from which the *exemplum* derived its name in medieval Latin, as Lyons points out in his book-length study of the genre.[107] Only after becoming familiar with the work's materials and "getting the lay of the land" would the reader be able to wander and glean (as if picking herbs from a medieval medicinal garden) or *legere*. We have seen how scribal and narrative cues work together to guide the reader's movements between levels and that these repeated traversals begin to demonstrate the work's grammar to the reader.

In sum, these textual cues indicate a set of generic practices used by Juan Manuel and the scribes of his work to set up a particular interpretive project. For Juan Manuel, this interpretive project is necessarily ethical. This way of imaging the discernment of narrative grammar to be more broadly instructive borrows from an imagined correspondence between life and text, of reading and inscription as metaphor for instruction. This method was well developed in monastic reading practices and traditions. Describing how the term was used by the twelfth-century monastic reader Hugh of St. Victor at the "dawn of scholastic reading," Ivan Illich describes *ordo* as the methodical ordering of the text that the reader was expected to recognize and submit to. "The reader's order is not imposed on the story, but the story puts the reader into its order. The search for wisdom is the search for the symbols of order that we encounter on the page."[108] The reader must internalize the text's order as a frame of reference to be used to parse and manipulate experience.

However I would argue against Burgoyne that these "textual flags" allow ready access to the text in order to facilitate its manipulation in partial form, the "statim invenire" reference work model described by the Rouses in their study of thirteenth-century reference texts.[109] Instead of ready access, these cues delimit a territory for an experience of reading, which while not necessarily continuous from beginning to end, depends entirely on how the work functions

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[106] Burgoyne "Reading to Pieces," 251.
[107] Lyons points out that *exemplum* meant a "clearing in the woods," from *eximire*, which meant to cut away. Lyons, *Exemplum*, 3. We might also think here of the opening of Dante's *Inferno*: "Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita/ mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,/ ché la diritta via era smarrita." "In the middle of the journey of life, I came to myself in a dark wood for the straight way was lost." From the Durling edition/translation.
[108] Illich, 31.
[109] Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire" in Benson et al (1993).

as a whole. In the remainder of this chapter I will read for those moments that indicate an intentional trajectory: a plotting imagined as linear on the one hand, moving from beginning to end in a determined sequence—our horizontal axis, but one offering a range of interpretive possibilities on the other—our vertical axis. Readers are invited to carry the significance of the points the stories make across diegetic levels to apply them anagogically until they can "fízolo así," undertand what it might mean to enact these principles themselves. But Juan Manuel sets up a number of structures that enable the reader to see how this can happen. Continuing into the next chapter, I will argue that the most complete interpretation of Juan Manuel's book is one that makes sense of its beginning not only in terms of it ending, but one which takes the whole work as a very intentional experience of middleness and muddling, of making it through a series of repetitive experiences in order to inculcate a perspective or interpretive framework that functions "on the ground" outside the artificial grounds or support of the text.

The Grammar of Legibility

It is by now a commonplace in narrative theory to refer to the distinction that Roland Barthes makes at the beginning of *S/Z* between readerly and writerly texts,[110] the distinction in the amount of work a given reader must do to make sense of a given narrative, that is to make it readable or *lisible*.[111] A "lisible space" is one that employs a discernable set of conventions, what I have been calling a "grammar," the structure by which a reader can organize and hierarchize elements of a narrative. In a writerly text the reader must work harder to discern this grammar, often because it is less conventional. Barthes sets up this distinction to create a typology of all texts, and esteems "the writerly" because "the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text," whereas in a readerly text, the "reader is plunged into a kind of idleness…instead of gaining access to the magic of the signifier, to the pleasure of writing, he is left with no more than the poor freedom either to accept or reject the text: reading is nothing more than a *referendum*.[112] We can also think about this distinction in relation to Jauss's "horizon of expectations," wherein the writerly text presents a distant or retreating horizon, one that intentionally asks readers to extend themselves to approach the text. The readerly text does not push the reader to become a writer, but allows him to remain passive while still making sense of and enjoying the narrative.

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[110] Barthes, *S/Z*, 5.

[111] The term "lisible space" comes from de Certeau who uses it to describe the conventions that make a discourse make sense, a more precise form of "legibility" if you will. Chartier picks up de Certeau's term to assert that "The historian's task is thus to reconstruct the variations that differentiate the *espaces lisibles*—that is the texts in their discursive and material forms—and those that govern the circumstances of their effectuation—that is, the readings, understood as concrete practices and as procedures of interpretation." (*The Order of Books*, 2)

[112] Barthes, *S/Z*, 4.

To both its medieval and early twenty-first century readers[113] the late medieval frametale offers elements readerly and writerly, more and less easy to establish a coherent sense from and within. On the one hand, the *Conde Lucanor* contains many explicit statements of purpose, repetitions that become redundancies, and *mise en abîme* structures that attempt to lay bare the device and otherwise show the reader how to interpret the narrative. On the other hand, the conventions of the written frametale were not widely held by Juan Manuel's readers; to have been any less readerly would have been to be incomprehensible. We see in this genre an active desire on the authors' parts to instill certain habits of reading fictional narrative not through statement and assertion but through the process and in the course of reading the narratives. The intention is not to reward those already part of an interpretive community but to expand the membership in a nascent and growing vernacular interpretive community.[114] Juan Manuel's didactic project demands that his readers engage with, and feel implicated by, the tales that Patronio tells, an engagement that Barthes believes to be triggered by the writerly text. Although any given story in the frametale collections is easy enough to parse because the narrative structure underscores the moral interpretation, the overall project of the work demands the active engagement of the reader to discern the grammar that connects the narratives, and to internalize that grammar and thereby create a repertoire of vicarious experience to draw on later.

The "readerly" and "writerly" always exist in tension. Once a set of conventions becomes established, the narrative that uses them becomes readerly because its reception requires less productive participation from the reader. The distinction posits an understanding of novelistic genre, and echoes the Bakhtinian theory of the novel (in *The Dialogic Imagination*) that understands the novel as the genre that most relentlessly pushes the parameters of its generic definition, the genre in fact defined by this very ongoing development.[115] At this early stage of the development of book-length narrative, much that later becomes readerly is still writerly, and certain remedial or redundant gestures in the *Conde Lucanor* allow Juan Manuel to increase the complexity of his embedded narratives in the course of the sequence because he can ask that readers learn as they go. Therefore, we can consider it a transitional work, taking on

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[113] Although most readers in the twentieth century were comfortable reading book-length fictional and non-fictional narratives (although that looks to be changing in the twentieth century as online reading and hypertext create different habits of readerly attention), the frametale remains a distinct reading experience from the novel. Because it does not arouse the same expectations of suspense of many novel plots, it does not pull one in as irrefutably, and its proliferating narratives and sets of characters are difficult to keep straight.

[114] The term "interpretive community" is from Stanley Fish's "Interpreting the Variorum" and is also used extensively by Brian Stock in his study of late medieval reading *Listening to the Text: On the Uses of the Past*.

[115] See also Claudio Guillén on genre and counter-genre in *Literature as System: Essays Toward a Theory of Literary History* and Frederic Jameson who in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* argues that "The notion of the text as a synchronic unity of structurally contradictory or heterogenous elements, generic patterns or discourses now suggests that even [Northrup] Frye's notion of displacement can be rewritten as a conflict between older deep-structural form and the contemporary materials and generic systems in which it seems to inscribe and re-assert itself. Beyond this it would seem to follow that, properly used, genre theory must always in one way or another project a model of the coexistence or tension between several generic modes or strands: and with this methodological axiom the typologizing abuses of traditional genre criticism are laid to rest." (141)

some of the generic indetermination that comes to be characteristic of the novel to the extent to which it exceeds the parameters of the genres that it invokes, while nonetheless compelled to invoke those expectations to be legible. To assert this is to stand with Burgoyne against the devaluation of the *Conde Lucanor*'s narrative techniques as primitive even while acknowledging that they are, and to account for the work's historic specificity as well as its formal innovation. Juan Manuel imports many of his narrative signposts—as his later scribes recognize. Although I would not argue that fictional innovation was Juan Manuel's goal, the *Conde Lucanor* uses the techniques for *divisio textus* of the *exempla* collection and scholastic texts to set up a project that is "more fictional" than those discourses, and extends the functions for which they were initially designed.

Citing Barthes' readerly/writerly distinction and also working with Benveniste's linguistics, Jonathan Culler extends its implication to genre: "The conventions of genre may be thought of as expectations about levels and their integration; the process of reading is that of implicitly recognizing elements as of a particular level and interpreting them accordingly."[116] For Culler even more than Barthes, generic differences consist in and play out in the establishment of different routes for passing between narrative levels. What makes a *tractatus* different from a short story, different from a hagiography, and different from a chronicle, is how the reader moves between scenes and sites in the text: not just how the work positions the reader moment by moment, but how the reader is invited to move or not move through the volume. What makes a frametale such is the narrative frame in which characters tell interdiegetic narratives about an array of other characters, and the relationship the reader forms to the storytelling characters, their tales, and their audience, based on the correspondences between these different positions set up by the text. In its juxtaposition of narration and interpretation, and its often explicit injunction to the reader to feel implicated by the narrative, the frametale collection shares many formal features with the *exempla* collection, a tradition to which it exists both in parallel, while diverging from it in significant structural, rhetorical, and epistemological ways—as we will shortly see.

Susan Suleiman in her work on the *exemplum* observes how commonly these narratives feature an interpreter character (i.e. Patronio) and the need to be "unpacked."

> Every story of an 'exemplary' nature—is sooner or later designated, by the parabolic text itself, as needing interpretation, that is, as containing a meaning other (or more) than the immediate meaning of the events it recounts. The interpretation makes explicit, or 'discovers' the meaning, which was 'in' the story, but hidden.[117]

Patronio renders the meaning from the exemplary tale but does not purport to be able to derive the moral without the story. As Suleiman puts it, although the story does not become exemplary until being given this ethical point or frame, the point must come from the story and be built up through the narrative. However, Suleiman notes that the narrative and rhetorical goals of the work exist in tension, by which the story exceeds the point made about it but is also limited by the interpreter character who attempts to assign a clear moral point.

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[116] Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, 192.
[117] Suleiman, *Authoritarian Fictions*, 30.

> The 'figural approach to truth,' even when it is motivated by a pedagogical impulse, is always, in the last analysis, problematic: indirect communication always runs the risk of not being understood, or of being misunderstood. It is precisely in order to palliate this danger that didactic narratives usually propose, in more or less evident fashion, their own interpretation, which fixes the meaning of the story and eliminates (or tries to) the possibility of multiple interpretations and meanings. Another problem (and here things become more complicated) is that there always exists the possibility that the 'correct' interpretation proposed by the narrator does not exactly 'fit' the story and its authoritative (authorial) interpretation allows for the entry of other divergent meanings—and the longer the narrative becomes, the more such openings become possible.[118]

The more detailed and memorable the exemplary story is, the more difficult it is to constrain its interpretation. Here, Suleiman uses length and detail to account for the shift from the exemplary tale to the alienated novel that Benjamin describes. The exemplary story must relate a specific instance to a generality, a concision that connects the iterability that Benjamin esteems tale, the absence of detail and sharpness of its plot structure aiding the memorization and reiteration of the tale.

When readers are asked to "work" to render meaning from many medieval texts—for, by example, reading beyond the literal or historical meaning to a deeper more occluded sense, exegetical models for scripture subtend that invitation and an operating premise that fiction should be ethically instructive obtains in ways that become less relevant to the novel. While we can connect Juan Manuel's use of this form to the growth of the genre of the *exemplum* collection following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) mandate that preachers use the form to better enable congregations to plumb their consciences, we must also consider the growth of book-length fictions into something resembling the novel from these stories' very overflowing of their exemplary frames, an "excess" more common in the frametale with its increased dynamism between narrative levels. Next, I will turn to one of the *enxienplos* in the collection, whose moral point relates intimately to the overall point of the collection, that is that the hermeneut's job is to comprehend what situation he is in, relate it to other analogous situations, and react accordingly, that is wisely.

Enxiemplo 5: Context is Everything

All the manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* begin with the same first five *enxiemplos*, and I want to turn now to the fifth one, "De lo que contesció a un raposo con un cuervo que tenié un pedaço de queso en el pico." [Concerning what a fox said to a crow who had a piece of cheese in his mouth.] In his edition of the text, Guillermo Serés makes much of the presentation of "verdat engañosa" in this tale. The animal tale itself is simple, "Aesopic," depicting how a fox tricks a crow out of the piece of cheese he has just secured and taken up to a high branch to enjoy. It is a

[118] Suleiman, 34-35.

negative example, an illustration of what the count should not do (but has already begun to do). Less simply, Patronio interrupts the tale to explicitly comment on what he is about to illustrate, moving back and forth between narrative levels, and offering a commentary on what and how the story teaches.

To begin, Patronio diagnoses the count's problem somewhat differently than the count himself presents it. Whereas the count has asked for advice concerning a proposition brought forward by a flattering friend, he has accepted that his friend's intentions are good and wonders about the merit of the proposition. But Patronio points out that the problem is not evaluating the man's proposition in the terms the man presents it in, but judging the man's intention from the way the man has framed his offer. "Señor conde Lucanor, sabet que este omne vos quiere engañar dándovos a entender que el vuestro poder et el vuestro estado es mayor de cuanto es la verdat."[119] [Señor Count Lucanor, know that this man wants to deceive you by having you believe that your power and station is more than it is.] To illustrate his point, Patronio begins the *enxiemplo* of the flattering fox who swindles some cheese from a crow. The fox understands that if he can persuade the crow to open his mouth, the cheese will fall. The fox does not mention the cheese at all, but rather compliments the crow on his beautiful black eyes, beautiful black feathers, and shapely talons, describing them as lovely even though so many depreciate the animal for these very qualities. Having convinced the crow that he really does appreciate his appearance, the fox invites the crow to show off his equally beautiful voice.

But Patronio interrupts the tale (which is not typical of him) before the crow decides how to act, that is before its denouément within the exemplary logic of the tale, to highlight his rationale for telling this particular tale: "Et, señor conde Lucanor, parat mientes que, maguer que la entención del raposo era para engañar el cuervo, que siempre las sus razones fueron con verdat. Et set cierto que los engaños et damños mortales sienpre son los que se dizen con verdat engañosa."[120] [And, Señor Lucanor, focus on how even though the intention of the fox was to deceive the crow, that his reasoning was all based on truth. And it is certain that the most harmful tricks are those told with deceptive truth.] The greatest danger of the "verdat engañosa" is that the listener does not even know that she is being deceived, and thus cannot correctly orient within the situation. "Et desque el cuervo vio en cuántas maneras el raposo le alabava et cómmo le dizía verdat en todas, creyó que así dizía verdat en todo lo ál."[121] [And once the crow saw how variously the fox praised him and how he said the truth in everything, he believed that he said the truth in everything.] Patronio's interpretation expands the anagogic parameters of the tale even as it reduces them, making a point not just about flattery, but about the mechanics of a particular type of flattery. Patronio emphasizes that what makes the fox's deception so effective is that he builds up to his request with a series of propositions that the crow finds easy to agree with.

Patronio asserts that what is most important is not what is being said, but why. While this is true in any speaking dynamic, and in many that Patronio presents, it is also true of writing in manuscript, an instability about which Juan Manuel was acutely aware. Because of the indeterminacy of the reception of the message traveling over a great distance to an unknown

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[119] *Conde Lucanor*, 42.
[120] *Conde Lucanor*, 43.
[121] *Conde Lucanor*, 43.

recipient, early prose authors felt compelled to build in declarations of *intentio*, the author's intention for composing the work in one particular way to achieve a particular effect. In *Story and Situation*, Ross Chambers notes that in the oral performance context the teller had a greater ability to guarantee a more fixed interpretation for his story. Chambers' work on story and situation reminds us that lisibility includes not only "making sense" but understanding purpose. "We need not simply to read texts in situation (which is inevitable) but also to read, in the texts, the situations that they produce as giving them their point."[122] Working with an idea of fiction broader than the exemplary, Chambers argues that a story's situation is articulated in storytelling *through* storytelling, but differently in oral and written performance.

> The interaction between narrative and narrative situation does itself function differently in different communicational situations…the tactics of the oral storyteller, whose audience is *in presentia*, are determined by the phenomenon of feedback…in this sense the story is truly a collaboration…Feedback is, of course, not absent from situations of written communication, where it plays a smaller or greater role according to the degree to which audience reaction can be hypothesized or anticipated.[123]

Chambers goes on to suggest that in the literary text "for the sensitivity to feedback characteristic of the oral narrator is substituted a greater degree of insistence, that is, a form of textual redundancy."[124] In addition to the interpreter character that Suleiman describes, the repetitive narrative frame produces a helpful redundancy in the text. The closing of each *enxienplo* becomes redundant: its acceptance given by Count Lucanor and its use value affirmed ("afirmado" with that word's associations with a written signature as stand-in for author's presence and approval) by Don Johán. The redundancy complements the interpretive limits set by the exemplary framing. But early in the enclosed narratives themselves, Juan Manuel makes the point that one has to understand context to interpret correctly, arguing that it matters much less what is said than the underlying motivation for speaking. While the narrative frame and *viessos* around each *enxienplo* underline the story's ostensible meaning or *sententia*, the slippage between narrative and point inherent to the *exemplu*m means that the reader must work to render the meaning that Juan Manuel enjoins. In Suleiman's words "The 'figural approach to truth,' even when it is motivated by a pedagogical impulse, is always, in the last analysis, problematic."[125]

The inverse of the principle that truth can be used to false ends is, of course, that mendacity, or more mildly "fictional illusion," can be used in the service of "truth," a necessary assumption for Patronio's method of advising through *enxienplos*. De Looze calls these two types of deceptive speech in the *Conde Lucanor* "engaño en bueno" and "engaño en malo," the first deception initiated from the good intentions of the speaker—to instruct or guide, and the second the proposition of a speaker who misleads for his own ends, to steal or deceive: such as the crow in this story. This injunction to distinguish between good and bad recalls the Averroïste distinction between praise and blame, taken form the Arab exegete's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*. It would seem from the Prologues that Juan Manuel considers his own use of

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[122] Chambers, 6.
[123] Chambers, 220.
[124] Chambers, 220.
[125] Suleiman, 34-35.

fictional stories "engaños en bueno," the "palabras falagueras" that he esteems in Ex. 21 (which I will discuss in Chapter 2) and not with "verdat engañosa."

In *Enxienplo* 5, Juan Manuel uses the fox and the crow to enact the rhetorical tension between the *exemplum* and the *enthymeme*. The classical rhetorical tradition (Greek and Roman) long contrasted the *exemplum*—argument by analogy, to the *enthymeme*—persuasion by induction. Both Suleiman and Lyons understand that the medieval and Early Modern *exemplum* derived from the Roman rhetorical (specifically oratorical) understanding of the form. Here the *exemplum* exposes the deceptive work of the *enthymeme*. The fox deceives the crow not with a story, but with an argument with the trappings of syllogistic reasoning: the fox asserts first the the crow's feathers and eyes are the most lovely color: black, and thus, that his voice should be as beautiful as his exterior (even though the crow is of course not typically considered to have one of the most mellifluous calls). But Juan Manuel encloses the crow's deceptive logic within a narrative that exposes the "verdat engañosa."

If we look at where the *calderones* or rubricated initials (in the case of manuscript S) fall within the stories, they break them into units that are both rhetorical and narrative. All of the manuscripts mark shifts in speaker and between dialogue and narration or indirect speech.[126] But the punctuation also directs our attention to Patronio's interruption of the story. Just before this interruption, Patronio has narrated the series of logical arguments that the fox has made to flatter the crow into dropping the cheese. The crow ballasts his argument by presenting it as a logical proof, concluding "Dios todas las cosas faze con razón, que non consintría que, pues en todo sodes tan conplido, que oviese en vos mengua de non cantar mejor que ninguna otra ave."[127] [God does all things with reason, and so he would not—all other aspects of you being perfect—have it that you would not sing better than all other birds.] The punctuation highlights the rhetorical force of his presentation: each "otrosí" and "et pues" noted with a *calderón* as a rhetorical turn. Within this repetitive frame enclosed by the overarching frame, Juan Manual takes advantage of the many possibilities for variation. Sometimes the situation about which the count is asking advice demands a lengthy explanation. At other times, Patronio will give a more extended exegesis of the *enxiemplo* either before or after telling it. Yet all of these variations are still clearly lisible within the overdetermined structure of the frametale: because they have been visually set off within the narrative and because the same general parts are repeated across *enxienplos*.

Now I want to return to the beginning of the book where the prologue frames the work as ethically important. Within the determined spatial form of the book, the prologue becomes a set site for the author's declaration of intent. As with the shift from *incipit* to title, we can understand the growing use of prologues in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as resulting from, and contributing to, the increasing spatialization of text and narrative, the imagination of text in an increasingly codified and codicological material form.

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[126] In the *Conde Lucanor*, narration is most often indirect speech.
[127] *Conde Lucanor*, 43.

Prologues and Apologues

For a work that assigns such paramount place to context, we should not be surprised to find so much significant information at the head of the *Conde Lucanor*. However, I deliberately did not begin the chapter by looking at the work's prologue because I would argue that readers begin to make assumptions about the book before reading a single word. Those assumptions would be provoked (or "horizons of expectation" invoked) by the generic and formal structures that announce themselves to the eye when the volume is picked up but before a word has been read. But the beginning does function as an *ars legendi* when the reader sits down to read the work through. Just as a legend of a map is set off in a box so that the reader can distinguish it and use it to navigate the rest of the document, so do these initial moves of the *Conde Lucanor* attempt to guide our reading of the remainder of the text. And just as the incipit becomes a title through the site of the title page, so does the framing narrative get subsumed into the front covers of the work once codicological conventions have eliminated the need to begin a work with a speech act, the imperative to declare itself into existence through a figured speaking voice. In the *Conde Lucanor*, Juan Manuel speaks in an authorial voice in the prologue, but he continues many of the themes begun there in the first *enxienplo* through the characters and in the characters' voices, and even as one of the characters, thus linking these two separate sites in the text, and creating a *modus operandi* that attempts to show how characters can transmit the author's *intentio*.

Juan Manuel manipulates expectations already in place to compose his prologues,[128] a textual site that had already undergone some standardization by the time Juan Manuel began writing. In his study of medieval conceptions of authority (*auctoritas*), Alistair Minnis notes that during this period, authors used introductions to announce their intention (*intentio*) and division of parts (*divisio textus*).[129] The Prologue to the *Conde Lucanor* (the one present in all manuscripts) contains elements of the "Aristotelian prologue" and appears to be applying its terms with some orthodoxy. The Aristotelian prologue attempted to assign a fixed conception and reception for each work, assigning a series of *causae*: the *causa efficiens*, the *causa materialis*, the *causa formalis*, and the *causa finalis*.[130] Don Juan Manuel presents a duplex *causa efficiens* for the work, assigning all merit in the work to God and its shortcomings to the failure of his own understanding, but not his will.

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[128] There is some debate whether Juan Manuel even wrote the prologues, and especially the Prólogo General that mentions this autographed manuscript. In fact, there is debate about whether Juan Manuel "wrote" anything at all, given how typical it was for authors to dictate their writings at this time. It is quite possible that Juan Manuel merely supervised the compilation of the collection, acting very much like the "Don Johán" that the book's actual compilers chose to figure as an authorizing but not writing personage. When I refer to "Juan Manuel" throughout this dissertation, it should be read as the author-function Juan Manuel.

[129] Per Minnis, standard *introductiones ad auctores* (as typologized by Hunt and preceding "the Aristotelian prologue," consist of the following: *titulus libri, nomen auctoris, intentio auctoris, materia libri, modus agendi, ordo libri, utilitas*, and *cui parte philosophae supponitur*. I will return to these terms when discussing the prologue and first enxienplo of *The Conde Lucanor* later in this chapter.

[130] Minnis, 28.

> "Et Dios, que es conplido et conplidor de todos los buenos fechos, por la su merced et por la su piadat quiera que los que este libro leyeren que se aprovechen dél a servicio de Dios et para salvamiento de sus almas et aprovechamiento de sus cuerpos, así commo Él sabe que yo, don Jóhan, lo diga a essa intención. Et lo que y fallaren que non es tan bien dicho, non pongan la culpa a la mi entención, mas pónganla a la mengua del mío entendimiento. Et si alguna cosa falleren bien dicha o aprovechosa, gradéscanlo a Dios, ca Él es aquel por quien todos los buenos dichos et fechos se dizen et se fazen."[131]
>
> [And God, who is perfect and the perfector or all good deeds, through His mercy and His piety wants those who read this book to benefit from it in service to God and for the salvation of their souls and advantage of their bodies, just as He knows that I, Don Jóhan, am stating this intention. And if what is found there is not well said, do not blame my intention, but the fault of my understanding. And if anything is well said and advantageous, thank God for it, God for whom all of our good deeds and words are done.]

The above quote also clearly states his *entención*, the *causa finalis* of the work: salvation of the soul through a life well led, taking advantage of one's corporeal existence to ensure one's spiritual salvation. Juan Manuel does not pretend to offer guidelines for salvation on his own authority, but only by the grace of God, taking pains to avoid this presumption not only as a human *auctor* but also as a secular *auctor*, addressing the Christian faithful but without the authorization of the Church.

Juan Manuel asserts repeatedly in these prologues that he is writing for the "legos," the literate lay people who might be disinclined to read other types of discourses, and who would have been unable to read Latin at all. The writer of the Anteprólogo connects the use of Romance to this audience: "Et por ende, fizo todos los sus libros en romance, et esto es señal cierto que los fizo para los legos et de non muy grand saber commo lo él es."[132] [To that end, he [Juan Manuel] made all of his books in romance [Castilian] and that is a sure sign that he made it for the lay people and those who are not very knowledgeable like he is.] In the Prologue to the *Conde Lucanor*, Juan Manuel portrays his method as secular in secular terms. He opens the prologue describing the diversity of human physiognomy and psychology, of "caras", "voluntades", and "entenciones," visible through common perception. But he says that he pitches his work at what all people have in common: "pero todos se semejan en tanto que todos usan et quieren et aprenden mejor aquellas cosas de que se más pagan que las otras."[133] [but all resemble each other to the extent that all use and want and learn better those things that they care about than other things.]

From this conclusion, he derives his compositional principles, each of which he introduces with the phrase "Et porque," each "porque" justifying the decisions he made to create a work accessible to, and thus appealing to, the widest possible audience. The second reason most clearly states the importance of writing in a blatant and enjoyable style: "Et porque a muchos omnes las cosas sotiles non les caben en los entendimientos, porque non las entienden

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[131] *Conde Lucanor*, 17-18.
[132] *Conde Lucanor*, 13.
[133] *Conde Lucanor*, 16.

bien, non toman plazer en leer aquellos libros nin aprender lo que es escripto en ellos."[134] [And because to many men subtle things do not engage their understanding because they do not understand them well, they do not take pleasure in reading those books nor in learning what is written in them.] Because of this, Juan Manuel justifies writing short narratives in Romance—a style which he thinks has broad appeal because its readers will enjoy not only the stories but also recognizing their experiences in those stories.

Don Manuel describes himself not as a *letrado* but as a *físico* "que cuando quieren fazer alguna melezina que aproveche al fígado, por razón que naturalmente el fígado se paga de las cosas dulces, mezclan con aquella melezina que quieren melezinar el fígado açúcar o miel o alguna cosa dulce."[135] [who, when they want to make a medicine to benefit the liver, because the liver responds to sweet things, mixes with that medicine sugar or honey or something sweet.] This model is doubly secular. The doctor is a secular healer—a healer of bodies not souls, and the comparison of literature to medicine is a trope from pagan antiquity, diffused throughout the Middle Ages through certain Ciceronian texts. Juan Manuel claims to derive his authority from this healing analogy: "Et a esta semejança, con la merced de Dios, será fecho esto libro; et los que lo leyeren, si por su voluntad tomaren plazer de las cosas provechosas que ´y fallaren, será bien."[136] [And by this analogy, with thanks to God, I created this book; and those who read it, if they willfully take pleasure in the beneficial things within it, will be well.] The reader, desiring to take pleasure (and benefit) from the text will be like the patient who swallows the medicine concealed in a spoonful of honey.

Juan Manuel's model is diagnostic. He claims to construct his text based on what he has observed about the world and what he has observed about how readers interpret and relate to texts. His authority derives not from an abstract or established institution or authority, but from a vast body of particulars, and from knowing how to create a narrative structure through which a reader can recognize depictions useful to his own life: "Et sería marabilla si de cualquier cosa que acaezca a cualquier omne, non fallare en este libro su semejança que acaesció a otro."[137] [And it would be marvelous if anything befell any given man, that he would not find its appearance in this book befalling another.] However, it would be impossible to move on from this point without noting Juan Manuel's disingenuousness. While he was not a church man or a university man, he was from one of the most prominent noble families in Castile, grandson of Fernando III and nephew of Alfonso X. Juan Manuel surely knew that to connect his name to these narratives was to ensure their reception while simultaneously increasing his reputation. Alfonso X (El Sabio) had done the same, connecting himself to the translation of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* in addition to scores of other texts in multiple genres. Alfonso's brother Fadrique connected himself to the translation of *Sendebar*, and Sancho IV was the signatory to the translation of the *Libro de los Doze Sabios* and the *Castigos e Documentos*. By Juan Manuel's day, the rulers of Castile had a well developed penchant for connecting themselves to the production of works of sapiential literature, especially works from the Semitic tradition. Juan Manuel takes the family tradition into a new stage by compiling a self-conscious fusion of Latin and Semitic materials, and not only a translation of a previously composed work.

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[134] *Conde Lucanor*, 16.
[135] *Conde Lucanor*, 17.
[136] *Conde Lucanor*, 17.
[137] *Conde Lucanor*, 11.

Juan Manuel is famously concerned with his readers, even anxious about them. The prologues to the *Conde Lucanor* employ multiple devices to ensure that the text will be received as Juan Manuel desires. However, he doesn't address his readers directly with a hortatory injunction—"Dear reader," as becomes common in the Early Modern period.[138] Rather, he expresses exceptional concern about the textual practices that will affect his work's redaction and transmission, literally its copying. In the Prólogo General, he laments that text is not stable but will inevitably be altered in its dissemination, these alterations imagined as a threat to its accurate reception.[139] Juan Manuel attempts to guarantee the text by placing an authorized version in the convent of Peñafiel, a book that—ironically but not surprisingly—no longer exists. He announces this desire in the Prólogo General:

> Et por guarder esto cuanto yo pudiere, fiz fazer este volumen en que están scriptos todos los libros que yo fasta aquí he fechos, et son doze….Et ruego a todos los quien leyeren cualquier de los libros que yo fiz que si falleren alguna razón mal dicha, que non pongan a mí la culpa fasta que vean este volumen que yo mesmo concerté."[140]
>
> [And to guard this as I can, I made this volume to be made and in it written all the books I've made so far, and they are twelve…and I pray to everyone who reads any of these books that I made that if any argument is poorly stated, that they not blame me until they see this volume that I made myself.]

This type of volume invokes the practice of producing an "author's book," a practice that Armando Petrucci describes that Petrarch proposed at about this period, an autograph copy with a restricted circulation that was supposed to secure the author's intention through minimizing the errors that attend copying.[141]

In the Prólogo General, Juan Manuel presents his "authorial platform" for all twelve of his works but in a way that uses the technique of *The Conde Lucanor*: the *exemplum*. At first he presents a general statement about the reception of a creative work, which is then illustrated or better, "probado," by an *enxiemplo*, only after which does he name himself, and describe his decisions in light of the principle that he has just illustrated. It is the proof he offers for his working principles and assumptions about the reception of his work. "Et por probar aquesto, porné aquí una cosa que acaeció a un cavallero en Perpinán en tienpo del primero rey don Jaymes de Mallorcas."[142] [And to prove this, I will put here a thing that befell a *cavallero* in Perpiñán in the time of the first king Jayme of Mallorca.] In this *enxienplo*, a versifier laments

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[138] See Porqueras Mayo's study of the development of the prologue and studies focusing on this type of address in later novels, such as Garrett Stuart's *Dear Reader*.

[139] Scholars contest whether Juan Manuel authored the Prólogo General and, in all likelihood, he did not. The options as I see them include discussing the general prologue as something under the author-function of Juan Manuel, author function in the manuscript environment including the decisions of scribes, or not discuss it at all.

[140] *Conde Lucanor*, 10.

[141] See Chartier, *The Order of Books,* 54-57.

[142] *Conde Lucanor*, 7. Petrarch was similarly known to object to how people mis-memorized his verses and lament that he could not control their alteration in dissemination.

that he cannot control how people will pronounce his creations. Displeased to hear a shoemaker singing his tale incorrectly, the poet tears up the shoemaker's wares to illustrate that the shoemaker has similarly destroyed his handiwork. Only after Juan Manuel presents and interprets the *enxienplo* does he speak in the first person as the author of the text, in the sentences just preceding the citation about the autographed copy given earlier:

> Et recelando yo, don Jóhan, que por razón que non se podrá escusar que los libros que yo he fechos non se ayan de transladar muchas vezes, et porque yo he visto que en el transladar acaece muchas vezes, lo uno, por desentendimiento del escribano, o porque las letras semejan unas a otras, que en transladando el libro porná una razón por otra, en guisa que muda toda la entención et toda la sentencia, et será traydo el que la fizo, non aviendo y culpa.[143]
>
> [And I, Don Juan, fearing that for inexcusable reasons my books will be copied many times, and because I have seen that often in translation the meaning changes because one letter resembles another, or in translating the book one meaning is put in the place of another, because of the scribe's lack of understanding or because one letter resembles another, in a way that changes all of the intention and meaning, and that this will happen with what I have done, without the fault being mine.]

Juan Manuel was confident that his book would be widely disseminated and quickly pass out of his control. He uses the *enxienplo* of the poet of Perpiñán to attempt to cement his *entención*, and otherwise to articulate the laws of resemblance or *semejanza* that hold his work together, even while they threaten to diffuse its meaning through the misinterpretations and slips of hand that attend copying.

The work that A. J. Minnis and Judson Boyce Allen have done to determine the vocabulary that late medieval authors used to think through and describe their literary projects enables us to be more precise about what Juan Manuel intends when he writes an exemplary prologue. The idea of late medieval ethical poetry that Allen describes is at base exemplary. "Poetry is that body of texts which concerns itself with the value-laden description of human behavior; it leads to and permits normative judgments of mores—of what real people really do and above all of the patterns which their doing implies and establishes."[144] Allen refers to the list of five poetic procedures that Dante outlines in his letter to Can Grande, which can be understood as elements of the *forma tractandi*: the *poeticus* which defines, the *fictivus* which divides, the *descriptivus* which proves, the *digressivus* which refutes, and the *transumptivus* which gives examples.[145] Allen deduces that *transumptivus* by *exemplorum positiva* is the poetic mode on which the others depend, the mode that enables the others. "The *modi* are not poems, or poetry; rather, they are the precondition, the context, and the definition of the possibility of any given text. One of the *modi*, however, more than any of the others, approaches textuality, in that it prescribes not only a mode of thought, but also its object. This is the mode of

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[143] *Conde Lucanor*, 9.
[144] Allen, 38.
[145] Allen, 73.

exemplification."[146] Juan Manuel presents a worldly work, one that is concerned with working from the diversity of human experience "las caras [que] en sí mismas non semejan las unas a los otras,"[147] to a narrative mode that inculcates the perceptive habits in its readers that will enable them to become savvy readers of the world and successful authors of their lives. The *Conde Lucanor* represents and encourages a set a perceptive practices that enable the reader to test and prove, and thus better read, the potentially inscrutable diversity of the world's faces.

Juan Manuel derives his authority to author his collection of secular *enxiemplos* (even as he expands ideas about that authority) from the very way that the *exemplum* functions. Larry Scanlon in *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The medieval exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, notes that "The congruence between narrative discourse and moral authority the exemplum asserts is precisely what enabled it to transmit previous forms of authority to this new vernacular tradition."[148] Scanlon observes that medieval Europe has several models for the *exemplum* and concentrates on the public *exemplum* often used to address heads of state as with the *Fürstenspiegel* and the sermon *exemplum* used to address those considered subordinates of the church and in need of instruction. However, he also describes "The dialectic structure of the monastic exemplum, whereby the reader, by emulating the exempla the exemplarist offers, achieves the exemplarist's position."[149] While the framing narrative of the *Conde Lucanor* resembles the mirrors for princes, and the address to readers invites their submission to the work's ordinating principles, the model for that submission is one that credits the reader with the ability to activate the work, and so perhaps most resembles the monastic *exemplum*, but put into terms pertinent to the lay reader.

Unlike Fernando de Rojas or Juan Ruiz who assert the beneficial components of their works in order to justify what might appear to be more scurrilous content, Juan Manual unequivocally asserts the moral import of his *enxiemplos* and his ability to perceive and present the moral point of view and correct course of action. As for what genre he is writing in, Juan Manuel asserts that the *Conde Lucanor* to *ethice subponitur*, which is to say not only that it contains meritorious ethical content but that as a secular vernacular author, Don Manuel does not aspire to theology. He presents a way of knowing unique to the poetical mode of *transumptivus*. Its claim to truth is not categorical, nor does it reside in the author. Rather it depends on the readers' engagement by, and recognition of themselves in, the stories presented.

Enxienplo 1 and Proliferating Frames and Mise en Abîme *Structures*

Don Manuel continues to highlight the function of the *exemplum* in Part I of *The Conde Lucanor*, the section that contains fifty (or fifty-one) *enxiemplos*. Juan Manuel's first narrative "moves" echo and mirror the author's presentation of himself in the Prologue and extend that assertion of his authority there to the narratives told by the character Patronio, who like Juan Manuel in the prologues, teaches by telling exemplary stories: showing through telling. The first problem

[146] Allen, 95.
[147] *Conde Lucanor*, 15.
[148] Scanlon, 5.
[149] Scanlon, 67.

that the character Conde Lucanor presents proves not to be what it seems. Rather, it is a test of Lucanor, which in turn proves to be a test of Patronio. In response, Patronio warns Lucanor that he is being tested "que cuydades que en vuestro amigo vos dixo, que non lo fizo sinon por vos provar,"[150] [be cautious of what your friend tells you because he did it only to test you] and offers an *enxiemplo* about a king who decides he must test his trusted advisor.

The mirroring function of the first *enxiemplo* has been well analyzed by Daniel Devoto and Marta Ana Diz. Diz in particular in her 1981 article "Relato, fabulación, semiosis: la producción de significado en the *Conde Lucanor*" notes that the first *enxiemplo* serves to frame the framing fiction, a reflectivity that Devoto described as "un juego de espejos enfrentados."[151] Just as the Prologue explains and enacts how an *enxiemplo* can prove a general principle in a way that a prescriptive general rule cannot, so the first *enxiemplo* contains a concatenated series of tests to prove the merit of the advice-giver, and expound the principles of the project that allow us to learn from such a character. Just as Don Manuel used an *enxiemplo* to "probar" and simultaneously illustrate his working principle or *forma tractandi*, in the Prologue, the first *enxienplo* also proves the bases by which the rest of the narrative will proceed and makes them explicit for the reader.

Moreover, it incorporates the multiple diegetic levels, not only of the frame narrative, but also of the prologue to which it asserts a relationship of contiguity. Diz describes how the first *enxiemplo* functions as a bridge between the prologue and the rest of the *enxiemplos*, one that asserts that they are distinct illocutionary domains even while the parallel structures between the different levels of narration establish a connection between them.

> El relato del rey y su favorito repite también la transacción entre Patronio y Lucanor: consiste en la acción que unos intérpretes hacen de los textos dictados por sus respectivos consejeros. Se trata de un espejo peculiar: sustendo por una analogía con el marco, guarda una relación de contigüedad con él….En este sentido, marco y relato son también espejos del primer espacio de ficción del Libro cuyo narrador, Don Iohan, anticipa en el prólogo que los ejemplos ofrecen de una manera accessible anecdotizada cierto conocimiento del que puedan aprovecharse los hombres.[152]

In what appears to be a paradoxical move, the text's self-referentiality, its duplication of its methods so that we cannot fail to notice how the *enxiemplos* "work," is what enables its readers to convert its teaching into practice. The text's self-referentiality is not "narcissistic"[153] but anagogic, proposing its own self-awareness as a model for the reader's developing self-awareness, and the potential transformation that could result when the reader gets a view on who is he and who he could or should be—as well as the gap between the two. While the frametales employ many modes of self-reflexivity characteristic of experimental novels of the twentieth century, I agree with Dagenais that we should not interpret them the same way because these older texts are not concerned with the manipulation of surface effects for the same

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[150] *Conde Lucanor*, 20.
[151] Diz, 404.
[152] Diz, 407.
[153] As Hutcheon describes certain forms of narrative solipsism in her study of metaficiton, *Narcissistic Narratives*.

reasons. Rather, the textual self-reflexivity connects to the work's goal to create a play of mirrors for readers so that they can glimpse themselves and their potential for transformation through understanding the workings of the text's mechanisms. In the first *enxienplo* the characters are invested with the authority to effect this transformation, through its contiguous relationship to the Prologue and its mirroring of the *entención* and *forma tractandi* that Don Manuel presented there.

Most critics of the *Conde Lucanor* concur with Diz that the first *enxienplo* is a *mise en abîme* for the work and that to make the first *enxienplo* a *mise an abîme* announces an integration of content and form. The narratives will make their points through how they tell them. The *mise en abîme* is an intense form of metalepsis, of the transgressive crossing of diegetic levels that appear to violate the rules of narrative grammar but actually blatantly expose how they function. Like the *enxienplo,* the *mise en abîme* creates a frame, but a frame that encourages an interpretation that avoids some of the over-conscription of the *exemplum*. As Lucien Dallenbach remarks about Las Meninas

> For the optical illusion sought in all of these pictures, which is their main attraction, lies in bringing into the painting items that (fictively) are outside it: the reflections provided in the mirrors complete the picture and function as a medium for interchange. At the frontier between interior and exterior, they are a way of taking two-dimensionality to its limits."[154]

Like the *enxienplo*, the *mise en abîme* gestures outwards, but does so to suggest a permeability of the frame. Its self-reflexivity establishes passageways between diegetic levels, including anagogic interpretation imagined as a narrative level.

On this topic, Martha Dana Rust's work on the representation of the book in fourteenth-century narrative usefully complements Dallenbach's study of the *mise en abîme* in general, just as Bremond, Welter, Le Goff, and Scanlon's work on the late medieval *exemplum* complements the more recent theories of the *exemplum* mentioned earlier. In her work on self-reflexive narratives produced in the late age of manuscripts, Martha Dana Rust reworks the term "manuscript matrix" (which she takes from Stephen G. Nichols in *Speculum* 65:1) to describe how authors create an awareness of the physical properties of the work, and what readers do with that awareness during the late medieval period. She observes that "The manuscript matrix is not solely a realm invoked by a text; it is also a perceived space that is held in place by physical books."[155] Authors create this perception by adeptly connecting the action in the narrative to the reader's experience of sitting with a book through a process of mutual and generative mirroring, a textual self-reflexivity that in turn prompts a readerly self-reflexivity. Rust "uses the term 'manuscript matrix' to evoke a liminal dimension: one associated with books but constituted by a reader's cognitive realization of the interplay among diverse semiotic systems that is only *in potentia* on the physical page."[156]

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[154] Dallenbach, 12.
[155] Rust, 13.
[156] Rust, 9.

While Rust's often works with, and from, specific manuscripts themselves, here Rust highlights that she is reading for how medieval "writerly" reading is prompted: how readers are asked by authors to attend to the significance of the material specificity of the books they are reading, and how authors use that awareness to shape their projects and create a correspondence between text and life. "By bringing into focus a work's references to the technology of writing, these narratives operate as a kind of 'hermeneutics of the book': a method of interpretation that engages literary representation from the point of view of the material and intellectual practices that give shape to the paper and parchment surfaces upon which that representation appears."[157] I referred to the first *enxienplo* of the *Conde Lucanor* as a legend, because it announces the hermeneutical processes that readers will use throughout the collection. The *mise en abîme* devices in that *enxienplo* and throughout announce to readers that by recognizing how the text works and the correspondences between narrative levels, they can construe their own lives outside of the text as one of the narrative levels to which the text is pertinent.

In this next section, I want to look at a progression of *enxienplos* in the first book, to continue to prove that Juan Manuel understood the "context" in which each statement of the work needs to be taken as including not only the frame within the *enxienplo* but the entire book.

Sequence and Narrative Levels

The deliberate sequences in the work argue against an assertion that the *Conde Lucanor* is merely a collection of exemplary narratives and has not been organized into a book-length composition. Often the themes of one story are picked up and expanded a few tales later. Juan Manuel explicitly states that he expects readers to do this type of cross-referencing in Ex. 33, "De lo que contesció a un falcon sacre del infante don Manuel con una águila et con una garça," at the end of which he refers to Ex. 3 by number and by point: "Et siquier parat mientes al enxienplo tercero que vos dixe en este libro del salto que fizo el rey Richalte de Inglaterra et cuánto ganó por él."[158] [So therefore stop and focus on this third example that I gave you in this book about the jump that Richard of England made and how much he gained by it.] Ex. 33 is itself metaleptic—a violation of the epistemology implied by the arrangement of diegetic levels, because in it Patronio advises Count Lucanor by telling a story about Don Juan Manuel, referring to the author or possibly to his father. Count Lucanor has asked for advice about whether the he should continue to fight against the Moors or attempt peace, and Patronio answers with a fable about a falcon trained by Juan Manuel. This detail is incidental to the story, so its addition calls attention to Juan Manuel's own desire for redemptive textuality, for the opportunity to justify and exonerate his own life through authoring this collection.

This is not the only reference in the *enxienplo* to his own biography, though the second one is more oblique. The reference back to Ex. 3, is to that *enxienplo*'s moral which is that that ethical responsibility should be imagined as specific to each person according to class. Both Ex. 3 and Ex. 33 discuss the valor of religious war, and assert that one's fulfillment of political and

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[157] Rust, 28.
[158] *Conde Lucanor*, 148.

military duty merits salvation as much as the life of contemplation. While we should interpret the argument throughout that God will reward those who fight against the Moors as military propaganda (as Joseph Duggan has convincingly interpreted the *Cantar de Mio Cid)*, it is also a justification for Juan Manuel's own life as an *adelantado* (official along the borderland between Christian and Muslim controlled territories) and argument for his own salvation.

Throughout the collection, later stories build on and reference the themes of earlier ones. I will return to some of these sequences in the next chapter and here want to focus on those that best exemplify the use of sequence to complicate the fictional operations of the work. Most critics of the *Conde Lucanor* have missed the importance of sequence, concluding from the static and repetitive nature of the framing narrative, that story order does not organize any larger points. De Looze, one of the more generous interpreters of the framing narrative writes that "One of the notable elements in the *Conde Lucanor* is the lack of progression at the level of the narrative frame. The anecdotes may rely on juxtaposition at times or certain key positions (beginning, middle, end) but they do not seem to have relied on a *progression*."[159] However, as with 3 and 33, there do seem to be some *enxienplos* that were placed so that the latter one would be read after the former one, which refers back to it and builds on some of its points. This also occurs without being explicitly marked when, for example, a later *enxienplo* picks up on the themes of an earlier one but presents it in a more complex narrative, and as we see between *enxienplos* 7 and 11.

María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has called *Enxiemplo* 11, "De lo que contesció a un deán de Sanctiago con don Ýllan, el grand maestro de Toledo," "la perla de la colleción" and certainly the tale stands out for its deft manipulation of time and irony. The shading and specification of this story barely resembles the fables and most of the stories featuring historic characters. The story portrays a *deán* who approaches a known necromancer Don Ýllan for help gaining power. The necromancer is reluctant to help, warning the *deán* that once he takes power he will forget to be grateful to Don Ýllan. The trick of the story results from Juan Manuel's adept manipulation of point of view. After the *deán* visits Don Ýllan at home, the narration quickly moves from describing the *deán*'s movements to narrating the *deán*'s intentions as he experiences them. But the narration does not signal that shift. The wise necromancer Don Ýllan has intentionally set up an experience for the *deán* that is both fantastic and—ostensibly—for the story to hold, true. In this fantastic zone, the *deán* makes the decisions he would make "in reality" if Don Ýllan actually had granted the powers he requested. In this reality, the *deán* fails to remember his debt to the necromancer who has asked for small favors as the *deán* is promoted to higher and higher religious offices, until the *deán* finally becomes Pope and threatens to jail Don Ýllan should he continue to insist on repayment.

What catches us at the end of the story is not punctuation but rather the return to the narrative point of view from which the story began, again without signal. At the beginning of the *enxienplo*, Don Ýllan had ordered a servant to prepare some partridges for dinner and the partridges return at the end as a temporal reality marker. This marker sets up the intentionally disturbing metalepsis of the transition at the end, when Don Ýllan finally interrupts the deán's fantasy of unimpeded but heedless career advancement:

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[159] De Looze, 11-12.

> Desque don ´Ýllan vio cuanto mal le gualardonava el Papa lo que por él avía fecho, espedióse dél, et solamente nol quiso dar el Papa qué comiese por el camino. Estonce don ´Ýllan dixo al Papa que pues ál non tenía de comer, que se avría de tornar a las perdizes que mandara assar aquella noche, et llamó a la muger et dixól que assasse las perdizes.[160]
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> [And when Don Ýllan saw how poorly the Pope had rewarded what he had done for him, he said farewell to him, and the Pope did not want to give him anything to eat for the road. Then Don Ýllan said to the Pope that since he had nothing else to eat that he would eat the partridges that he had ordered roasted that night, and called to the woman and asked if the partridges had roasted.]

Whereas the *deán* had thought he had controlled the narration, Don Ýllan had remained in control all along. Upon encountering this line, we re-interpret what preceded it, understanding it this time from Don Ýllan's point of view, from which the *deán* was presented with a series of choices in order to test how he would react. Whereas the partridges would have been prepared for roasting years even decades previous in the temporal storyworld of the *deán*'s fantasy, Don Ýllan's request calls us back to the night when the *deán* first visited Don Ýllan at his home. The *enxienplo* itself enacts a "verdat engañosa" and this time we are left both without Patronio's specific guidance for interpretation (as in Ex. 5) and the stability of point of view within the narration (as with Ex. 7; see below). Instead the instruction of the narrative plays out through the possibilities of narrative, and the readers must keep up as they can or enjoy the surprise of being tripped up, perhaps channeling any embarrassment into learning to pay more attention to the movement between narrative levels so as to move more dexterously between them.

In its way this *enxienplo* functions as a *mise en abîme* for the mechanism of all the exemplary stories, in which Count Lucanor enters into a fantastic realm for the duration of Patronio's story, and in the process connects this separate but parallel situation to his own life by being interpellated through the recognition that the story is about him. If we do anticipate this outcome, it is because we are looking for the analogy to the situation that the Conde Lucanor has presented to Patronio, which made it seem like Count Lucanor has his doubts already, or—less likely—because we were waiting for the eventual appearance of the partridges that Don Ýllan had prepared for roasting at the beginning of the tale. Most likely, like the *deán*, we have forgotten about the birds and are surprised when they reappear.

An earlier *enxienplo*, Ex. 7, "De lo que contesció a una muger quell dizían doña Truhana" illustrates a similar point. Like the *deán* from Santiago, Doña Truhana gets ahead of herself, "counting her chickens before they hatch," in her case imagining the personal and economic riches that will result from the sale of the jar of honey that she is carrying on her head to the market.[161] But we readers anticipate what is going to happen to Doña Truhana because Patronio begins his story saying: "siempre oy dezir que era buen seso atenerse omne a las cosas ciertas et non a las vanas fuzas, ca muchas vezes a los que se atienen a las fuzas contésceles lo que

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[160] *CL*, 61.
[161] There are variants on this story in *Calila e Dimna* and the *Disciplina clericalis*.

contesció a doña Truhana."[162] [I have always heard it said that it makes good sense for a man to focus on sure things and not fleeting vanities, because many times to those who focus on vanities befalls what happended to Doña Truhana.] So when Truhana laughs with delight at her anticipated riches and knocks the jar of honey off her head, we are not surprised to see her tripped up, and also not implicated in her self-delusion in any way. Like the *deán* from Santiago, Truhana gets ahead of herself. But the narrative stays resolutely ahead of Doña Truhana. We experience her list of speculations—what she will do with her imminent riches—as such, and when that jar crashes to the ground, we understand very clearly what has fallen with it. Whereas *Enxiemplo* 11 recounts the *deán*'s promotions in the present indicative, Ex. 7 uses the conditional. We remain firmly aware that Doña Truhana's hopes do not exist, whereas Ex. 11 intentionally blurs fiction and reality.

There is a similar "ironic progression" in *Lazarillo de Tormes*. In Book 2 we, the readers, are privy to the deceit of the priest who is Lazarillo's second master, informed by the narrator how he deceives his parishoners out of bread and wine. On the other hand, in Chapter 4, when Lazarillo works under an indulgence seller, we do not know how the man will accomplish his trickery. In the first few episodes of the book we, the readers, are let in on the trick that the narrator is about to recount. In the second episode, we are informed before it unfolds of the priest's deceit, and then how Lazarillo tricks him out of bread and cheese in an extended game of cat and mouse.[163] This "insider knowledge" establishes our sympathies with Lazarillo. On the other hand, in the pardoner's chapter we do not know how the pardoner's trick will play out, but the pattern established across episodes makes us assume that Lazarillo's wiles will eventually be uncovered and punished by his masters.

In the *Conde Lucanor*, while the *desengaño* of *enxienplos* 7 and 11 is of a similar type, with the protagonist mistaking his or her desires for an already fulfilled reality, the situations that prompted them are quite the reverse. The simpler version allows Juan Manuel to make a more complex point later. It is—so to speak—a form of propadeutic irony. Much like the mirroring in the first self-reflexive *enxienplo*, after presenting a lesson, the sequence of *enxienplos* provides the reader an opportunity to understand whether or not the lesson has been gleaned and assimilated. The second occurrence asks us to re-read the earlier *enxienplo*. This affords not only a second opportunity to glean the point of the *enxienplo* but to understand that wisdom consists of precisely this ability to relate stories to each other, and to shift perspective in the process of reading these stories. In this process, the reader moves beyond his initial assumptions and submits to ordination by the text.

> A single reading is composed of the already read…what we can see in the text the first time is already in us, not in it; in us insofar as we ourselves are a stereotype, an already-read text; and in the text only to the extent that the already read is the aspect of the text that it must have in common with its reader in order to be readable at all.[164]

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[162] *Conde Lucanor*, 47.
[163] This episode, while surely picaresque and clearly a social satire, is also an example of the story extended from a pun.
[164] Barbara Johnson, 3.

So Barbara Johnson writes about re-reading in "The Critical Difference: BartheS/BalZac," itself a re-reading, once again of Barthes' *S/Z*. In medieval terms, the readers that the *Conde Lucanor* imagines cannot impose *ordo* on themselves, that is cannot take on the organizational structures of the work, on first read, but must be made to re-visit assumptions with reference to earlier *enxienplos*. This model of the text as self freezes and frames a past moment, allowing the reader to return to it and interpret it differently. For the "story to put its order into the reader," the reader must be made aware of the necessity of submitting to this process of re-reading and re-inscription.

Ex. 50 and the Failure to Learn by Example

At the same time that Juan Manuel proceeds with the utopian optimism that his readers will learn from his text and be transformed that is so crucial to Suleiman's understanding of the exemplary narrative, he repeatedly represents the failure to learn, and the failure of textuality to stabilize or function as a ground for self-transformation. We can interpret these failures as we do the other negative examples that Juan Manuel collects: examples of what not to do. Or we could interpret this failure of exemplarity as a success of fictionality. When the stories so repeatedly exceed their points, fulfilling their destinies as stories as they overflow the moral point assigned to them, they also lose some of their ordinating power, the *ordo* to which the reader submits for re-inscription. While fiction can be ethical, the tension between rhetoric and narrative within each *enxienplo* is also a tension inherent to the rhetorical/narrative program of entire collection. To conclude a discussion about the importance of sequence and linear progression *in The Conde Lucanor*, demands turning to the ending of the first book.

Enxienplo 50, "De lo que contesció a Saladín con una dueña, mujer de un su vasallo" recounts a story of evaded adultery. It is one of the longer *enxienplos* in the collection, its length, like its placement, appropriate because Ex. L (50) is also about duration. In it, the woman who becomes the target of Saladín's lust, must, like Penelope, fend off her would-be suitor by buying time while her husband is away from home. Saladín, as King David does to Bathsheba's husband, has sent the husband off on an assignment, and the woman uses the same strategy on Saladín, sending him off on a quest. She gets him to agree to go through a careful manipulation of syllogistic reasoning. Here the *enthymeme* is complementary to the *exemplum*. She first asserts that if Saladín loves her as much as he purports to, he should be willing to do her will, especially as a noble man: "cuando los omnes, et señaladamente los señores, vos pagades de una mujer, dades a entender que faredes cuanto ella quisiere."[165] [When you men, and especially you noble men, take interest in a woman, then let her know that you will do whatever she wills.] She then proceeds to ask him "cuál era la mejor cosa que omne podía aver en sí, et que era madre et cabeça de todas las bondades."[166] [What is the best thing that a man can possess, the source and chief of all virtues?]

The king travels long and far and finally finds a "cavallero anciano" who tells him that *vergüença* is the most important quality and chief of the virtues, *vergüença* meaning something

[165] *Conde Lucanor*, 212.
[166] *Conde Lucanor*, 212.

like modesty or self-restraint, the quality that enables an individual to rule over desire and not be subject to it. "Ca por vergüença, suffre omne la muerte, que es más grave cosa que puede seer, et por vergüença dexa omne de fazer todas las cosas que non le parescen bien, por grand voluntat que aya de las fazer."[167] [Because modesty mortifies a man, which is the most serious thing, and modesty makes a man leave off doing those things that do not appear good, because of the great desire he has to avoid them.] Saladín happily treks back to his kingdom and to the woman's house and announces what he has just learned. But by attempting to collect his reward, Saladin demonstrates that he has failed to learn from the mission even as he transmits its learning verbally.

The king is supposed to be learning *vergüença* and does not realize that bringing back the answer without internalizing it, is to remain at the literal or surface level of experiencing the text and excluded from instruction. The woman needs to walk him though the logic by which he should have come to understand that he is supposed to act with shame and therefore not violate her. The woman's tactic, which allies her not only with Penelope but also with Shahrāzād, and like the crone character in the Wife of Bath's story in *The Canterbury Tales*, relies on a delay not just of time but of the disclosure of the anagogic implications of her story. Night after night, Shahrāzād forestalls the punchline of any given story amidst the interconnected and embedded narratives that she tells. To cut off this thread is both to cut off the character's story, her story, and her life.

The woman realizes that she needs to walk Saladín through the rhetorical logic of the narrative that he has just experienced on his quest, and carefully unpacks its significance not only for, but with, Saladín so that he will submit to her reasoning. When he answers "vergüença" she "fue muy alegre y díxol: Señor, agora conosco que dezides verdat et que me avedes conplido cuanto me prometistes. Et pídovos por merced que me digades, assí commo rey deve dezir verdat, si cuydades que ha en el mundo mejor omne que vos."[168] [was very happy and said: Sir, I now know that you tell me the truth and that you have fulfilled all that you promised. And I ask if you would please tell me, as it is proper for the king to tell the truth, if you think there is a better man in the world than you.] When Saladín concurs, she builds on that agreement arguing that the "best man" in the world should surely seek the "best thing," which he has just named: *vergüença*. *Vergüença* in this case involves Saladín restraining himself against violating his vassal's wife. Only after this exegesis within the tale does Saladín understand and desist, but the story suggests that he should have been able to reach this conclusion on his own.

In the *Conde Lucanor*, readers are slowly inculcated into the grammar of the diegetic levels and protocols that retroactivate the interpretation of earlier *enxienplos*. This final *enxienplo* underscores how partial their understanding might yet be at this point. In the prologue Juan Manuel implored his readers to read for his *entención* and here he names the quarry that he thinks they should have been pursuing: *vergüença*. Without that modesty, readers would not submit to instruction in the first place. De Certeau discusses the pursuit of meaning across the landscape of the text using the metaphors of gathering and collation that we have seen associated with the codex and *florilegium*.

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[167] *Conde Lucanor*, 215.
[168] *Conde Lucanor*, 216.

> The reader produces gardens that miniaturize and collate a world, like a Robinson Crusoe discovering an island; but he, too, "is possessed" by his own fooling and jesting that introduces plurality and difference into the written system of a society and a text. He is thus a novelist. He deterritortializes himself, oscillating in a nowhere between what he invents and what changes him. Sometimes, in fact, like a hunter in the forest, he spots the written quarry, follows a trail, laughs, plays tricks, or else, like a gambler, lets himself get taken in by it.[169]

For the reader to learn from the text, he must inhabit it. But the reader will not attain the message by arriving at the *sententia* and holding up "the written quarry" like a dead bird. Rather, the reader will be transformed only by submitting to the seduction of narrative, but seduction in the *Conde Lucanor* looks a lot like discipline. The *ordo* of the *Conde Lucanor* is the *ordo* of literature (as opposed to, say, the use of the monastic hours or the seven deadly sins to create *ordo* in a penitential manual). But Juan Manuel asserts that interpreting literature can be ethical work. In Chambers words, it is their very literariness that gives them their point. "The mechanisms of interpretability, in literary narratives—the mechanisms that introduce some indeterminacy into their self-determination of point—are those that given them their point as literature."[170] The reader constructs wisdom by consolidating *enxienplos* into memorable points, but activates it by relating a specific instance to an analogous tale and course of action.

The Limit of Analogy between Self and Text

While the *Conde Lucanor* presents the utopian hope that its readers will be able to learn from its contents without making those same mistakes, the tales in the *Conde Lucanor* repeatedly showcase the failure of an individual's attempt to consolidate, stabilize, and constitute his life as text. Most blatantly in Ex. 46 "De lo que contesció a un philósopho que por occasion entró en una calle do moravan malas mugeres," the character attempts to redeem his sullied reputation by writing a treatise in his defense, yet this attempt at textual self-reconstitution fails to revise the narrative that his body has inadvertently inscribed.

Enxienplo 46 depicts a Moorish philosopher whose reputation is ruined when he is spotted in an alley dedicated to prostitution. In this *enxienplo*, which Patronio tells in response to the question of how one secures a good reputation, the philosopher is maligned for something he did not do. Walking through a town in Morocco, the philosopher ducks into a street known for prostitution because the laxatives he takes to relieve intense constipation have induced a horrible bout of diarrhea. But Juan Manuel links the philosopher's condition and the prostitute's profession by describing the prostitute's work in terms of bodily and spiritual harm: "fiziendo daño de sus almas et desonra de sus cuerpos."[171] [doing harm to their souls and dishonor to their bodies.] When the philosopher's disciples make him aware of how his presence in that street has damaged his reputation, of the situational irony that framed him, we

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[169] De Certeau, "Reading as Poaching," *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 173.
[170] Chambers, *Story and Situation*, 20.
[171] *Conde Lucanor*, 192.

learn not only that the philosopher has inadvertently damaged his reputation, but also that the philosopher is oblivious. He did not know that his reputation was suffering, any more than he knew that prostitutes lived on that street. However, the philosopher attempts to address this problem using the same techniques that he has always employed: argument in writing.

Beleaguered, the philosopher composes a book in his defense: "un librete pequeño et muy bueno et muy aprovechoso."[172] [a small booklet and very good and helpful] We are invited to interpret this book as very much the opposite of the *Conde Lucanor*—an inverted metafictional emblem—because the narrator describes it is a treatise about the role of luck in one's life and the interplay between *fama* and *ventura*. The book describes the forces that one cannot control, but merely attempts to list them and make assertions. We learn the contents of the book when the philosopher reads the findings to his disciples. Immediately following the rather lengthy disquisition about *buenaventura* and *malaventura*, Patronio steps in to offer his own advice about how to preserve one's reputation. It is threefold: please God, pray to God, and "que por fecho nin por dicho nin por semenjança nunca fagades cosa por que las gentes puedan tomar sospecha, por que la vuestra fama vos sea guardava commo deve."[173] [that neither by deed nor word nor appearance should you ever do anything that would raise suspicion among people, so that your reputation will remain guarded as it should.] This is terribly useless advice as there is very little to actually act on. A *semejança*, a resemblance to reality that is actually false, is enough to ruin the philosopher's reputation. But *semejança* has also been crucial to the workings of the entire story collection. We saw how consistently Juan Manuel used the word "semejança" in the Prologues to refer to his own exemplary tales.

Ultimately, the *Conde Lucanor* expresses ambivalence about the ability to create a correspondence between a life and a work. Although he would like to believe that the process of literary interpretation can be self-constituting, especially ethically, both *Enxienplos* 46 and 50 portray the failure of this process. But neither is Juan Manuel the novelist that Lukaçs describes, writing in a world abandoned by God, nor "the solitary individual, who is no longer able to express himself by giving examples of his most important concerns, is himself uncounseled, and cannot counsel others" who writes novels according to Benjamin.[174] Juan Manuel would like his own "entención" to provide sufficient validation for the work, but it is a validation that defers to the reader for its activation, thus—as Dagenais and Menocal argue about it—it remains an essentially "open" work despite its many ordinating principles. The *Conde Lucanor* does not so much offer as perform a model both for the self's introspection and for a "frame of mind" through which to filter and parse a set of experiences that it cannot anticipate in its diversity but towards which it can offer a methodology for distinguishing truth from falsehood. To recognize oneself through the resemblances that the stories create, and to discern an order amongst its parts, will allow readers to write the text to which they will never have full access, the text of their own life. Although *semejança* can lead one astray, the *Conde Lucanor* implicitly argues that its readers need to learn to work with and through these appearances because they have access to nothing more certain.

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[172] *Conde Lucanor*, 193.
[173] *Conde Lucanor*, 195.
[174] Benjamin, 87.

> We shall accompany Gradus in constant thought, as he makes his way from distant dim Zembla to green Appalachia, through the entire length of the poem, following the road of its rhythm, riding past in rhyme, skidding around the corner of a run-on, breathing with the caesura, swinging down to the foot of the page from line to line as from branch to branch, hiding behind two words (see note to line 596), reappearing on the horizon of a new canto, steadily marching nearer in iambic motion, crossing streets, moving up with his valise on the escalator of the pentameter, stepping off, boarding a new train of thought, entering the hall of a hotel, putting out the bedlight, while Shade blots out a word, and falling asleep as the poet lays down his pen for the night.[175]

Wait a second. What are we doing traveling from Zembla to Appalachia, from the fourteenth-century frametale the *Conde Lucanor,* to Nabokov's twentieth century novel *Pale Fire*? We have arrived here as one of the potential end points of the narrative strategies worked out by the authors and translators and scribes of the late medieval frametale. Like the *Conde Lucanor*, *Pale Fire* depicts a narrative topography that attempts to reference the world through which the reader moves on a day-to-day basis *by* invoking a world made out of words—the text that the reader is making it through at the moment of reading, a world held in place by the book. Only the reader's desire to do so can broach these two worlds—to attempt to create a bridge between the story world and the world the reader imagines herself to inhabit.

Nabokov's novel multiply configures the reader's desire to read her story into the text, and this desire creates the fantastic topography made of meters and footnotes over which Gradus steps his way towards the commentary's tragic end. Kinbote's commentary on Shade's poem reads the poem for the stories about his homeland Zembla that he has been telling his poet neighbor, instigating compensatory explanatory fictions when he is unable to find them, for example by blaming their "removal" on the editorial interventions of Shade's wife:

> Not only did I understand then that Shade regularly read to Sybil cumulative parts of his poem but it also dawns upon me *now* that, just as regularly, she made him tone down or remove from his Fair Copy everything connected with the magnificent Zemblan theme with which I kept furnishing him and which, without knowing much about the growing work, I fondly believed would become the main rich thread of its weave.[176]

In Kinbote's commentary, the character Gradus traverses the space between Zembla and New Wye, the New England town where Professors Shade and Kinbote are neighbors. Kinbote

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[175] Nabokov, *Pale Fire*, 78.
[176] Nabokov, *Pale Fire*, 91.

imagines Gradus as an assassin traveling towards him with the desire to kill him; Kinbote imagines himself the exiled King of Zembla. Gradus perhaps stands for this misguided readerly desire, one that kills meaning through the literalism of Saladin in Ex. 50, because like Saladin there he pursues his desire in the face of textual resistance to that desire's fulfillment.

> We know how firmly, how stupidly I believed that Shade was composing a poem, a kind of romaunt, about the King of Zembla. We have been prepared for the horrible disappointment in store for me. Oh, I did not expect him to devote himself *completely* to that theme! It might have been blended of course with some of his own life stuff and sundry Americana—but I was sure his poem would contain the wonderful incidents I had described to him, the characters I had made alive for him and all the unique atmosphere of my kingdom….I started to read the poem. I read faster and faster….[177]

Gradus also approaches as the novel ends, coinciding with Kinbote's disappointment not to find himself—his Zemblan roumant—in Shade's poem. We see few if any traces of Zembla in Shade's poem, but the kingdom is vivid in the fiction of *Pale Fire* in the commentary of the delusional Kinbote. In the fictional world of the novel, Zembla is "as real" to readers as New Wye, and the domestic life and college town that Shade's poem portrays.

Without getting into the ongoing debates about the characters, and wading treacherously shallow into a novel that demands much further and deeper exposition to be really understood, I invoke Zembla and its author, Kinbote, as the figuration of the reader's desire to read for her own experience in a text, a desire that the *Conde Lucanor* also invites. From the Anteprólogo: "Et sería marabilla si de cualquier cosa que acaezca a cualquier omne, non fallare en este libro su semejança que acaesció a otro."[178] [It would be a wonder if any man did not find the resemblance of something that happened to him happening to another in this book.] The *Conde Lucanor* shares characteristics with these other exemplars of self-reflexive fiction, one that indicates traversable passageways between fiction and reality, between authenticity and doubling, in order to make the reader reflect on the process of subject-formation as a fabrication. As Robert Alter describes them in *Partial Magic*:

> Self-conscious novels, because they are so aware of the arbitrariness of narrative conventions, tend to diverge in a variety of ways from the linear unitary structure of the usual traditional narrative; and as a result they exhibit a fondness for reproducing themselves en abyme, as Gide liked to say, working with Chinese-box constructions, or at least, repeatedly illuminating their devious narrative ways with small replicas of the innovative structure of the whole.[179]

To these authors of self-reflexive fictions, that the novel's structure is arbitrary does not undermine its ability to speak about realities outside the text but does demand that the text does so through self-conscious commentary on its own form. The jettisoned moral sense of scripture remains where we might least expect to find it—in the formal play of *mise en abîme* structures that construct the text's specularity.

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[177] Nabokov, Pale Fire, 296-297.
[178] *Conde Lucanor*, 11.
[179] Alter, *Partial Magic*, 186-187.

De Looze is just one of the work's critics to note how important the term "semejanza" or resemblance is for Juan Manuel's work.[180] "Juan Manuel's term for anagogical similarity and substitution is *semejanza*, and *semejanza* is made the structuring principle of Book I. But *semejanza*, so necessary to the *Conde Lucanor*, is also what could undermine it from within."[181] *Semejanza* was the term employed in the Prologue to describe the dangers of copying the text without consulting the author's autographed version. "Porque las letras semejan unas a otras, que en transladar el libro porná una razón por otra, en guisa que muda toda la entencíon et toda la sentencia."[182] [Since letters resemble each other, so that in copying the book, one substitutes one word for another and, in the process, changes all of the intention and meaning.] Patronio uses this term explicitly at the end of *Enxiemplo* 3, suggesting that the count "semejaredes a lo que fizo el rey Richalte de Inglaterra en el salto et bien fecho que fizo."[183] [You will resemble what Richard of England did in the jump and the good that came of it.]

This play of mirrors, of "espejos enfrentados" is precisely what allows the exemplary tales to exceed their singular point because it allows Juan Manuel to offer the model of his own text's composition to his reader. And, in the process the text of the *Conde Lucanor* models both the possibility of and the inevitable failure of any reader to find their experience reflected back at them until they project themselves into the text, a projection that should entail discomfort and revision. Readers must enter the text not to read for their own self-justification but rather must approach its odd mutual speculation, allowing the text to revise them by making them see themselves in new ways.

While intentionally quixotic, closing with a reference to *Pale Fire* is by no means arbitrary, for it is not only for the imagined region of Zembla that the novel is pertinent to the *Conde Lucanor*, but that it demonstrates more than most novels the narrative's reliance on the substrate of the book. The presentation of Kinbote's readings as a series of footnotes to Shade's poem, the commentary, and the atypical index, are the principle signs of this very twentieth-century masterpiece's "twisting and battering of an apparatus criticus into the monstruous semblance of a novel,"[184] and hence reliance on "the scholarly apparatus which we take for granted—analytical tables of contents, text disposed into books, chapters, and paragraphs, and accompanied by footnotes and index," which, as M.B. Parkes reminds us "originated in the application of notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* by writers, scribes, and rubricators of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries."[185]

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[180] While I do not often agree with the periodicity that Foucault employs, he argues for the fundamental importance of resemblance for all hermeneutic work before 1600, and perhaps especially for compendia. "Up to the end of the sixteenth century, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible the knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them." *The Order of Things*, 17.

[181] De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 108.

[182] *Conde Lucanor*, 9.
[183] *Conde Lucanor*, 38.
[184] Alter, 193.
[185] M.B. Parkes, op cit.

Although I have been arguing that all novels owe a debt to the compositional conventions developed during the late manuscript period (not only in Europe but wherever paper production started up—in Japan with *The Tale of Genji*, in Baghdad during the Abassid period), more than other works *Pale Fire* and the *Conde Lucanor* share a highlit reliance on bookish organization. Their authors recognize an opportunity to use bookish structures uncommonly deployed for fiction to suspend a fictional world grounded in backmatter more than background information about the characters, tethered by line and cross reference and index, yet invoking these concrete textual spaces in order to make their readers negotiate them. By focusing on the bookish fiction of the *Conde Lucanor*, I have sought to explain how the frametale settles into the codex as frame in a way that allows us to better understand the protocols of later book-length narratives. I use *Pale Fire* here as reminder that its significance extends into the twentieth-century and may be ever more pertinent now during "the late age of print" when authors are increasingly self-conscious about the properties of the medium they choose as the formats for literary production diversify in the digital realm.

CHAPTER TWO: The Frametale and the Arabesque Middle

> "The unknown authors of the *Kitāb Alf Laylah wā-Laylah* are not interested in the middle of their frametale. Indeed, it has no middle: only the ingenious and elaborate headpiece, the climactic and ceremonious tailpiece, and the formulaic transitions from night to night in between."
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> --John Barth, "Don't Count on It: A Note on the Number of the *1001 Nights*."[186]

> "Deviance, detour, an intention that is irritation: these are the characteristics of the narratable, of 'life' as it is made the material of narrative, of *fabula* become *sjuzhet*. Plot is a kind of arabesque or squiggle to the end."[187]
>
> --Peter Brooks, "Freud's Masterplot"

References to late medieval frametale collections pepper the fiction and essays of postmodern author John Barth. The compendia figure in essays about his early apprenticeship as a writer where he refers especially to the Sanskrit collection *Katha Sarit Sagara*, translated into English as *The Ocean of Streams of Story*, describing how he first discovered it "as an undergraduate book-filer in the classics and Oriental Seminary stacks of Johns Hopkins's Gilman Hall Library, [where he] would push daily past the ten huge sea-green volumes" of a 1924 edition of a nineteenth-century prose translation of this eleventh-century text.[188] For Barth, these story collections provide inspiration and justification for his own girthy and exuberant novels, and for narrative organization propelled by delight in the possibility of digression as much as by the temporally determined plots (*sjuzhet*) of novels of mystery, suspense, or by realist description, dialogue, and character development.

In these essays, and in his own narratives—organized not along a linear time sequence but using "storytelling itself" as the principle propulsion—Barth references and asserts himself into an alternate lineage for the novel, one that includes much of the fantastic, essayistic, and genre-bending materials not otherwise accounted for by theories or histories of the novel that define the form by sentimentality, interiority, or realism.[189] This view of the novel finds

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[186] Barth, *The Friday Book*, 269.
[187] Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, 104.
[188] Barth, *The Friday Book*, 84.
[189] See also the Borges, Ocampo, and Casares edited volume *Antología de la literature fantástica* although it includes very brief excerpts of much longer works. Robert Alters's *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* also sets itself up as an alternate literary history of the novel, in his case an alternative to F. R. Leavis's history of the realist novel *The Great Tradition*: "Especially in the sphere of English criticism of the novel, there has been a recurrent expectation that 'serious' fiction be an intent, verisimilar

representatives (as precursors if not exemplars) in further flung times and places than Watt's *Rise of the English Novel* or other Eurocentric literary histories that would locate the rise of the novel in sixteenth-century Spain (with the picaresque), seventeenth-century Spain (with Cervantes), or eighteenth-century England (with Fielding, Sterne, Defoe, and Richardson).[190] For Barth, the Hellenistic Greek romances are important precursors to the novel, as are the late medieval frametale collections very common in the Near East (not just the *Katha Sarit Sagara* but also the *Pançatantra*, the *Hitopadesa*, the *Shahnamah*, and, as in the citation above, *Alf Layla wā Layla*, the *Thousand and One Nights*), many of which made their way to the Western Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages.[191]

As current theoreticians (through anthology compilation or otherwise) of the novel similarly expand the purview of world narrative that we should consider contributes to the eventual and gradual development of the "baggy monster"[192] we now call the novel, the late medieval European frametale collection of Near Eastern origin should occupy an important node in the new constellation. So many of the determining features of the novel are worked out in the late medieval frametale collection: the connection of episodes into an overarching framework, multi-perspectivalism, polyphony, and the interaction of the tales with the framing narrative and paratextual space: prologues, introductions, and title pages, all hinging on the expectation that the reader will be able to move backward and forward through the text (in memory and by flipping through the pages of the book) as the author cross-references and echoes earlier moves. Even if we refrain, like Shklovsky does, from attributing any causality between collections of stories and later narrative developments, the frametale usefully enables us to see features of the novel that become more difficult to perceive once its bookish conventions become widely employed and codified.

Because of their complex narrative structures, their self-consciousness, and their metafictional play, these late medieval frametales share more characteristics with postmodern experimental fiction than with realist fiction, and it is not surprising that Barth should feel so strong an affinity with these works. Other critics of postmodern fiction and fabulation, such as Robert Scholes, Linda Hutcheon, and Patricia Waugh, identify many features in twentieth-century novels that also show up in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. These works often include ironic self-commentary, metafictional emblems, and metaleptic play. This connection may be surprising until we note that it is a connection between the last centuries of

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representation of moral situations in their social contexts; and, with few exceptions, there has been a lamentable lack of critical appreciation for the kind of novel that expresses its seriousness through playfulness, that is acutely aware of itself as a mere structure of words even as it tries to discover ways of going beyond words to the experiences words seek to indicate" (ix), though Alter also takes Cervantes' *Don Quixote* as an important initiating text.

[190] Much better (if still problematic) is Franco Moretti's more recent attempt at a global anthology of the form, *Il novelino*, vols. 1-7. The first volume of the English translation opens with an essay by Jack Goody (see my introduction for more on Goody, literacy, and the frametale). Doody's *The True Story of the Novel* is also far-reaching if somewhat speculative. See also James T. Monroe on al-Hamaḍānī and the connections between the picaresque genre and the Semitic maqāma collections.

[191] Barth also clearly connects the metafictional abilities of narrative embedding to the frametale form in his essay "Stories within Stories." (*The Friday Book*, 224)

[192] As used by Henry James in his preface to the New York edition of *The Tragic Muse*.

primarily manuscript text production and the late age of print, moments when certain authors are particularly self-conscious about the material production of their literary works because material practices and forms of literacy are evolving so rapidly. The "literature of exhaustion" replenishes itself with some of the pre-conventional self-consciousness of literature at its initiation. As we saw in the first chapter, these features signify differently during these two periods, but they often share the goal of forcing the reader to attend to the work's material production in order to reference the work's context and the potential for productive correspondence between work and world.

Barth writes about the frametale with sincere enthusiasm, and as a fabulist acknowledging across centuries masterful fellow practitioners. He encounters and affiliates with these authors through the Orientalist translations of their works,[193] and is not self-conscious of (much less apologetic about) any Orientalist bent to his own titillation by Shahrāzād, a narrator for whom the narrative and erotic are so closely intertwined. In the essay cited above, "Don't Count on It," one of many of his to treat the *Nights*, Barth attempts to account for the choice of 1001 to number the nights of Shahrāzād's storytelling through the matrix of precisely this bodily titillation, that is, in the biological as well as narrative, fecundity of Shahrāzād. The actual nights of Shahrāzād's storytelling number many fewer than 1001 in most collections of *Alf Layla wā Layla*, but so many later readers of the *Nights* want to believe that 1001 must have stood for something that will also explain how the work coheres, and why it ends when and where it does.[194] Unlike the work's most preeminent textual critics, most recently Muhsin Mahdi, Barth finds the rationale for the number of nights not in an Arabic phraseology that Mahdi explains denotes not a precise number in Arabic but rather connotes "a lot."[195] Nor does he locate it in the compulsion of the French Orientalists starting with Galland to amass exactly that many tales (because they took the expression literally), gathering traditional oral materials centuries after the work's earliest compilations to reach that number,[196] as described by Mahdi, by Jorge Luis Borges in "The Translators of the Arabian Nights," and by many literary historians and textual critics of the tradition and its translations.

Instead, Barth calculates that given the female menstrual cycle and how sex as well as storytelling feature in Shahrāzād's seduction of Shahrīyār, 1001 nights would have been exactly how long it would have taken for Shahrāzād to conceive and carry to term three children. Barth actually does the math night by night, cycle by cycle, presenting the numbers that demonstrate

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[193] See vol. 3 of Mahdi's critical edition for a very complete summary of the earlier editions and translations and vol. 2 for a description of the manuscripts.

[194] Note that "night" and "story" do not coincide in *Alf Layla wā Layla*. Rather one story extends across many nights, and Shahrāzād most often takes pains to break off her telling each night at a suspenseful moment in the middle or just into the beginning of a story.

[195] In 1964 article "Una y mil voces," Jaime Oliver Asín speculates that 1000 is used to refer to an inexact large number in both Arabic and the Romance languages, but that a one was added in the Arabic version because "Dentro de Islam los números pares son maléficos, mientros los impares, en cambio, son benéficos." Oliver Asín, 189.

[196] The manuscript on which Mahdi bases his edition is BN Paris Árabe 3609-3611. See Nadia Abbott, "A Ninth-century Fragment of *The Thousand and One Nights*" for evidence that the collection was written down as early as the ninth century. On the translations of the *Nights* see Borges' essay "The Translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*" in *Selected Non-fictions*, 92-109, Edward Said's *Orientalism*, and Johnson et al "*The Arabian Nights*, Arab-European Literary Influence, and the Lineages of the Novel."

how shrewdly calculating Shahrāzād was. According to this interpretation, Shahrīyār decides not to kill Shahrāzād and to terminate his misogynistic policy of daily killings, not because he has learned anything from the stories themselves, and not just because the storytelling has bought enough time for him to change his mind for any array of reasons, but because she has provided him with three heirs, and sufficiently persuaded him that he has everything to gain by committing to this new family. Not only does this interpretation diminish Shahrāzād's rhetorical abilities (the narration informs us that she is unusually literate, especially for a woman at the time[197]), it collapses Barth's desire to discern an order amidst the rich mass of materials that comprise the *Nights* into his projected desire for the work's narrator (and her sister).[198] We hope that Barth wrote it at least partially tongue in cheek.

The collection of stories we now call *Alf Layla wā Layla* was associated with the number one thousand from as early as the tenth century, which we know because Ibn al-Nadīm mentions the *Hāzār Afsān*, a Persian collection meaning "a thousand stories" in the *Fihrist*, a catalog of known works he compiled at the end of the tenth century. Ibn al-Nadīm remarks that the Persians were the first to compile these types of story collections. His description of the narrative frame of this collection matches that of the *Thousand and One Nights*.

> The first book to be written with this content was the book *Hāzār 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 Shahrāzād, 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, whom she showed to him, informing him of the trick played upon him. Then, appreciating her intelligence, he was well disposed to her and kept her alive.[199]

The description details the beginning and the end of the collection, and even differentiates between the night and the story as narrative divisions, clarifying that the collection actually included less than two hundred stories because most stories extend across multiple nights. From this description, we know that the headpiece and tailpiece were intrinsic to the collection from near the beginning and that Barth was not too far off to attribute the narrative cohesion with Shahrīyār's increasing bond with Shahrāzād, though perhaps overly determined to make the numbers add up.

But this interpretation takes Shahrāzād's uterus as the significant middle of the work and her biological reproduction as the story's important implicit plot, the one in which

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[197] "The older daughter, Shahrāzād, had read the books of literature, philosophy, and medicine. She knew poetry by heart, had studied historical reports, and was acquainted with the sayings of men and the maxims of sages and kings. She was intelligent, knowledgeable, wise, and refined. She had read and learned." (Haddawy, 14-15)

[198] See also Barth's "*The Dunyazadiad*" in his 1973 *The Chimera*, named after this sister, in which a character named John Barth himself gives Shahrāzād the idea to tell tales as a way to persuade the king and save her life.

[199] *Fihrist*, 713.

Shahrīyār becomes beguiled and convinced by Shahrāzād's narratives.[200] Because, as discussed in the introduction, narrative operates in and through double temporality—the order of events as they are imagined to have happened against the order of the events as they are told, the middle of any narrative must be significant for the construction of this temporality (one constructed from the tension between *sjuzhet* and *fabula*) as the space in which it becomes perceptible and able to invoke and organize the reader's expectations. But in this chapter I will argue for a temporo-spatial middle less biologically determined than Barth would have it. Peter Brooks's comment about the "arabesque or squiggle" understands narrative to work through a particular type of suspended desire, and better gets at the dynamic to which Barth alludes and would construe through characterological sex and reproduction. Using a combination of psychoanalytic and late structuralist criticism, Brooks posits that desire is the structuring force of all narrative, motivating the duration necessary for the meaning-making and traversal operations that I described in the first chapter. "Plot as we have defined it is the organizing line and intention of narrative, thus perhaps best conceived as an activity, a structuring operation elicited in the reader trying to make sense of those meanings that develop only through textual and temporal succession…the reading of plot as a form of desire that carries us forward, onward, through the text." [201]

Even though the middle space of a frametale tends to be less rigidly determined than its beginnings and ends (or frontpiece and tailpiece), it is nonetheless determined by the beginning and end points that enable the generative potentialities of the middle. Again, Brooks: the "interrelation of the two (beginning and end) determine and shape the middle—the "dilatory space" of postponement and error—and the kinds of vacillation between illumination and blindness that we find there."[202] Part of the work of the middle space is to prevent the end from being reached too quickly, to prolong and dilate the narrative so that the narrative can establish the patterns through which it makes its meanings. In "Plot Construction and Style," Shklovsky considers framing to be a device of deceleration often having "the purpose of dragging out of time and forestalling a hasty decision."[203] For Brooks "The 'dilatory space' of narrative, as Barthes calls it—the space of retard, postponement, error, and partial revelation—is the place of transformation: where the problems posed to and by initiatory desire are worked out and worked through."[204] This dilation is essential to the exemplary frametale's didacticism, one that relies on repetition, sequence, duration, and the other interweavings that connect the narratives to one another. It creates the duration that we saw in Ex. 50 of the *Conde Lucanor* and across that collection.

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, the instructive and generative middleness stands for any number of other dynamics: Shahrīyār's decision to end and not just suspend his daily

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[200] Inversely we could take, and Shklovsky does in *Energy of Delusion*, the romance plot to consist of "reversals that preserve the heroes' virginity." (32) I am using plot here in the sense that Shklovsky does to differentiate between the order of the events imagined to have happened (*fabula*) and the order the story narrates them in (*sjuzhet*), terms that Brooks also uses.
[201] Brooks in *Reading for the Plot*, 37.

[202] Brooks, 96.
[203] Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, 42.
[204] Brooks, 92.

exterminations of women, and thus ostensibly the time that it took for the tyrant to change his mind. Or, without attributing any ethical or rhetorical efficacy, it is the time that it took to tell the stories because telling takes time.[205] So often theorists of narrative turn to the *Thousand and One Nights* because they understand it to be a story about storytelling itself, about the desire to anticipate the end of the story but also the prolonged deferral (through digression, embedding, proliferation) of that ending. Looking at the *Thousand and One Nights* and *Tristram Shandy* in "The Novel as Parody," Viktor Shklovsky considers the digressions themselves to comprise the plot (*sjuzhet*) of these narratives. Towards the end of this essay, Shklovsky turns to the diagrams that Sterne draws in *Tristram Shandy* (Book 9, Chapter 4) to emblematize the directions that the story line has taken: squiggly lines—arabesques—that show how events did not proceed neatly from beginning to end, much less rise and fall, but rather twisted and looped through digression. Precisely because of these twists and turns—one of the ways that this novel extends its possible territory and continuously "lays bare" its devices—Shklovsky terms *Tristram Shandy* "the most typical novel in world literature."[206]

Brooks borrows this model of desire from Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, which he uses to extrapolate one of the more persuasive models of psychoanalytic criticism in that it reads for the text's desire (as a system imagined metaphorically somewhere between an organism and a machine) rather than the unconscious of the author or characters.[207] Whereas Freud sought to describe the model of desire within the human organism and the duration of a human life, Brooks creates an analogy between text and life, through which Freud's model can account for the organizing tensions of textual desire, and in particular for the arbitrary but nonetheless determined forces of narrative middleness.

> We emerge from reading *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* with a dynamic model which effectively structures ends (death, quiescence, non-narratability) against beginnings (Eros, stimulation into tension, the desire of narrative) in a manner that necessitates the middle as detour, as the struggle to the end under the compulsion of imposed delay, as arabesque in the dilatory space of the text.[208]

But the text offers a perspective that a reader cannot have on her own life because the endpoint of the reader's life cannot be known to her from the middle. Within a religious context, no individual can know whether he will attain salvation after death. Thus Brooks also invokes Benjamin in "The Storyteller," acknowledging that death is what gives a tale its authority and that the desire for fiction is the desire for knowledge about death, and therefore the significance of a life as a set but arbitrary duration, a knowledge denied to the reader in his own life. "What draws the reader to the novel is the hope of warming his shivering life with a death he reads about."[209] The idea of the *fabula* of a human life is crucial to both Benjamin's and Brooks's theory of the novel. Sometimes the connection is explicit, as with the genre of the *vida* wherein

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[205] "Telling takes time (Scheherazade's life hangs by that one thread), and when a noveslist puts on his stage an oral narrating in the second degree, he rarely fails to take that into account." (Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 222).
[206] *Theory of Prose*, 170.
[207] Unlike, for example, René Girard.
[208] Brooks, 107-108.
[209] Benjamin, 101.

the life of a historical or imaginary figure lends the work its cohesion, as opposed to the formal structures of the tragedy or the predictable sequence of a Hellenistic shipwreck romance. In this equation, both the book and life are essentially arbitrary durations, and in many frametales the arbitrariness of a tyrannical figure who threatens to kill one of the protagonists highlights this fact. The tyrant could choose to end the story at any time. The arabesque stands for the emergence of a legible trajectory within and through the formalization of narrative pattern, the invocation of the unaccountable *fabula* within the structuring forces of *sjuzhet* wherein "Plot is the structure of action in closed and legible wholes,"[210] and the tension between *sjuzhet* and *fabula* crucial for the determination of wholeness and legibility.

This concerted digression—this intentional development of an "arabesque in the dilatory space of the text"—is what the *Nights* shares with other late medieval frametale collections, and it is what gives them all a place (even with their variations) in the history and theory of the novel. But this juncture at which the late medieval frametale collections so clearly stand— often picked up, if only cursorily, by historians and theoreticians of the novel—is so rarely analyzed in terms of the material conditions that enable the extension and elaboration of this middle space. I am referring to how the codex as material substrate uniquely supports the middles of narratives, and how the introduction of paper to the European continent in the eleventh century (and the establishment of paper mills in by the end of that century) makes it more affordable to produce and expand the material middle of written collections.[211] Lefèvre and Martin begin *L'Apparition du livre* describing papermaking technologies as they move from China in the eighth century because they consider papermaking a foundational technology for the development of the printed book. Jonathan Bloom begins his chapter on "Paper and Books" in *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper on the Islamic World* referencing the *Nights*, quoting Robert Irwin's observation that the narrator of the *Nights* frequently observes at the end of a given narrative that the story is remarkable and should be written down, that the greatest compliment to the quality of these narratives would not be to memorize them but to redact them, as happens at the end of each *enxienplo* of the *Conde Lucanor*.

In contrast, the 1494 *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo* advises the reader to "no cessava dia e noche de encomendar a la memoria lo que estava ende escripta" [not cease day or night from committing what was written within to memory] because it has such great moral content. There is considerable debate about whether the proliferation of written materials increased or decreased their likelihood of survival (what is perceived as common is often treated as expendable), and the written did not simply supersede the oral but rather the rapprochement between the two was a key feature of this period.[212] But library catalogs and the surviving volumes (and toward the end, the lists and print runs of the early printers) make evident that the number of books increased exponentially between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries in Europe, and that those increases would only continue on exponentially in the centuries to follow.

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[210] Brooks, 91.
[211] Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, 87-88.
[212] This is a principle argument of Brian Stock's *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*.

The frametale collections move from the Near East to Iberia between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, following the trade routes that connected these regions, along which the papermaking technologies that dramatically decrease the cost of producing written volumes also traveled,[213] which along with the increase in a literate laity, perhaps invited the redaction of oral and secular traditions. To assert this is not to make the technologically determinist argument that the spread of papermaking technologies produces the frametale collection and the rise of secular literature any more than the printing press produces the novel or the Reformation.[214] While new technologies create new needs and expectations, they are also developed in response to them. But to fail to factor in the spread and availability of a cheaper and more widely available substrate to the development of book-length narratives is to miss a significant component of the novel, and enabling condition of its development, and here in particular, of the elaboration of narrative middle. The manuscript matrix that Rust elaborates, for example, depends on this middle, on readers' awareness of the material properties of the narrative they handle.

Both frametales and exemplary narratives inherently produce an inside/outside distinction within the work that attempts to reference the boundary between work and world. We know this from the name itself: a frame produces a distinction between what is inside it and what is outside it. In his work on the *exemplum*, Lyons explains how the example creates a border that produces an inside and outside.

> Example is the figure that most clearly and explicitly attempts to shore up the "inside" of discourse by gesturing toward its "outside," toward some commonly recognized basis in a reality shared by speaker and listener, reader and writer. In order to appeal to such an outside, example must in some way construct or reconstruct its reference, altering the perception of the world by selecting, framing, and regulating (that is, subordinating to a rule) some entity or event.[215]

For the frametale as a collection of exemplary materials, the narration creates the distinction between inside and outside within the collection, wherein the interpretive frames around each exemplary story render the framing narrative outside but related to the story world represented in each tale. Lyons's citation above invokes the etymology of *exemplum* as "a clearing in the woods." To create a clearing allows for the reader to stop the flow of time and interact with a bounded narrated experience: "without the clearings provided by example that mass [of history and experience] would be formless and difficult to integrate into any controlling systematic discourse,"[216] that is it would remain *fabula*. To Lyons, the exemplary narrative is always implicitly framed. The close of the *enxienplo* offers the promise that sense can be made out of lived experience, at least within the contained narrative world just presented in the exemplary tale. Perhaps we can also imagine the larger structure of the codex as a clearing amidst the

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[213] The first paper mill on the European continent was established in Játiva on the Mediterranean coast of Iberia in the late eleventh century, some say 1085. This region was conquered by the Christians in 1238.
[214] Eisenstein has been widely critiqued for her "technologically determinist" model in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. While a necessary corrective, these critiques have perhaps dismissed Eisenstein too thoroughly, given that this thesis is just one component of her analysis.
[215] Lyons, *Exemplum*, 3-4.
[216] Lyons, *Exemplum*, 3.

other objects and flows of the world, a tool that invites and enables speculation—reflecting back aspects of the reader and offering a new point of view on his or her lived experience. It is very possible that individual readers during the late medieval period would react to the relatively novel experience of silent reading in this way, and that both the aporeitic representation of the book in the text and text's spatial display encouraged this interpretation.

In this chapter, I also use "middleness" to refer to a perspective that the translators and authors of late medieval frametales had on the world they depicted, and not only on their textual production. Jacques LeGoff refers to the thirteenth century as the time of "birth of Purgatory," the concept of a middle space between Heaven and Hell. And many critics, not only of the novel but of linguistics and vernacularity, religion and art, associate middleness and intermediation as defining concepts of late medieval Europe. Le Goff situates the "time of purgatory just before "the time of the exemplum," which he also locates in the thirteenth century.[217] For Le Goff, Purgatory represents the "spatialization of thought,"[218] and the "domestication of the next world."[219] The establishment of this intermediate zone between Heaven and Hell also changes the conceptual relationship between life and death because it allows the sinner to imagine time after death not as radically different, but as an extension of the temporality of life. Time in Purgatory can be "worked off" either through the sinner's atonement, or because the sinner wills his possessions to the church or pays monks to intercede with prayers after his death. Moreover, religious leaders (and Juan Manuel) argue that fulfillment of earthly duties—even if those be militaristic and not religious or monastic—suffices for salvation.

While Le Goff notes that both concepts are crucial to Dante's *Divina Commedia*, he misses the opportunity to connect the two epochs he names in the negotiation between endings and redemption that we witness in the late medieval frametale collections containing exemplary materials. We have seen Benjamin argue that the perspective the novel offers is one on an imagined life from beyond the grave, or after death, a perspective that no individual can have on his own life: "The novel is significant, therefore, not because it presents someone else's fate to us, perhaps didactically, but because this stranger's fate by virtue of the flame which consumes it yields us the warmth which we never draw from our own fate."[220] Even more pressingly for a religious person, no person can know about the afterlife—whether he will be saved, suffer in Purgatory until the end of time, or be reincarnated as a prince or a toad. These views on the afterlife inform the meaning making operations of the middle of a narrative to the extent that they are a desire for a particular type of end for a life. As we will see more in the next chapter that compares the syntagmatics of different versions of *Calila e Dimna*, a work initially composed in a Buddhist environment and adapted to Christianity by some its translators, an author's views about the afterlife determine the organization of narrative middles.

Drawing on *The Birth of Purgatory* and pervasively informed by that and by Le Goff's other work, Teófilo Ruiz in *From Heaven to Earth* writes about the emergence of middleness as

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[217] See his *The Medieval Imagination*, Part Two: Space and Time.
[218] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 4.
[219] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 14.
[220] Benjamin, 101.

defining concept in thirteenth-century Castile. Ruiz notes "The shift in *mentalités* or values constituted a reordering of mental, spiritual, and physical space; fresh ideas about sin and intercession coincided with emerging perceptions of property as tangible space and a new way of representing the self."[221] Ruiz attributes this shift in *mentalités* to the rise of what he terms "the middling sorts" – the mercantile elites, lower nobility, and secular literary authors, forces whose entry into political life disturbed the authority of the king and nobles, and whose use of the vernacular forced these elites to re-determine how they consolidated and exercised power.

Ideas about narrative middles in late medieval frametales become informed by an understanding of the vernacular language as a middle and "horizontal" language, and about the types of people and events depicted as "middling sorts," a class newly significant in a social order somewhat less rigidly determined by vertical and hierarchical organization, propelled instead by mobility and horizontal travel. As Ruiz puts it: "The triumph of Castilian as the language of material and spiritual transactions 'democratized' the relationships of the middling sorts (those who held property) with the world around them and, far more important, with royal and ecclesiastical authorities."[222] Castilian-speaking merchants and tradesman begin entering the royal courts about the same time that authors begin writing narratives in the vernacular. The two most widely used official languages on the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century were Latin and Arabic, and both languages were associated with religious as well as political authority. Moreover, as the languages of the scared texts,[223] the signification of each (albeit differently in each case) had been linked to the divine, and authorization from on high, for centuries. While this topic is too complicated to get into in great detail here, the important point is that Castilian, the vernacular, was not imagined to work in this way. Rather, Castilian was the quotidian spoken language that only began to be widely employed for official written discourse in the middle of the thirteenth century.[224]

I agree with Le Goff and Ruiz about the importance of middleness to late medieval literary production and disagree with Barth that the authors, and perhaps especially the scribes, of the late medieval frametales of the Near East and the Mediterranean were uninterested in the middle of their works. What the attention to the frame, or the "headpiece" and "tailpiece," creates is precisely the possibility of a middle, and it is this legacy of middleness that the frametale collections hand off to what becomes the bookish European novel. Even in *Alf Layla wā Layla*, the middle is not a muddle—at least not structurally. Even the tables of contents of contemporary editions of the work make clear that the *Thousand and One Nights* contains discrete cycles of stories, not formless oceans. Each incoming tributary is discernable: each of the story cycles of the *Nights* has its own setting, its own thematic repetitions and motifs, and often its own methods of cohering. The first cycle of the *Nights* repeats the adultery motif most strongly and features genies and seashores. The Sindibad cycle covers Sindibad's voyages. The

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[221] Teófilo Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth: The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150-1350*, 3.
[222] Ruiz, 31.
[223] While Islam understands that the Muhammad dictated the *Qur'an* in Arabic the text of which is only valid in that exact form, Christian exegetes knew that Latin was only the language of the "official" text of the Church, and that the text was originally composed in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic. Increasing interest in the original languages of the Bible would lead to the polyglot Bibles, the Complutensian Bible (Madrid, 1520) being one of the most impressive exemplars.
[224] See Chapter 4 and Márquez Villanueva on this interaction of language on the Peninsula.

cycle "The Story of the Porter and the Three Ladies" is organized around a particular residence in Baghdad and consistently portrays whipping with a prickly delight. The hunchback stories all take place around the body of the supine and unconscious hunchback, and end when he coughs up a fishbone, revealing himself not to have been dead after all. But what links these separate sections is the framing narrative, Shahrīyār's decision to kill one woman per day, and Shahrāzād's mission to cure him of this agenda, and an idea (applied less thoroughly in the story cycles added later) that the intercalated tales should relate back to this framing situation, helping Shahrāzād to make her case aslant to her captor interlocutor or merely buy time so that his paranoid rage can diminish.

The narrative frame creates a premise for gathering a certain type of tales into one place, and the aptness of the fit perhaps determines whether these stories continue to get bound together. Most of the stories in the *Nights* at least nominally refer back to the frame, and most share a tendency to proliferate narrative levels, to tell stories within stories (a quality that evokes the ocean's infinitude; there could always be another). Some of the frametales, like *Sendebar*, have neat and well-articulated framing structures that clearly delimit a middle space; these collections neither provoke the reader to look for a premise to close the end nor invite later scribes to tack on additional materials. Often, the frametale frustrates attempts to discern Frietag's pyramid: there is no clear narrative arc. Instead, there is the establishment of pattern through repetition and variation. A better interpretive schema might be Georges Polti's *36 Dramatic Situations* or the model of variation within a determined schema outlined in Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*. Indeed those master schematists the Russian Formalists loved the frametales for the clear narrative grammars that they demonstrate and for the transition that they suggest between late Greek and Latin longer narratives and Rabelais and other prose writers of the Early Modern period.

Whereas the first chapter examined the beginning and end of the frametale collection the *Conde Lucanor*, and some of the intermedial organizations that impose a pattern within and across its *enxienplos*, in this chapter I will look at middles as narrative spaces less rigidly determined than the beginnings and ends, but determined by the desires initiated by the beginning of the work and intentionally retarded in the middle to extend this middle space. I will also imagine the middle as a codicological space, the interior rustle of pages between covers (whether those be the material board and flyleaf or the paratextual preface and conclusion) that represent a certain type of narrative possibility and extension that we now associate with the novel. The spatial extension of the codex and its relation to plot allows Jane Austen to remark in *Northanger Abbey* that the reader must know that the end of the narrative is approaching because so few pages remain to be read in the book. Austen wryly connects the anticipation created by the material form to a narrative limitation. "The anxiety, which in this state of their attachment must be the portion of Henry and Catherine, and of all who loved either, as to its final event, can hardly extend, I fear, to the bosom of my readers, who will see in the tell-tale compression of the pages before them, that we are all hastening together to perfect felicity." (in Chapter 16 of 16) But of course the authors of longer narratives in a manuscript environment could not be certain that the physical book would arrive in their readers' hands in a form the author could control enough to make this much of a self-conscious reference. Before individual works coincide with individual codices, the reader experienced fewer temporo-spatial coordinates between the beginning and the end of the work unless that location was tagged within the narrative, as we will see that it often was.

I will begin by discussing *Sendebar*, the frametale collection of the three up for discussion in this dissertation with the most defined middle, thinking about how its author or authors imagined this middle space formally and how this middle became essential for an indeterminacy of signification that finds a home in the novel as a narrative space able to articulate sufficient context for an arbitrarily determined yet significant communication. As Lukaçs defines it, we can locate the difference between the epic and novel in the characters' ontology. The characters in a novel do not know where they are nor what they seek because their ends cannot be clear to them. Thus, they are seekers for the way itself. "German Romanticism, although it did not always completely clarify its concept of the novel, drew a close connection between it and the concept of the Romantic; and rightly so, for the novel form is, like no other, an expression of this transcendental homelessness." [225] Next, I will attempt to extend some of the ideas begun when looking at *Sendebar* to the *Conde Lucanor*, a collection whose navigation is determined through paratextual and indexical organization more than (but not without) plot, to examine how middleness works in that collection, and how both collections share concerns about signification to the extent that each understands meaning to be determined through a series of social relations, rather than an essential stability of the sign, or an imagined natural coherence between signified and signifier. Brooks's ideas about the tensions that organize the middle space will be important throughout.

Sendebar*'s Clear Middle*

Of the works discussed in this dissertation, *Sendebar* has the most clearly defined middle. The collection begins with a problem: a lack of and then an insufficient heir, and ends with those problems' resolution: the prince's birth and, after some doubt, his demonstration of ability to rule. Within that problem is another: the prince's stepmother's accusation that the he has tried to rape her and should be executed, and the resolution: the demonstration of the prince's innocence along with his worth. What lies in between depicts the development of that worth but also a deliberate buying of time or enforced delay. As with the *Nights*, the narrative tension of *Sendebar* hinges on its protagonist's death sentence, the dismissal of which depends on storytelling. But quite opposite from the *Nights*, the resolution—and the establishment of a narrative middle beforehand—depends not on the protagonist's loquaciousness, but on his silence.

Like Shahrāzād, the unnamed prince in *Sendebar* must save his life by indirectly proving his innocence in the face of an unjust accusation, but preceding his final statement in his defense are seven days of silence ordered by his teacher Çendubete, who opens this middle narrative space with a prognostication, a "predictive narrative."[226] Before sending the prince home after his education is complete, Çendubete charts the stars (reads the sky) "E católa e vio qu'el niño

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[225] Luçaks, *Theory of the Novel*, 41.

[226] Genette borrows the term "predictive narrative" from Todorov. "It seems evident that the narrating can only be subsequent to what it tells, but this obviousness has been belied for many centuries by the existence of 'predictive' narrative in its various forms (prophetic, apocalyptic, oracular, astrological, chiromantic, cartomantic, oneiromantic, etc.)." Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 216.

sería en gran cueita de muerte si fablase ante que pasasen los siete días."[227] [And he looked at it and said that the boy would be in great danger of death if he were to speak before seven days passed.] The boy returns home, is sequestered by his stepmother, and when she attempts to seduce him, objects, saying ironically: ¡Ay, enemiga de Dios! ¡Si fuessen pasados los siete días, yo te respondería a esto que tú dizes!"[228] ["Enemy of God! How I would respond to what you say if the seven days were past!] This alerts her that she must act to save herself during those seven days, and she therefore accuses the prince of attempting to rape her. During the seven days of the prince's silence, the kings' advisors debate with the accusing woman about whether or not the king should kill his only son as punishment for the alleged crime, this silence and the time of debate creating the most clearly defined middle of any of the frametales. However, leaving all squiggles and arabesques by the wayside, the angry King almost rushes to the end of the story and his son's life by immediately ordering an execution, hurtling toward "the shortest distance between beginning and end—which would be the collapse of one into the other, of life into immediate death." The narrative underscores the uncontrollable emotionality of the king's response: "creçiól gran saña por matar su fijo, e fue muy bravo e mándolo mater."[229] [A great rage to kill his son grew in him and he angrily commanded him killed.]

Only because the king's advisors intervene and filibuster their way through the next seven days is the son even given a chance to prove his innocence and worth, though these advisors are also subject to the potential tyranny and wrath of the king.[230] The narrative introduces these sages as indispensable to their master. "E este rey avía siete privados muchos sus consejeros, de guisa que ninguna cosa non fazía menos de se consejar con ellos."[231] [And this king had seven much consulted intimates, so much so that he did not do anything without consulting with them.] The advisors, in turn, understand that if the king acts in a manner he comes to regret, they, the advisors, will be blamed: "Si a su fijo mata, mucho le pesará e después non se tornará sinon a nos todos, pues que tenemos alguna razón atal por que este infante no muera."[232] [If he kills his son, it will greatly weigh on him, and afterwards he will blame nobody but us. Therefore, we have good reason to keep this prince from dying.] They are thus also acting to save their own lives. The prolongation of time is aided by the stepmother's rebuttal of the advisors' arguments that the king not act hastily, which in turn prompts them to tell tales that prove that women should not be trusted, which in turn prompts her to tell stories maligning male advisors. This goes on for seven days, with each sage telling two tales, the first apparently only so persuasive because only after the second does the narration inform us, "E el rey mandó que non matasen su fijo."[233] [And the king ordered that they not kill his son.] As the advisors and the prince's mother parry stories, the subtitles within the work inform us that we are in day one, then two, until seven, each change of speaker indicated by a rubricated subtitle

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[227] *Sendebar*, 73.
[228] *Sendebar*, 75.
[229] *Sendebar*, 75-76.
[230] This is all understood in the light of the common medieval maxim stated by Çendubete early on that a king is like fire: "los reyes tales son commo el fuego: si te llegares a él, quemarte as, e si te arredrares, esfriarte as." (71) [such kings are like fire: if you approach him you burn and if you keep apart, you freeze.]
[231] *Sendebar*, 76.
[232] *Sendebar*, 76.
[233] *Sendebar*, 85.

and a 4-line initial. From day to day, the king scarily vacillates between a conviction to kill his son and a resolution to keep his murderous urges in abeyance, easily swayed by the rhetorical force of one story or another. The intercalated tales are not generally to the point, as neither the stepmother nor the advisors are especially adept tellers of exemplary tales. Vacillating between their inexact and not terribly illuminating analogies, the threat that the king could change his mind hovers over the work.

This middle section of *Sendebar* demonstrates the capaciousness and the rhetorical power of the frametale, what Johnson et al call "the rhetorical force of sequencing."[234] Because of the events that initiated and then complicated the debate, the collection includes an array of stories on a given theme, or a set of diverging but related themes: the dangers of hasty action, the unfathomable duplicity of women, the jealous tension between fathers and sons, the suspicion and trust possible between advisors and kings. The fiction of the debate allows the writer to array these disparate stories so that they mean more in juxtaposition and begin to accumulate rhetorical force. Most obviously, one story qualifies the categorical argument of another; when the stepmother realizes her stories about bad advisors are not working, on the fifth day she tells an odd story about a pig and monkey, the point of which is to make the king fear that his son poses an immediate threat to his life. Instead of a series of framed exemplary tales, as in the *Conde Lucanor*, or the use of a framing narrative to relate stories used to illustrate topics, as within the individual chapters of *Calila e Dimna*, in *Sendebar* the greatest density of narrative material occurs during these seven days of storytelling debate mandated by a circumstance in the framing narrative.

In the course of the exchange, and in exchange for the staying of the prince's death sentence, the collection comes to include enough stories that portray women as deceptive and manipulative that we can consider this a work of misogynist literature. The framing narrative of *Sendebar* invites the collection of misogynist materials while the narrative frame of the *Thousand and One Nights* invites stories of women's vindication. Medieval works of "wisdom literature" (many of the tales in the *Disciplina clericalis* and *Bocados de Oro* as well as the later *Corbacho*, and in a tradition that we could trace back to Biblical Proverbs) often make women stand for all forces over which people (men and women, though the primary addressees do seem to be men) have no control. A driving rhetorical point of *Sendebar* in particular is that men study and share knowledge in order to avoid the snares that women lay for them. The *speculum principe* genre attempts to shore up not just a middle space, but a male-dominated sphere, where wisdom and just rule become defined as and through the exclusion of women. However, the rhetoric of the frametale always pits the individual tale against categorical assumptions, including misogyny. Both *Sendebar* and *Alf Layla wā Layla* argue against tyranny, and associate the frametale's rhetoric with the creation of middle space of delay and diffusion that can collect the array of persuasive specifics that can combat a murderous tyranny.

On day seven the prince speaks, and immediately orders a servant girl to fetch Çendubete. The prince provides the denouément of the story begun in the framing narrative by displaying his learning, telling a tale that ostensibly matches the situation in which he found himself unjustly accused, a situation complex enough that it demands a very specific analogy: the story of a woman who carries milk from the market that becomes inadvertently poisoned by

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[234] Johnson, Maxwell, and Trumpener, 247.

a snake that somebody squeezed hard overhead, which then kills her master and his household when they drink it. The conclusion he derives is that "Ninguno destos non ovo culpa, mas açertóseles la ora en que avién a morir todos."[235] [None of these was at fault, but the hour arrived when they had to die.] The story exonerates all involved with the prince's potential death. His success stands in contrast to the answers from four of the advisors, who just before had each blamed only one of the parties: the king, the prince, Çendubete, the mother, and who each interpret the prince's story differently as blaming one of the actors or another. Telling this story resolves the problem of the prince's intransigent illiteracy that began the collection because it proves that his own repertoire of literary experience-by-proxy is so vast that he can find a match for this very specific situation in it. It also demonstrates his humility and acceptance of fate. Especially following the last tale told by an advisor, in which the young man who studies to avoid the wiles of women cannot extrapolate from his story bank to anticipate the trap that his host's wife lays for him (more on this in a moment), the tale signals the prince's assimilation of his study. He has internalized it and can use it.

But the story does not end there, that is, it does not end where it first could, after the son has proven his worth and innocence by telling the "Enxenplo del omne e de los que conbidó, e de la maneba que enbió por la leche, e de la culebra que cayó la ponçona." After this tale, the King thanks Çendubete for the excellent job he has done in instructing his son and Çendubete assures the king that "yo non sé cosa en el mundo que yo non le mostré, e bien creo que non la ay en el mundo, e non ay más sabio qu'él."[236] [I don't know a thing in the world that I haven't shown him, and I don't think that there is anything else in the world, nor any wiser than him.] The king asks the son whether Çendubete's assertion that he has become the wisest man alive is true and the prince responds by telling stories about two young children who are wiser than he is. These stories do seem to exceed the narrative frame, just as Ex. 51 exceeds the narrative parameters of the *Conde Lucanor*. But they adhere by the logic that the prince's modesty further indicates his wisdom and worth. It functions simultaneously as an admission of the limits of the compendium. We might also interpret these additional stories like the "one" in the 1001 of the *Nights*, the addition that invokes the potential infinitude of the narrative's extension, and the necessity of capping it symbolically.

What do we make of this prince's educational inadequacy being illiteracy and not stupidity? At the beginning of the tale he is described as intelligent but unable to read and thus unable to become an adult and rule, as if literacy were the important indicator of wisdom or maturity. The Infante "creçió e fízose grande e fermoso e diole Dios muy bien entendimiento…después que él llegó a edat de nueve años, púsolo el Rey aprender que l' mostrasen escrevir, fasta que llegó a hedat de quinze años, e non aprendié ninguna cosa."[237] [grew and became big and handsome and God gave him good understanding…after he reached the age of nine, the King put him to learn what could be shown in writing until he reached the age of fifteen, but he did not learn a single thing.] Literacy is the gateway to entering the formalized world of learning, as represented in microcosm by the book *Sendebar*. Within the story debate, the opening and closing tales depict a connection between wisdom and literacy, one optimistic and the other pessimistic about book learning.

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[235] *Sendebar*, 140.
[236] *Sendebar*, 140.
[237] *Sendebar*, 68.

The advisors' first story resembles Ex. 50 from the *Conde Lucanor*. In the *Sendebar* version, because a king lusts after one of his subjects, he sends her husband off on a mission and attempts to seduce her. Like Saladín's wife in that story, the woman knows that her seducer has many kinds of power over her and that she must thwart him indirectly (perhaps relating this story type organized around protecting marital fidelity with that of the romance interested in prolonging its characters' virginity). But instead of sending the man off on a quest like her counterpart in the *Conde Lucanor*, she pretends to be compliant, but creates an excuse for being out of the room that implies that she is preparing herself for sex. "Diol' un libro de su marido en que avía leyes e juizios de los reyes, de cómmo escarmentavan a las mugeres que fazían adulterio. E dixo: --Señor, ley pore se libro fasta que me afeinte."[238] [She gave him one of her husband's books containing the laws and rulings of kings, and how they punished adulterous women. And said: --Read through this, lord, while I put on makeup.]

While she dallies, the book has the desired effect, the same effect that Saladín's wife was hoping to inspire in *Enxienplo* 50: "vergüença." "E el Rey abrió el libro e falló en el primer capítulo cómmo devía el adulterio ser defendido, e ovo gran vergüença e pésol mucho de lo qu' él quisiera fazer. E puso el libro en tierra e sallóse por la puerta de la cámara."[239] [And the king opened the book and found in the first chapter how adultery should be forbidden, and he felt great shame, and was very sorry for what he had wanted to do, and he laid the book on the ground and left out the door of the chamber.] The process is remarkably uncomplicated; on first reading the king agrees to restrain his desire according to the "leyes e juizios de los reyes" presented in the book and to leave the woman alone. And, as with the *Conde Lucanor*, early in the intercalated tales we have a metafictional emblem for the book we are reading, the ostensibly instructive collection of tales *Sendebar*.

But the book is not the only item that the king leaves behind. He leaves his sandals, which the husband misreads when he arrives back home, taking them to be an indication that the king has slept with his wife. From here the story becomes a demonstration of the poetics of analogy and the exemplary story, functioning similarly to the story as legend that we saw in the first *enxienplo* of the *Conde Lucanor*, which also depicts the work's poetic procedures. When the husband withdraws from his wife after suspecting some dalliance, she complains to her relatives who convince the man to approach the king. Because of the king's potential to exercise his power arbitrarily, the vassal cannot directly accuse the king of sleeping with his wife, just as his wife could not refuse the king outright. Instead, he tells the king a story about a farmer who stops tilling his land after seeing the footprint of a lion in his field.

The king assures him "Verdat es que entró el león en ella, mas no te fizo cosa que non te oviese de fazer nin te tornó mal dello. Por ende, toma tu tierra e lábrala."[240] [It is true that the lion entered it, but he did not do anything that he should not have done, nor anything that should turn you against him. Therefore, take your land and till it.] The analogy is clear: the king is the lion, his vassal the farmer, and the wife the land the farmer has let lie fallow since being scared off by the lion's paw print. Only after hearing the king's "explanation" does the husband ask his wife what happened and hearing how she put off the king "fiava en ella más que non

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[238] *Sendebar*, 79.
[239] *Sendebar*, 80.
[240] *Sendebar*, 80.

d'ante."[241] [trusted the woman more than ever before.] Similarly, the advisors must convince the king to choose the course of action that will land them all in the least amount of trouble, but must do so indirectly. Subordinated characters often employ dilation because they cannot directly contradict their superiors without risking punishment. This first story proposes that this method can be very effective both within the story world of *Sendebar* and ostensibly for the reader holding a very similar object: one that presents wise stories to which kings adhere.

But the last story that an advisor tells (on the seventh day) depicts the failure of book learning: "Enxienplo del mançebo que non quería casar fasta que sopiese las maldades de las mugeres." [The example of the young man who did not want to marry until he learned all the evils of women.] There is tremendous pressure on the advisor when he goes to tell this tale; if he fails the king will kill his son. He must convey the unfathomable extent of the treachery of women to counter the stepmother's final argument to save herself. The advisor tells a tale about a young man's failed attempt to avoid the wiles of woman through instruction rather than experience. In the tale, a young man sets out to learn about women's deceptive ways and after receiving the questionable advice that he should sit in a pile of ashes fasting for three days to do so—a program so absurd it announces its complete insufficiency and implicitly criticizes the man for thinking such a course of study might work—he begins writing books on the topic.

Considering himself well trained, the man returns home and is easily proved a fool by a man who persuades his wife to seduce him in a fashion also absurd: she strips him naked and sticks a loaf of bread in his mouth. But here the absurdity is used to show that he could not have anticipated such a tactic. Afterward, she asks "—Amigo, ¿en tus libros ay alguna tal arte commo ésta?"[242] [Friend, in your books is there any technique like this one?] This scenario forces the man to admit the inadequacy of his training, his study, and his writing on the topic of the wiles of women. The anagogic point of the tale for the king is that because women are so unaccountably deceptive, he should not believe his wife's accusations. But the story also makes a broader point about the attempt to learn a generalizable outlook from a series of specific cases. If there is no way to account for the multiple and variable ways that people deceive each other, how could a reader attempt to become wise from reading exemplary tales in a book?

After this experience, the mançebo "tomó todos sus libros, e metiólos en el fuego, e dixo que de más avía despendido sus días."[243] [took all his books, and threw them in the fire, saying that he had wasted his days for naught.] While this book burning may appear a condemnation of book learning, it is not the final word on the topic. Like the Commentary section in *Pale Fire* that ends with the assassin's deadly appearance, whereas the book itself ends with the index entry on Zembla, the imaginary land from which Gradus originated, the frame narrative of *Sendebar* closes with stepmother's execution. At the end of the collection, the Infante laments the impossibility of telling enough stories to attend to all the ingenuity of the "malas mugeres" (the collection does not argue that all women are awful, merely that it is difficult to keep up with the many who are). He describes the discrepancy as one between world and text and between specifics and generalities. "E, señor, non te di este enxenplo sinon que non creas a las mugeres que son malas, que dize el sabio que 'aunque se tornase la tierra papel, e la mar tinta e

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[241] *Sendebar*, 81.
[242] *Sendebar*, 133.
[243] *Sendebar*, 134.

los peçes d'ella péndolas, que non podrían escrevir las maldades de las mugeres."[244] [And, sir, I only told you this story so that you would not believe evil women, for the wise man says 'Until the land becomes paper, and the ocean ink, and the fish of the sea pens, it will not be possible to write down [all] the evil deeds of women.']

Like the stories about the boys of four and five who are "more wise" than the prince, this humility *topos* disclaims the Infante's abilities to describe the totality of women's duplicity. But the very next line, and the closing line of the collection, narrates the mother's execution: "E el Rey mandóla quemar en un caldera en seco."[245] [And the king commanded that she be roasted in a red hot cauldron.] In this story, the accumulated wisdom of the characters and their ability to describe the wiles of woman, have defeated the wiles of this particular woman. The collection concludes that even though describing all possible situations lies beyond the scope of any single volume, to collect enough to buy sufficient time for justice to prevail, enough variation to allow the individual to weigh options, will suffice. Further, depicting a wise character like Çendubete or Patronio (and the prince after the transfer of knowledge), characters who appear to have an infinite supply of potentially analogical tales at hand, attempts to connect the idea of "the oceans of story" to the book, to assert that they function as a conduit to the vast reaches of narrative material that circulated in the oral tradition. In the bounded world of this frametale, the tales are enough to save the prince's life and ensure the handoff of power between king and son, and of wisdom between Çendubete and the prince.

We see this straining border between boundedness and capaciousness play out in the manuscript copy of the text. There is only one Castilian manuscript of *Sendebar,* the only Castilian version of *Sendebar* from the "Oriental" branch. It is the second text in the Puñonrostro manuscript (Real Academia Española 15) occupying pages 63R to 79V and immediately following the *Conde Lucanor*. The Puñonrostro codex contains a series of dialogic narratives, beginning with the *Conde Lucanor* and concluding with a *Lucidario*. The ending I have just described comes from the manuscript text and differs from the ending of the "Occidental" version. Like *Calila e Dimna*, *Sendebar* is later translated into Castilian from its Occidental/Latin branch, given the title the *Libro de los Siete Sabios de Roma*, and printed in the first decades of printing in the European vernaculars. The 1510 Cromberger edition ends where we expect it to: with the prince's demonstration of innocence and worth, the king's verdict, and the queen's condemnation and execution. The title of the final chapters sums it up neatly: *Capitulo xxii. Como fue condenada a muerte la emperatriz y de la muerte del emperador; e como diocleciano su hijo sucedió en el imperio.*[246] [Chapter 22: How the empress was condemned to death and the death of the emperor; and how Diocletian his son took over the empire.] The collection ends with the king declaring that the prince is innocent and competent, and that he has demonstrated his education and the mendacity of the stepmother, thus wrapping up the suspended tensions of the narrative, and even more forcefully underscoring the hand-off of power between father and son.

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[244] *Sendebar*, 154-155.
[245] *Sendebar*, 155.
[246] Second to last recto page (unnumbered) of the 1510 Cromberger edition. Biblioteca Nacional Madrid incunable R 39781.

The boundaries around *Sendebar* in the Puñonrostro manuscript are maintained better than those of the *Conde Lucanor*. Shorter narrative pieces have been inserted between the longer works throughout the Puñonrostro manuscript, but the compilers respect the narrative integrity of *Sendebar* more than they do that of the *Conde Lucanor*, to which two additional tales have been appended, and which cuts off in the middle of the second appended tale. Conversely, the scribe makes sure to fit the final line of *Sendebar* on 79v, writing smaller and smaller so that the end of the work coincides with the end of the page (see image #9). The very last line, which dangles one line below the text block, making the two columns on the page uneven, reads: "mandola quemar en una caldera en seco." That the text beginning on 80r was written in the same hand, and using the same ordination, but using a slightly different grid suggests that the texts in the codex were assembled piecemeal, so it is possible that not enough space was allocated for the redaction of *Sendebar*. While I prefer the quirks of the manuscript version, the features of the narrative frame in the Cromberger edition are admittedly neater than those in the Puñonrostro manuscript. The manuscript presents a confusion of advisors and mothers in the beginning of the framing narrative, whereas in the printed version the Siete Sabios are consistent: they both train the prince and tell the stories during the debate. In the Cromberger edition, the woman who seduces and falsely accuses the prince is described as "la emperatriz, su madre." While the manuscript describes the two women almost identically as the most beloved woman of the king (of the many in the harem), later in the text she is the "madastra" and there is enough ambiguity that later commentators squeamish about the incest, have room to label her "stepmother" as I have. The "Occidental" branch also fails to identify a sage named Sendebar or Çendubete from among the seven sages. However, both editions use the framing narrative primarily to enclose the stories exchanged during the debate, the establishment of this middle being the most important feature of the work in both manuscript and print editions.

This central debate attempts to create for the reader what Çendubete created for the prince: an array of narratives that will allow the prince to distinguish *sjuzet* from *fabula*, the ability to distinguish the significant storyline, that is, to pull out the salient details from an otherwise dangerously indistinguishable mass of material. *Sendebar* presents wisdom as precisely this ability to discern and act (or narrate) accordingly. Thus, the development of wisdom demands this middle space for its generation. In this middle space the reader's expectations are held in abeyance, like the prince's (or Shahrāzād's) death sentence, while the author arrays enough thematically related stories that the reader (experiencing *fabula*) can begin to learn how to become a writer (producing *sjuzhet*). It is also the process by which the reading subject is invited to imagine himself as malleable, capable of receiving instruction. Brooks imagines this process of discernment taking shape around and through an implicitly codicological format.

> Repetition in all its literary manifestations may in fact work as a "binding," a binding of textual energies that allows them to be mastered by putting them into serviceable form within the energetic economy of the narrative. Serviceable form must in this case be perceptible form: repetition, repeat, recall, symmetry, all these journeys back in the text, returns to and returns of, that allow us to bind one textual moment to another in terms of similarity of substitution rather than mere contiguity. Textual energy, all that is aroused into expectancy and possibility in a text—the term will need more definition, but corresponds well enough to our experience of reading—can become usable by plot only when it has been bound or formalized. It cannot otherwise be plotted in a course to

> significant discharge, which is what the pleasure principle has been charged with doing. To speak of 'binding' in a literary text is thus to speak of any of the formalizations (which, like binding, may be painful, retarding) that force us to recognize sameness within difference, or the very emergence of a *sjuzhet* from the material of *fabula*.[247]

In this passage, Peter Brooks is generalizing from Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* to describe all textual organization in the terms of aroused and deferred desire discussed earlier. But here I want to call attention to the pervasive codicological metaphors that underlie the passage. Much less abstract than the "binding of textual energies," is the binding of signatures into a codex, the expectation aroused by knowing in spatial terms how many pages you, as a reader, have traversed and how many are yet to come. That is not to say that *all* "textual energies" are materially determined, but some of the energy described here adheres in the substrate and the physical form that produces some of the more abstract tensions that Brooks describes. The predictive narrative demanding seven days of silence makes us anticipate that something momentous will occur at the end of the seventh day, and the rubricated subheadings as well as the narration announce the progress of days. This visual and tactile experience of the book activates in the reader the expectation and desire to bind textual moments together, to read for a similarity that is more than contiguity. The graphic patterns that I described in the first chapter are just the most visible set of prints through this topography, bringing narrative patterns into greater relief.

In this middle section, the movement forward and back generated by repetition (the most blatant of formalizations), displays the process of learning as the recognition and establishment of pattern from potentially senseless materials. The narrative material in the middle section of *Sendebar* does not correspond to the situation it is supposed to illuminate, but it is intentionally inadequate to the analogical use to which it is being put. It buys time but it does not explain or illustrate; they are the "indeterminate shuttlings" that only the prince can bind. Shahrāzād cannot undo the adultery of the king's first wife, but she can present enough tales about virtuous women, loyal wives, and people unjustly accused, that she persuades the king that it will be safe to stay her (and all future) executions. In the *Conde Lucanor*, this process of sense-making, the emergence of *sjuzhet* from *fabula*, occurs within each *enxienplo*, and, especially in the middle section, also across *enxienplos*, as Juan Manuel makes his points not only through the content of the *enxienplos* but also through their placement and interconnectedness.

The Middle as Muddle in the Conde Lucanor

The story collection the *Conde Lucanor* has a less organic middle than *Sendebar*, its individual stories organized by number (approx. 1-50) and not by a constraint that adheres in the frame, though as I detailed in the first chapter, not without significant sequences. In this respect the *Conde Lucano*r represents a fitting challenge for the extension of this argument about middles and an interesting test of the energetic theory of middles postulated by Brooks. First we must determine just what constitutes the middle of the *Conde Lucanor*. Although recent scholarship rectifies a critical lacuna by paying more attention to variances between manuscripts, for the

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[247] Brooks, 101.

most part criticism of the *Conde Lucanor* has not attended to what the variants reveal about how the work was received at these moments in its redaction. These include not only the variants in ordination discussed in the previous chapter, but also the number and order of stories across collections. As with the ordination of parts and the establishment of narrative grammars that relate these parts that I examined in the first chapter, we can also surmise that the stories that were kept together across manuscripts indicate the perception of a structural coherence, of a formal unity that scribes decided was worth preserving even as they made changes elsewhere in the collection. Scribes kept the first five and the very last story in place without exception; two of those scribes added stories to the end of the collections; and the compilator of Manuscript H moved two of the final exempla to the beginning, frontloading the theme of the afterlife and redemption present in Ex. 3, 4, 48, and 49.

Significant for this argument, scribes retain the order of stories in the middle section of the *Conde Lucanor* across the manuscripts, and the stories share themes that argue against disrupting them. Here I will discuss some of the *enxienplos* between 19 and 36, more or less the central third of the collection.[248] Although most of the manuscripts keep together the section from 15-35, the earlier stories do not quite seem to belong to this grouping given that 15, 16, and 18 are historical *enxienplos* that argue for fighting against the Moors (connecting them to *Enxienplo* 3) and the sequence of stories begins to vary greatly after Ex. 36. Both E*nxienplo* 19 and 22 derive from *Calila e Dimna*, and both stories concern the deception and the manipulation that advisors and intermediaries can cause: the first summarizing Book 5 of that work about the competing bird kingdoms: owls and crows, and the second summarizing the plot of Book 1: how the jackals estrange the friendship between the bull and the lion so thoroughly that the lion kills the bull. In each case a weaker advisor character attempts to intervene in a rivalry between powerful allies.

Enxienplos 19 and 22 introduce a pattern of paired stories across the middle *enxienplos* that may just be the coincidence of collecting stories with a common theme or may indicate an intentional interweaving between tales. A number of repeated story types, which, like the sequence between 7 and 11, and 19 and 22, show that Juan Manuel intended that the reading of the second version was supposed to prompt the memory of one's experience of the earlier story. This occurs between *Enxienplos* 20 and 32, and Ex. 21 and 24, tales with similar structures and themes, which like Ex. 7 and 11, strike us as an intentional pair, the second asking us to re-read the first. This movement back and forth asks readers to understand this middle space as one made through these overlapping patterns and returns, not unlike the knots tied between signatures to secure their cohesion between two covers. Narrative patterns, often established through repetition (whether that repetition be rhyme or folkloric treblings) create the grammar that makes the middle space sensible and navigable even while indeterminate. In Brooks' terms, "Repetition through this process of ambiguity (of return *to* or *of* the text in repetition) appears to suspend temporal process, or rather to subject it to an indeterminate shuttling or oscillation which binds different moments together as a middle which might turn forward or back."[249] Again, a visible, tangible, even textile metaphor subtends Brooks' description here.

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[248] While this is not to argue for "ring composition" in the *Conde Lucanor*, many analyses for the formal coherence of Semitic and Semitic-influenced literary production in Medieval Arabia have done so on those grounds. De Looze does argue that Ex. 26

[249] Brooks, 100.

While the "indeterminate shuttling or oscillation" invokes a loom, the ability to turn forward or back uniquely describes the codex, as opposed to the scroll or screen: the sequence of pages and the ability to suspend time by turning backward and forward amidst them creates the unique temporality of the novel.

As in *Sendebar*, this thematic grouping connects middleness with muddling, with a position of "not knowing" precisely because of being in the middle, just as we do not know where we are in space or time for much of Ex. 11. Given what has already been said about the experience of middleness, it should come as no surprise that so many of these stories concern the problems of signification. Many of these stories concern instruction and testing (*engaño en bueno*): teaching others through manipulating signs, or evaluating others by assessing what visible signs reveal about their more intangible qualities. Others depict characters being deceived because of their lack of perspicacity (*engaño en malo*).[250] Consistently these stories portray that signs can be manipulated precisely because the connection of a sign to its referent is so tenuous. While not every story in this section takes up this problem, enough do that we can consider them a group,[251] *Enxienplos* 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 35, and 36 all demonstrate the uncertainty resulting from the instability of the signifier. In some cases, the story is resolved through *anagnorisis*—the character's recognition of what they do not know and re-orientation in light of that discovery. For example, in Ex. 36, the merchant who fears that his wife has begun to cheat on him while he has been away, discovers that the man in bed with her is in fact the son he did not know he had, having left his wife newly pregnant when left twenty years previous. In Ex. 20 and 32, crafty strangers dupe greedy kings by purporting to produce wealth through arcane skills, which they wield behind closed doors, and the recognition of the king's mistake and the deceivers' wiles occurs only when it is too late to prevent.

Within this middle section, there is a "marriage group"[252] that runs from Ex. 25-27-30-35 (one could argue all the way to 50, that is across the entire second half of the collection). In these stories, marriage stands for a communicative exchange in which the connection of sign and referent is no more secure inherently, but which the social contract (and affective bond) connecting two people enables, as if the relationship itself provided the context that the collection so consistently asserts that the reader must establish. I will turn to these stories after discussing the earlier *enxienplos* about communication. While these stories present the pleasures and pitfalls of manipulating signs in the postlapsarian, fallen, world, they also posit the possibility of an effective communicative exchange, particularly by using the same but different repetitions that Brooks describes as characteristic of the novel. "Repetition works as a process of binding toward the creation of an energetic constant-state situation which will permit the

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[250] These terms "engaño en bueno" and "engaño en malo" are from de Looze and invoke Averroes.
[251] As Laurence de Looze does in his illuminating chapter on the problems of signification in the *Conde Lucanor*, although de Looze considers this theme pervasive in the collection rather than concentrated in the overlapping structures that I see in the middle section. Unlike *The Canterbury Tales*, which scholars discuss as a series of fragments to account for the great variance across manuscripts, most criticism of the *Conde Lucanor* accepts the grouping of the tales in manuscript S, used by most critics as the basis for scholarly editions for reasons discussed in Chapter One.
[252] The "marriage group" in *The Canterbury Tales* includes tales of, and prologues to, the Wife of Bath, the Clerk, and the Merchant.

emergence of mastery, and the possibility of postponement."[253] The ability to discern similarities amidst difference, to establish the analogy that allows the individual to respond wisely to a new situation, is simultaneously the narrative strategy and main ethical point of the work.

Although still containing kings, *Enxienplos* 20 and 32 move out of the courtly space of *Sendebar*, depicting the king's location in the court as an exclusion to the extent that it makes him vulnerable to those who can manipulate other spaces (i.e. the road, the market). Thus each is a celebration and victory of the middling sort that Ruiz describes. In *Enxiemplo* 20 of *El Conde Lucanor*, "De lo que contesció a un rey con un omne quel dixo quel faría alquimía," a charlatan presents himself to the count as an alchemist and is able to produce what looks like an alchemical transformation using everyday ingredients, including "tabardíe." The charlatan performs this trick for the king, winning the king's approval and receiving an advance sum to purchase more "tabardíe" for continued transformations. The charlatan of course makes off with these materials, leaving the king poorer in both material wealth and reputation.

The entire *enxiemplo* hinges on the transformation of the *tabardíe* into gold, a transformation primarily linguistic, an act of naming and placing that determines how the word signifies within the story without being attached to a meaningful referent. Like an audience watching a magician we are on the lookout for the sleight of hand by which the narrator renders the *tabardíe* such, and it happens on the most literal level—in the act of naming it, that is of handing it over to the shopkeeper with this name. At the narrative level, the trick also takes place in plain view. In the story that Patronio narrates, we learn that the man places some gold pellets with an *especiero*, telling the shopkeeper that the pellets are called "tabardíe," and intriguing word for which no scholar has produced a satisfying etymology. We witness this placement and thus are privy to how the King is duped into believing that this man in an alchemist when he is able to produce gold using the *tabardíe*.

The alchemist produces this sign from scratch, disassociating the name "gold" from gold. But the item draws awareness to a system that produces value through exchange, and more specifically economic exchange. The main purpose of the "tabardié" is to create the impression that the charlatan is not transforming gold into gold, but is able to transform something of lesser market value into something of greater value. According to de Looze, "Gold was viewed in the Middle Ages as an emblem of false signification (since gold could be made only from gold) and a fetishization of the economic signifier."[254] While gold cannot be anything but gold, and nothing but gold can be transformed into gold, the name *tabardié* opens a wedge between name and referent and is able to leverage the power of re-naming to persuade the king to hand over material wealth.

While Patronio's *enxienplo* sufficiently fulfills the count's request to advise him against extravagant promises, the story continues to present a coda about how the King is ridiculed by a group of men for being duped by the false alchemist. These men write down the King's name as a person "de mal recado."[255] The charlatan's swindle is only part of the story, and is followed

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[253] Brooks, 101.
[254] de Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 128.
[255] *Conde Lucanor*, 88.

by a story about the king's reputation as a person liable to be duped. This coda also invites us to think about a proper name as a signifier, not just the *tabardíe* but also the king's name. As with the philosopher in Ex. 46, the king does not realize that he is "un omne de mal recado" until the *golfín* leaves a note explaining how his trick worked and some townspeople fittingly add the king to their list of gullible people, even though it was this quality that suggested to the *golfín* that he approach this king in the first place. The "middling sorts" who produce this list insult the king and declare themselves authorized to do so. Instead of the dilatory argument through suggestion found in the king's court in *Sendebar*, in the middle of the *Conde Lucanor* we witness are more dynamic negotiation of power between nobles and the middling sorts, in which a noble's foolish desire for wealth subjects him to ridicule and emboldens his ostensible subjects to put that ridicule in writing.

Both of these inscriptions—of the gold into "tabardíe" and of the king onto the list of "omnes de mal recado"—serve as admonitions. This writing within this story mirrors the writing that occurs one level up, as part of the standard closing of the 50 or 48 or 51 tales that comprise Part One of the *Conde Lucanor*. Each story closes with the narrator stating that he himself is writing the book that is now in our hands: "Et veyendo don Johan que este exiemplo era bueno, fízolo escribir en este libro et fizo estos viessos que dízen assí."[256] [And Don Juan, seeing that the example was good, had it written down in this book and composed these verses that say the following.] Juan Manuel has a character named after himself write down the story and, as a character, performs the textual production that is that of the *Conde Lucanor*. This comment serves as preface to the couplet with which each *enxienplo* ends, which is, in this case: "Non aventuredes mucho la tu riqueza/por consejo del que ha grand pobreza."[257] [Don't risk your great wealth on the advice of a very poor person.] As many of the couplets fail to do, these lines do not accurately summarize the *sententia* of the story.

The men who write down the King's name as "hombre de mal recado" inscribe a message that is more to the point—namely, that people of notoriously poor judgment set themselves up for future deceptions. And their list is a metafictional representation of the negative example, which depicts a situation that the reader should seek to avoid. Moreover, within the story they function as figures of *Fama*, demonstrating the power of reputation and the importance of one's name. This story marks the limitations of the sententious statement. It allows the reader to imagine a textual production that is analogous to the one that the Don Jóhan character performs, and which is the reader's own textual constitution, her own formation as somebody who seeks not to appear on this list on which the King is an "hombre de mal recado." This effort will ostensibly result in the acquisition of wisdom, that is, to learn from the count who is learning from the king, as a positive example, and to learn from the King's negative example, each diegetic level reinforcing the point from a different angle.

Ex. 20 most closely resembles Ex. 32, "De lo que contesció a un rey con los burladores que fizieron el paño," or the story of the Emperor's New Clothes. This *enxienplo* also features a foolish king and a group of wily tricksters (here described as 'burladores' not 'golfines') who come into town and beguile the king with the promise of magical riches. In this case, the tricksters purport to be weavers, magical weavers who can create a fabric only seen by those

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[256] *Conde Lucanor*, 89.
[257] *Conde Lucanor*, 89.

who are indeed their father's biological children: "un paño que todo omne que fuesse fijo que daquel omne que todos dizían, que vería el paño, mas el que non fuesse fijo daquel padre que él tenía et que las gentes dizían, que non podría ver el paño."[258] [a cloth that every man who was the son of the father he claimed would be able to see, whereas he who is not the son of the father people assign to him, he will not be able to see the cloth.] The king thinks this fabric will generate wealth for him because those who cannot see it will default on their inheritances, which he can then collect.

But the only text woven is verbal not textile. In Ex. 32, the *burladores* describe the fabric they are ostensibly weaving in fantastic negative *ekphrasis*: "Esto es tal labor et esta es tal ystoria et esto es tal figura et esto es tal color,"[259] [this is that work and this is that scene and this is that image and this is that color], gesticulating while they narrate their actions to the king's functionaries who are sent in to supervise their progress, and who are too nervous to admit that they cannot see the material. But their motivation is narrated transparently. The textile invoked by this story is the social fabric created by the townspeople who tell the stories of who they are: "daquel padre que él tenía et que las gentes dizían," a fabric that the charlatans' fiction ruptures. But the deception relies on each individual's willingness to believe that he might be wrong about his assumptions and narration of fatherhood.

The king and his advisors are duped because they each encounter the lack of cloth on their own and interpret their failure to see anything as their own exclusion from the social fabric that is supposed to guarantee the transfer of wealth and property, and thus social status, from biological father to biological son. When the advisors praise the "bondad et la nobleza del paño,"[260] they use the terms about which they have suddenly become insecure about being to apply to themselves: goodness and nobility. We are given the title of each person who observes the weavers: first *camareros* [chamberlains], later an *alguazil*, aware that to expose the weavers' duplicity would cause each to risk defaulting on that title should others chose not to believe that the weavers are perpetrating a grand trick. When the king finally "sees" the fabric, he also believes that he is the only one not to see it, and repeats what the weavers have described, despite misgivings, their statements gathering credibility with each repetition, even as they produce an increasing split between inner experience and outer performance: "començó a dezir marabillas de cuánto bueno e cuánto marabilloso era aquel paño, et dizía las figures et las cosa que avía en el paño, pero que él estava con muy mala sospecha."[261] [He began to marvel about how good and wonderful that cloth was, and he described the figures and the things that were on the cloth, but he was really suspecting something.]

The person who finally exposes the trick, once the king has donned these magnificent robes and is parading naked through the town, is "un negro que guardava el caballo del rey,"[262] [a black man who cared for the king's horse] who does not risk the loss of status by speaking up because he is already at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

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[258] *Conde Lucanor*, 142.
[259] *Conde Lucanor*, 143.
[260] *Conde Lucanor*, 144.
[261] *Conde Lucanor*, 143.
[262] *Conde Lucanor*, 145.

> Et por esto fincó aquel poridat guardada, que non se atrevié ninguno a lo descubrir, fasta que un negro que guardava el cavallo del rey et que non avía qué perder llegó al rey et díxol: ----Señor, a mí non me enpece que me tengades por fijo de aquel padre que yo digo, nin de otro; et por ende, dígovos que yo só ciego o vós desnudo ydes.[263]
>
> [And thereby that secret was kept, because nobody dared to expose it, until a black man who cared for the king's horse and who had nothing to lose by speaking, went to the king and said: 'Sir, it doesn't matter to me if you take me for the son of the father I claim, or of another; so therefore I'm telling you that I'm either blind or you're naked.]

The character who is able to expose the weaver's deception is the one already so excluded by the prevailing order that he has nothing more to lose. We are told that the milieu described is Moorish when the narration introduces the social laws that govern inheritance "ca los moros non heredan cosa de su padre si non son verdaderamante sus fijos."[264] [for the Moors do not inherit anything from their father if they are not truly his son.] In this collection, so many—though not all—of the characters who function as negative examples are said to be Moorish, whereas other stories depict exemplary Christian knights. Here the character who dares to speak up is a dark-skinned servant to a Moorish king.

This tale is indicative of the works assigned to Juan Manuel's name in that it is difficult to declare whether the narrative is conservative or subversive. As with many of the successful deceptions in the collection, this king's failure critiques not just the type of individual the king represents but the relationships and assumptions that set up the king to be duped, and therefore here of the patrilineal inheritance, including monarchy. Because nobody else spoke up when the weavers' words did not attach to a material referent, the tricksters can exchange their words for items of material value, the silk and silver and gold that the king hands over to be transformed into the cloth.

As with the pseudo-alchemist, the deception of this story argues against a facile acceptance of the naturalness of the sign. All signs are conventions, Patronio warns, and can be manipulated to any number of ends. In the diverse and heterogenous world of these stories, strangers are often the most dangerous characters because they are not integrated into the accepted relationships and exchanges that comprise the community, which these tales construe as an interpretive community as well as a social and economic one. But they also represent a productive challenge to the *status quo*. Combined with the writing at the end of Ex. 20, the lists of men of good or bad judgment, this writing appears to interrupt the unquestioned rule of the king, seeking a method of re-inscription by which an individual's perspicacity, and not birth, determines station.

> Reading is thus situated at the point where social stratification (class relationships) and poetic operations (the practitioner's constructions of a text) intersect: a social hierarchization seeks to make the reader conform to the "information" distributed by an

[263] *Conde Lucanor*, 145.
[264] *Conde Lucanor*, 142.

> elite (or semi-elite); reading operations manipulate the reader by insinuating their inventiveness into the cracks in cultural orthodoxy.[265]

This statement of de Certeau's recalls Suleiman's description of the *novel à these* as a genre that puts the poetic mode in tension with the communicative mode. As with the more general didactic moments, the *enxienplos* present an inside and outside, asking readers to choose how to position themselves, and often figure foolishness as exclusion from the hermeneutic circle. Within these stories, both the strangers/deceivers and the king's stable boy play a similar role, the marginal character who can expose the pitfalls of accepting the conventions of the sign and the prejudices of the community. As de Looze would put it: "The same foreign contaminating elements (such as the bastard black man in Ex. 32) that threaten accepted meaning are also what can save writing/textuality because they make us aware of language's traps."[266]

Kings fare much better in the next set of stories, which also operate in tension and in tandem: Ex. 21 and Ex. 24 each concern the need to educate a young nobleman, the premise of *Sendebar*. Both of these *enxienplos* depict the young noble as difficult to know from the outside. The prince in Ex. 21 "De lo que contesció a un rey moço con un grant muy philósopho a qui lo acomendara su padre" is the son of neighboring kingdom who, upon reaching adolescence "començó a despreciar el consejo daquel que lo criara"[267] [began to disparage the advice of those who reared him]. His teacher decides to impress the boy so that he begins to take his advice once more. His first move is very much like that of the pseudo-alchemist *golfín* when he arrives in the town of the king of "mal recado." He starts spreading the word that he can read bird signs and understand the speech of birds. When that news reaches the wayward prince, the boy decides that he would like to see this augury in action.

Whether the advisor has any such powers is dubious, but the man uses the unclear referent that is birdsong to give this youth the impression that he can communicate with birds. When the advisor walks through an orchard with the prince, he pauses and appears to be deeply considering some birds' behavior but says nothing, which again has the effect of making the youth more curious. When the teacher finally explains what he is observing, he has the boy's attention, though what he explains is mundane. Apparently the birds are squabbling about a marriage agreement, and debating about whether the land where the young bird couple plans to move is suitable. But the young man understands the underlying message: that he is squandering his opportunities, and reforms, once again submitting himself to his elders' guidance. The story makes clear that it is the advisor's ruse or fantastic premise, and not the content of the message, that persuades the young prince.

Patronio closes this *enxienplo* using the same term that Juan Manuel used to describe his didactic technique in the introduction: "palabras falagueras." To ally himself with this technique asserts that using exemplary stories is like pretending to be able to understand bird speech, because each creates a somewhat magical realm where a series of potentially meaningless or at least incomprehensible signs are framed to make contingent sense. Juan Manuel presents this as a necessary strategy for grabbing the attention of those disinclined to

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[265] De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 172.
[266] De Looze, 131.
[267] *Conde Lucanor*, 90.

otherwise seek out ethical instruction, the laypeople he describes in the introduction, for whom he advises: "Catad alguna manera que por enxienplos o por palabras maestradas et falagueras le fagades entender su fazienda."[268] [Find some way that, through examples or through masterly and flattering words you will be able to make him understand what he has to do.]

Whereas Ex. 21 shows the necessity of manipulating signs for education, Ex. 24 treats the problems inherent to using external cues to gauge an internal situation, and the need to create a situation that will produce a legible externalization. In Ex. 24 "De lo que contesció a un rey que queria provar a tres sus fijos," the king (also described as Moorish, and here exemplary) decides to pass on his kingdom to the son who proves most able to rule. To establish who this is, the king devises a test: that each son should journey through the kingdom and report back on what he sees. According to this test, the perceptive powers of the father and the potential rules of the first two sons appear superficial. Only the last son enters the towns he is sent to inspect, gets off his horse, and talks to some of the people. De Looze astutely points out that the king asks each son to produce a text describing the state of the kingdom, which the king will then read as indication of the boy's interior qualities and suitability to rule. Whereas Patronio's commentary on this *enxienplo* introduces the idea of using physiognomy to gauge internal characteristics, the story shows the king interpreting his sons through their actions. As De Looze states it, "Physiognomy becomes topography here: in their deeds they [the first two sons] do not show any desire to penetrate beneath the surface of forms."[269] These *enxienplos* argue that neither the future nor interiority can be known but both can be predicted. These frametales connect wisdom to prognostication, the ability to predict a little into the future based on the patterns visible in the present. This is how *Sendebar* portrays Çendubete, and how Juan Manuel portrays Patronio and the characters in the stories who act similarly: Don Ýllan, the wise advisor of Ex. 21, and the youngest son in Ex. 24.

We have just looked at three sets of two stories that work with the same themes, the second referring back to the first a few stories before. This reference forward and backward serves to weave these stories together, so that we experience them as a patch of stories about the deceptiveness of surface appearances and the abilities (for "good" or "bad") of manipulating language. Like the stories in the debate in *Sendebar*, the point of these middle tales vacillates between celebrating and warning against the variability of the sign. Each story features the intentional disassociation of signified and signifier. We can understand a number of these stories as *mises en abîme* for the work because they depict deception or education. They repeat the Patronio-Lucanor relationship through a pair of analogous though slightly different characters: fathers and sons, teachers and students, tricksters and their victims. From Gide, Dallenbach defines the *mise en abîme* as a form of "textual reflexion," the "means by which the work turns back on itself," noting also that it is a "structural device" whose "essential property is that it brings out the meaning and form of the work."[270] Earlier I read the transition from the prologue to the first *enxienplo* as the assertion of the collection's mode. The *mise en abîme* there, the immediate repetition through enclosure of the didactic and narrative premise of the entire work, announces not just that the work will argue as and through story, but also the boundaries between the different illocutionary domains of the text that will allow the particular signifying

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[268] *Conde Lucanor*, 93.
[269] De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity*, 164.
[270] Dallenbach, 8.

system of the work to operate. The immediate underscoring of structure, and of an overlay of structure and meaning, assures the reader that he or she can, and should, read for intentionality, for the point that Juan Manuel has assigned to the story, because that intentionality will be legible, even amidst the "slidings and errors and partial recognitions of the middle." These slidings and errors in the middle reveal the fundamental arbitrariness of the sign, which turns out not to obscure the point but to be part of the point.

In fact, one of the most often repeated devices in the work is the *mise en abîme*. Many of the *enxienplos* within the *Conde Lucanor* lend themselves to being interpreted as *mises en abîme*, as reduplications of the themes or characters of the frame narrative. I consider Exemplum 20 a *mise en abîme* for the entire work because it functions as a negative example for the acquisition of knowledge and establishes the analogy between self and text. Lawrence de Looze argues that Ex. 32 could be a *mise en abîme en malo* for similar reasons. De Looze also makes that claim for Ex. 21 because it concerns teaching through "palabras maestradas et falagueras,"[271] and for Ex. 24 because it shows the necessity of learning how to read signs to determine future worth. That message is picked up immediately in Ex. 25 where Saladin advises his captor to marry his daughter to an "omne," and although the advice travels through messengers and across the Mediterranean, when this "omne" shows up in Saladin's court, the caliph recognizes him as such and releases his prisoner. None of these critics are wrong to identify these structures *en abîme* in one *enxienplo* or another, but we must start to ask why are there so many *mises en abîme* within this text and how they work cumulatively.

In particular, why are there so many in the middle of the collection? We saw in the first chapter that the first *enxienplo* of the collection enacts in microcosm the mechanism by which the didactic project of the entire work functions in both *Sendebar* and the *Conde Lucanor* and would expect this type of guidance at the beginning. After all, why should it be surprising that a didactic compendium includes so many stories about teaching and learning? We also need to consider, as we did for the misogynist tales in *Sendebar*, that the frametale works not only with repetition but with array, that is, using multiple shorter narratives to represent a range of approaches to a given topic. Array is also different from sequence. An array depends less on moving from one instance to a later one, that it does on assembling a spectrum of instances in a bounded space that makes the spectrum perceptible, "the serviceable form within the economy of the narrative" that Brooks describes.

The question of what creates the space and makes the array perceivable could return us to the etymology of *exemplum* in *ex-imire*. In the last chapter I discussed the *exemplum* as the rhetorical method that in Greek and Latin rhetoric was opposed to the *enthymeme,* and that in medieval Latin, the word meant 'a clearing in the woods.' For Lyons, "This sense of the term, often forgotten, sheds light on many characteristics of the rhetorical figure, example. Only the clearing gives form or boundary to the woods. Only the woods permit the existence of a clearing."[272] This distinction should remind us of Brooks description of how the author creates the *sjuzhet,* or the narratable, out of the lived experience of *fabula,* and that the spatial plotting of the temporal plot, or rather the imaginary space where this occurs, is the middle where those two temporalities are held in tension. While each *enxienplo* promises to be a clearing, because

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[271] *Conde Lucanor*, 93.
[272] Lyons, *Exemplum*, 3.

not only do the stories exceed their points, but even the points of the stories contradict each other, we come away from this middle section with no clear message other than the ever-present potential for confusion. The middle section is actually a bit of a thicket, but when one steps back and discerns the patterns by thinking about each *enxienplo* discretely and then cumulatively, it is that step back that produces the clearing, the ability to detect pattern amidst accumulating experience.

This pattern should also recall Suleiman's and Lyons's assertion that the exemplary story is created through framing: by enclosing the narrative within an interpretation of the narrative. Characters offer intradiegetic commentary on the interdiegetic story that they have just told. In the *Conde Lucanor*, we have multiple examples of these embedded commentary structures. In this middle section there is an increase in intradiegetic exegesis, not only the metafictive commentary inherent to the *mise en abîme* but also Patronio's own commentary on the tales he tells. In this way the rhetoric of *exemplum* and of the *mise en abîme* work in both complementary and competing fashions, and their interplay is instructive for the development of the fictionality of the *Conde Lucanor*. Both devices create a scene within a scene and the sensation of heightened significance described by Caws. The exemplary tradition in part offers itself as a relief from uncertainty, and gestures from a given instance to generalizable truth with the promise of some utilitarian application. However, the *mise en abîme* ballasts meaning through correspondence. The story's point is ostensibly secured at the end of the tale through a series of correspondences between narrative levels that the reader must identify, and in doing that work hopefully inscribe them into memory as "Don Johán" does the story and its point into the book he holds, the book that stands for the reader's accumulating wisdom. And so often in the *Conde Lucanor* this wisdom consists precisely in the correct and wise interpretation of signs.

Frederic Jameson says of genres that they are arbitrary but no less significant for being so. "Genres are essentially literary institutions, or contracts between a writer and a specific public whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact."[273] Part of what Juan Manuel enacts with the *Conde Lucanor* is the invitation for the reader to enter into a particular communicative compact with the text, that is, to receive it as ethically efficacious, for only through the reader's activation of an ethical reading will it become so. In the Prologue he stresses the importance of "entención," that is his good intention that underwrites the collection, and necessitating a commensurate orientation from the reader. In the introduction to the work, Juan Manuel asserts that signs may not represent intentions, and that fuels his didactic mission, one centered on discerning intention from surface signs even though these signs can be misconstrued. "The need to hone one's powers of interpretation—the very need, if you will, of a Lucanor to have a Patronio—is because signs (whether language or actions) may or may not truly represent intentions."[274]

One of those possible contractual relationships is marriage. The marriage group begins with Ex. 25, about which I have already had a little to say above, and will have more to say about below and in Chapter 4. While a marriage organizes the plot of *Enxienplo* 25, "De lo que contesció al conde de Provencia, e cómmo fue librado de la prisión por el consejo que le dio Saladín," the bride barely appears, serving mostly as a premise for a series of homosocial bonds

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[273] Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, 106.
[274] De Looze, 119.

between men who seek to establish what it means to be a man, "un omne." This is a far cry from a sentimental marriage plot. Saladín and the bride's father (who is Saladín's prisoner) draw up the criteria for the groom's selection, and the count's advisors help determine which man fits these criteria: the man must be sociable, neat of body, not necessarily of noble lineage or rich, but well-spoken and well respected, according to the definition of "omne" that Saladín has sent on. The man eventually chosen proves his worth by leaving immediately after the wedding to voyage across the Mediterranean, eventually entrapping Saladín while the sultan is hunting and rescuing his father-in-law. The story ends neither with the consummation of the marriage, nor even with the return of the father and his new son-in-law to their homeland, but with Saladín's send-off and the exchange of gifts and good feelings between the three men. Although prompted by the problem of marrying off a daughter, what the story demonstrates is that what it means to be "un omne" will be determined by men and for men. Although the women in the later marriage stories speak, we will see that the men continue to determine how words are used.

The *enxienplo* that most clearly uses marriage to exemplify the implicit contract underlying all communication is Ex. 27, "De lo que contesció a un emperador et a Don Álvar Háñez Minaya con sus mujeres." Ex. 27 is unique among the *enxienplos* in being a double *enxienplo*. Count Lucanor asks Patronio to advise him about not one but two situations, which he presents in contrast to each other. The count has married two brothers to two very different women and the wives have determined each brother's existence.[275] Patronio explains that in order to offer advice about these two different situations he must tell two exemplary tales. "Dos hermanos que yo he son casados entramos et viven cada uno dellos muy desvariadamente el uno del otro."[276] [Two brothers whom I have married and who live each quite differently from each other.] One loves his wife too much and does whatever she wants; the other despises his wife entirely. One refuses to leave his home, the other to enter it. The first *enxienplo* depicts a marriage in which the verbal compact of the communicative relationship has mortally failed, and the second, one in which it is fabulously effective.

Patronio begins with the tale of one Fadrique, very possibly a reference to Emperor Frederick of Sicily, who finds himself unhappily married once his bride turns bold and contrary: "si el emperador quería comer, ella dizía que quería ayunar; et si el emperador quería dormir, queriése ella levantar."[277] [If the emperor wanted to eat, she wanted to fast; and if the emperor wanted to sleep, she wanted to get up.] At his wit's end, the emperor approaches the Pope and asks for a divorce, which the Pope refuses because the law of the Christians prohibits it. The Pope immediately notes that the law he must maintain is in direct conflict with the needs of the empire. The Pope appears to sign off on a solution by which the wife will exterminate herself through her own contrariness, but he leaves the specifics of the annulment/execution up to the emperor: "dixo el Papa al emperador que este fecho que lo acomendava él al entendimiento et a la sotileza del emperador, ca él non podía dar penetencia ante que el pecado fuesse fecho."[278] [The Pope said to the Emperor that he would have to leave the deed up to the understanding

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[275] A late medieval precursor for the psychological twin study, used to determine whether a person's nature is determined genetically or through choices made?
[276] *Conde Lucanor*, 119.
[277] *Conde Lucanor*, 121.
[278] *Conde Lucanor*, 121.

and subtlety of the Emperor, because he could not give penitence before the sin was committed.] The Pope is saying that, if the Emperor can get rid of the Empress, the Pope will absolve him of whatever sin he incurs in the process. The men understand each other.

Fadrique does not attempt anything right away. When he returns home he uses the same pleas and arguments with his wife that got nowhere before. The story does not present him as merciless so much as it show the empress to be impossible. But one day before leaving for a hunting trip, and knowing that his wife will pursue whatever course he denies, Fadrique warns her to stay away from a certain jar of ointment,[279] even warning her that it is poisonous. But the wife refuses to fall in line with the Emperor's requests or to believe in his good intentions, utterly certain that the Emperor is denying her this ointment out of spite.

> ¡Veed el falso emperador lo que me fue dezir! Porque él sabe que la sana que yo he non es de tal manera commo la suya, díxome que me untasse con aquel ungüento que se él untó, porque sabe que non podría guarescer con él, mas de aquel otro ungüento bueno, con que él sabe que guarescía, dixo que non tomasse dél en guisa ninguna; mas por le fazer pesar, yo me untaré con él, et cuando él viniere, fallarme he sana. Et só cierta que en ninguna cosa non le podría fazer mayor pesar, et por esto lo faré.[280]
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> [Look what the false emperor ordered me to do! Because he knows that my constitution is nothing like his, he has ordered me to use the same unguent that he uses, knowing that it will not benefit me. But that other good unguent with which he knows I will be cured, he says not to use under any condition. To give him grief, I will anoint myself with it and when he returns he will find me cured. And I am certain that he knows that it would cure me and that nothing would cause him greater grief and that is why I will do it.]

When the wife covers herself with this coveted ointment, it poisons her and she dies. The narration emphasizes that there is a correspondence between the empress's actions and her death: "Et murió por la manera que avía, porfiosa et a su daño."[281] [And she died because of her way of being: stubborn in causing harm to herself.]

In contrast, the second tale about Álvar Háñez depicts marital harmony as a form of linguistic concord. When Álvar Háñez's nephew criticizes him for overly accommodating his wife, the older man stages a semantic disagreement with his nephew to demonstrate the fundamental docility that enables him to accommodate his wife without threat to his manliness. In an episode to be repeated in the journey home towards the end of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (which Shakespeare apparently took from a widespread ballad tradition that includes this tale), Álvar Háñez insists on a separation between a name and its usual referent. He asserts that a group of animals in the distance are mares, while his nephew insists that they are cows. To resolve the disagreement, he asks his wife what kind of animal she sees standing in the distance. She replies that the cows are mares. She knows better and the narration makes that clear, but she assigns a name to the referent based not on what she sees, but on the primacy of her loyalty to her husband rather than her nephew, or even her own perceptive faculties.

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[279] A similar ruse spurs the main character's transformation into an ass in *The Golden Ass*.
[280] Conde Lucanor, 122.
[281] *Conde Lucanor*, 123.

> Et cuando doña Vascuñada esto vio, commo quier que ella tenía que aquellas eran vacas, pero pues su cuñado le dixo que dizía don Álvar Háñez que eran yeguas, tovo verdaderamente ella, con todo su entendimiento, que ellos erravan, que las non conoscían, mas que don Álvar Háñez non erraría en ninguna manera en las conoscer. Et pues dizía que eran yeguas, que en toda guisa del mundo que yeguas eran, et non vacas.[282]
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> [And when Doña Vascuñada saw this, even though she could see that they were cows, yet because her nephew told her that Álvar Háñez said they were mares, she persisted, recognizing with all her understanding that it was wrong, but maintaining Álvar Háñez did not err in any way. And therefore if he said they were mares, then by all means they were mares and not cows.]

With this, Álvar Háñez proves that because his wife is willing to accept his names for all things, she merits his accommodation. The conjugal bond is not a yoke between word and thing but an agreement between two people to agree to an arbitrary but shared link between signified and signifier: the sign as consensus. This consensus adheres in a social and not linguistic relationship, one that the united front of the marital pair reinforces. Doña Vascuñada is willing to marshal her full rhetorical abilities to support her husband's point of view is able to convince others through the force of her assertion.

> començól a mostrar, tan bien por las colores commo por las faciones commo por otras cosas muchas, que eran yeguas, et non vacas, et que era verdat lo que don Álvar Háñez dizía, que en ninguna manera el entendimiento et la palabra de don Álvar Háñez que nunca podría errar. Et tanto le afirmó esto, que ya el cuñado et todos los otros començaron a dubdar que ellos erravan et que don Álvar Háñez dizía la verdat: que las que ellos tenían por vacas, que eran yeguas.[283]
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> [She began to demonstrate to him, as much through their color as through their features, and many other things, that they were mares, and not cows, and that what Álvar Háñez said was true, for in no way could the understanding and word of Álvar Háñez err. And she affirmed this so strongly that the nephew and others began to believe that they erred and that don Álvar Háñez was telling the truth: that what they took for cows were really mares.]

This marital concord was no accident. Álvar Háñez entered into a verbal contract with his future wife, Doña Vascuñada, before the marriage, the terms of which were so demanding that the bride's two older sisters turned them down before the youngest accepted. When he approaches looking for a bride, Álvar Háñez does not paint a flattering picture of himself to any of the sisters, noting that he goes temporarily insane when he drinks, can be difficult and belligerent—even in bed, and is old and battle-scarred. Item by item Doña Vascuñada assures him that she is aware of his shortcomings, and that he suits her nonetheless. "Et a todas las cosas que don Álvar Háñez le dixo, a todas le sopo tan bien responder, que don Álvar Háñez fue muy pagado et gradesció mucho a Dios porque fallara muger de tan buen

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[282] *Conde Lucanor*, 127.
[283] *Conde Lucanor*, 127.

entendimiento."[284] [And to all the things that Álvar Háñez said, she knew so well how to respond that Álvar Háñez was very pleased and thanked God that he had found a woman of such good understanding.] She also promises to do everything in her power to protect her husband's reputation: "que si por aventura alguna vez le cunpliesse por alguna cosa de estar apartado de las gentes por aquello quell dizía o por ál, que ella lo encubriría mejor que ninguna otra persona del mundo,"[285] [and if by chance he should do something to lose favor with the people that she would cover it up better than anybody in the world.] This marriage represents a shared understanding that manifests itself as a private language powerful enough to persuade outsiders of its truth, at least temporarily, and apparently indicates internal concord. And indeed the narrative that follows demonstrates that she fulfills her promise. To Doña Vascuñada, the benefits of being associated with Álvar Háñez's name outweigh any personal discomforts that attend being his wife.

Ex. 35, "De lo que contesció a un mancebo que casó con una muger muy fuerte e muy brava," is one of the more famous of the collection because it presents the "taming of a shrew" story. Picking up on the talking animals of Ex. 21, Ex. 35 makes not only explicit but quite graphic the threat of patriarchal violence underlying the felicitous marriage compacts of the previous tales. In this version of "The Taming of the Shrew," a Moorish man offers to marry an infamously difficult, but wealthy, woman. On his wedding night, the bride and groom sit down to dinner and the groom commands first a cat, then a dog, and then a horse, to fetch items from the kitchen for him. When the animals fail to understand what the man is saying, much less do what he commands, the man screams angrily at the animal and then brutally kills it. In between slayings, the man returns to his seat at the table and relays his indignation to his new wife. After he slays his only horse the woman becomes very frightened: "Cuando la muger vio que matava el cavallo, non aviendo otro, et que dizía que esto faría a quiquier que su mandado non cunpliesse, tovo que esto ya non se fazía por juego et ovo tan grand miedo, que non sabía que era muerta o viva."[286] [When the woman saw that he had killed his only horse, and that he said that he would do this to whomever refused his command, she came to think that this was not a game and was so very afraid that she did not know if she was dead or alive.] This technique of pretending to be able to communicate with animals to create a fiction that allows him to alter his interlocutor's perception resembles that used by the advisor in Ex. 21, and here too proves effective.

Fearing for her life, when the man next asks the woman to fetch water so that they can wash their hands, she jumps up to comply. Whereas the bride had been known as a "muger brava" or shrew, it is now her husband who acts shrewish: "volvió los ojos contra su muger muy bravamente et díxol con gran sana, teniendo la espada en la mano." [he turned his eyes boldy on his wife, and spoke with great anger, brandishing a sword.] When the bride's family arrives, fearing that the husband will want to renege on the marriage having found their daughter too difficult, they are instead surprised to find their daughter docile, and marvel at their new son-in-law's taming powers. Although it was an act, the threat of violence hangs over the new bride; she has seen her husband murder a series of increasingly large animals in her new house, so when he turns to her angry and brandishing a weapon, she interprets it to mean

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[284] *Conde Lucanor*, 124-125.
[285] *Conde Lucanor*, 124.
[286] *Conde Lucanor*, 154.

that he could choose to kill her as well. The man hopes that the intimidation will produce years of docility. Like Ex. 20, Ex. 35 has a comedic coda. The bride's father, inspired by his new son-in-law's tactics, attempts to apply them to his wife. The older woman informs her husband that too many years have passed and she now knows her husband too well, for those tactics to work on her, apparently validating her son-in-law's use of force at the onset.

These tales all present marital concord but they all, without exception, also celebrate and affirm patriarchy. Or rather I should say "and they all" because the stories connect female subordination to marital concord. In Ex. 27, Emperador Fadrique goes to the Pope for permission to rid himself of his troublesome bride. In the absence of a divine Signifier that assures the link between signified and signifier, the absolute Father, here as Pope, attempts to enforce that link as if it were natural and promises to absolve the emperor of sin. Doña Vascuñada, like the court officials in Ex. 35, denies the reality presented to her eyes to affirm the world-view of the person in power, her husband. In the first marriage tale in the collection—Ex. 25—the bride does not appear at all but serves as a premise for men's affirmation of each other and their "manliness." In Ex. 35 the new husband uses a mortal threat to terrify his new bride into submission.

Enxienplo 36 "De lo que contesció a un mercadero cuando falló su muger et su fijo durmiendo en uno" depicts both the triumph of a merchant and an eventually triumphant marriage, making a fitting culmination to this middle section that has so often depicted both marital negotiation and economic exchange. It also provides an opportunity to re-read and re-evaluate our conclusions about the merchant in Ex. 20, and also refers us back also to Ex. 19 and even to Ex. 1, which all concern how the person in power interprets and acts on advice, thus commenting on the Patronio-Lucanor relationship and also potentially the relationship between the implied author and reader. We can also read Ex. 36 as a counterbalance to Ex. 35, in that it checks the violence of the taming story. Whereas in Ex. 35 the protagonist acts suddenly and peremptorily to subdue his new bride, in Ex. 36 when the merchant returns home after twenty years away, he is tempted to act quickly and rashly when he discovers his wife sharing a bed with a young man. That this man is actually his son of course also resembles the narrative frame of *Sendebar*, where delay is necessary to prevent infanticide.

The merchant's problems stem from the very long time he spent away from home doing his work: twenty years. However, among the merchant's purchases from his long travels are two pieces of advice, which the narrator teasingly equates with exact monetary units. The first is not worth much at all, monetarily: one *maravedí*, nor sapientially: "cuando alguno vos convidare, si non sopiéredes los manjares que oviéredes a comer, fartadvos bien del primero que vos traxieren."[287] [When somebody invites you, and when you don't know what dishes you will be served, eat heartily of the first one they bring you.] But the second, for which the merchant pays one *dobla* ends up saving the lives of his wife and child, because even though he initially dismisses its worth he "tovo este seso en su coraçón."[288] [took this advice to heart.] That nugget of wisdom was "cuando fuesse muy sañudo et quisiese fazer alguna cosa arrebatadamente, que se non quexasse non se arrebatasse fasta que sopiesse toda la verdat."[289]

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[287] *Conde Lucanor*, 157.
[288] *Conde Lucanor*, 158.
[289] *Conde Lucanor*, 158.

[When you are very angry and want to act hastily, don't freak out or rush to act before knowing the truth.]

The merchant later recalls this wisdom when he returns home to find his wife sleeping with a mysterious man, and "Quisiéralos matar luego, pero acordándose del seso que costara una dobla, non se arrebató."[290] [wanted to kill them, but remembering the piece of advice that cost one *dobla*, he didn't rush.] He holds down this urge long enough to hear his wife tell the son to go to the port to ask about the arrival of a boat that may indicate that her husband has returned, which prompts him to understand that the man could be his son and allows the happy reunion of the family. The man is tempted to end the story too hastily, but this purchased advice produces enough dilation for the merchant to attain the information necessary to allow him to act more sensibly. Among the lessons that Ex. 36 conveys is patience in the muddle of the middle, of not knowing and not being able to determine what is happening. It advises slowing down and collecting more information before acting, so as the reach a better end, and, as such, is an apt close to the middle third of the collection where signs are so often misdirected, for either instructive or nefarious ends. In this "region of unlikeness" one of the few remedies is dilation.

Patronio also discusses this middle and dilatory space, giving prescriptive and direct advice at the end of the collection, just before Ex. 50:

> Mas para que vós et todos los omnes podades cognoscer cuál es bueno a Dios et al mundo et cuál es de buen entendimiento et cuál es de Buena palabra et cuál es de Buena entención, para lo escoger verdaderamente, conviene que non judguedes a ninguno sinon por las obras que fiziere luengamente, et non poco tiempo, et por commo viéredes que mejora o peora su fazienda, ca en estas dos cosas se paresce todo lo que desuso es dicho.[291]
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> [But for you and all men to understand who is good in God's sight and the world's, and who is of good understanding, and who speaks well, and who has good intentions, and how to make a proper choice, you should judge no one save through the works he accomplished over a long period of time, and not a short period. You will see who improves his affairs and who damages them and by that you will see the evidence of what I say above.]

One of the only generalizable pieces of advice that Patronio can give is that all people take some time before judging hastily, or—even worse—acting hastily. It is almost astoundingly unremarkable and not transcendent advice, and deeply conservative. Wisdom is often associated with old age, with those people who have accumulated, and processed, and stored up a lifetime of experience, so that they react to novel encounters with potential frameworks of relevance and an array of associations. The hope of didactic literature is that the reader can take in the stories they read as experience, without having to make the mistakes that the characters do, and the plot of many of these frametales follows this transference of knowledge. In Suleiman's words: "The project of the fable, as of all 'exemplary' narratives, is utopian: to modify the actions of men (and women) by telling them stories. In the universe of the

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[290] *Conde Lucanor*, 158.
[291] *Conde Lucanor*, 210.

exemplum, rebellious readers, or merely indifferent ones, do not exist."[292] Juan Manuel does ask his readers to submit to his instructional program with the promise that it will improve both their lives and their chances at salvation. But in order to learn what he has to teach, the reader must sit through the duration of the collection.

Marriage or not, the most "successful" communicative relationship of the collection, and the one that best represents the utopian hope of didactic fiction, is of course that between Lucanor and Patronio. With very minimal information, Patronio produces an analogy that the count declares sufficient to act upon in every case. There can be no clear end to Patronio's tale telling because Lucanor's character is so static there is no indication of when or how he would cease to need Patronio. At the end of the *Conde Lucanor*, there is no transfer of wisdom as there is in *Sendebar*. In the end it is Patronio who closes the collection, declaring at the end of Ex. 50 that "Por ende vos digo que lo uno, por esto, et lo ál, por el trabajo que he tomado en las otras respuestas que vos di, que vos non quiero más responder a otras respuestas que vós fagades, que en este enxienplo et en otro que se sigue adelante deste vos quiero fazer fin a este libro."[293] [Therefore, I tell you that because of this and because of the effort that I've made in giving the other answers I've given you, that I don't want to respond to any more questions you might ask, and with this *enxienplo* and the one that follows, I wish to close this work for you.] If the collection has a desire it is to collapse Lucanor and Patronio, so that the count can function without his advisor's help, and by extension the reader can act with wise wariness in the world, without needing to consult the work. We cannot know if this transference can be successful and thus the collection closes less definitively and perhaps less optimistically than *Sendebar*. But in either case the middle must be extended so that the reader can shadow the protagonists' storytelling exchanges until the lessons find some purchase and sink in.

[292] Suleiman, 54.
[293] *Conde Lucanor*, 218.

Escorial h-iii-9, one of the three extant Castilian manuscripts of the story collection *Calila e Dimna*, is clearly a copy of an Arabic book. While written in Castilian, and in a gothic book hand—both connected to Romance and Latin book production—it looks like an Arabic book, reads like a translation from Arabic, and bears the marks of having been made by somebody familiar with Semitic bookmaking traditions. Even before reading a single word, the *mise en page* signals the Semitic. The text runs single column even though the page is fairly wide. This particular manuscript, unique among the Castilian *Calila e Dimna* manuscripts, has a well-developed illustration program, divergent from but sharing features with illustrations in Arabic and Persian manuscripts of the text.[294] The illustrations run across the page in bands ranging from 6-line to a half-page, enclosed by boxes outlined in thick, somewhat messy, black-inked lines.[295] Inside the boxes, finer-lined animals or human figures illustrate plot points in the text above or below.[296] (See illustration #10)

What is at stake when we make that claim—that this *Calila* manuscript in so many respects resembles an Arabic book? To do so asserts that the book's copier not only translated the language but also reproduced the original's layout either unselfconsciously or deliberately as a crucial component of the form, reflecting a series of decisions about the interrelatedness of the narrative and visual shape of this story collection. It also asserts that the book's makers approached the translation attempting to reproduce the shape of the original and not convert it, a decision that becomes easier to see when we contrast this copy of the work to other manuscript and incunable manifestations that reformulate its genre visually. While in this chapter I will give some context for the Castilian versions of *Calila e Dimna* by referring to the Arabic *Kalilah wā Dimnah*, I intend to proceed primarily by contrasting the Castilian versions of the work, beginning with the transmission branches of this text from the Near East into Romance languages.

Calila e Dimna enters Iberia and the Castilian language along two separate routes: through the Arabic *Kalilah wā Dimnah*—or in Castilian *Calila e Dimna*—which traveled from the Near East through the Muslim-controlled territories of the southern Mediterranean to Iberia; and through the Latin *Directorium humanae vitae alias parabolae antiquorum sapientium* or what becomes in Castilian the *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*. The *Directorium*

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[294] The Arabic and Persian traditions for this work include many lavishly illustrated manuscripts. See a review of this multilingual corpus in Grabe 1991. See also Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Introduction of Paper to the Islamic Lands and the Development of the Illustrated Manuscript," which briefly discusses the oldest fragment of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*.

[295] This is more true for the beginning of the manuscript; toward the end there are illustrations without outlines, indicating perhaps that different people were responsible for each component, and that no consistent design was imposed on the entire work.

[296] The Ilkhanid manuscripts exhibit a much greater level of detail and ornamentation but many of the Arabic copies of the text also use bands of illustrations and depict the animals naturalistically.

branch moved from the Eastern Mediterranean to southern Italy in the twelfth century,[297] where it was translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel and soon after into Latin by Giovanni di Capua between 1262 and 1268 A.D.[298] Scholars working on the transmission branches of *Sendebar*, which also arrives in Iberia in both Arabic and Latin versions, refer to the versions translated from Arabic into Castilian as the "Oriental" branch (*Sendebar*, which exists in only one exemplar—in the manuscript in the Puñonrostro codex discussed in Chapter Two), and refer to the version that arrives in Latin from elsewhere on the European continent (translated into Castilian as the *Libro de los Siete Sabios* after the Latin *Liber Septem Sapientibus*) as the "Occidental" branch.

Sendebar and *Calila* both arrived along these same two routes. But nobody translated the *Directorium* into Castilian for more than two centuries, not until the last decade of the fifteenth century in what is now Germany. And when this branch re-enters the Iberian Peninsula, it does so from the North, with the German printers who spread out from Mainz soon after Gutenberg's watershed Bible project in 1444 A.D., bringing the technology of moveable type and the printing press to new regions and markets. By the time the Occidental branch arrives, it looks much less like an Arabic book than Escorial h-iii-9, although both were produced in the same century. By the time the Western branch arrives it has "traveled farther" from the ninth-century Arabic translation from which each derive, that is it has further naturalized the norms of the receiving cultures. But while the two branches of this text moved "clockwise" and "counter-clockwise" along the shores of the Mediterranean, we will see the terminology for these branches—"Oriental" and "Occidental"—reinforce an East/West distinction that both illuminates and obscures distinguishing features of each group of texts and books.

We are not sure when the Arabic *Kalilah wā Dimnah* arrived on the Iberian Peninsula but given the popularity of the work and the traffic between Abbasid Baghdad and al-Andalus, it is probable that it arrived soon after Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated it from Persian in the ninth century. Ya-aqob ben El'azar of Toledo produced a rhyming Hebrew translation in the early thirteenth century, which exists in fragmentary form and which some scholars believe to be the basis for the partial Castilian version of the text in Salamanca 1763.[299] But the clearest attestations show that, just before his coronation, Alfonso X commissioned a translation of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*. Based on readings of the colophon to Escorial h-iii-9, textual critics have argued that *Calila e Dimna* was first translated into Castilian from Arabic in 1251 A.D. That colophon reads "Aquí se acaba el libro de Calila et Digna. Et fue sacado de arávigo en latín, et romançado por mandado del infante don Alfonso, fijo del muy noble rey don Fernando, en la era de mill et dozientos et noventa et nueve años."[300] [Here begins the book of Calila e Digna. It

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[297] In *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, Charles Homer Haskins attributes the twelfth-century translation of *Kalilah* from Arabic into Latin to a Greek scholar "Eugene the Emir," a name attached to many other translations done in Sicily at this time (293), notably the *Almagest* and *Optics* of Ptolemy.

[298] Haro Cortés, 11. Because of its difference from the Escorial manuscripts, Joseph Sola-Solé and María Jesús Lacarra speculate that the prologue to *Calila* in Salamanca 1763 derived from Jacob ben Eleazar's Hebrew translation. Considering this fragment, and the inclusion of another fragment in Oviedo Cathedral 18, Ignacio Navarrete surmises that the prologue to *Calila* may have circulated independently as a sapiential text in Hebrew or *converso* circles.

[299] Haro Cortés, 17.

[300] Escorial h-iii-9, 94r.

was taken out of Arabic into Latin and "romanced" at the request of the Infante (Prince) Don Alfonso, son of the very noble King Don Fernando, in the year 1299.] The year 1299 in the Julian calendar would work out to be 1261 in the Gregorian calendar. Because the colophon mentions that Alfonso (X) is still an "infante," he must have commissioned the translation before his coronation in 1252. To make the numbers work, scholars have postulated a scribal error—a 9 for an 8—concluding that translation was done in the 1289 of the Spanish calendar, that is 1251 A.D.[301]

But, as with *El Conde Lucanor*, the extant manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna* date from the early fifteenth century, two centuries after the initial translation. Three Castilian manuscripts for *Calila e Dimna* have survived: Escorial x-iii-4, Escorial h-iii-9, and Salamanca 1763 (formerly Palacio 2-B-5 and 105). Escorial x-iii-4 is a medium-sized (265x196 mm) book, beginning with *Calila e Dimna* followed by a *Mappa mundi* and an *Invencionario*, both topical encyclopedias, and all written on paper in a gothic cursive book hand. A note indicates that the scribe García de Medina penned it in April of 1467. In Salamanca 1763, a fragmentary copy of *Calila e Dimna*'s prologue closes a mid-size (278x205 mm) volume including mostly texts translated from the Arabic sapiential tradition: *Bocados de Oro*, *Libro de los Cien Capítulos*, *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*, and the *Poridat de Poridades*. This volume also includes a mnemonic treatise "Arte de Memoria," and the "Vida de Segundo," a short hagiography attributed to Vincent of Beauvais and often included in *Bocados de Oro*. Charles Faulhaber dates this copy between 1440 and 1460 A.D.[302] All the texts run single column and were written in a gothic book hand, but because many of the works are incomplete at the end or beginning and because the hand varies between works, we should conclude that the book was certainly assembled as a collection but not necessarily originally composed as one. Escorial h-iii-9 also appears to be a fifteenth-century production, a slightly larger volume (278x193mm) written in a gothic cursive book hand on paper. The volume contains only *Calila e Dimna*, and includes spaces throughout for illustrations, though not all of these illustrations have been completed. J. Domínguez Bordona identifies the illustrations in h-iii-9 with the "grupo international sevillano," and not with a court-based chancellery. Alemany dates the manuscript to the beginning of the fifteenth century, whereas Zarco dates it at the middle of the fifteenth. Without doubt it was completed centuries after the initial translation and within a few decades of the Castilian incunable editions.

One of the most widely disseminated literary works around the Mediterranean during the late medieval period, *Calila e Dimna* is generally considered the first major work of Castilian prose fiction. The *Conde Lucanor* (1335 A.D.) is often described as such, but the pertinent distinction is that Juan Manuel composed his work in Castilian from an array of sources: some Castilian, some Arabic, some Latin, and with a design that he imposed on the materials, whereas the mid-thirteenth-century version of *Calila e Dimna* is a translation from one source text. *Calila* and *Sendebar* connect to the Alphonsine translation projects in Toledo, among which they stand out as the sole works of literature in the lists of mostly scientific works translated in the mid-thirteenth century. We should not assume that they stood out so markedly at the time. Most likely they were not read as literature, but were received as political science or ethics,

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[301] For a review of the scholarship around the problem of dating, see the Blecua and Lacarra edition of *Calila e Dimna*.
[302] Philobiblon: http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Philobiblon/BETA/1202.html Accessed March 31, 2010.

copied with a vast corpus of Arabic wisdom literature (*Poridat de poridades*, *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*, etc.) derived from Indic and Greek source texts. If those other sapiential works included in Salamanca 1763 provide the important precursors for *Kalilah wā Dimnah*'s translation, Juan Manuel's adaptation of the frametale tradition (including some stories from *Calila e Dimna*) signals the development of the genre over the next century in the emerging vernacular.

Calila e Dimna's base text is the Sanskrit *Pançatantra*, a *Fürstenspiegel*, or in Sanskrit terminology a *nitisastra*, a manual for princes. In that collection, attributed to the legendary sage Vishnu Sarman, the framing narrative presents an advisor who has been engaged by a king to instruct three uneducable princes. The sage instructs the sons on five topics: estranging friends, securing allies, war and peace, losing gains, and hasty actions. The first three sections are more extensively elaborated, containing many more stories within stories, but each featuring a different set of characters. Each section most resembles the others in its combination of narrative, verse, and tales (and tales within tales) about human and non-human animals related to the stated topic. And while each section illustrates a topic, none of them come to a conclusive or explicit point. The characters do not reoccur across sections. The two jackals whose names come to form the title of many of the later translations only feature in the first part on estranging friends (and the second chapter on Dimna's trial after Ibn al-Muqaffa' adds it). The second part follows the unlikely threesome of a crow, a dove, and a mouse, and the third two rival trees of birds: owls and crows. The last two sections are much shorter, the fourth containing just one story and the last two.

The framing narrative is minimal, more minimal than that of the *Conde Lucanor*, comprising just a couple of sentences at the beginning of each section, describing how a king requests that his sage tell stories on a given topic. Differently from *Sendebar*, we do not learn whether these princes learn and go on to rule successfully. The collection ends so suddenly that the absence of closure invites the addition of further (animal) fables at the end, the accretive growth of this collection more closely resembling that of *Alf Layla wā Layla* than the *Conde Lucanor*, in which in only two of the five collections do we see tales added.[303] While the translators change details of the intercalated tales to give them greater cultural pertinence in the receiving culture, most of the additions of entire stories appear at the end of the collection, showing that the core stories were received as a unified set if not in a format that precluded further additions.[304] The collection begins with a series of prologues, so many that these prologues circulated as a narrative text in their own right, as we might surmise about the version in Salamanca 1763, which cuts off abruptly in the middle of the story of the sage Berzebuey.

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[303] And in one of those cases (BN 4236) the copier encloses the additional story within the narrative frame, instead of merely appending it to the end. To say that *Kalilah wā Dimnah* more closely resembles *Alf Layla wa Layla* is to say that the frame is looser, and that single stories, or even series of stories, can be added to the story without seeming to violate the premise of the framing narrative: instructional stories (relating to rulership) in the case of the *Pançatantra*/*Kalilah*/*Calila* tradition and diverting/instructive stories (with an anti-tyrranical or anti-misogynistic message) in the *Alf Layla wa Layla* tradition.

[304] With the significant exception of a chapter between the first and second parts, in which a judge tries and convicts Dimna of treason.

In ways that I discuss further in the next chapter, in these preambles this work announces the routes that it has traveled to arrive in Castilian. In the *Directorium* we read in the first paragraph of the prologue (written about Juan de Capua): "fue movido fazer lo en latino. El qual fue originalmente inventado en la india; e de aquella lengua fue transferrido en la de los persas. Y dende lo pusieron en la suya los arabes. E postreramente le recibio la ebrayca."[305] [And he was moved to put it into Latin. While it was originally invented in India; and from that language transferred into that of the Persians. And from there the Arabs put it in theirs. And afterwards Hebrew received it.] The prologue in Escorial h-iii-9 narrates the translation from India to Persia, but does not mention any of the intervening languages before Castilian. Escorial x.iii.4 mentions the Arabic version, and is in fact translated as if it were the Arabic version: "Et nós, pues leemos en este libro, trabajamos de le trasladar del lenguaje de Persia al lenguaje arávigo." [So I, having read this book, worked to translate it from the language of Persia to the Arabic language.] Although this is the preface to a Castilian translation, the translator from Persian to Arabic, Ibn al-Muqaffa' narrates, the translation without emendation creating a disjunction when we read the text in Castilian, but making clear that this particular Castilian version was effected without too great an attempt to distinguish it from its Arabic precursor.[306]

Not every translator adds to the prologue, adding his story to its story, but many do: Berzebuey/Bidpai, the sage who (at least legendarily) translated the text from Sanskrit into Persian; Ibn al-Muqaffa, who translated the text from Persian into Arabic; and Giovanni di Capua, who puts the work into Latin from a Hebrew version produced from an Arabic version.[307] Both branches of the collection show the culturally specific additions of many of its translators. Because Ibn al-Muqaffa' added many distinctive features to the work that feature in both branches, most notably a middle chapter in which Dimna is tried and convicted by a judge for tricking the lion king into killing the bull, we know that both branches that reach Europe derive from an Arabic translation. But significant changes at both the linguistic and, in some later cases, the typographic level, were made in the Hebrew or Latin intermediary stage and show up in the Castilian translation from the Latin (the Occidental branch). While these changes appear slight, to the extent that they shift the generic markers of the work, they profoundly alter the meaning, especially with respect to fictionality and didacticism.

In this chapter I will focus on Escorial manuscript h-iii-9, which does not include the introduction by Ibn al-Muqaffa found in the other two Castilian manuscripts. Critical editions of *Calila e Dimna* often include that introduction, taking it from Escorial x-iii-4 (from which they also fill in the parts missing from h-iii-9, which lacks folios 12, 28, 38, 47, and 58). Given that Ibn al-Muqaffa's introduction heads most of the manuscripts of this work in both the Arabic and Hebrew/Latin branches, it is reasonable to assume that the manuscript from which Escorial h-iii-9 was copied included it, but I will read the prologue of h-iii-9 as it occurs in the manuscript. Once (most of) Iberia became Spain, its ruling dynasties claimed the two Escorial manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna* as the royal copies of the text. Zarco surmises that Queen Isabella owned Escorial

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[305] *Calila e Dimna*, Burgos 1498, 2r.

[306] This also happens with colophons, with the scribe copying the earlier date instead of the date at the time of copying.

[307] Sanskrit scholars have loosely connected the work to a figure named Vishnu Sarma, but more broadly connect the work to a broader anonymous sapiential tradition. See Chandra Rajan's introduction to her translation of the text.

x-iii-4, which includes a dedication to her. Both it and h-iii-9 are bound in brown leather, blind stamped with an image of Felipe II's shield, and helf in the royal collection at the Escorial. I will read this particular codex as an Arabic book, that is, as a very self-conscious reproduction of an Arabic book form in the Castilian language, and later as a work to be claimed—as was much of the Peninsula's Semitic cultural wealth—as royal Castilian property.

As a point of contrast, I will refer to the first Castilian works done from the Latin branch of the tradition, which entails looking to the incunables because there are no extant manuscript copies. We know of only one copy of the very first printing, the Pablo Hurus 1493 edition done in Zaragoza: BNM (Madrid) I-1994. The same print shop put out a second edition one year later, the only known copy of which currently resides in the Rosenwald collection of the Library of Congress: Inc. 1494 .B53. Fadrique Biel Alemán de Basiliea of Burgos published a version in 1498, two copies of which can be found at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Because I had most consistent access to it, and because I can relate it to the first two printings using Haro Cortés' not quite facsimile version of the 1493 Pablo Hurus version, I am using as my primary point of reference the 1498 *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*, Morgan Library PML 669. This incunable contains many of the prologue materials not present in Escorial h-iii-9 but yet the prologue has been set off and set up quite similarly. I refer to Zaragoza 1493 and 1494 when it helps the analysis to do so.

Comparing these two Castilian versions allows us to see how their translation was not just linguistic, but also visual, generic, and codicological, meaning by this last term not only how it was bound but how the copiers arrange the work as a book-length production. Traces remain of the different routes each version took to arrive in Castilian, and while we can begin with an examination of certain linguistic, specifically syntactic, variants between the two works, we should do so in concert with these other aspects that also constitute translation. These earlier versions are substrata that inform the shape of the eventual Castilian translation. Traces of these substrata remain in each of the translations, but the translators choose to retain or to diminish the effects of these foreign base levels according to an implicit understanding of the hierarchical relation between source and target language that we see so often manipulated by the frametales' constructors.

I take the idea of "substrate" from historical linguistics where it describes within a speaking community a dynamic akin to translation: the replacement of "the local" language with another, "the intrusive" language. We can distinguish the "substrate" from its inverse, the "superstrate," in which the local language persists and the intrusive language disappears, and from the "adstrate," the contiguous use of two languages of equal prestige. This model recognizes that "one tongue persists in another" and that each translation is an interpretation, not only of the meaning of the text translated but also of the relationship between the source and receiving linguistic culture. As Daniel Heller-Roazen expresses the relationship in the chapter on "Strata" in *Glossolalia: On the Forgetting of Language*:

> In the passage from one language to another, something always remains, even if no one is left to recall it. For a tongue retains more than its speakers, and, like a mineral slate

> marked by the layers of a history older than that of living beings, it inevitably bears the imprint of the ages through which it has passed.[308]

Heller-Roazen's evocative geologic metaphor reminds us that we cannot observe this abstract tongue or *langue* that is more than any of its speakers or utterances—*parole*—because it exists in a series of distributed instances. The use of this concept strikes me as less problematic when we use it to describe two related material objects because in these more static objects, the strata are observable in ways they cannot be in a speaking community; they are instances of *parole* as it attempts to straddle two *langues*.[309] The term substrate also associates the linguistic and material components of the text. In paleography, the term "substrate" refers to the material on which a given text has been written: parchment or papyrus, vellum or cotton rag paper. It is an even more apt term for a comparison of two frametales, a genre that—as we have seen—so often retains and even foregrounds the marks of its long narrative accretion. These new versions of *Kalilah wā Dimnah* are translations in both senses of the word—a version in a new language and the carrying over of a particular physical object into a new material form.

My claim about Escorial h-iii-9 and Burgos 1498 has three steps. First, that we can read for the traces of the underlying text, the substrate, in the translation, and that we can compare the translations based on the decisions they make about how to manage this substrate. Second, that the translation effects this transfer not only linguistically but materially, as an interpretation of the interrelatedness of the narrative and bibliographic codes, to use terms from Jerome McGann.[310] In this chapter I undertake what McGann calls a "materialist hermeneutics," one that "considers texts as autopoetic mechanisms operating as self-generating feedback systems that cannot be separated from those who manipulate and use them."[311] McGann envisions a study for any given work based around "the double helix of its reception history and its production history,"[312] using an analysis of the physical form of the text including all of its paratextual wrappings to assess something like Jauss's "horizon of expectations."

Whereas an analysis of the linguistic code entails what we more commonly mean by literary analysis, the decipherment of the bibliographic code demands what D. F. McKenzie undertakes in his "sociology of texts," based on his premise that "the material form of books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning."[313] While McKenzie conceived his ideas within bibliography, this is an extension of the project of "material philology" championed by the New Philologists (see *Speculum* 65:1), the program advanced by a group of medievalists who championed bringing the methodologies of paleography and codicology to

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[308] Heller-Roazen, *Echolalias*, 77.
[309] In this short chapter Heller-Roazen examines how this linguistic theory has been tested and revised since first introduced in 1821 by Jakob Hornemann Bresdoff, a Scandinavian linguist.
[310] For McGann, "The text is a laced network of linguistic and bibliographic codes."McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 13.
[311] McGann, 15.
[312] McGann, 16.
[313] McKenzie, 17.

bear on literary interpretation, using them not just as "auxiliary sciences" for textual criticism and bibliography.

The third step relates the points made in the initial comparison to each work's articulation as a didactic project. Thus, this chapter will also describe how the books' constructors (physical as well as narrative) make *lisable* an ethical reading of *Calila* or the *Directorium* by manipulating both narrative and bibliographic cues. We saw that the *Conde Lucanor* rendered its ethical reading by demanding that the reader situate him or herself in relation to the frame that attempts to fix a given story as ethical, and by utilizing *mise en abîme* structures to trigger an anagogic reading through the correspondence and traversal of diegetic levels. We will see that the translators of *Calila e Dimna* and the *Directorium humanae vitae* differently construct the reader's relation to any given story and the macrotextural relationship of the stories to each other.

While the first contrast I will use is linguistic, it has narrative as well as anagogical and codicological extensions: the contrast between hypotaxis and parataxis. Each of these terms attaches more closely to one of the branches: the paratactic to the Oriental and the hypotactic to the Occidental, although not as simplistically as we might at first imagine.

Hypotaxis and Parataxis in the Calila *tradition*

In *Influencias sintácticas y estilísticas del árabe en la prosa medieval castellana,* Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes argues that all three Castilian manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna* bear linguistic traces of having been translated from a Semitic language, and not from a Latin version of the *Directorium humane vitae*. Along with many other paleographical features, these linguistic inflections prove that these manuscripts belong to the Oriental and not the Occidental branch of the tradition. In *Influencias sintácticas*, Galmés de Fuentes identifies an extensive range of grammatical features particular to Arabic that make their way into the Castilian text, the direct transfer of which he highlights by running a parallel text comparison of all three manuscripts of the work and the Arabic text (which he takes from the Cheiko edition),[314] followed by a listing of the calques by type.[315] Some of the grammatical constructions that Galmés de Fuentes points out concern the construction of personal pronouns (for example, using the Arabic approximate of the genitive, the *majruur*, rather than a possessive adjective), ways of modifying nouns, and the pronounced use of paranomasia. But most of his examples are syntactic, relating to the introduction of relative clauses, which can be effected in Arabic in a number of ways not available in contemporary Spanish, for example using the array of Arabic pronouns and particles: mā, mimā, alatī, and including asyndeton, the suppression of conjunctions.

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[314] Galmés de Fuentes focuses on just the story of the voyage of Berzebuey from the prologue.
[315] Luis M. Girón-Negrón would later commend this *Calila* translation for being "a supple calque, its vocabulary rich, refreshing, unencumbered by Latinate cultisms, a precocious embodiment of his [Alfonso X's] 'castellano derecho.'" ("How the Go-Between Cut her Nose: Two Ibero-Muslim Translations of a *Kalilah wā Dimnah* Story" in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castille*, edited by Robinson and Rouhi.)

It is common in Arabic to modify a noun by placing a relative pronoun before the noun in a sentence, as with "Et una de las cosas en que Dios me començó a fazer" a translation of "wā kāna mimā 'antadāny bihi rabī." ["One of the things which God impelled me to do."][316] When we compare a sentence like this to contemporary Spanish, the effect is strange. Galmés de Fuentes argues that these features may have existed in spoken Castilian during the late medieval period, perhaps also as a result of the influence of Arabic as adstrate. Thus they may not indicate the translator's decision to leave the Castilian inflected by Arabic syntax, but rather reflect an acceptance of the extent to which Arabic had already influenced the Castilian spoken vernacular.

When Galmés de Fuentes extrapolates how Arabic grammar impacts the overall style of these translations, parataxis is the first feature he mentions. Parataxis is the tendency to connect clauses through contiguity rather than subordination, and it characterizes not only Andalusī Arabic but most Semitic languages. In Arabic it shows up in the prevalent use of the conjunction "wā" which most often can be translated as "and," although it can also mean "since" "but" or "or," even though there are different conjunctions that specify those meanings more specifically. In contrast, hypotactic constructions not only further specify the connection between the clauses they connect; they create a hierarchy between the main and the subordinated clause, a tendency rendered visual in the schema used to diagram sentences, which places the subordinated clause on a line under the main clause. This model also demonstrates how the inserted clauses delay or muffle the propulsion of the sentence. Hypotaxis clarifies the relationships between parts, indicating, for example, temporality, causality or modification. As some theoreticians of translation have argued, notably Antoine Berman, clarification also has a retarding effect: it takes more words than the original, changing the rhythm and other syntactic patterns, and decreases the scope of meanings.[317]

Galmés de Fuentes believes that we can interpret the parataxis here not merely as a vestigial and antiquated structure not sufficiently modernized or adapted by the Castilian translator, but as an intentional stylistic choice. "La parataxis, más que como una característica de estilo primitivo, debe considerarse como un medio de realce afecto."[318] He would like to read the enhanced parataxis in these translations as the expression of a trend already present in Castilian prose that the translators chose to highlight, having noted the influence of Arabic syntax on Castilian and choosing to play up rather than diminish it in their translation. "La imitación del estilo paratáctico del árabe hubo de iniciarse, sin duda, involuntariamente en la mecánica de la traducción, pero poco a poco fraguó un estilo narrativo propio, independizándose de su originario modelo arabe."[319] He surmises that this tendency originated from the process of translation but became a desirable quality that other writers might chose to imitate or retain. In short, we witness a pronounced linguistic parataxis in the Castilian manuscripts of *Calila e Dimna*, an indication not only of their Semitic substrate, but of the translators' decisions to retain or even highlight the structure and pattern of the underlying

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[316] Galmés de Fuentes, 77. Example #8.
[317] Antoine Berman, "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign" in Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*: 276-289.
[318] Galmés de Fuentes, 186.
[319] Galmés de Fuentes, 188.

Arabic, an acknowledgment, and perhaps also a deliberate declaration, of Arabic's existence as superstrate on most of the Peninsula for five centuries.

We should also attach this tendency to the increasing use of Castilian for prose writing at this time, which pushed Castilian to accommodate new concepts and registers. Castilian as a written language developed to a great extent as a language used to make translations, most often translations from Arabic and Latin.[320] Most of our first examples of Castilian prose date from the later half of the thirteenth century, the period during with *Calila* was translated, and from the Alphonsine translation projects. Galmés de Fuentes highlights that this choice was somewhat forced during this period in which Castilian was being asked to express ideas that it had not accommodated before as the language of quotidian communication, but which had been expressed in Arabic, long the dominant language of culture on the Peninsula, for centuries. Or in Galmés de Fuentes construction:

> Expresar por primera vez, en una lengua que nunca había sido utilizada para ello, un caudal tan asombroso del dominio material y del dominio del espiritú constituye un hecho insólito y que ofrece enormes dificultades iniciales. Y si ese mundo material y del espíritu, que es expresado por primera vez, se hallaba realizado en otra lengua (en nuestro caso el árabe), sin duda algunos de los medios expresivos de la lengua traducida habrán de pasar, junto con lo expresado, a la lengua traductora.[321]

Before Castilian can develop its own means for expressing literary discourses, it must borrow them from the superstrate. As I will shortly discuss, this parataxis plays out not only in the linguistic features of the translation, but in the shape and visual display of the narrative.

As we would expect, the copies of the *Directorium humane vitae* and the *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo* in the Occidental tradition demonstrate the opposite: a more pronounced hypotaxis. Here is an example from the narration, from the beginning of Book One: the story of the lion and the ox, the two allies separated by the jackal advisor, Dimna. From Burgos 1498/ *Directorium* (emphases mine):

> Estava por suerte cabe aquel lugar una cueva muy grande <u>donde</u> se ajuntavan todos los animales de aquella region <u>porque</u> el léon, el qual tenían por rey, tenía ende sus palacios reales, y <u>comoquier que</u> él fuesse en sus obras de grant coraçón <u>y</u> en los consejos muy singular y discreto, <u>porque</u> aún no tenía noticia del buey ni havía jamás

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[320] At least in the Alphonsine translation project from which *Calila* derives; translations from the other European vernaculars, particularly French, were more common further north and in later centuries. In the opposite direction, *Calila e Dimna* was translated into French from Arabic early in the fourteenth century by Raymond de Beaucuteziers at the request of the French queen Joan of Navarre. See Kinoshita ("Translatio/n, Empire, and the Worldling of Medieval Literature: The Travels of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*." In *Postcolonial Studies* 11:4 (Dec 2008): 371-385.)

[321] Galmés de Fuentes, 15. Sharon Kinoshita in her article on the medieval translations of *Kalilah wā Dimnah:* "Translatio/n," describes the "Alphonsine Cultural Concept" (a term she takes from Francisco Marquez Villanueva—see Chapter 4 and Bibliography for more on Marquez Villanueva): "The goal of such an ambitious enterprise was the creation of a higher, learned culture in the vernacular Castilian language." And further that "Bypassing Latin, it enriched Castilian, making it a language of learning and prestige through its 'agile' assimilation of Arabic style and syntax."

> hoído voz tan horrible, spantose y mostró señales de mucho temor y no osava salir de la cueva como salía, lo qual él con la discreión mucho dissimulava fingiendo estar un poco doliente.
>
> [By chance there was in that place a very large cave where all the animals of that region were gathered because the lion, who they held to be king, had it among his royal palaces. And because he was great hearted in his works and very discrete and apt in his advice, because he had not heard news of the ox, nor heard a voice so horrible, he started and made signs of great fear and did not leave the cave as he was accustomed to, which with his discretion he tried to dissimulate by pretending to be sick.][322]

And from Escorial h-iii-9/*Calila e Dimna*:

> E çerca de aquel prado avia un leon q(ue) era rey de todas las alimanias (animalias) e en aquel tienpo estavan con el leon muchas dellas e este leon era muy loçano e quando oya la bos de como el buey bramava en que non tal cosa avia oydo espantavase mucho mas.
>
> [And near this field there was a lion who was king of all the animals and at this time many of them were with this lion and this lion was very generous and when he heard the sound of the ox bellowing because he had never heard anything like it, it frightened him greatly.][323]

These examples show the expansion and explication that attended the Castilian translation from Latin: the specification of the lion's motives both for inviting the animals into his cave and for reacting with fear to the ox's bellowing. We also notice that the conjunctions that introduce the relative clauses specify motive. The translation from Arabic specifies only that the lion was king and that the king was scared by the novelty of the noise, but the most common Arabic conjunction "wā" lies behind the series of "e's" that connect a series of clauses in the middle without explanation, paratactically. Though both convey the same two facts, the translation from Arabic is faster and sparer. The syntactic tendency produces a pronounced narrative effect, and one that is culturally inflected.

Parataxis is often considered a marker of the Semitic, especially in contrast to highly hypotactic Latin. In his translation of *Genesis*, Robert Alter justifies his decision to use paratactic structures more often than the translators of the Vulgate Bible and later the King James Bible, as a restoration of the sense of the Hebrew original, significantly altered in the Latin and then English translations. For Alter, this sense inheres as much in syntax and word order as it does in word choice. Like Berman in "The Trials of the Foreign," he notes the "narrative arryhthmia"[324] produced by explication and subordination. He offers as an example *Genesis* 24:16, where Rebekah hastens to fetch sufficient water for Abraham's camels. Alter explains

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[322] Haro Cortés, 88.
[323] Escorial h-iii-9, 8r.
[324] Robert Alter, introduction to his translation of *Genesis*, xxi.

that his version translates all fifteen of the Hebrew's "waw's," (in Hebrew as in Arabic the most common conjunction and producer of paratactic rhythm) as "and's," whereas the *Revised English Bible* (revised from the *King James*) translates only five as "and," using also "at once," and "when," and in general breaking up the sequence of clauses into sentences that come to a fuller pause. Alter laments that "the general practice of modern English translators of suppressing the 'and' when it is attached to a verb has the effect of changing the tempo, rhythm, and construction of events in Biblical narrative."[325] In *Genesis* 24:16, this series of stops slows down the speed, a speed crucial to the sense of the passage, in which Rebekah runs around breathlessly to accommodate her guest, the tumult of independent clauses conveying her effort. Alter concludes similarly to Galmés de Fuentes (though his claims about style go much further) that the decision to retain parataxis reflects not a vestigial primitivism, but an intentional stylistic choice used to convey narrative propulsion and action spared explication.

But for the argument that I am making about how the narrative and visual syntax produces a didactic project in these collections, we need to look at a moment when a character explains the relevance of an inserted story. Take, for example, the first inserted story in Book One (on estranging friends) about the Lion and the Bull: the story of the monkey and the carpenter (from the first book of the *Pançatantra*, the first chapter of the Arabic *Kalilah wā Dimnah*, but Chapter 2 in the Latin and Castilian versions of the Western branch, which convert part of the Prologue into Chapter 1 and illustrate three of the intercalated tales that occur there). Calila tells this story to Dimna attempting to dissuade him from interfering between the bull and the lion. In this story, a monkey imitates a carpenter who has laid down his tools for a lunch break, but being unable to properly wield the axe, the monkey lops off his testicles (or in some bowdlerized tales, his tail). On Burgos 1498 13v the lines above the image of the axe-wielding monkey offer Calila's warning and read:

> No es razon de entremeter nos en los secretos del rey ni tener cuydado de lo q(ue) a n(uest)ra profession y grado cu(n)ple poco. Dexa por tu vida hermano de inquirir lo q(ue) no es necessario saber: ca en otra manera podria te acabecer lo que al ximio acabecio con el carpentero."
>
> [There is no reason to involve ourselves in the secrets of the king, nor to pay attention to matters that will little benefit those in our position and status. By your life, brother, leave off looking into what is not necessary to know: or what happened to the monkey with the carpenter might befall you as well.]

The image below shows the monkey sitting astride the log the carpenter has been cleaving. The inserted tale about the monkey begins just under the image, setting it off. The marginal note highlights the moral: "Justame(n)te es penado quie(n) se entremete enlo q(ue) no sabe o no es de su arte." [Justly is punished he who meddles in what he does not know or is outside his skills."]

The 1489 Latin edition from Strasbourg contains this same image on 10r and organizes the text around the image similarly, where the story is also the first exemplum illustrated in Chapter 2 (see image #11). That version reads: "Desine, frater, ab hoc proposito quod intendis;

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[325] Alter, xix.

Scire eni(m) debes. Q(uoniu)m quicu(mque) submittit se cause que sue non est facultatis in verbo et opere. Nec est sue expeditionis. Dignum est ei accidere: q(uod) accidit symio ait dymna dicens." In both versions, the image occurs at the beginning of the story, following the lead-in by Calila, and marking the shift in diegetic levels, the story within the story that Calila is about to narrate.

> Escorial h-iii-9 introduces the same story on 8v:
>
> e tu hermano q(ue) as q(ue) preguntas lo q(ue) no(n) as menester ni(n) te tiene pro en lo preguntar nos estamos en buen estado e estamos ala puerta dexate desto e sabe q(ue) el q(ue) se entremete del rey e tomamos lo q(ue) queremos e no(n) nos falleçe nada de lo q(ue) avemos menester e no(n) somos delos q(ue) fablan con el rey sus fechos e dexate desto e sabe q(ue) el que se entremete de dezir e de fazer lo q(ue) no(n) es p(ar)a el q(ue) le acaesçe lo que acaesçio co(n) un ximio artero q(ue) se entremetio delo q(ue) era suyo ni(n) le perteneçia dixa dina.
>
> [And you, brother, what are you doing asking what is not appropriate nor to your advantage to ask? We are in good condition and we are at the royal court. Leave off this meddling with the king's business. We take what we want and lack nothing we need and we are not of those who discuss their affairs with the king. And leave this and know that to him whom involves himself in saying and doing what he should not, might befall what befell the artful monkey who involved himself in what did not pertain to him, said dina.]

The repetition and even redundancy of this version might strike us first, the pile-up of clauses Calila uses to assert that the jackals' current situation is adequate, and that he and Dimna should not meddle in affairs beyond them. We also see that the conjunctions only highlight causality when Dimna attempts to connect the relevance of the story he is about to tell to his and Dimna's situation, and even that hinges on a tenuously connective "que." Overall, we can generalize that there is a tendency in the Castilian versions in the Occidental branch to signal the shifts between speaker with clauses that indicate the relationship between diegetic levels and the intention of a given statement. The manuscripts from the Oriental branch are less succinct but more paratactic, explicating less and allowing the contiguity of a series of phrases to suffice for establishing their connection.

Visual Contiguities

In his book-length analysis, Galmés de Fuentes does a thorough, systematic linguistic comparison of the Castilian of the two Escorial manuscripts, and the examples I have just given are only those that highlight components that we can bring into a comparison of the two branches' narrative and bibliographic features. Just as the syntax of the Occidental branch more explicitly connects action and explanation, so do the incunables precisely line up illustrative image and exemplary story. The alignment of image and the plot point it illustrates in Escorial h-iii-9 is less exact than in the German, Latin, or Castilian incunables, in which illustrations of an intercalated tale come just after the speaking tag that introduces it: "inquit dina" or "dixo

calila," and before the story itself. The illustration programs in each text often highlight the narrative and didactic organizations of the collection, and follow the distinction we have been following between hypotactic and paratactic organization, both with respect to the *mise en page* and the themes that each illustration program emphasizes. The incunbables match up each short narrative and its exemplary point using marginal and figural cues, whereas Escorial h-iii-9 works with contiguity, repeating themes across stories to underscore them and to create a connection between actors of different species (humans, monkeys, lions) and across stories and diegetic levels.

As mentioned, the illustrations in Escorial h-iii-9 run across the entire page, as do those in Burgos 1498, but the images in the incunables are set off in decorated boxes.[326] Yet even within the incunables we see important distinctions between editions. Surprising to me was the lack of coincision between relative flexibility of medium (manuscript production) and the exact alignment of plot point and its illustration, in comparison to an often quite neat alignment in the incunables. Less suprising, the incunables demonstrate more systematic ordination: running heads, chapter titles, decorated initials. In Escorial h-iii-9 the illustrations fall in more or less close to the plot points that they illustrate but sometimes at the beginning of the tale, other times at the end, with only faint *calderones* interrupting the running prose. And most of the images illustrate the intercalated tales, either the tale that the sage Çendebar tells the young princes, or a tale that one of the characters in those stories tells: the stories within stories.

But I want to begin where each codex does because both the similarities and the differences there are indicative. The first illustration in each volume depicts the purported speaking dynamic of the work: a dialogue between a ruler and his wise advisor. On the top of the page of 2r in Escorial h-iii-9 a crowned ruler sits on a raised throne (see image #12). To the right, on a lower stool, sits a capped male figure—the wise man, holding his right hand to his heart and extending his left hand towards the ruler, as if he is broaching a conversation. Immediately below, the text begins with Berzebuey's short autobiography: "Mi padre fue de Merçecilia y mi madre fue de las fijas dalgo de azemosuna."[327] At 7r, at the end of the prologue, the illustrator repeats this image, this time making it larger and offering more detail (see image #13). Here the scholar/author/wise man holds a book in his left hand, resting it against his lap, while holding up his right hand. The seated ruler holds his hands in a mirror image, the balance of the two seated figures signaling accord and ostensibly the success of their dialogue. After reading the prologue we associate the book the sage holds with Berzebuey's learning, while also interpreting it as an emblem for the book we are reading. That the king sits on a raised chair and wears a crown indicates his status superior to the advisor, but the two figures each wear simple robes and more importantly face each other. The image also signals the end of the prologue, and the shift to a different mode of address in the next section. Thus it clearly frames one discursive site within the book, even more clearly than a page break, though the size of the image has been determined by the amount of white space remaining on the page, so that the next section can begin at the top of the next page. On the top of page 10, the sage Dabshalim begins to respond to the requests of the king by telling the story of the lion and the ox.

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[326] There are some challenges to comparing the illustrations in a manuscript to those in a printed book because clearly the reproduction technologies do partially determine the range of possibilities and the final results. For example, decorated bars require much less effort to print than to illustrate by hand.
[327] Escorial h-III-9, 2r.

On 1v of the Morgan incunable, a scholar (labeled Çendebar) approaches a ruler (labeled Disles rey) sitting on a dias to the left (see image #14). The scholar holds the book, supporting it with his left hand while placing his right hand over its top corner. This gesture strikes us as protective or possessive even while clearly an offering to the king. Behind the scholar stands another man in similar garb, conveying perhaps the depth of this sapiential tradition, and the work's translingual exchange between sages over generations. This image differs from the others in the collection in style and perhaps also medium (a different kind of engraving), featuring finer lines, a higher degree of detail, and a darker and more elongated aspect. The king sits on an elevated throne while the scholar approaches deferentially on foot. The scene is set into a room, the columns of which form the left and right borders. In the background, we glimpse the vaguest of landscapes through a window.

The incunable editions show a pronounced tendency to enclosure, to representing scenes in defined interior spaces, and to boxing, and again this trend begins at the very beginning of the volumes. Zaragoza 1493 presents the title on the cover page of the volume enclosed in a scroll-shaped box (see image #15). Two suspended hands point at the title: *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*. The makers of Burgos 1498 felt compelled to add an additional box around the manicules and scroll. We can also follow these manicules and boxes into the body of the work where hands (not quite manicules, given that they are attached to bodies) point out illuminating maxims in the margins (see image #16), and contribute to the indexical quality of the collection, which tends to point out the moral point of a tale explicitly and to circmscribe the tale's interpretation.

Whereas Escorial h-iii-9 set offs the prologue by repeating an image depicting its dialogic premise, Burgos 1498 begins to illustrate the intercalated tales in the prologue, most of which depict interiors because the stories concern theft. We can connect this tendency toward enclosure to hypotaxis, the grammatical subordination of one clause to another and to a didactic project that subordinates narratives to the moral point that they can be used to make. Overall, it also makes for a greater diversity of images, and perhaps therefore a more compelling volume to purchase. Within the collection, human (and even non-human) figures are often depicted indoors, in contrast to Escorial h.iii.9, which presents walls and enclosures only when enclosure is crucial to the plot of the story. In Burgos 1498 the collection opens with "Senceba" and the king seated indoors. The illustrations that follow depict the multiple scenes of thievery from the prologue from the perspective of the robbed, that is from within the burgled building. For visual interest or to underscore their vulnerability, the potential and actual victims of robbery are portrayed naked and in bed at 3v, 5r, and 8v. Chapter 4 about the loyal friends contains ten illustrations, eight of which depict enclosure: the first two (45v and 46v) showing the nets that trap the birds that the rat then helps to escape. The next two (47r and 47v) depict the snake in its hole (from the story that the rat tells). The last two depict the deer, who is trapped twice and aided by the rat and the birds. The illustrations establish the message that a good friend is one who rescues you when you are in a bind (as also exemplified in the tale of the Half Friend).

The manuscripts connect the stories differently, neither setting them off as clearly nor highlighting the moral point as explicitly. We do not get another illustration in Escorial h-iii-9 until 11v where two bands divide up two text blocks. In the top illustration, the two jackals Calila and Dimna stand between the lion king and the bull, Çenceba (see image #10). As the ruler did in the previous illustrations, the lion sits on the left and the two jackals—offering themselves as advisors to the ruler—face him and turn their pert tails to the forlorn bull, who

stands in the upper right corner, his hind legs and rear pushing into the border of the image. This construction suggests the jackals' exclusion of the bull and their decision to moderate the dialogue between the bull and the lion, between whom a loyal and intimate friendship developed soon after Dimna brought the bull into the lion's court. This image mirrors the image from the prologue depicting the conversation between the ruler and his advisor, a not fully articulated *mise en abîme* (unlike the more explicit *mise en abîme* of the first *enxienplo* of the *Conde Lucanor)*, but clear enough to highlight the parallels between the speaking dynamic on the two diegetic levels, and the assertion of parallel correspondences despite differences in detail. When Burgos 1498 illustrates this same scene, the artists arrange the group of animals differently, with the two rams on one side and the lion and bull on the other, not bothering to establish this parallel.

The next image, at the bottom of the page 11v (see image #10), shows a jackal from one of the intercalated tales, the jackal who becomes afraid of the noise made by a drum that has been hung in a tree. Dimna tells this story (it is the first story he tells) to the lion king to assuage him and to manipulate the king's fear about the strange bellowing that suddenly invaded the realm about which he thought he knew everything. Thus, the drum stands for the bull, and Dimna's point is that the lion's fear is as empty as the hollow space that makes a drum resound. But whereas the jackal is supposed to stand for the lion, he is a jackal, which of course connects him to Dimna. The connection between this animal and the jackals is primarily visual because the text describes them as different kinds of animals: a *raposa* and a *chakal*. But it cannot be a coincidence that the first tale the jackal tells features an animal so similar to himself. It also provides an implicit warning about the coming stories. Whereas Dimna tells the story to warn the lion against being afraid of the mysterious noise, the most present and actual danger results from the stories that Dimna tells, which are like a drum in being hollow (disconnected from fact) but imposing (in the fear that they inspire in the lion).

In the incunables of the *Exemplario*, the "raposa," finds a bell, not a drum, hanging in the tree (see image #17). On 14v above the image, the text reads "e ninguno deve receler de resonido de voz por grande que sea/ sin ver primero por do(n)de viene / e q(ui)en la bozea. E acuerda me agora un exemplo de una raposa q(ue) andava en la orilla de un rio e hallo una campana atada a un arbol: e como la oyesse tañer temblava." [And nobody should recoil from the sound of a voice, no matter how great, without first seeing whence it comes and who makes it.] And then below the image, the text continues "la triste pensando q(ue) fuesse algu(n) animal q(ue) la q(ui)siesse matar: e non osava llegar do(n)de tañia." [was sad thinking that it was an animal that wanted to kill him; and did not want to go where it sounded.] Converting the drum into a bell severs the potential association between the curious animal and the animal skin used to make the drum's skin, and also the possibility of reading the sounding animal hide like a book, given that books were often bound in animal skin, with the pages made from parchment if not from paper. While not necessarily religious, the bell signals a Christian environment, being the instrument that extends the sonic range of a church, in contrast to the muezzin's call to prayer from a mosque. (The drum in Escorial h-iii-9 resembles the North African tambor.) However, this bell does not look particularly dignified; rather, it is exaggerated, symbolic. Fairly typical of the smaller details altered in the translation, it also shows how these alterations sever connections implicitly present in the Arabic version. While cutting the associations between characters in separate stories, the incunables connect stories less to play up thematic

connections than to help orient the reader within the proliferation of narrative levels, as the characters tell stories in which the characters tell stories.

The Morgan incunable (Burgos 1498) highlights the multiple narrative levels the way that the prologue (if not the rest) of Escorial h-iii-9 does, announcing shifts between diegetic levels that go unmarked in the Castilian manuscripts. This use of images to signal the shifts between diegetic levels is most clear when the bookmakers repeat a given plate to signal an interdiegetic narrative. Burgos 1498 uses the same image of Calila and Dimna in conversation at 24v and 29v, signaling the end of an intercalated story and its pertinence on this separate diegetic level. The image of the two jackals (who in these plates look more like rams, with curved horns and fluffy pelts) talking to the lion and the bull, recur at 16r and 30r. These images "bookend" the story, just as the two images of the prologue enclose the space it takes up in the volume, but these images also surround the enclosed narrative, showing the interruption of the tale of *Calila e Dimna*, and then signaling the return to it.

The incunable repeats images most often in Chapter 5, "On War," which depicts the debate between the birds, and which has a more complicated narrative structure than the other sections, including three diegetic levels (a story within a story within the story—not including the ostensible framing narrative about King Dabshalim and his advisor) and two opposing kings, each with a set of tale-telling advisors that the story pits against each other. We could interpret this increase in signposting to an awareness that this set of narratives is difficult to orient within. Again, an image of the king bird in conversation with the rest of the birds at 54r and 61r occurs both before and after the intercalated tales that depict other animals, including humans, establishing that the story has been used to illustrate a point to the ruling bird and also showing the two bird kingdoms in close parallel (see image #18). An image of the bird and a casket reappears at 55r and 63r for the same reason.

The authors do not moralize the relationship between the birds; there is no good or evil group, though one does invade the other's tree. The overall message of this section "On War" is that winning a war necessitates knowing who to trust and being savvy about which personal or vindictive agendas are being advanced under the guise of advice. Therefore, part of the lesson to be gleaned is that any statement must be interpreted in context, by assessing the motivations of the teller (as Cenceba should have done with Dimna in Book One). In Escorial h-iii-9, an opening sequence establishes the connection between the story of the two rival bird factions, the lion ruler, and the bird ruler, but the illustrator does not repeat the images of the bird king talking to the other birds. The Iberian print shops chose to add these repeated plates, it would seem, to make the different levels of the narration more explicit, indicating when one story ends, and that the narration has returned to the narrative level above. Given that, and given the visual oddness of repeating identical images, it seems likely that the Iberian printers included them to help orient the reader within this multi-leveled construction.

Escorial h-iii-9 also repeats images, sometimes to signal the movement between diegetic levels but more often to emphasize the importance of a speaking context to the point being made and to the movement of the plot. For example, in the first section, the illustrations depict Dimna talking to the lion, and then talking to the bull, showing how Dimna was able to trick each by giving information that leads one to distrust the other. At the end, in what becomes Book 2 in some editions, the volume depicts the lion's mother raising doubt in her son's mind

about Dimna's role in the death of the bull, signaled by a scene in which a feminine looking lion talks to the lion king. This prompts the lion to jail and legally try the jackal.

In contrast to the tendency we witness in the incunables to represent as many different scenes as possible, Escorial h-iii-9 less often illustrates the new cast of characters that appear in the enclosed narratives, except for when there is a parallel to emphasize between the two narrative levels. So, for example, Dimna convinces the bull that the lion is a natural enemy of his species by telling a story about a group of animals who convince a lion that if he is going to eat one of them (which, being hungry and stronger than the rest, he is) that he should eat the camel, who, like the bull, is a bulky animal but an herbivore and not a rival. An image of the lion eating the camel adorns 23r, a prelude to the lion killing the bull at 26r (see image #19), which is staged similarly, the lion in the same pose, crouching behind the felled animal and looking up to the right with its teeth digging into its prey (see image #20). This visual cue underscores the moral points of the story quite differently from the moralizing tags in Burgos 1498, emphasizing the themes that connect the levels rather than merely the diegetic level's existence.

It is quite easy to get lost in Book 3 but that is part of the point: when Escorial h-iii-9 does not signal the movement between narrative levels, it becomes more difficult to keep track of where one is in the story, because not only are there four narrative levels, but also two parallel situations: the two rival bird trees, each involving a king and a set of advisors. But we could interpret the message of this section (at least in part) to be the importance of evaluating each piece of advice within its context (as I read Ex. 5 of the *Conde Lucanor* in Chapter One). And in that case, by making the reader work to orient herself, the reader learns while and through reading the message that Burgos 1498 would convey in the telling.

In contrast to Burgos 1498's tendency to depict characters from the story in enclosures, when the artists of Escorial h-iii-9 want to signal that a character is being chastised, they depict both human and non-human animals in the open but bound. The next set of images after the jackal and the bell depict the tale of the adulteress who convinces her go-between to take her place after her husband has returned home to catch her cheating and subsequently tied her to a post (see image #21). The next scene depicts the irate husband slashing off the woman's nose, and the final image, the duped husband with his hands tied before him being led toward a seated judge (see image #22) after the wife has managed not only to save her nose but to to frame his slashing as an unprovoked attack. There are no walls in the image, and no compulsion to distinguish between inside and out, in any of these scenes. Similarly, when Dimna is imprisoned, Escorial h-iii-9 shows him chained to a block (see image #23), whereas Burgos 1498 shows Dimna locked up in a stone building with a grated window (see image #24). Burgos 1498 exhibits a veritable obsession with enclosures, depicting the bird kings inside—perhaps to signal *poridat* or confidence, when the stories so clearly specify that each group lives in a tree, as depicted in the first image in this section (see image #18).

We should relate the increase of detail in these images to the capabilities of print. Once one is able to reproduce an image thousands of times, the value of adding detail to that image increases. We must also consider how the possibilities of print accentuate and shift some of the textual features particular to the Western branch. Haro Cortés understands that the printed page allows the compositors to play up features inherent to the collection from the very beginning, predating the split into Oriental and Occidental branches. From her perspective the

desired effect of the increased deixis is to make the textimage, and most particularly any moral content, more memorable, an interpretation that would please Mary Carruthers, who I have cited arguing that textimage was often constructed to make the content of a given page more memorable.

> Como herencia de su lejano origen oriental, el *Exemplario* combina diversos recursos didácticos, fundamentalmente cuentos, proverbios y semejanzas, insertados siempre dentro de un marco dialogado. La disposición de la página impresa permite ahora destacar mejor estos elementos, a los que se suman los grabados que reflejan tanto los contenidos de los relatos como las estructuras dialogadas….La union de palabra, imagen y sentencias contribuye a grabar en la memoria el contenido moral.[328]

The work from its inception was multi-textured, containing short narratives, debates, quotations of verse and aphorisms in the Sanskrit version. But the elements that the Spanish and Latin incunables emphasize are the maxims used to tag the stories and the borders around the inserted stories themselves, which in turn draws attention to the dialogic frame and the movement between narrative levels. This is even more pronounced in the more refined 1493 incunable. The Latin incunable (produced in Strasbourg in 1482) and two German editions of the *Directorium* contain many of the same images, and suggest that the printer was working with the same blocks or carving new blocks to imitate the images in an already printed edition. But the page layouts vary between the editions. The Latin and German versions lack the marginal maxims of the Castilian incunable. Not surprisingly, we also note greater punctuation in the incunables, an increase we might be tempted to attribute to print if there were not so many highly punctuated manuscripts in Latin, Arabic, and Castilian, including some of the copies of the *Conde Lucanor*. More often than the Latin and German versions, Burgos 1498 uses *calderones* to set off speakers and creates section breaks with large initials, producing a more articulated visual grammar and a more discrete series of sites within each codex.

Connectivity and Exemplarity

The illustration programs of Burgos 1498 and Escorial h-iii-9 reflect (and produce) two different premises for ethical instruction, different assumptions about how a reader will connect the points of these various narratives, to each other and to her own life. Thus, each set of illustrations signals how each work's macrotextual structure implies an approach to didacticism, one that is culturally determined and codicologically produced.

Beginning with the *editio princeps* of Pablo Hurus in 1493, the Spanish edition emphasizes the moral content of the work by manipulating the spatial features of the text even more than the German and Latin incunables. In fact, in all of the incunables of the *Exemplario* (even through the third edition—Burgos 1498, produced by a different publisher than the first and second editions) the marginal annotations and section breaks set off each of the exemplary stories and underscore its moral point. We can interpret the schema either as a remedial gesture, a need to make the work less subtle to be more widely comprehended, or as the desire

[328] Haro Cortés, 25-26.

to play up or underscore the work's moral intent. Often the images illustrate the intercalated tales and the illustration immediately precedes the beginning of the tale. Towards the end of the tale, the printers have inserted a human figure in the margin who wields a placard describing the tale's moral point as a maxim (see image #17). As is common in these situations, and as we saw with the *Conde Lucanor*, often the stated point appears to miss the point: the maxim deployed overly reducing or slightly skewing the dynamics presented in the narrative.

To include these marginal indices itself announces the work as exemplary, and the narrative as one in which the relevance of any story told is construed by its relation to a larger truth, which ostensibly exists outside the narrative and is not narrative but actual. As John Lyons defines the example it "is a dependent statement qualifying a more general and independent statement by naming a member of the class established by the general statement."[329] Lyons and Susan Suleiman agree that framing produces the exemplary narrative, the framing entailing a reduction of detail to secure the stories' interpretation in a maxim, *sententia*, or otherwise secure moral point. Even more decisively than the rationalization inherent to the syntax of the Castilian translated from the Latin, these illustrations assign an extractable meaning to each narrative, a subordination which we could, and which Lyons does, term hypotactic.[330] Escorial h-iii-9 includes none of these moments.

Furthermore, although the tales treat any manner of animals, the figures in the margin are always human. While of course the insights provided by these tales about other species have been created for humans in every case, within the scheme of figural representation in this book, these marginal figures secure the human as the anagogic end point for a reading of the narratives. In the stories, animals tell stories about humans as often as humans tell stories about animals. Within the *Pançatantra*, these stories were imagined as relevant to all beings. We also note, in these incunable illustrations, a pronounced tendency to anthropomorphize the animals. The king of the birds is distinguished not by size or plumage, but because he wears a crown, as does the lion king. The artists portray the animals in Burgos 1498 more naturally, in a way that we can connect to concatenation and parataxis. After Dimna is accused, the lion keeps him under watch. Burgos 1498 depicts this by putting Dimna in jail. His brother comes to visit him and speaks to him through the window. Escorial h-iii-9 shows Dimna tied up to a heavy post, which, while not realistic behavior to expect from a lion jailor, is how we might expect a human to tie up a jackal.

The visual program of Escorial h-iii-9 also connects the stories to moral instruction, but not by tagging them with maxims. Instead, Escorial h-iii-9 links the intercalated stories through concatenation. The illustrations play up small details in the stories that connect them, as we saw with the layout of the scene between the ruler and the advisor and the lion and the jackal. Perhaps not inadvertently, one of the first details the illustrator uses is chaining or binding. Before Dimna is tied up (at 36r), Escorial h-iii-9 depicts some of the tied-up characters from the intercalated tales: the adulteress who gets tied to a column at 14r and a man being led to a judge with his hands tied before him at 15r. Maybe in contrast, this manuscript shows a stronger

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[329] John Lyons, *Exemplum*, x.

[330] Lyons notes that given Hayden White's use of "paratactic" to describe underdetermined narratives and "hypotactic" to describe overdetermined narratives, it is confusing why White does not describe example, "the extreme case of hypotaxis." Lyons, *Exemplum*, 9, and Footnote 7.

interest in showing people and animals trapped: in trees, in buildings, in jail: 45v, 46v, and 52r. At the beginning of Chapter 4, the volume depicts birds trapped in a net, snakes in holes, and beginning at 48v, a whole series of images of animals carrying other animals in their mouths.

The idea that the moral implication to a story occurs through a connection to another story and not by associating a narrative to a more abstract moral point also has a temporo-spatial component that we can term "paratactic" in contrast to the hypotactically exemplary utterances of Burgos 1498. The potentially didactic and ethical thrust of this concatenation operates differently from the framing of the exemplary narrative, in which details complicate or obscure the ethical point. We can use "binding" to think through the ethical efficacy of this paratactic concatentation. In her 2007 article "Fiction as Restriction: Self-Binding in New Ethical Theories of the Novel" Dorothy Hale describes the ethical potential of fiction as deriving not from a moral point that a story makes but rather from its invocation of "a readerly emotion that would serve as an authentic basis of social bonding and also serve as a means of self-binding, that would limit the self and, through this limitation, produce the Other."[331] Instead of a relationship between exemplary case and general principle, concatenation produces a chain of consequence and accountability between beings, the ramifications of which (at the risk of mixing metaphors) extend beyond the individual's ability to know whether the life he is leading is properly ethical before death, and activated through a two-fold empathy activated by the process of reading and not in reference to abstract principles.

In Escorial h-iii-9, each creature faces an analogous situation in a species-appropriate form: alleged adulteresses are tied to the posts of the offending bed while birds are trapped in nets. This version ultimately presents a different model of subject formation, one in which the boundaries between organisms are less clear and the interrelatedness of parts conveys the interrelatedness of beings. As we will see in a moment, ultimately, by portraying this interconnection of beings each work reflects a different orientation to the afterlife. Also in these stories the reader is not kept so firmly on an interpretive path, but allowed to lose his or her way, to become disoriented by the proliferation of stories with competing or otherwise incongruous points. Each approach to storytelling contains within its structure different claims about truth and ethics. Escorial h-iii-9's approach to "fictional truth" is closer to that described by Riffaterre in his extended essay of the same title. For Riffaterre, "Truth in fiction rests on verisimilitude, a system of representations that seems to reflect a reality external to the text, but only because it conforms to a grammar. Narrative truth is an idea of truth created in accordance with the rules of that grammar."[332] We saw in Chapter One that the producers of the manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor* associate the establishment of narrative grammar to the construction of an ethical constitution. According to Hale's formulation, the ethics that fiction induce include a recognition of what one does not know, and cannot know: a character's imagined interiority, motivations, soul, salvation.

When Galmés de Fuentes examines the reasons behind the parataxis in the Castilian translation and its connection to the syntax of the Arabic version, as a comparative linguist he is not interested in the stylistic effect of the decision. But parataxis as category is important to those literary critics who work from linguistic to narrative and literary analysis, namely the

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[331] Hale, 190.
[332] Riffaterre, *Fictional Truth*, xiii-xiv.

Russian Formalists and the early Structuralists. Parataxis and hypotaxis form an important contrast for the structuralist narrative theories of Todorov and Shklovsky, in whose work the frametale also figures prominently. These critics use these linguistic categories to discuss narrative structure, identifying narrative correlates for hypotactic and paratactic sentence structures.

In an effort to understand the grammar of narrative using linguistic grammar, in "Language and Literature" Todorov takes Shklovsky's distinction between closed and open forms and recasts the distinction in syntactic terms. Todorov says of the theoretician on whose work he is building, that "Shklovsky did not realize, however, that the two forms represent the rigorous projection of two fundamental syntactic structures, used in the combination of two propositions between them, coordination and subordination."[333] Todorov goes on to understand embedding (*enchâssement* or a story within a story) as an expression of hypotaxis. For Shklovsky, hypotaxis most importantly produces deceleration. It slows down the reader and the propulsive force of the narration, in that it interrupts the progress of one narrative to insert another.[334] In Todorov's model, the relationship between the story interrupted and the story inserted is hierarchical and almost combative. It works on the reader as a discomfort, retarding the expectations initiated by the first plot, whose completion is interrupted to hear out the inserted story.

For Shklovsky, deceleration leads to instruction; it forestalls the bad ending, creating the room in which the better ending can develop, as in Shahrāzād's nightly tales in the *Thousand and One Nights* or the viziers' debate in *Sendebar* (Shklovsky mentions both). This ethical efficacy makes it different from the dilatory space that Patricia Parker describes in *Literary Fat Ladies*, a space that the Early Modern authors she writes about (Shakespeare, Spenser) connect to the feminine but also to poetry, romance, enchantment, a Circean space that the protagonist must reject in order to return to a serious, masculine plot.[335] This hypotaxis is also different from the hypotaxis of exemplarity, which is more static than the dynamic model of stories within stories characteristic of *Kalilah wā Dimnah* and *Alf Layla wā Layla*. We can interpret the *Directorium* as an awkward hybrid that encloses narrative scenes within a dynamic frame but attempts to forestall the carryover across levels, the potential for metaleptic play (which the author of the *Libro de Buen Amor* does not hold back from) even as it explicitly argues for anagogic efficacy that would demand exactly that rupture of the decorum of diegetic levels.

Todorov develops his concept of the "grammar of narrative" more extensively elsewhere, and most extensively in *La grammaire du* Decameron. As I noted in the introduction, the frametale is important for Todorov, as it is for Shklovsky, because Todorov understands the short story collection to be the predecessor (temporally if not entirely causally) of the modern novel. He also considers the frametale to be an important site for the textualization of an oral story telling tradition and the place where some uniquely written characteristics of narrative emerge.[336] They each understand the frametale to be a crucial step in the development of the "book-length" narrative, of which the novel has been for centuries the pre-eminent genre,

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[333] Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, 21.
[334] Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, 42.
[335] Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies*, 11.
[336] Shklovsky, 65-71, especially 65-66.

because they suggest methods for combining shorter narratives into longer more complex structures. But within this somewhat large and diffuse stage of development, there are works that more, and works that less, closely resemble what we come to understand as the novel. Within the *Kalilah*/*Calila* tradition, the Oriental more than the Occidental branch provides the important conduit for a mode of fictionality to late medieval Europe.

Here, again, it bears revisiting the deepest stratum of this narrative tradition. The authors and receiving culture for the *Pançatantra* were Buddhist, and several scholars have noted that while later adapters change the surface details of the story to make it more legible in a non-Buddhist community (for example, Brahmin become Franciscan friars)[337] the Buddhist concept of the transmigration of souls underwrites the work's entire structure. According to this theory, souls move between different kinds of bodies according to the karma one accrues in one lifetime. Thus, a human and a turtle are connected not only by analogy, but also because a human can become a turtle in a subsequent life and vice versa. What connects human readers to the animal stories is fundamentally different in a Buddhist context, wherein what applies analogously in a Christian context, applies directly in a Buddhist one. Some scholars of the frametale have speculated whether the Buddhist Jatakas, which recount the multiple lives of the Buddha before he attained enlightenment, provided the earlier model for a collection of interconnected tales about different characters, understood to cohere because of this transmigration.

Marta Haro Cortés notes that the early incunables "permitían a los lectores de finales del XV acercarse a la fabulística oriental revestida de una moralizacíon religiosa."[338] These stories always wore religious garb, but its translators assumed that to switch religious context it was simple enough to swap the clothing: brown habits for saffron robes; both a Buddhist monk and a *friar menor* carry a bowl. But as we saw with the concatenation, the narrative structure of the original implies an ethics. Ibn al-Muqaffa' alters this ethical ground when he has the lion king try Dimna for murder. For this Zoroastrian convert to Islam (a conversion that some believe to be legendary), Dimna's actions compel judicial redress in this lifetime, and not karmic distribution over a series of lifetimes. Giovanni di Capua further alters the ethical structure of the work by fitting it to the exemplary model dominant in the Northern Mediterranean after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 A.D. With respect to the underlying Arabic, we see that the Occidental branch assimilates more of the original's difference, while the Oriental branch retains more of it—even allowing various of its cultural and ethical strata to exist in contradiction to each other, such as the Castilian prologue that reads as if it were the Arabic translation.

The Oriental branch does not attempt to delimit the text's meaning and to rule over the text as a translation as much as the Occidental branch does, the method of translation here mirroring and approach to otherness that we associated with the fictional identification discussed by Hale. In "Narrative Ethics" Lynne Huffer introduces the concept of "bounded alterity" to describe the "reader's relation of the narrating agent made possible through the heuristic objectification of both reader and speaker accomplished through narrative binding….Narrative in this case functions as a "limit set by a text to readerly identity, the

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[337] Also see Giron-Negron's study on the variants in one of the stories in this collection, "How the Go-Between Lost her Nose."
[338] Haro Cortes, 25.

barrier to self-projection that enables the text to be imagined as Other and as a law of Otherness."[339]

> As a theory of reading…the acknowledgment of the gap between the subject and the other becomes an honoring of that alterity in its individual, historical, and political dimensions. Thus the principle of the performative force of intertextual repetition becomes not just a static mosaic of texts written in stone, but the intertextual repetition of our lives as actors and interpreters of the world. Our readings of texts, people, ourselves, and others engage in what Ross Chambers call the "presencing of otherness"; however, the "presencing" is never static or fixed in time. Rather, as an intersubjective model, intertextual narrative performance enlarges the transformative potential of interpretation, where the speaking subject, the reader, and the discursive traces remain linked but porous, interdependent, and open to change. As an interactive model enmeshed in the realm of the social, the ethics of narrative performance can rightly be called an ethics of bounded alterity. It suggests that we are, in fact, literally "bound" by the threads of the narrative performances that constitute our pasts, our shifting presents, and our virtual futures."[340]

Inadvertently, Lynne Huffer invokes the model of self as text that we have been tracing, as well as the model for education conducted through the re-reading and punctuation and organization enabled by narrative in the codex format. As Hale picks up, quoting Huffer in her 2007 essay about ethics in contemporary narrative theory, this "binding" implies a connection to an imagined other, but a connection ethically responsible to the extent to which it restricts the reader from a self-projection that would annihilate the other. I am tempted to apply the "boundedness" of this alterity to the restricted playing ground that each volume enacts as imagetext, in the construction of each volume as simultaneously verbal and visual. In these two branches of the *Calila e Dimna* tradition we also see this principle of bounded alterity manifest in the process of translation itself, with the Oriental branch changing less of the intrinsic narrative and syntactical features of the work, and the Occidental branch moving it into new generic territory, that is towards the Christian *exempla* collection, a genre designed to collect the world's narrative wealth in order to put it to service in Christian sermons, and later to the confessions of Christian subjects in the story collections geared to individual readers.

While made in the same century, a couple of centuries after the initial translation of *Calila e Dimna* into Castilian, these two codices demonstrate two different models of receiving the text. To a great extent, the difference is generic. The manuscript producers receive it as a frametale, a series of narratives in a dialogic frame. The makers of the incunables reframe it as an *exempla* collection. But we have also seen how the decision is linguistic and narrative and that, in fact, one cannot separate out these components. While the work's origin as a *nitisastra* remains in the framing narrative, and allows the work to be received as part of the European *speculum principis* or *Fürstenspiegel* tradition, somewhere between the translation and manuscripts of Giovanni di Capua and the incunable editions of the *Directorium humane vitae*, *Kalilah wā Dimna* becomes an *exempla* collection, a Christian genre. We have seen that even though the frametale uses intercalated tales, which necessitate the subordination of narrative

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[339] Hale, 194.
[340] Huffer, 21.

levels and is therefore hypotactic by Todorov's definition, at the level of significance *Calila e Dimna* retains a paratactic narrative logic from its Arabic, and probably, the Sanskrit sources, whereas the *Directorium* imposes a stiffer, more formulaic, hypotactic organization. This demonstrates that a foreign syntax often also transmits a foreign narrative logic. Furthermore, this narrative and ethical logic inhered in the Arabic substrate, here functioning as an adstrate with respect to the syntax of the Castilian version, which preserved the parataxis of the Arabic source at the sentence level and through the implicit accumulation of significance rather than the determination of an explicit point for each story. Hypotaxis more explicitly determines the relationship between the primary and the subordinate clause, whether that relationship be one of causality, proposition, or temporal precedence. Thus, hypotaxis is, just like the exemplary narrative, interested in framing, that is, delimiting, the range of interpretations.

As we can move from linguistic to narrative syntax, so can we understand the bookmaker's decision to make the book look Arabic, a decision to leave the work's foreign origin visible. The early Iberian printers play up the framing and hypotaxis of the Latin incunables, adding boxes around marginal text and even around the title, which was already framed in a scroll. When thinking about translation we should factor in the visual and material substrates as well as the linguistic substrate, and understand that in the course of its travels the *Directorium humane vitae* was more significantly altered, and brought closer in line with the more common and condoned narrative modes in Christendom. These differences in translation make evident what Antoine Berman refers to as the "trials of the Foreign."

> Translation is the 'trial of the foreign.' But in a double sense. In the first place, it establishes a relationship between the Self-Same (*Propre*) and the Foreign by aiming to open up the foreign work to us in its foreignness….In the second place, translation is a trial for the Foreign as well, since the foreign work is uprooted form its own language-ground (*sol-de-langue*).[341]

We have seen that this *sol-de-langue* includes not just the spatially unmoored and temporally transient speaking or reading communities who produce the text, but the material substrate that frames the reading and reception of the narrative. The Iberian translators of *Kalilah wā Dimnah* receive the work with an understanding of its genre closer to that which obtained in the Eastern Mediterranean milieu that produced it. These translators also sought to bring the cultural wealth of al-Andalus into Castilian but—inadvertently or intentionally—retained many features of the Arabic source text.

Translation theory also employs spatial metaphors, and returns us to the idea of substrate and the ground on which and through which these works were conceived and shaped. And Berman also uses something akin to the ethical language with which we have been reading these didactic collections. The manuscript versions of *Calila e Dimna* withstand the "trial of the foreign," to the extent to which they, in Berman's terms, retain the underlying syntax of the Arabic, which as we have seen is also a particular narrative and temporal logic. They do not break up the linguistic patterning of the source text through rationalization or clarification with respect to conjunctions and subordinate clauses. Berman understands translation as an always

[341] Berman in Venuti, 276.

potentially aggressive undertaking, one that taxes the differences of the foreign and encourages naturalization and domestication.

> A superficial glance at the history of translation suffices to show that, in the literary domain, everything transpires…as if translation, far from being the trials of the Foreign, were rather its negation, its acclimatization, its 'naturalization.' As if its most individual essence were radically repressed. Hence, the necessity for reflection on the properly ethical aim of the translating act (receiving the Foreign as Foreign).[342]

This idea of receiving the "Foreign as Foreign" demands the ethical "self-binding, that would limit the self and, through this limitation, produce the other" that Hale describes. The late fifteenth-century incunables downplay the macrotextual features of the collection that works through establishing correspondences across diegetic levels, emphasizing instead an articulation of its parts and narrative grammar, and—with increasing emphasis in the Castilian versions—the moral point of each potentially exemplary tale within the collection. While the *Kalilah wā Dimnah* tradition is so varied and extensive that no study can attempt to survey it even with respect to one feature, at one point both the "Oriental" and the "Occidental" branches of the tradition were closer than we find them to be once they re-converge on the Iberian Peninsula. However, although the first Castilian translators of *Calila e Dimna* retain more of the syntax and meaning of the original, in later centuries people bind the manuscripts of these translations in ways intended to signal their domestication and enclosure in a resolutely Christian Castilian kingdom. As we will see in the next chapter, between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth centuries, the textual environment is changed not only the advent of print, but by the promulgation of a concept of "Spain" that demands the suppression of precisely these Semitic elements that the early translators of the frametales preferred to retain or even augment.

[342] Berman in Venuti, 277.

The Mosque at Córdoba

Today, the white light streaming through the glass of a Roman Catholic cathedral dome interrupts the alternation of light and shadow produced by the rows of stacked horseshoe arches in the Mosque at Córdoba. This oft-depicted building provides one of the planet's most striking examples of cultural hybridity—or colonizing depredation, depending on one's perspective. It is often trotted out to emblematize the alluring and complex aesthetic (as if it were singular) of al-Andalus. The structure has a long history of appropriation, the sixteenth-century interposition of a cathedral being only the most visible.

To sketch all of the changes would recquire more space than it merits here, so I will attend to just a few salient details. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān I commissioned the building in 786 A.D., he took over the remaining half of the Visigothic Christian church that the Arabs had occupied when they arrived in the city soon after 711 A.D. Successive Umayyad and later Amirid caliphs added to the structure until the early eleventh century, expanding the inner space and lavishing ornamentation. When the Christians took possession of the structure in 1236 A.D., they left most of the structure intact but created the Chapel of Villaviciosa and consecrated the building, thus converting it into a place of Christian worship.[343] They dedicated it—as was common to do in thirteenth-century Iberia—to the Virgin Mary. Architectural historians have generally understood that these early rulers of Castilla y León believed that there was more to be gained from appropriating than destroying these structures that so symbolically demonstrated the power of the Muslim polities. During the fifteenth century, builders added a Gothic nave and apse, and in the sixteenth century this structure was greatly expanded under Carlos V (though the King himself is on record objecting to plans for its destruction and lamenting the changes to the building) to create an assertively Christian space amidst walls covered in verses from the *Qur'an*. Today, the light streaming in from the nave of that cathedral interrupts the horizontal sightlines of the mosque, redirecting worship not only from *mihrab* to altar, but from the south to the heavens, pulling the eye up.[344]

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[343] In March 2010 this structure made international news when a group of Dutch Muslims began praying inside the structure and were forcibly removed by security. Although the government markets the building as a mosque for tourists, because of its consecration it is not supposed to be used for Christian worship.

[344] The *mihrab* of the mosque at Córdoba points not toward Mecca but south to Morocco. Scholars have debated whether this orientation was a mistake or rather reflects the Umayyad builders' refutation of exile, because a mosque in Damascus would be oriented to the south. It seems most likely that the builders of the first mosque used the floorplan of the Visigothic church. For an excellent summary of the building's history, see Jerrilyn D. Dodds' "The Great Mosque of Córdoba" in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* or Hillebrand's chapter on Córdoba in the Jayussi edited *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*.

This building has often served as a helpful embodiment for historians and critics attempting to illustrate the hybrid cultural production of medieval Iberia, an example of how the rulers of the northern kingdoms of Aragon and Castilla y León appropriated Andalusī cultural forms in the eleventh through sixteenth centuries as they took over the Muslim-controlled polities of the south, and also how the Moors used indigenous materials and Gothic building techniques prevalent on the Iberian Peninsula when they arrived in the eighth century. Over the course of centuries, the vernacular architecture became notably palimpsestic, which in its 12-15th century Iberian context is often termed *mudéjar*,[345] each addition an overwriting, a self-conscious combination of modes and materials extant and imported. Because so many of the sites are multi-layered, they invite reading for how each new development asserts itself *vis-à-vis* pre-existing materials and structures. What does the topmost level assert or oppress about the underlying? When we look at how these levels are assembled, we can ask about the later, outermost, or uppermost parts: are they translations, continuations, interruptions, or appropriations?

This building has also helped scholars to exemplify dynamics less easy to see in literary or musical form and it can help us here to think about how the formal qualities of the frametale lend themselves precisely to projects of transcultural adaptation as they are manipulated by their first Castilian translators and adaptors. It can help us to speculate whether the form was so prevalent a part of the larger *translatio studii* of Arabic and Hebrew learning between the 11th and 14th centuries A.D. not just because the form was prestigious within the Semitic communities on the Peninsula, but because it allowed for a particular assertion about the relationship between Semitic, Latinate, and Romance literary traditions. These frametales are, notably, the first and for some time the only works of literature to be translated; the focus was on theology, philosophy, science, and medicine. Many have argued, and I think correctly, that these early frametales were not translated as works of literature at all, but as works of political science or ethics. The *Pançatantra,* the Sanskrit text from which al-Muqaffa' developed *Kalilah wā Dimnah* from its Pahlavi version, was a *nitisastra*, an inquiry into just government, the animal fables put into the service of illustrating principles pertinent to rulers: securing allies, fighting wars, evaluating advice. *Kalilah wā Dimnah* was widely disseminated as a diplomatic gift to every shore of the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages: the copies beautifully illustrated and ornate, arguing for just and temperate kingship while depicting nothing overtly challenging. The ostensible universal pertinence or appeal of the text, and its ability to cohere even as local details are changed to be legible in a new cultural context (a Brahman can be changed into a Franciscan monk, for example, if the author wants to use the lexicon of the receiving culture), in part accounts for the wide dispersion of *Kalilah* and similar story collections. But the form also facilitates certain ideological assertions.

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[345] There is a debate about the meaning of the term *mudéjar*. First used to describe the Muslims living in and amidst Christians in recently conquered territories—*al-mudajjan*: "those allowed to remain," it later came to describe the cultural productions (first architectural) of these people. The term denotes a hybrid aesthetic and one that invokes al-Andalus as a memorial not actual presence. It thus is an aesthetic marker of the shift of control in a territory over time. For a summary of use of the term, see the entry on it in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and pages 310-313 of the Sources section of the Menocal, Dodds, Balbale volume *The Arts of Intimacy*. Jerrilyn Dodds also traces the shift in the term's usage in her edited volume *Convivencia*.

In this chapter I want to hone in on those components of the frametale that make it suitable to the demonstration of (in this case) Castilian domination by staging the supersession of the Semitic through strategies of spatial control. These translators use the works' complex spatial disposition to assert a hierarchy between different cultural, linguistic, and textual traditions. Looking at these strategies across the Castilian translations of *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* (both produced in the middle of the thirteenth century), and the later *Conde Lucanor* (1335), we can begin to articulate a poetics of *translatio studii*, the process by which one linguistic and literary tradition domesticates and/or incorporates the foreign forms and materials of a rival. The term *translatio studii* was first used to refer to the Roman Empire and the transfer of learning concomitant to military conquest: *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*.[346] As Karlheinz Stierle points out, *translatio studii* has both a temporal and spatial dimension. The Romance languages, which contain versions of the words *traductio* and *translatio*, both conveyed by the English verb "translate," highlight that the process consists of both moving into a new language and moving into a new space.[347]

Stierle shows how for Hugo of St. Victor, and his student Otto von Friesing, the transfer of power was imagined to have moved from East to West with the succession of empires: "potentiae seu sapientiae ab oriente ad occidentem translationem": Babylonia> Assyria> Media> Persia> Greece> Rome> Franks. This historical narrative inaugurates the newest Empire and renders the previous political and cultural entities "past," superseded. The process of *translatio studii* includes not just linguistic translation but the reformulation of territory, often through textual means: in the creation of histories that construe the ascension of the translating culture as an inevitable *telos*, and through the absorption of the prestige cultural forms of the recently vanquished not just as booty but as the materials from which this newest empire will be built. As Stierle underscores, this is not a reciprocal exchange, not the gift described by Marcel Mauss, but a pointed exercise in domination.

We have to understand these translations as early works of Castilian prose[348] during the first two generations of the systematic construction of a Castilian-writing (people had long been speaking Romance) Christian identity for the Peninsula, given its greatest push in the cultural realm by Alfonso X of Castilla y León (1221-1284 A.D.). While the frametales testify to the diverse and complex cultural forces on the Peninsula, they also serve as a launching site for Castilian (as language and as the political entity Castilla y León) domination *over* and *against* other powers on the Peninsula: over other vernaculars but also over Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew. In this chapter I will look at the portrayal of Semitic[349] elements as "Eastern" or "other" in these three works to signal their enclosure within an overarching Castilian framework. I will be

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[346] For a review of the history of the concept of *translatio studii et imperii* see Werner Goez and Étienne Gilson. Gilson understands Alcuin to be the first to use the concept. Stierle also considers the Carolingians the first to have united the concepts of *translatio sapientiae* and *translatio imperii* as part of their consolidation of Latin as a grammatical and scribally regulated language in the ninth century and the formulation of Gaul as *Renovatio Romani Imperii*.

[347] Stierle in Budick, 56.

[348] They are often considered *the* inaugural Castilian prose texts.

[349] Though I focus on Arabic, and although treatment of Arabic and Hebrew differed, I use the term Semitic here and throughout the chapter because the frametale form existed in both languages and the Castilian translators were often fluent in both as well.

reading for the duplicitous (by which I also mean two-fold) process by which their translators mark these materials as foreign ("Eastern," which in the case of 13-14th century Iberia was also to mean "Southern") while also assigning them a subordinate (because superseded) place in the emergent domestic literature of which they are key texts.

It is by now a convention in these types of analyses to account for how one is or is not using the ideas of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which have shaped East-West studies for the last two decades. Edward Said demonstrates that Europe, and in particular the empire-creating nations, produced an idea about "the East" that not only justified but was part of the process by which "the West" asserted its dominance over colonized peoples and texts. Although Said focuses on the 18-19th centuries, his attention to strategies of spatio-narrative control makes his study relevant here. Said writes: "Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without losing him the relative upper hand."[350] These early Castilian frametales provide an early example of Orientalism because they appropriate a Semitic form simultaneously to figure and perform supersession and supression of the Semitic in a political entity assertively Christian and Castilian.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, political and religious leaders of the northern Iberian kingdoms used an identification with the emergent "European" Christian community to create the terms for a "right" to dominate the Islamic polities to the south, invoking Christian saints and borrowing the language of Crusade so crucial for the victory at Navas de Tolosa in 1212 A.D. But in practice the dominant cultural forms with which the translators and adapters of Arabic texts working under these kings and bishops had to contend, were not Latinate but Semitic—a dynamic not unlike the imagined relationship between Greece and Rome around which the concept of *translatio studii* developed. As Ámerico Castro puts it in *The Structure of Spanish History*, "Medieval Spain is the result of the combination of an attitude of submission and wonder in the face of a culturally superior enemy and an effort to overcome this position of superiority."[351] For the inhabitants of cities only newly under Christian control after centuries of Muslim rule—the cities where these frametales were produced—Arabic was the language of culture and Andalusī aesthetic achievements what people looked not only "up to" but *at* on a day to day basis. The directionality of Alfonso X's *translatio studii* was complicated because while the actual literal translations were often from Arabic to Castilian, the relationship between these two languages needed to be recast to disavow Arabic's superiority as the language of culture (and formerly of political and religious control). It was the colonizers and not the colonized who were awed by the other's cultural output. As Ryan Szpiech has shown in his examination of Arabic source texts for Alfonso's *Historia de España*, often the authors sought to create a narrative that suppressed the Semitic as actor and source, asserting instead an imagined connection to a Latin and Christian culture through the Roman and Visigothic past.[352] This

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[350] Said, *Orientalism*, 7.
[351] Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, 83. Marquéz Villanueva also makes this point in "The Alfonsine Cultural Concept."
[352] Szpiech, *eHumanista* 14 (2010): 146-177.

project seeks to depict al-Andalus as an unfortunate interruption in a clear hand-off of imperial power that would then terminate: Greece>Rome>Franks>Spain.[353]

Castilian frametales import an authoritative Semitic literary genre to create the foundational prose texts for a growing Christian kigdom. A. J. Minnis, Larry Scanlon, and Rita Copeland have shown that authors working in other European vernaculars (their studies focus on Middle English and French) "authorized" their work by referencing—though often breaking with—Latin models of textual authority. But the institution of Castilian as the written language needed to usurp the authority of not one but three languages of cultural and intellectual exchange: Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, with Arabic ascendant. The thirteenth-century Iberian translators of *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna* worked with minimal reference to Latin, though their translations in some cases show signs of being translated by an individual or team fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, and Castilian. Juan Manuel composed the *Conde Lucanor* from source materials from all three languages and takes aspects from all three textual traditions. However to enter the Castilian canon, at the time and in subsequent centuries, these works had to become Spanish,[354] as Spanish came to mean, among other things, aggressively *not Semitic*. While this discourse was not to take on its most pronounced and virulent features until later centuries, in these earlier texts we see some of the problematic tensions that later politicians attempted to resolve by advocating a homogenous definition of Spain, one which demanded suppression, and finally attempted expurgation, of any Semitic[355] component.

Their authors used various aspects of the frametale already discussed in this dissertation—its long and often "book-length" narrative trajectory, its carefully articulated structure of diegetic levels, its multiplicity of narrative voices with different positions and authorities, its ability to enclose and suggest various relationships between smaller narrative units—to assert a relationship between an entity asserted as "ours" and another as "theirs,"

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[353] For more on the politics of this translation program see John Tolan's chapter on Lucas de Tuy in *Saracens* and Charles Burnett's many articles.

[354] The origin of the word "España," and its meaning at different historical moments, still remains contested. Peter Linehan contends that beginning in the early thirteenth century chroniclers begin to refer to a group of people as "Hyspanis," a conscious invocation of the Roman name for the Peninsula—Hispania. Although they came from different kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula, these Spaniards were the group of Spanish speaking people fighting to take over the Muslim polities. To call them "Spanish" was to assert that they were not Portuguese, not Catalan, not French, and not Moorish or Jewish (Linehan, 54-55). In her summary of the debate around what to call the peoples and territories of "Medieval Iberia," Jean Dangler notes that "España denotes the entire peninsula for Alfonso in the thirteenth century, even though during the early years of the Christian expansion the name designated for Christians the Muslim territory of al-Andalus. It only later came to refer to the Peninsula as a whole…the "Spanish" nation-state only began to emerge in the late fifteenth century with the homogenizing efforts of the Catholic Kings (1479-1516)." (15-18) Throughout this chapter, when I use the term "Spain," I use it to mean the nation-state emerging along this historical and rhetorical trajectory.

[355] The Hebrew Bible becomes a notable exception during the Siglo de Oro, though one that can also be (partially) understood in terms of the dynamics that I describe in this chapter, wherein it is safe to study Hebrew as the language of the Old Testament, willfully construing it as a dead if sacred language. To do so, deliberately ignores the "Golden Age of Hebrew," the most pronounced flowering of the language since Biblical times, which occurred on the Iberian Peninsula just a few centuries previous, and which, in the absence of racist linguistic policies, could have been expected to continue.

depicting this overcoming in a series of small encounters, but in decidedly narrative terms. The early frametales: *Calila e Dimna*, *Sendebar*, and the *Conde Lucanor*, are a series of skirmishes or "escaramuzas" into Semitic narrative territory, reclaiming new parcels of *adab* for early Castilian *litteratura*. I opened this chapter with the Mosque at Córdoba not as a general emblem for the region but because it—like the frametale genre—was a highly contested site, prompting multiple remodelings over centuries. As María Rosa Menocal, Jerrilyn Dodds, and Alison Balbale put it in the introduction to *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims and the Making of Medieval Castille,* their study that combines literary, historical, and art historical analyses:

> The path by which tenth-century Castile traveled to fifteenth-century Spain was not a straight one, occasionally crossed by various enriching 'bridges' and 'intersections' with 'Islamic' and 'Judaic' cultures, as is often represented. Perhaps Castilian culture did not develop along a path at all, but instead in a series of spaces—castles, cities, battlefields, courts, mosques, synagogues, and cloisters—spaces destroyed and redrawn scores of times over the centuries.[356]

As a genre, we should think of the frametale as one of those contested spaces.[357] Like these appropriated buildings, the frametale performs supersession of Semitic culture, while it resists its obliteration, preferring instead that traces remain to testify to both its former presence and alleged disappearance as an informing cultural force.

But let us complicate the Saidean paradigm in light of subsequent work that assigns greater agency to the subjugated than Said recognizes. The frontier in late medieval Iberia was long and porous, a "contact zone," as described by Mary Louise Pratt: "a social space were cultures meet, clash, and grapple with one another, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath."[358] In *Imperial Eyes*, Pratt focuses on Spanish America but the dynamics she describes apply quite accurately to the Christian kingdoms of the northern Iberian peninsula when they came to control the Muslim and Jewish subjects of the *taifa* kingdoms to the south beginning in the late eleventh century (taking the Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (and its libraries) in 1085 as a beginning). Whereas Pratt reads for the practices by which the colonized resist and alter imported cultural forms even while using them, I am also reading for the other side: for the tactics of the Castilian assimilators who in the way they translate and re-assemble the frametales implicitly acknowledge their ascension as a function of ongoing assertion to claim what was not originally "theirs," even though the rhetoric of the Reconquista—evident in the word's prefix—would assert the opposite.

Formally, the frametale registers narrative accretion quite visibly, showing itself to be a highly charged site constantly redrawn as various powers make it theirs. The frametale as literary space works against path, which here we might call plot, instead offering not just a space but a series of spaces, not unlike the Mosque at Córdoba. For example, we could read

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[356] Menocal, Dodds, and Balbale, 6.
[357] Other "contested" Iberian literary forms could include the lyric—the *zejel* and the *kharja*, the monorhymed poem, and the advice manual.
[358] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4. I take "length" in Pratt's formulation to have both a temporal and spatial aspect.

Book 5 of the *Conde Lucanor*, which offers a summary of Christian doctrine, akin to the cathedral of that building, because it attempts to direct the more pragmatic instruction of the previous books' gnomic statements and exemplary tales towards a life understood as exemplarily Christian in more programmatic terms. Whereas many of the lessons of Part One of the *Conde Lucanor* are not necessarily religious, Part Five lays out the components of Christian life as doctrine.

The Christian authors and translators of the first frametales in a European vernacular made a point of declaring their "Spanishness" as they assimilated Semitic and Latin materials. In previous chapters I discussed some of the particularly spatial properties of the frametale and in this chapter want to focus on built structures in these collections—by which I mean, literally, buildings. Juan Manuel and the anonymous translators of *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna* used these narrative sites to figure the incorporation of both continental Christian Latin and Islamic Arabic materials into emerging Spanish cultural definition. In all three of these works, buildings simultaneously witness this contest and construe the reading of narrative as a form of building or *bildung,* which allows the authors to make political assertions on a formal level by taking advantage of the temporo-spatial and didactic capabilities of the frametale. Per Said, Orientalism is premised on exteriority, and in this chapter I will demonstrate how these authors take pains to enclose the Semitic by announcing Castilian as the dominant term in a series of pairs or contrasts, always aligning the Castilian with military victory, with masculinity, with control or "señorio" over a household or region, and finally with written texts. The Castilians worked diligently over the 11th-17th centuries to take over the Andalusī tradition of bookmaking, translating works into Latin and then Castilian, and beginning at the close of the fifteenth century by burning hundreds of thousands of volumes written in Arabic characters.[359]

While, linguistically, we can and should read these early works of Castilian prose as deriving from the push to use the vernacular as the state language by Fernando III, and Alfonso X's construction of a body of law and a body of history in Castilian, the architectural analogue allows us to read these discursive practices as a form of spatial occupation. In the frametale form, the architectural metaphor suggests itself particularly around the establishment of diegetic levels, each level understood as a floor or more vaguely as a series of spaces grouped under an overarching structure. We can also read for the visibility or suppression of the text's hypotexts, Genette's term imagining the work's intertexts are both "under" and informing the surface narrative, and discernable in surface effects. In material or paratextual terms, the physical covers and spine of the book function like the walls and roof of a building. And, within the narrative, the framing narrative repeats this codicological enclosure in narrative form.

Architectural form is paramount to the frame narrative of *Sendebar*, and for the narrative within the set of introductory prologues to *Calila et Dimna* that I discussed in Chapter 3. Whereas their authors foreground these sites in *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna*, architectural

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[359] Báez, 114-116. Accounts written at the time (about, say, the library of al-Hakam II) put the total number of volumes on the Peninsual in the millions, but cautious scholars wonder whether that number was not a hyperbolic embellishment, and no catalogues of those libraries survive. In addition to that of al-Hakam, the libraries of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's Madīnat al-Zahra, 11-12th c. Toledo, and the library of the Banū Hud in Zaragoza were legendary at the time for being the largest and most advanced on the continent.

organization is frequest but less fundamental in the *Conde Lucanor*, which, as we have seen, attempts to assert, even against fact, the consistency of its narrative units. For that work, I will focus on particular buildings that Juan Manuel manipulates for narrative and rhetorical ends, and on the framing narrative as an overarching structure. In the process of looking at these three works, I will begin to articulate a poetics of *translatio studii* that describes the techniques used to incorporate the cultural production of a former ruler, decisions about whether to leave the "foreign" origin of the material marked or unmarked, often using linguistic metaphors, which sometimes overlap with those that the structuralists and poststructuralists use to describe narrative procedure. As we saw in Chapters 1 and 2, concern with space is also often concern with time, the topmost layer or event understood as a supersession of previous pages and incidents.

The Mosque of Córdoba in the Conde Lucanor*: Ex. 41*

Juan Manuel explicitly mentions the Mosque at Córdoba, describing it as one of the highest cultural achievements of al-Andalus only to note its complete incorporation into a Christian kingdom by the south-moving forces of the so-called Reconquista. In Ex. 41 "De lo que contesció a un rey de Córdova quel dizían Alhaquem," Juan Manuel recounts how Al-Hakam II became famous for the additions that he made to the Great Mosque of Córdoba. The question that Juan Manuel has Patronio attempt to answer with this *enxienplo* is how Count Lucanor should attempt to establish his reputation. Count Lucanor suspects that being known for certain innovations in falconry equipment will prove insufficient when compared to the feats of famous Spanish rulers: "Et cuando loan al Cid Roy Díaz o al conde Ferrant Gonzales de cuantas lides vencieron, o al sancto et bienaventurado rey don Ferrando de cuantas buenas conquistas fizo, loan a mí diziendo que fiz muy buen fecho porque añadí aquell en los capiellos et en las pihuelas."[360] [And when they praise The Cid Roy Díaz or the Count Ferrant Gonzales for the many victories they have won, or praise the saintly and fortunate King Don Fernando for the many conquests he made, they will praise me saying that I did a good thing because I added to the straps on the falconer's glove.]

The formidable threesome to which the Count compares himself includes two of the pre-eminent heroes of early Spanish epic: Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar "El Cid" and Ferrant Gonzalez, as well as Fernando III, Juan Manuel's great uncle who, among other victories, conquered Córdoba in 1236 and Sevilla in 1248. In keeping with Juan Manuel's penchant for extolling the active and secular life, these figures were famous for their military prowess, and—according to legend if not always history—for bringing Muslim-controlled land under Christian dominion. Compared to these military victories, Count Lucanor's accomplishment appears paltry and insignificant. Falconry is the performance of killing and aggression, a leisure activity of the nobility, and inconsequential if there is an actual military threat.

According to the story that Patronio tells, before this building project "Alhaquem" (as al-Ḥakam is spelled in the text), was infamous for having accomplished nothing more than an adjustment—an additional hole—to the *albogón*, an Arabic wind instrument. Aware that he

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[360] *CL*, 169.

needed a project more worthy of a king, the ruler finished building the mosque. "Entonce porque la mezquita de Córdova non era acabada, añadió en ella aquel rey toda la labor que ý menguava et acabóla."[361] [Therefore, because the Mosque at Córdoba was unfinished that king added to it with all the labor that he could muster and finished it.] He finished it: *acabóla*. Whereas history attests that al-Mansūr made additions after al-Hakam II including doubling the mosque's floorplan, for Juan Manuel's purposes, Alhaquem puts the last Moorish finish on this Islamic structure. While still a cultural rather than a military achievement, Juan Manuel connects this project to the larger one of empire building.

Immediately following, Juan Manuel underscores the importance of this mosque both within Moorish Spain and now as incorporated into Christian Spain: "Esta es la mayor et más complida et más noble mezquita que los moros avían en España, et, loado a Dios, es agora eglesia et llámanla Sancta María de Córdova; et offrecióla el sancto rey don Fernando a Sancta María cuando ganó a Córdova de los moros."[362] [This is the biggest and most complete and most noble mosque that the Moors had in Spain, and, thanks be to God, it is now a church called Santa María of Córdoba because King Ferdinand the Saint [the III] offered it to Saint Mary when he won Córdoba from the Moors.] Juan Manuel does not deny or downplay the cultural achievements of the Moors but he does not permit them to stand in their own terms for more than a sentence. As soon as he builds up the mosque as the pinnacle of Islamic architectural achievement on the Peninsula, Juan Manuel caps it with a church. He declares that it is no longer a mosque at all: "es agora eglesia." Similarly, at the time Juan Manuel wrote, he was contending with other family members for control of Castilla y Léon (which by then included Córdoba), and the Moors were no longer in the contest.

The poetics of *translatio studii* demand not a disavowal of cultural debt, but neither do they permit explicit acknowledgment of hybrid identity or coexistence, which again in medieval Iberia has its own term with a contested history—*convivencia*, the term used to describe the complex cultural negotiations of power, persecution, and tolerance between the people of the three monotheisms in medieval Iberia. Rather, Juan Manuel acknowledges the presence of the foreign within the new structure, but never without asserting the former power's current subordination. While different from the relationship between Latin and the Romance vernaculars, it does share features with the contest between Greek and Latin during the Roman Empire. As Rita Copeland points out in her study of emergent vernacular hermeneutics vis-à-vis *Latinitas* in *Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, this particular appropriation of *auctoritas* finds its model in the Roman appropriation of Greek learning through translation:

> Thus while both translation and imitation aim to reinvent the source, the similarity between these two acts is only superficial. The imitative aim of 'making different,' of re-creation, rests on an ideal of familial continuity with a real or (in the case of Greek sources) naturalized past; the aim of inventive difference in the replicative project of translation, however, emerges from a disturbing political agenda in which forcibly substituting Rome for Greece is a condition of acknowledging the foundational status of Greek eloquence for *Latinitas*. The replicative principles of translation are not founded

[361] *CL*, 169.
[362] *CL*, 170.

> on a dream of patriarchal continuity or evolutionary progress, but on a historical agenda of conquest and supremacy through submission, or in Horace's famous words 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis/intulit agresti Latio' (captive Greece captured the savage victor and brought the arts into rustic Latium).[363]

Whereas recreation or imitation establishes a productive difference between source text and translation and does not necessarily establish a power dynamic by which only one term can stand, replicative translation in Copeland's formulation demands the submission of the "source" text to the agenda of the translators. She implies an architectural metaphor by using "foundation," noting that *Latinitas* will be built *upon* the Hellenic inheritance, not as a parallel and rival tradition, but as a very deliberate take-over of its materials and forms. The Roman translators signal their "supremacy" by building atop these Greek materials but let enough of the foundation show through to make the hierarchy visible. Henceforth, the Greek will hold up the Roman, like slaves lifting a palanquin.

But the quote from Horace (*Epistles* II, 1, 156f) that Copeland includes presents a more complicated contest and exemplifies a number of the dynamics that Juan Manuel employs. Per Horace's formulation, Greece has lost but Rome, masculine (if grammatically neuter) and the military victor, is savage and rustic. Greece, while captive and feminine, is the subject of the sentence and the agent who brought the arts, ostensibly as part of the war booty comprising not only territory but people, goods, and skills, into this growing entity: Latium. Horace's syntax indicates the seductive component of this cultural contest, and indicates that the struggle is bidirectional; both parties are captors and captives. As Copeland draws out, Greece is now imagined as an entity within Latium, who has brought, "intulit," the arts inside Rome, again emphasizing the spatial component of a translation as a carrying over and into. Furthermore, to call the Greeks "Graecia" is to use the Roman name (they would call themselves "Hellas," (not to mention use another script entirely), just as the Christian Iberians termed the Islamic Iberians "Moors," after the Roman district of Mauritania in North Africa.[364] These terms refuse to the conquered (or soon to be conquered) the right to determine their own collective name. Though neither the Romans nor Spaniards generated or knew how to produce these arts, they perform their domination over the imports (to them) by declaring mastery over the vanquished in military terms. This rhetoric imagines the foreign as valuable only to the extent to which it has submitted to the terms of the new rulers. But the foreign will continue to determine the meaning of these terms or buildings from within and underneath in ways that the rulers do not anticipate and cannot entirely control.

This architectural appropriation has its analogue in subject formation, as Juan Manuel makes clear. In Ex. 41, he has Patronio offer up a Moorish ruler as a historical example worthy of imitation but his *enxienplo* makes a point that exceeds Lucanor's request. The most

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[363] Copeland, 31. While not on Copeland's radar, the Abassid translation of Greek and Persian learning (of which Ibn al-Muqaffah's *Kalilah wa Dimna* was a significant text) would use similar terms.

[364] "Saracen" derives from the Arabic sh-r-q, those from the East, though the inhabitants of al-Andalus understood themselves to the westernmost province of the *dār al-Islam*, the *Maghreb*, from gh-r-b, meaning west.

exemplary feature is not Alhaquem's virtue but that his exemplary (within Islam) mosque has been dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Just as the mosque could be overwritten with a church, so can the exemplary Moorish characters in Juan Manuel's stories offer models for the upstanding Christian and Spanish subject, but only by being overwritten. Juan Manuel asserts that rather than destabilizing either the work's Spanishness or its virtue, by submitting and only through submission, the Semitic adds to the valor of the Spanish. Juan Manuel's control over these exemplary characters is itself exemplary: a performance of his (and Castilian Christian) ability to recast Arabic literary wealth to its own ends. Juan Manuel names these Moorish characters, making clear that they are former rulers, to raise the prestige of the vanquisher by establishing the value of the vanquished. He repeats this gesture throughout the collection almost every time that he mentions the Moors.

And repeat he does. We notice that these references to Moors are central to the collection, structurally as well as thematically. Juan Manuel portrays Salaḥ al-dīn, the most exemplary of Muslim rulers, in *enxienplos* 25 and 50. Each half of the collection closes with a story about Saladín (as the *Conde Lucanor* refers to him). Both Ayerbe-Chaux and Serés, scholars attentive to the arrangement of tales in *El Conde Lucanor*, have noted the placement of these two stories featuring Saladín in Juan Manuel's work, observing that the stories come from Northern European *exempla* collections and did not at first feature him. That Juan Manuel quite deliberately added the name Saladín to stories not otherwise about him supports the argument that their placement at the middle and end of the collection was intentional.[365] Besides Count Lucanor and Patronio, who "speak" at a different diegetic level, Saladín is the only character to reoccur in the collection. That Juan Manuel chose to adapt these stories to feature the infamous Muslim ruler, motivated by reasons I will discuss shortly, shows that Juan Manuel sought to highlight this figure, and it draws attention to other local appearances of Moors in this text. First, let us look at the first explicit mention of the Moors, where Juan Manuel makes his political orientation very clear.

Overcoming the Moors: Ex. 3 in the Conde Lucanor

Juan Manuel introduces eleven of his *enxienplos* as "Moorish" or as depicting "Moorish" characters: 3, 21, 25, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 41, 46, 47. Another six *enxienplos* are almost definitely taken from story collections translated from Arabic or Hebrew. These seventeen stories (of the 50) comprise a significant component of the collection's narrative materials. Juan Manuel does not always highlight that these works are Moorish,[366] but I want to start by looking at those

[365] These stories occupy these exact positions in Manuscript S and Manuscript M. In manuscript H they number 22 and 49, closing the collection and occurring more or less in the middle. In manuscript P they occur in places 25 and 52, but the numbering was thrown off by the scribe so what was labeled the 52nd *capítulo* contains the fiftieth *enxienplo*. The 1642 printed edition by Argote entirely ignores any intention to order the stories according to a particular pattern even though much of the patterning is consistent across manuscripts, instead organizing the stories by type: historical, fabulist, etc. He places the historical exempla first, which we can interpret as his desire to make Juan Manuel and the Manuel family, as well as Juan Manuel's use of Castilian, foundational for the nobility of Castilian as linguistic and political entity.

[366] Daniel Devoto distinguished between stories in the collection that he considered to be a "cuento arabe," a "cuento de origen arabe," or a "cuento de ambiente arabe." As often the case with source

places where he does. In these *enxienplos*, we see that Juan Manual's treatment of Moorish materials continues the program we observed in Ex. 41: marking a source or character as Moorish to signal the ascendancy of Christian and Castilian dominance over formerly Moorish-controlled materials and territory.

The first story to explicitly reference the Moors is Ex. 3, "Del salto que fizo el Rey Richalte de Inglaterra en la mar contra los moros" recounts "Richart Couer de Leon's" courage and confidence in Christian superiority as he leaps ashore during a siege in (what we assume is) the Third Crusade. In the first and second chapters I noted those segments of the collection that stay intact across manuscripts and noted that the first five are kept together in every case. If Ex. 1 is a *mise en abyme* for the entire work, and Ex. 2 offers different models for walking in a straight line, Ex. 3 is the first announcement of Juan Manuel's program *vis-à-vis* the Semitic materials that he includes. Here the Moors provide not only an occasion for Christian valor, but the Muslim religion provides justification for the Christians' desire to subjugate the "Moors."

The question put to Patronio is how Count Lucanor should understand his combat as a *caballero* against enemies who are sometimes Christian and sometimes Islamic, and the response Patronio gives advocates not only fighting against the Moors, but the merits of fighting compared to the speculative life of retreat from this world's concerns. In his story, the framing narrative within the *enxienplo* features a hermit who is frustrated to learn that he will be forced to share Paradise with Richard Couer de Leon, who—from the hermit's perspective—because he "era omne muy guerrero et que avía muertos et robados et deseredados muchas gentes…parescía muy alongada de la carrera de salvación."[367] [was a war-like man who because he had killed and robbed and disinherited many people…seemed quite astray from the path to salvation.] The hermit cannot reconcile Richard's killing and pillaging with the knowledge that Richard will attain salvation.

Ex. 3 continues the message about space and time begun in Ex. 2, arguing that while each person only has one lived life through which to attain salvation, the paths to salvation are manifold. Juan Manuel asserts here, as he does elsewhere, that responsible fulfillment of the duties of one's "estado" ensures salvation. But belief in salvation functions like the miracle that makes "Richalte de Inglaterra's" leap ashore successful. Although Richard took the leap, God is the subject of the sentence and Richard the worthy object of his mercy: "Dios…accorió entonce al Rey de Inglaterra, libról del muerte para este mundo et diol vida perdurable para sienpre et escapól de aquel peligro de agua."[368] [God…then ran the King of England, liberating him from death in this life and giving him life everlasting life and saved him from the danger of the water.] According to Patronio's story, God intervenes on Richard's behalf because he fights as a "Caballero de Dios," a warrior against a Church-declared enemy in the Crusades.

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studies, his distinctions now seem inconclusive because it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the influence of oral sources.

[367] *CL*, 34-35.

[368] *CL*, 36. We can recall here how Evelyn Vitz argues that medieval narrative differs from later narrative in the common appearance of God as actant, visible here in the parts of speech of the sentence. A. J. Minnis (1984) also notes that authors often present God as the auctor of the work in their prologies or *introductiones ad auctores*, presenting themselves instead as God's scribes, merely compilers.

According to Juan Manuel, faith enables a Christian to achieve what at first seems insurmountable. Juan Manuel makes this point quite explicitly in one of his other frametale collections *El Libro de los estados*, where he asserts that "Lo primero, que los christianos que quieren ir contra los moros deven poner toda su esperança en Dios, et creer firmemente que el vençer et el poder de todas las cosas, et señaladamente de las lides, es en Dios."[369] [First, that the Christians who want to go against the Moors should put all of their hope in God and believe that the victory and power in all things, and especially battles, is in God.] Even before military strategy, which he does discuss in the *Libro de los estados*, where he gives very particular advice about sieges and retreats, faith in God is important to the soldiers because only God will animate their actions to victory. Also significant here is that this Richard often served as the "other" to Saladín, because they were leaders of opposing forces during the Third Crusade, thus connecting this first mention of the Moors, and the imperative to fight them, to *enxienplos* 25 and 50, from which structure we know this to be a central concern of the collection. Of course this is also revisionist history because the Christians were not ultimately successful during the Third Crusade.

Martydom offers one of the most irrefutable paths to salvation and Patronio equates its attainment with fighting Muslim enemies.[370] But martyrdom can be understood figuratively according to Juan Manuel, and can be obtained without fighting and dying at the hands of God's enemies: "Et si muriéredes en servicio de Dios, viviendo en la manera que vos dicho, seredes mártir et muy bien aventurado; et aunque non murades por armas, la Buena voluntad et las buenas obras vos farán martir."[371] [And if you die in service to God, living in the manner that I tell you, you would be a martyr and quite fortunate; and even if you do not perish in arms, good will and good works will make you a martyr.] The coupling of good intention and good acts constitutes martyrdom and increases one's chance of salvation; it is enough to make one a martyr.[372]

But Juan Manuel is implicitly constructing a narrative of *his life* as one worthy of salvation, even more explicitly in the *Libro de los Estados* than in the *Conde Lucanor*.[373] In the *Libro de los Estados* he argues that only those have received confession for their sins should fight against the Moors, so that God will be inclined to favor them[374] and that even those sinners who die at the hands of the Moors have a better hope of attaining salvation than those who die any other way: "Et aun de los pecadores que mueren et los matan los moros, muy major sperança deven aver de su salvaçion que de los otros pecadores que non mueren en la Guerra de los moros.[375] [And even those sinners who die killed by the Moors, they have much better hope of attaining salvation than those other sinners who do not die in the war against the Moors.]

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[369] *Libro de los Estados*, 225. Book I, Cap. LXXVI.
[370] Some scholars speculate whether this concept moved from Islam (*jihād*) into Christianity during this period, though of course martyrdom was a crucial component of early Christianity and Late Antique and early medieval hagiography.
[371] *Conde Lucanor*, 37.
[372] Though as discussed in Chapter Two, whether acts or intention will be read as good and thus salvation-worthy lies beyond the perception of the layperson in this life.
[373] As *adelantero* of Murcia, Juan Manuel led *escaramuzas* (raids) into Muslim-controlled territory.
[374] *Libro de los Estados*, 225.
[375] *Libro de los Estados*, 226.

Conversely, those who seek material gain while Crusading lose out on some of the spiritual benefit. Written along the border between Christian and Muslim Spain we should read Juan Manuel's literary work as we read the *Cantar de Mio Cid*: the favorable portrayal of the Moorish soldier as a form of military propaganda.

The Moors provide a very specific occasion for Christian duty. While the Moors are necessarily antagonists for Juan Manuel, because he accepts the Vatican's terms that would have them be infidels and interlopers on Christian land in Iberia, he portrays them as worthy adversaries. In this same section of *The Libro de los Estados*, Juan Manuel expresses his great respect for Moorish military prowess: "Tan Buenos omnes de armas son, et tanto saben de Guerra, et tan bien lo fazen, que sinon porque deven aver, et an, a Dios contra sí por la falsa secta en que biven…que yo diría que en el mundo non ha tan Buenos omnes de armas."[376] [So good are they at arms and know so much about war, which they wage so well, that if it was not bad to validate the pernicious sect in which they live…I would say that there are no men in the world so good at fighting.] According to Juan Manuel, ultimately the Moors will lose because God is against them, but to effect this inevitable capitulation, the Christians will need faith, but also more than their faith. In both the literary and military realms, the Christians need to acquire the skills, culture, and technologies of their enemies. As if laying siege to them, they will need to aspire to and attain their heights in order to take over and inhabit their cities.

Salvation as Frame

When Juan Manuel uses a conversation between a Christian lord concerned with his salvation and responsible fulfillment of his "estado" on earth and his advisor as his narrative frame, he is asserting Christian identity against a whole series of otherwise Semitic markers. Juan Manuel introduces his work in the *Prólogo* as a type of work that fulfills a set of generic expectations: "començaré la materia del libro en manera de un grand señor que fablava con un su consegero."[377] [I will begin the matter of this book in the manner of a great noble who speaks to his advisor.] According to David Wacks and John Tolan, the narrative premise of an older wiser man instructing somebody younger and less experienced (as in the *Fürstenspiegel*) has Eastern origins. While Juan Manuel introduces many of the stories in the collection as "Moorish" or depicts "Moorish" characters, he asserts that the frame itself is Christian. The ideal reader, as stated in the *Prólogo*, is one who reads to attain salvation: "Et Dios, que es conplido et conplidor de todos los Buenos fechos, por la su merced et por la su piadat quiera que los que este libro leyeren que se aprovechen dél a servicio de Dios et para salvamiento de sus almas et aprovechamiento de sus cuerpos."[378] [And God, who is the completion and completer of all good deeds, through his mercy and his piety wants those who read this book to benefit from it in service to God and for the salvation of their souls and the advantageous use of their bodies.] The book is merely a guide to actions that will ultimately be completed by God, who will ensure their health in this life and their salvation in the next. Again, "completion" is an important concept. The Mosque at Córdoba was the most "conplido" of the Moors, the one that most ably

[376] *Libro de los Estados*, 224.
[377] *CL*, 18.
[378] *CL*, 17-18.

attested the power of the Muslim God. Just as the power inhering in that structure will be signed over to the Virgin Mary, so will not only the Moorish materials in the individual *enxienplos*, but also the Semitic form of the frametale itself, be put in the service of a didactic project oriented towards Christian salvation.

David Wacks makes a similar argument in *Framing Iberia: Maqāmāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*, stating that in the cases of the *Conde Lucanor* and the earlier *Calila e Dimna*, the assertion of Castilian domination derives from using the frametale genre itself, which was so clearly a marker of Andalusī *adab* or *belles lettres*. Wacks interprets Juan Manuel's use of the frametale genre as a self-conscious gesture of cultural appropriation. Just as Juan Manuel admired Moorish military prowess, so he "demonstrates a similar admiration for Andalusī narrative practice in his adoption of the frametale genre and his inclusion of several Andalusī tales and proverbs in the *Conde Lucanor*….Part of colonizing a people is appropriating and cultivating their cultural forms."[379] But it is not as simple as borrowing authority through citation and translation, but a self-conscious and explicit assertion of the relationship of Castilian to these underlying materials. "Cultivation" does not seem quite as apt a descriptor as "incorporation" and even "edification," as Wacks suggests when he mentions the verses from the *Cantar de mio Cid*, in which the narrator declares that the conquering armies will make use of the homes (or towns) of the conquered; it is an occupation or settlement.[380]

Los moros e las moras vender non los podremos

Que los descabeçemos nada non ganaremos

Cojámoslos de dentro ca el señorio teneremos

Posaremos en sus casas e dellos nos serviremos. (618-622)

[We should not sell the Moorish men and women

We'd gain nothing from beheading them

We will seize them from inside so that we have the control

We will live in their towns and make use of them]

It is not just that Juan Manuel uses an Arabic form, but how he frames that act. The Moors will not be sold; there is nothing to gain by killing them—though the Chrisitians remind that they could choose to do either. Instead, the Castilians will possess them, master their skills, and make use of their habitations. Wacks connects Juan Manuel's techniques to the consolidation of Castile and León after the military victories of Fernando III. Like 'Abd al-

[379] Wacks, 148.
[380] Also cited by Castro in *España en su historia* and *The Structure of Spanish History*.

Rāḥman I in 786, by 1335 Juan Manuel could have felt reasonably confident about his co-religionist's control of the Peninsula, but worked diligently to assert this continuing domination in both military and cultural arenas until it was complete.[381] The *Conde Lucanor* asserts that there is no threat of contamination when using the enemy's culture because the foreign has been assimilated, the challenge represented by their difference effectively neutralized through a form of safe incorporation. The foreign structure of the frametale is incorporated by appropriating the framing structure for a Christian project: salvation, just as the Mosque at Córdoba was consecrated a place of Christian worship. But the control is not only or even primarily displayed through alteration to the structures, but through a performance of this process of domination; Juan Manuel asserts that even though the Moors built the structures in which the Christians now live (whose beauty and worth they do not want to destroy and cannot surpass), their builders no longer rule over those towns. The *señorío*—which means territory, the right to rule, and the qualities of a noble man—is now the exclusive property of the Spanish who have seized these structures and now control them from within. This example also highlights a tendency to feminize domestic space and emasculate Moorish characters throughout the *Conde Lucanor* that I will continue to trace in later sections of this chapter.

While I agree that Juan Manuel would have understood the frametale to be a Semitic genre, given how frequently members of the past two generations of his family sponsored their translation—not only *Calila e Dimna*, dedicated to Alfonso X in 1251 but also *Sendebar*, dedicated to Don Fadrique in 1253, and the *Castigos e Documents* of Sancho IV in 1290—to argue that the form itself is Semitic pushes us toward the debates about Semitic versus Latinate "influence" that have so often polemicized scholarship about Hispano-Arabic literature. As many notable scholars of Juan Manuel have argued, among them María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Germán Orduña, and Jonathan Burgoyne, instead of the Semitic frametale we could instead take the Latin *exempla* collection to be the important generic progenitor of the *Conde Lucanor*. Many of the stories included appear to have their origin in Latin *exempla* collections such as the *Speculum morale* (assigned to Vincent de Beauvais) and the *Scala coeli* of Jacques de Vitry.

We could argue, as Derek Lomax and Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel notably have, that Juan Manuel's well-attested connections to the Dominicans suggest that he would have been familiar with the collections of exemplary stories that those preaching friars would have possessed. By this model, we could read the *Conde Lucanor* as Larry Scanlon has read the *Canterbury Tales*, as a vernacular *exempla* collection that self-consciously appropriates an authoritative textual model to a new end. Scanlon argues that Chaucer, as a vernacular author, borrowed the authority inhering to the Latin *exemplum*, and put it to work in a vernacular form. In fact, Jonathan Burgoyne has made exactly this argument about the *Conde Lucanor* in *Reading the Exemplum Right: Fixing the Meaning of the* Conde Lucanor.[382] I argued in the first chapter that Juan Manuel deliberately invoked the conventions of the *exempla* collection, especially in the assignation of parts in his narrative.

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[381] In this, we can see him seeking to fulfill the projects initiated by both Fernando III and Alfonso X, even without the sanction of their heirs.

[382] See especially the first chapter of his book.

But if Juan Manuel had access to these materials, and it seems that he did, he would also have access to the "reference book" model of story collection, one that diminished rather than augmented an overarching narrative frame, often including tags to highlight the location of a particular item of information to be extracted from the text irrespective of context. Until later centuries, an Iberian writer was less likely to have had access the Roman texts that included embedded tales, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, or Petronius' *Satyricon.*[383] And even so, these three collections use embedded stories more locally, and not as the principle structuring device of the collection. As James T. Monroe and David Wacks have argued, in medieval Iberia it is the Semitic not the Latin story collection that models the embedded tale and *mise en abîme* structure that we see especially in *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna*, and less pronounced but to some extent in the *Conde Lucanor*.

Petrus Alfonsi's earlier (Latin *and* Iberian) *Disciplina clericalis* also provides a model of the embedded story collection and moreover a model of the suitability of that form for a project of cultural translation. In the *Disciplina clericalis* (1106 A.D.), Petrus Alfonsi figures *translatio studii* as a conversation between a dying man and his son. The older man stands for the Semitic tradition from which the narrative frame and much of the embedded narratives materials were derived, a man who with his final breaths transmits these materials to his son, who we can assume stands for the Latin-reading recipient of the text. Petrus Alfonsi wrote this work about the same time that he converted from Judaism to Christianity in Huesca, a town in the foothills of the Pyrenees, and abandoned his given name "Moses," every decision the author was making pointing towards his orientation North. Juan Manuel intends his narrative to be foundational in Iberia, a region that in the two centuries since Petrus Alfonsi had come to take on many proto-national characteristics.

Whereas Juan Manuel has borrowed an association with the Latin sermon collection for the stated purpose of his frametale—that *entención* from the prologue just discussed—the recently translated Semitic story collections of *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* (and less recently the *Disciplina clericialis*) provide the model for the structure of the work as an ongoing conversation between a teacher and student. Moreover, the relationship between teacher and student figures the difficulties inherent to the "dream of patriarchal continuity or evolutionary progress" that Copeland mentions. In these frametales, the patriarchal control of the kingdom depends on the work of a mediating and subordinate "wise" character, a character who, according to the poetics of *translatio studii* that I have been describing, not only can be Semitic, but should be Semitic, because he has been subordinated to the *señorio* of a Christian lord.

In Chapter Three, I discussed some ways we can read the early Castilian translation of *Calila e Dimna* as Semitic with respect to its narrative as well as its linguistic syntax, especially in

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[383] Against this argument is the absence of evidence that manuscripts of these works were extent on the Iberian Peninsula (or in libraries to which Juan Manuel would have had access.) However, this is also an argument scholars have made against the influence of the Arabic or Hebrew *maqāma* on Castilian narrative forms because many of the frametales were precisely textualizations of popular oral traditions. In each case, we must remember that some of the stories in these collections circulated orally. However, because this argument concerns the overarching narrative structure, the presence of manuscripts does seem more crucial, though such presence could be attested by citation or incorporation into another narrative, say Alfonso X's histories.

contrast to later Spanish translations of the Latin *Directorium humanae vitae*. We can turn a similar scrutiny onto the *Conde Lucanor*. The frame of a father-son or teacher-student conversation is typical of wisdom literature and the *Fürstenspeigel* in its Semitic and Latinate traditions, both of which may have common origins in the Near East. The list of *exempla* collections to which Juan Manuel could have had access, both for stories and for the a model for a compilation is vast: *Castigos e documentos, Barlaam e Josefat, Libro de los Doze Sabios*, *Flores de Filosofía*, *El libro de exemplos por a,b,c, Libro de exemplis naturalibus*, *Sendebar*, *Calila e Dimna*. To read it in this dissertation with *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar*—and not with the sermon *exempla* collections or with Ovid or Apuleius or the *De Regime principum*—is already to affiliate with those other two much more clearly Semitic texts.

But we could account for some of the differences between *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar*, which have a more dynamic narrative frame, and the *Conde Lucanor*, with reference to another Semitic narrative model—the *maqāma*. The two most prestigious *maqāma* collections on the Iberian Peninsula: those of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamaḍānī, each contain 50 narratives, like the *Conde Lucanor*, and each narrative closes with a short verse, like the *Conde Lucanor*. Just a look at the manuscript pages of a thirteenth-century *maqāma* collection of al-Hariri (see image #25) as compared to that of a page of Ms. M of the *Conde Lucanor* (the version with the most pronounced *divisio textus*; see image #5) displays the structural similarities of each collection: title, introductory framing narrative, tale, concluding verse, each section highlighted by the *mise en page* and *mise en texte*. The *maqāma* offers an exemplar for collecting short prose narratives into a cohesive collection around the proper name of an author who sets in motion a narrative cycle organized by a dialogic but static frame featuring two stock characters. The *maqāma* collection, like the *exempla* collection, was a self-conscious adaptation of authorized genres, for example by parodying the *isnād* used to authorize the chain of authoritative transmission in the *hadīth*. Whereas these *maqāma* collections were secular and Juan Manuel introduces a religious framework, he borrows both their prosimetric form and their dialogic frame. While the pages of these two collections look quite similar because the narratives are comprised of similar building blocks, the tags in Juan Manuel's collection are all Latin and Christian: *prólogo*, *capítulo*, *enxienplo*. Whereas, *Calila* and *Sendebar* are translations, the *Conde Lucanor* is an adaptation, and a more aggressive assertion of Castilian cultural mastery and control because it displays how the Spaniards build upon the foundation laid by the Semitic frametale, crossing Latin and Christian forms but making Christian and Latin tags more visible while downplaying traces of the form's origin in a Semitic literary milieu.

This focus on the frame declares that the framing fiction is the defining feature of the work, more important than the ratio of Semitic to Latinate (not to mention other Romance) source materials. But I would argue that we should interpret the frame between East and West in conjunction with Juan Manuel's other assertions about his relationship to Semitic or Latin materials from which he compiled his collection, places where he includes phrases in Arabic or Latin, clearly leaving a trace of their origin. Later we will see that when Juan Manuel cites Latin, he does so referencing the sermon tradition, not only acknowledging familiarity with it, but signaling his choice to represent Latin one way and Arabic another within his Castilian narrative. For now, let us return to Juan Manuel's portrayals of Moorish characters, and—once again—to Alhaquem. Juan Manuel presents Alhaquem to us first as a figure worthy of ridicule, an example of the effete and decadent ruler who channels his energy into flute playing not empire building or even empire maintenance. The ruler "non se trabajava de fazer otra cosa

onrada non de grand fama, de las que suelen et deven fazer los Buenos reys."[384] [did not do any work or any worthy or honorable deed, as good kings should.] What virtue Alhaquem has derives from aligning himself with this mosque, rather than the *albogón*; his honor derives from taking up the task truly worthy of his stature.

In his thorough note to this *enxienplo*, Guillermo Serés points out the irony of the proverbial statement, and of the *enxienplo* overall. At first when his people said that a feat was "worthy of Alhaquem" it was to say that the task was insignificant. Alhaquem is exemplary for being able to discern the irony in the coded rebuke of this proverb, and for redirecting the meaning of the proverbial statement about him that was already in circulation and "sonando tanto por la tierra,"[385] resounding through the land. Alhaquem regains control over his reputation by being able to swap the referent of "añadimiento," that is "addition," from a hole in the *albogón* to the "completion" of the mosque at Córdoba. He does so by undertaking a physical and highly visible building project that overtakes the powerful but intangible forces of *Fama*, which travel by word of mouth and have made off with his good name. Juan Manuel argues that making buildings is more powerful than making sounds, not just in the magnitude of achievement, but also in ability to endure, to last over time by cementing the name attached to the achievement. Buildings have a concrete monumentality to which music can only aspire.[386]

And just what did Al-Hakam II contribute to the mosque at Córdoba? He expanded the overall floorplan of the mosque and increased the size and decoration of the *mihrab* and *maqsura*. In his article on the structure, Hillenbrand refers to Al-Hakam's additions as an attempt to be unsurpassable. The *maqsura* that Al-Hakam II added is now the most decorated part of the building, including thousands of gold tiles and ornate *muqarnas*. It is in fact the typical building project of a dynasty entering decadence, lavishness with minimal function. Juan Manuel acknowledges the Moors' cultural wealth only when also underscoring their military weakness. Neither the mosque nor the flute values much in Juan Manuel's thoroughly masculine perspective, which valorizes the achievements of Ferrant González. We will see that Juan Manuel aligns masculinity with the Castilian throughout the collection, depicting Moorish characters as insufficiently masculine enough to have retained dominion in Iberia.

Instead the building project that Juan Manuel ultimately praises in this *enxienplo* and implicitly praises through his own project, is closer to that undertaken by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 786. When Yusuf al-Fihri made Córdoba the capital of newly captured al-Andalus he built the Alcázar on the ruins of the Visigothic palace and used half the church of St. Vincent as a mosque, according to legend eventually buying the Christian community out of their half.[387] The first Muslim ruler to rule over the majority of the peninsula, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III waited until that control was complete before building the Friday mosque in his new capitol. At this

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[384] CL, 169.
[385] *CL*, 170.
[386] We should remember here that Juan Manuel attempted to establish this monumentality for his literary oeuvre, by depositing an autographed copy of his complete works (along with his dead body) at the Dominincan monastery at Peñafiel. This according to the General Prologue to his works found in Manuscript S.
[387] Hillenbrand in Jayussi, ed., *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, vol. 1, 113-114.

point the commanding structure signaled his complete political and military control. To drive that point home, the mosque included prominent pieces of *spolia*, notably Roman columns.[388] According to Robert Hillenbrand, "('Abd al-Raḥmān) waited until his position was firmly established before undertaking this decisive and very public step. By that reckoning, then, the building of the mosque would acquire a certain symbolic value, a ceremonious statement in stone that his dynasty has come to stay."[389]

Hillenbrand further argues that Al Hakam II's addition forms the most symbolically rich section of the mosque, suggesting itself for overwriting when the Christians want to announce that now "they have come to stay." Indeed, the Chapel of the Villaviciosa was built over al-Hakam's much-enlarged *maqsura*.[390] In each case, the vanquishers make the unsurprising choice of building their seat of power on the site of the previous ruler's religious and administrative center. Christians erected the church inside the mosque, reclaiming its splendor for its own. Juan Manuel also chooses this site, and so to speak, builds his collection up over the *maqsura*, using *spolia* in the form of Arabic narrative materials, clearly visible as such (because they include Arabic names, transliterated Andalusī Arabic dialogue, and characters and stories introduced as Moorish) within the structure and clearly playing a supporting role. In the Mosque at Córdoba, Christian rulers and worshippers ignore that the walls are covered with verses from the *Qur'an*, perhaps being unable to read the script able to pretend that they are merely well balanced geometrical abstractions. Similarly, Juan Manuel creates a collection whose underlying form is Semitic, but covers it with an overlay of Christian exemplarity.

This example of architectural hybridity and re-inscription not only gives us a way to discuss the frametale as a site where the authors declare Spanish domination over the Semitic. It also draws our attention back to the frametale as a spatial form. To read the tale collection for overarching plot or motivating psychology is to be disappointed. The character of Count Lucanor does not develop but instead performs a specific narrative function, the "question man" variant on Todorov's "narrative man,"[391] asking Patronio to give him advice on one matter after another and thus creating the premises for additional narratives. The framing dynamic does not change, although there is variation within this determined structure. Sometimes Count Lucanor elaborates the situation about which he needs advice; sometimes Patronio gives an extended exegesis of the exemplary tale he has just told. But, time after time, Count Lucanor returns to Patronio for advice and Patronio continues to give it, their Q & A like the alternation of verso and recto pages in a book, the recurring characters in a *maqāma*, or Sindbad's desire to return to sea in *Alf Layla wā Layla*. But as with any linguistic pair, there is an marked and an unmarked term, a dominant and subordinate, a protagonist and a foil—and Juan Manuel asserts over and again that the Christian and Spanish gets to take the lead because he is above and exterior to the Semitic. The subaltern speaks, but only when and where he is ordered to do so.

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[388] Notoriously, al-Mansur added the bells of the Church at Campostela in the late tenth century, which he converted into lamps for the mosque.
[389] Hillenbrand, 129.
[390] Hillenbrand, 132. In the analogy of this timeline, the translations of *Sendebar* and *Calila e Dimna*, function more like the Mosque at Cordoba during the 13-14th centuries.
[391] Defined by Todorov in *The Poetics of Prose* as those characters who appear only to tell their stories.

But if we read the collection as just that, a story collection, for which ordering and juxtapositions are not arbitrary but neither are they crucial to the work's meaning, we miss the cumulative meaning of the work. In the first two chapters, I noted the structures and statements that prove that Juan Manuel created his work to accumulate meaning as larger sections are read in the order that he laid out, without necessarily demanding that the work be read straight through from beginning to end. Architectural buildings provide a model for an interrelated series of sites, discrete but meaningful when understood as part of a larger structure. We can remember that definition of the book as a "sequence of spaces," and then understand that sequence can be used to articulate hierarchy. As we have seen, if we understand the frametale as a particularly spatial narrative and one that announces how it should be read by highlighting its architecture, we can better identify features that it shares with more modern narratives, and even with the novel. We notice that all of the frametales under discussion feature a subordinated wise advisor figure who tells instructive tales to a political ruler.

The Anterooms of *Calila e Dimna*

Calila e Dimna, like *Sendebar*, has a more developed narrative frame than *El Conde Lucanor*, that is, more happens on the diegetic level at which most of the stories are told, and the significance of the stories greatly depends on this context and the greater interplay between narrative levels. But the framing narratives and structure of *Calila e Dimna* and *Sendebar* differ significantly, operating in different chronotopic registers even while employing the same strategy of debate by storytelling to enclose smaller units of narrative. Thematically, they share the purported address "from father to son," and in both cases a sage character, also male, mediates the exchange. They are both *Fürstenspeigel* or *specula principis*, or mirrors for princes, their didactic message ostensibly intended for a ruler-to-be. In the *Pançatantra*, one of the base texts for *Calila e Dimna*, the premise of the frametale is identical to that of *Sendebar*; the sage is called in to save the kingdom from the impending disaster of an incompetent prince. But in the Spanish translation of this text, a series of prologues precede the frame[392] and offer us a different model of sage, not the one who brings the prince home but one who obtains wisdom by journeying to a neighboring and competing country. These prologues depict the frametale as not merely translated from one language to another but reframed in the process to become not only *legible in* but *constitutive of* the adopting culture because they perform the incorporation of foreign materials in a way that claims to neutralize that culture's potential for superiority.

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[392] As I reviewed in Chapter 3, these prologues are more extensive in Escorial x.iii.4 (manuscript B) and Salamanca 1763 (manuscript P; formerly Palacio 105), and shorter in Escorial h.iii.9 (manuscript B). All three include the travels of the sage Berzebuey, including Berzebuey's approach of the king, his stay in India, his return and desire to write a book of wisdom, Berzebuey's description of his life in the first person and a series of apostrophic addresses to his soul, and then, finally, a series of apologues that illustrate the changeability and vanity of the world. But only the two manuscripts include the series of apologues of thieves that I am discussing here. All of these prologues derive from an Arabic translation, are not innovations in the Castilian versions.

Whereas the *Conde Lucanor* uses enclosure both as a characteristic of its framing technique and to subordinate Semitic materials, *Calila e Dimna* presents the process of *translatio studii* as a journey. We can understand the contrast between the building and the journey as one between hypotaxis and parataxis: the building modeling the former and the journey the latter. The text that the Castilian translators translated from Arabic already depicted this journey in the series of prologues that precede Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation. The journey in the framing narrative is that of the legendary (Persian) sage Berzebuey, who travels to India in search of wisdom. At the same time it is the story of the work's composition and the journey of the text through multiple translations. But the Castilian translators of these works show that they intend to extend this process of transfer to Iberia, already imagined as one of the final destinations of *translatio studii* as its moves ever westward.[393] Sometimes these inscriptions are paratextual or even codicological, interventions that use the form of the codex (Salamanca 1763), and even the context of a library (the royal library at the Escorial or the Royal Palace where Salamanca 1763 was formerly housed), as much as a manipulation of narrative form.

In Salamanca 1763, we find a partial version of *Calila e Dimna* at the end of a collection of texts of sapiential literature, many of them translations from Arabic. The title on the spine (from a much later century) reads "Dichos de Sabios." This codex contains only the prologues and the table of contents for *Calila* and cuts off before we get to the story of the lion and the ox, suggesting that the codex's compiler found the prologues to be the most important component of the text. Consisting of only the prologues, *Calila e Dimna* becomes a story about interpretation and *translatio studii*, and a legend for reading the other translated texts in the collection (the prologues of which I will discuss in this section), underscoring the movement of a Semitic wisdom literature tradition into Castilian that the codex witnesses and effects. A later scribe dedicates Escorial x-iii-4 to Queen Isabella in the front cover, clearly connecting the transfer of the Semitic wisdom literature tradition to the consolidation of control of the Peninsula under the Catholic monarchs. These markings indicate an end point for the trajectory that the enclosed narratives suggest.

In the prologues to all of the Castilian *Calila e Dimna* manuscripts, the author or translator introduces us to his *modus operandi* by making an assertion and then following it up with an *enxienplo* that proves the point. Many of these stories describe robbers: agents who attempt to enter buildings otherwise closed to them and to take over materials that do not belong to them. The very first intercalated tale concerns a thief and unfolds from the metaphor that precedes it. The metaphor says that wisdom is like a treasure: *tesoro*. The narrator (we have not yet come to the story of the sage Berzebuey) recounts the importance of studying texts of wisdom literature, concluding that to study "es más provechoso que los tesoros de aver" [is more advantageous than treasure] and that to dedicate one's life to study "sería atal come el ome que llega a hedat et falla que su padre le ha dexado gran tesoro de oro et de plata et de piedras preçiadas."[394] [is like the man who comes of age to find that his father has left him a great treasure of silver and gold and precious stones.] To accumulate wisdom is to accumulate riches, although not in a manner as palpable (or sparkly) as a pile of precious stones and metals. But precious objects create fitting embodiments for the more intangible wealth of learning

[393] Jeauneau, 22.
[394] *Calila e Dimna*, 91.

because, unlike money or even language, their value is not culturally specific, but recognized across cultural and linguistic borders. As the noble warriors from Muslim and Christian cultures come to recognize each other in the Maurophilic literature of later centuries (or as do knights in much chivalric literature), in the wisdom literature tradition, sages and scholars test and recognize each other in new contexts, as we will see when we return to the story of Berzebuey. Kings and sages jockey to determine who deserves these precious goods. This equation of wisdom and material wealth is common to the wisdom literature tradition, and we find it in other Castilian works of the tradition like the *Bocados de Oro*, the text that opens Salamanca 1763. But what is also remarkable in this instance is that the narrator also quickly moves from using treasure as a metaphor to using treasure as a figure in an exemplary tale. The narration continues:

> Et aquel que se trabajara de demandar el saber perfetamente, leyendo los libros estudiosamente, si non se trabajase en fazer derecho et seguir la verdat, non avrá del fruto que cogiere sinon el trabajo et el lazerío.
>
> Et será atal commo el omne que dixeron los sabios que pasara por un campo et le apareció un tesoro…[395]
>
> [And he who works to acquire knowledge perfectly, reading books studiously, if he does not also work to do the right thing and follow the truth, he will not bring to fruition anything but toil and suffering
>
> And it will be like the man who the wise men say was walking through the desert when he discovered a treasure.]

Wisdom is like a treasure and therefore, what happens in the story regarding a material treasure pertains allegorically to the acquisition and loss of knowledge. In this story, a man finds a treasure in the countryside so massive that he cannot transport it himself. Instead of making multiple trips, he hires people to haul off parts of it, and each proceeds to haul the treasure to his own house. Unlike an inheritance, the wise person cannot merely come into wisdom, but must work to acquire it because it accrues only through the process. You cannot outsource its production.

The next apologue takes on the problem of educability more explicitly, presenting the treasure or inheritance from the past as the texts themselves, but not guaranteeing the successful transfer as an end of the process. Like the fool in this apologue who asks his wise friend to write him "una carta en que eran las partes de fablar," [a letter detailing the parts of speech] it is very possible to read the material without internalizing it and improving through it, which the fool demonstrates by making a speaking gaffe the next time he attempts to speak to educated men, confident that having read the missive he can now hold his own in conversation with them. Typical of an exemplary tale, this wise text must be unpacked and incorporated, and is visible less in words than in behavior. Wisdom is protected from theft because it is not available to all people, but an effective translation of a sapiential text *is like a theft* because it makes the text

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[395] *Salamanca 1763.*

potentially receivable in the culture that extracts it. While appearing to be an interruption in a string of stories about literal theft, this story shows that to own this sapiential treasure means to have internalized the teachings and be able to employ them.

The next five stories about theft examine some of the problems inherent to attempting to embody, transfer, and own knowledge. But let us briefly table this round-up of thieves to look at some of the other works in Salamanca 1763. Many other works in the wisdom literature tradition share this interest in describing the work's origins and assert the idea that the wisdom is precious by describing the book that contains these wise texts as precious. In some cases the scribes present the work's authorship as anonymous or collective. In others, they present a transmission history. Two works before the *Calila* prologue in Salamanca 1763, the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* opens with a description of how the Greeks showed their reverence for philosophers by producing precious books, one per sage:

> Aqui comiença el libro de dichos & de castigos que dixieron estos filosofos & sabios antiguos que lo tiene cada uno.
>
> Este es el libro de los buenos proverbios que dixeron los filosofos & los sabios antiguos de los castigos que castigaron a sus disçipulos & a los otros que los quisieron aprender. ¶ E traslado este libro manicio fijo de ysaac de griego en arabigo & trasladamos nos los agora de aravigo en ladino. ¶ E dixo juaniçio falle esto que traslade en los libros antiguos esc(ri)ptos en pergaminos rosados con oro & con plata de muchas colores hermosas & en el comienço del libro figura del filosofo illuminado & asentatdo en su siella.[396]
>
> [Here begins the book of the sayings and admonishments that the philosophers and ancient wise men said that each should have.
>
> This is the book of the good proverbs that philosophers and ancient wise men said to instruct their disciples and the others who want to learn. And Juanicio, son of Isaac, translated this book from Greek into Latin and now we are translating it from Arabic into Castilian. And Juanicio said that he found this text that he translated in the ancient writings on rosy parchment with gold and silver and many beautiful colors and at the beginning of this book, the image of a philosopher seated in a chair was painted.]

In this passage, the preciousness of the book materializes the esteem with which the wisdom literature was held in the culture from which it has been translated into Arabic and then Ladino, or Castilian. The book attempts to equate the body of the sage with the legacy of the sage's learning still accessible in his absence in written form. The books illustrate the sage seated, a very common trope and one we also saw in Escorial h-iii-9. To describe the sage as "illuminado" refers both to how he the sage is illuminated by his knowledge and how a painter has painted the sage's image into the book.

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[396] Salamanca 1763, 87R.

The *Poridat de poridades*, the second text in Salamanca 1763 after *Bocados de Oro*, also opens with an equation between book and sage, but in this work the book is linked less with the person of a particular sage (though it is Aristotle "The Teacher") than with a process—*manera*—in this case the process of kingship. To the extent that the Teacher has ordinated "ordenado" the manera of correct rule in his *Poridat de poridades,* so will the ruler be able to ordernar, or rule, his kingdom after reading the book.

> Loada sea el nombre de dios el señor de todo e mundo el miramomelin mando a my su siervo que buscase el libro de manera de ordener el regno que el dizen poridad y el que fizo el filosofo leal aristoteles fijo de nicomo a su discipulo alixandre fijo del rey filipo el rey mayor el onrrado.[397]
>
> [Praise be the name of the Lord, ruler of the world. Miramomelin commanded me, his servant, in confidence to look for a book that showed the method for organizing the realm and that the loyal philosopher Aristotle, son of Nichomo, made for Alexander, son of the King Philip the Great and honorable.]

The speaker of the prologue is the servant and scribe to Miramomelin, who travels to Persia in search of this legendary book that will teach his master, the narrator of the text, how to manage himself and his kingdom. The association not only with Aristotle but also with Alexander the Great, the exemplary emperor and the exemplary teacher, authorizes the text, but the prologue also gives its transmission history. In Persia, this servant finds that the living tradition of wise men has been decimated: "non dexe templo en todos los templos do condesasen los filosofos sus libros de las poridades que non buscase nin omne de orden de los que cuyde." [not a temple remained in all the temples where the philosophers stored their books in secret nor could I find a single man who kept them.]

Finally, the servant finds a cache of books in the care of a hermit: "E entre todos falle el libro que mando el miramomelin buscar escripto con letras de oro…e la primera cosa que ea escripta era nota de respuesta de aristoteles al rey alixandre y dezia asy (in red) Carta de respuesta de aristoteles el sabio para aquel su discipulo." [398] [And among all of them I found the book that Miramomelin had ordered me to look for, written in letters of gold…and the first thing written there noted the answer that Aristotle gave King Alexander and it said in red: Letter of the response of Aristotle the wise to his disciple.] The prologue establishes the worth of the original, and the security of the transmission, but withholds guarantee that the value will transfer to the reader who may or may not have sufficient wisdom to access the text. However, it does establish the translation as the most assured access to the text, arguing that the texts line up exactly. As the servant reads the text in the hermit's care, so do we. The narration reads "dezia asy" and then presents the text being read as the text that we are reading, bringing the book described into the book being read, moving from a past tense third person narration to the present tense of the moment of reading the text itself.

In the prologue to *Calila e Dimna* in Salamanca 1763, a passage that also occurs in Escorial x-iii-4 is further elaborated with details about the appearance of the book. Note how the scribe

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[397] Salamanca 1763, 111V.
[398] Salamanca 1763, 112r.

cited earlier (an individual particularly attuned to such matters) signals the book's ability to teach by describing the *mise en page* and process of decoration.

> E seer le ha tal como un escolar q(ue) demando a un sabio q(ue)l mostrase fablar cierto & bien por q(ue) no(n) oviesse a estar compresso en sus palabras. E aquel sabio escrivio en una carta ensumamientos de derecho fablarençierto & fizola muy columinada & de formosas colores por que oviesse sabor de usar la.[399]
>
> [And it will be like the scholar who demanded that a wise man show him how to speak truly and well so that he would not be restricted by his words. And that wise man wrote a letter summarizing the law of speech correctly and he laid it out in columns and beautiful colors to make it desirable to use it.]

Reading when attached to memory was understood to be an ethical practice,[400] but this passage cautions against equating reading and wisdom. One can read and miss the point entirely and thus these works contrast modes of reading, suggesting a distinction like the one between *lectio* and *meditatio*, even though meditation was usually understood to be a religious mode of reading.[401] But there is a mode of reading that these authors do imagine to be able to effect learning: the tropological impulse that I discussed in the first chapter. The decoration of these books suggests that they are the kind of text that can and should be activated in this way. Additionally, the authors imagine this added value method of reading as a form of building. This association should not surprise us because the idea of *habitus* or *hexis*, that is inhabitation, has long been associated with memorial practice (as far back as Simonides (and extensively described not only by Carruthers but also by Frances Yates in *The Art of Memory*)).

Because there is a connection between memory and ethics, it is not a surprise to find an *Arte Memoria* in the middle of Salamanca 1763, occupying pages 70R-85V. While written in the same hand as the rest of the text, this work receives more embellishment than the others. The work has a greater division of parts, so perhaps lends itself to or even demands greater *divisio textus*. For example, the text reads that that third section has nine parts, and that each of the following sections takes up one of those parts:

> Aquesta tercera parte es de los nueve subjectos & objetos generales en los que les quanto es se contiene generalmente los que les son aquestos. ¶ dios. ¶ angel. ¶ ome cielo ome. ¶ymagynaçion. ¶ animales. ¶ vegetables. ¶ elementes. ¶ moralidades.[402]

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[399] Salamanca 1763, 127r.

[400] As Mary Carruthers outlines it in her chapter in the *The Book of Memory* where she lays out how memory was understood as a mental faculty: "The trained memory was not considered to be merely practical 'know-how'…but was co-extensive with wisdom and knowledge….but as condition of prudence, possessing a well-trained memory was morally virtuous in itself. The medieval regard for memory always has this moral force to it, analogous to the high moral power which the Romantics were later to accord to the imagination, genetrix of what is best in human nature." (71)

[401] Hugh of St. Victor makes this distinction in the *Didascalicon*.

[402] Salamanca 1763.

> [This third part has nine general subjects and objects, which include the following: God, angel, heavenly man, imagination, animals, vegetable, elements, moralities.]

Each section begins with a four-line high initial with the rest of the word, and sometimes the next word, spelled out in letters two lines high. The larger letters have been written in a vaguely gothic script that contrasts to the redondo hand of the body text. Many of the titles form of a visual pun, opening with large letters reading "Si tu" meaning "if you" and often followed by "quieres," but because there is no separation between the letters it actually spells out "Situ," that is the genitive for *situs*, Latin for position. "In situ" means "at this point" or "in this place," and refers to the visual position of the words on the page.

The prologue of *Calila e Dimna* in Salamanca 1763 uses metaphors of site and absorption, urging the reader to encounter the work as written and to imagine oneself into its point of view as if into a house, the house one most desires:

> Pon los adequenças & los enxenplos deste libro co(n)tra tus ojos asy como la casa que mas amas mas cobdiçias & non se tuelga de to coraçon mientre fueres bivo porque non seas en lazrar en leerlo como un omne quien se andava por un grand desierto.[403]
>
> [Put the similarities and the examples of this book before your eyes like the house that most love and covet and do not turn it from your heart while you still live outside of it so that you do not fail in reading it like a man walking through a great desert.]

As with the structures in *El Conde Lucanor*, the houses stand for writing, particular writing's ability to absorb other points of view or more *broadly* other traditions. As in the *Conde Lucanor,* to take over a different culture's sapiential tradition is figured by and effected through the takeover of its bookmaking tradition. Rather than understanding this move as one of political aggression, these works imagine its ethical potential in terms particular to how memory and figure work together uniquely in literature, the *transumptivus*. It is also reminiscent of Henry James' description of the House of Fiction:

> The house of fiction has, in short, not one window, but a million—a number of possible windows not to be reckoned, rather; every one of which has to be pierced, or is still pierceable, in its vast front, by the need of the individual vision and by the pressure of the individual will.[404]

To fully enter the reading, the reader must take on the point of view presented in the narration as if inhabiting it like a residence. After conflating being wise with being in a house the author contrasts both to being lost in a desert: "como un omne qui se andava por un grand desierto." The house is a stand in for the individual point of view, with one's wealth amassed within it: grains, seeds, jewel encrusted volumes, the insight that one has acquired.

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[403] Salamanca 1763.
[404] Henry James, *The Art of the Novel*, 69. From the Preface to *The Portrait of a Lady*.

Now to return to those thieves we have left pending for several pages. This opening story of theft is just one of five in the prologues, comprising the clear majority of the narrative material of the prologues. In the second story about theft, a man hears a thief moving about in his house at night (many of these stories also rely on the cover of darkness) but decides not to act immediately. Inexplicably, the house's owner falls back asleep and the thief takes everything. Of course the point is that one must be vigilant, and forms a contrast to the fourth theft story, in which a poor man rises from slumber to protect the few possessions that he has. The range of social types in these stories, all united by theft, indicate that it is less important how much one owns than how one guards what one owns.

The third and fourth stories about thievery each feature seeds and white sheets, with seeds standing in for the valuable item and the sheet very likely echoing the "carta" of the intervening story, the receptacle, here textual, for the transmission of wisdom. In the first, two merchants own all of a country's sesame stock between them, and store their merchandise in the same warehouse. One decides to steal from the other and as he leaves one day places a sheet over his rival's sesame so that he can identify it when he returns in the night. The other merchant happens upon the sheet and misreads his colleague's intention. Symbolizing communication, the sheet here conveys the difficulty of assuring the correct transmission of knowledge, but also the importance of intention, as we also saw in Juan Manuel. Attributing good intentions to his rival, the intended robbee thinks that his colleague was trying to protect his sesame from dust: "Verés que ha fecho mi compañero por guardar mi sísamo de polvo; púsole esta sávana, et dexó lo suyo descobierto,"[405] [Oh look! My friend has decided to protect my sesame from dust; he put his sheet over it and left his own uncovered.] Grateful, he switches the sheet to his rival's sesame. When the thief returns in the night, he steals his own merchandise, half of which he is compelled to turn over to an accomplice, therefore ending up with half as much, rather than twice as much, sesame. Each merchant interprets that sheet based on his intention: to protect or to steal, and in this story each merchant gets what he deserves. The sheet has no stable signification. Rather each merchant conscripts the sheet to his own point of view.

The next story about seeds is that of the poor man already mentioned, who chases down the thief who has robbed the only item of value to be found in the house: a sack full of grain. Of course grain has a very different value than gems, being more closely connected to basic survival than luxury, although sesame is both a luxury item and a foodstuff. It is no coincidence that these valuable items are ingestible given that the story of Berzebuey, the Persian sage who travels to India looking for valuable medicinal herbs that turn out to be not herbs at all, but books, the herbs standing not only for their ability to be ingested but also to underscore the difference between figural and literal meanings.

Why all of this robbery framing the tale of Berzebuey? What this pile-up of houses and voyages suggests is that these transfers of wisdom are in fact thefts and that even Berzebuey's mission constitutes a theft. Let us look at what happens when Berzebuey arrives at the king's palace in India. He presents the letters from his King, and asks for help tracking down the herbs in the mountains. The agreement is between kings but had been initiated by Berzebuey: "Et fizo al rey que le diese liçencia para ir buscarlas, et que le ayudase para despensa, et que le

[405] *Calila*, 95.

dieses unas cartas para todos los reyes de India, que le ayudasen por que él pudiese recabdar aquello por que iva."[406] [An the king gave him license to look for them, and that he would outfit him, and he gave him letters to all the kings of India, asking that they help that he be able to gather that for which he came.] Berzebuey has heard about the infamous immortality-granting herbs of India and would like to track them down, but this transfer is not smooth and fast. Berzebuey's mistake is that he mistakes a figurative for a literal meaning, not going far enough in his interpretation of these texts. After a year of picking plants and making them into medicines, he has come up with nothing able to resuscitate a dead body. He returns in defeat to the King's palace and only then do the Indian sages inform him that he has been, so to speak, barking up the wrong tree. They inform him that these herbs are not plants at all, but books.

> Et ellos dixéronles que eso mesmo fallaran ellos en sus escripturas que él avía fallado, et, propriamente, el entendimiento de los libros de la su filosofía et el saber que Dios puso en ellos son los cuerpos, et que la melezina que en ellos dezía son los Buenos castigos et el saber; et los muertos que resuçitavan con aquellas yervas son los omnes nesçios que non saben quándo son melenizados en el saber, et les fazen entender las cosas que son tomadas de los sabios: et luego, en leyendo, aprenden el saber et alunbran sus entendimientos.[407]
>
> [And they told him that the same thing that happened to him had befallen them in their writings, and that, actually, the understanding of the books of philosophy and knowledge that God put in them are the bodies, and the medicine that they mention are the good proverbs and the knowledge; and the dead resuscitated with those herbs are the foolish men who do not know when to cure themselves with knowledge, and make understood the things that they take from the wise men: and later, when reading learn the knowledge and illuminate their understanding.]

With this exegetical help, Berzebuey finally understands, but the Indian sages knew that Berzebuey was mistaken but let him spend a year searching for naught. Once he understands what he is looking for, Berzebuey proceeds to "buscó aquellas escripturas, et fallólas en lenguaje de India, et trasladólas en lenguaje de Persia et concertólas."[408] [looked for those writings and extracted them from the language of India, and translated them into the language of Persia, and arranged them.] Only at this point does the King mandate that his sages help Berzebuey and they bring him books, including *Kalilah wā Dimnah*. But why did Berzebuey need to make this mistake in the beginning? First of all, this tale exists in the prologue to implicitly show that the animal tales that follow should be read allegorically. But the prologue also shows that Berzebuey needs to attempt, and fail, before achieving his goal because the source is not eager to avail its treasures. As with Ibn al-Muqaffa', Berzebuey's tale will be incorporated into the narrative of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*, thus assuring him some immortality. He finally understands that the immortality that he sought is his incorporation into this sapiential textual tradition, a

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[406] *Calila e Dimna*, 100.
[407] *Calila e Dimna*, 100-101.
[408] *Calila*, 101. This narration basically narrates the transfer of learning between Sassanid Persia and Abbasid Baghdad, of which the polyglot Ibn al-Muqaffa, translator of *Calila e Dimna*, was a key agent.

place in the text's prologues. As its translator, and in this tale of translation, he models the ideal reader who through perseverance finally can extract a salutary reading from the text.

Then Berzebuey proceeds to tell the story of his life. Some of the prologues present this section as the reward that Berzebuey requests for his long toil translating these text. Berzebuey's narration takes us from the past tense to the present, from a story that is about the story into the story itself, from a passage in the third person about him, to a section in the first person where he narrates his history and addresses his soul in a series of apostrophes: "Mio padre fue de Merçecilla et mi madre fue de las fijasdalgas de Azemosuna et de los legistas." [My father was from Merçecilla and my mother from the nobles and jurists of Azemosuma.] This collapse of points of view and space functions similarly to that analogous move in the *Poridat de poridades*, where the prologue ends when the servant who has been looking for the text in the prologue presents the culmination of his quest for the text we now hold in our hands, a metaleptic, metafictional emblem, if you will.

In all of the collections, including Escorial h.iii.9, another story about robbery follows the tale of Berzebuey, and is ostensibly told by Berzebuey himself: the story of the thief tricked by a potential victim into believing he can use a moonbeam as a ladder to break into a house. Here the connection between linguistic construction and wisdom is not given textual embodiment but is rather transmuted into the deceptive structure of the moonbeam. The wise (and wiley) homeowner tricks the thief into jumping to his death by making the thief believe that he can make the moonbeam solid by repeating a magic word "salvan" seven times. He deceives the thief by pretending to talk to his wife about how he gained his own wealth by breaking into people's homes using this trick "muy encobierta et sotil, de guisa que ninguno no sospechava de mí tal cosa."[409] [very underhanded and subtle, in a manner that nobody suspected anything of me.] The man who has gained his wealth honestly dissimulates, pretending to be a thief, and thus is able to protect his family when they are outnumbered. (While the story appears to be addressed to just one thief, the narrator makes a point of telling us that "andavan algunos compañeros del."[410] [some companions of his were walking about.]) Not coincidentally, the next apologue is the first of many in the collection to concern adultery, what happens when the martial pair at the center of a household does not present this united front to interlopers. But here the husband and wife, like Álvar Háñez and Doña Vascuñada, work together to create the illusion that protects their house without even leaving their bed.

Enclosures and Poridat in the Conde Lucnaor

Buildings also organize the narrative dynamics in most of the *enxienplos* in the *Conde Lucanor* that I discussed in earlier chapters, notably Ex. 11, 20, 32, 35, 36, 45, 46, and 50. In many cases interiority represents a space in which a person can learn or change, the possibility of internal reflection and education (or so the author posits). But there is a more sinister aspect. Interior spaces contain secrets, possibly treasure, but also possibly shame and danger. To give just one example, in Ex. 45 the power that the Devil grants when the thief relinquishes his soul is that no

[409] *Calila e Dimna*, 110.
[410] *Calila*, 109.

door will be locked to him: "dixo el Diablo al omne que dallí adelante que fuesse a furtar, ca nunca fallaría puerta nin casa, por bien cerrada que fuesse, que él non gela abriesse luego."[411] [The Devil said to the man that from here on out when he wanted to flee, that he would not encounter a door or house, no matter how tightly shut, that he would not be able to get into it.] Juan Manuel presents accessing these controlled spaces as dangerous but fruitful and necessary to control because of the knowledge as power contained within. The book is one of these contained spaces, and reading a form of breaking into it.

In Ex. 11 this interior knowledge-space is a site of magical arts. In Ex. 11, the necromancer Don Ýllan is working "en una cámara muy apartada" [a room set apart] when the Deán of Santiago arrives and asks to study "nigromancia" with him. The two men speak and dine in this room before the *deán* makes his request and the two men retire even further into the house because "dixo Don Ýllan al deán que aquella sciencia non se podia aprender sino en lugar mucho apartado."[412] [Don Ýllan told the *deán* that this science could only be learned in a far-off spot.] Dicussing this *enxienplo* in passing, Márquez Villanueva connects this apartness with the mystique associated with Toledo as a center of arcane learning, and concludes that this underground chamber echoes those figuratively underground schools where students could read books recently translated from Arabic.[413] That this knowledge is illicit is made explicit later in the story when the *déan* threatens to expose Don Ýllan as "ereje et encantador, que bien sabía que non avía otra vida nin otro officio en Toledo, do él morava, sinon vivir por aquella arte de nigromancia,"[414] [heretic and enchanter, of whom it is known that he has no other job nor life in Toledo, where he lives, but living off of necromancy] when he decides to refuse to repay him for this instruction. Here again we can recall Said, who further describes the strategic positionality that characterizes Orientalism in above/below terms: "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate or even underground self."[415] Like the wise slave who is buried two diegetic levels into a *mise en abîme* structure in the opening *enxienplo*, Don Ýllan has a power that must be wielded apart and in secret. The room to which the two men finally retreat is so far underground that it seems they are beneath the Tajo River: "entraron entramos por una escalera de piedra muy bien labrada et fueron descendiendo por ella muy grand pieça, en guisa que parescía que estavan tan baxos, que passaba el río Tajo por cima dellos."[416] [together they entered a staircase of well wrought stone and descended down a great distance, so that it appeared that they were far below, and that the River Tajo passed above them.] Controlled through enclosure, however, this power becomes available to Christian rulers who, not unlike the *déan*, refuse to acknowledge their debt and slowly lose access to the skills necessary for building these structures.

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[411] *Conde Lucanor*, 188.
[412] *Conde Lucanor*, 58.
[413] Márquez-Villanueva, "The Alfonsine Cultural Concept," 85. Whereas Devoto considers this one of the stories "de ambiente oriental" because he was not able to locate an analogue, in a recent article David Wacks has argued that such an analogue can be found in a prior Iberian Hebrew work, the *Meshal Haqadmoni* of Isaac ibn Sahula (ca. 1285).
[414] *Conde Lucanor*, 61.
[415] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[416] *CL*, 58.

In Ex. 11, Juan Manuel makes sure to extend the consequences of this suppression directly to the reader. As discussed earlier, this *enxienplo* is one of the more mystifying of the collection, switching point of view from that of an omniscient narrator to that of a character, potentially beguiling the reader into making the same slips that the *deán* of Santiago does, forgetting to be grateful to the source of his unchecked rise to power. Perhaps inadvertently, Don Ýllan recalls nascent Spain's debt to its Semitic cultural legacy, which, while now sequestered and contained, nonetheless has endowed the region and distinctly shaped its landscape and culture. That the *deán* walks down and across a considerable distance to reach this space of instruction is important because the story's impact relies of both duration and disorientation. As I discussed in Chapter One, Ex. 11 builds on Ex. 7, which also depicts the consequences of "getting ahead of yourself," but relies on the reader's increasing expertise on the topic in the course of reading Juan Manuel's collection. Ostensibly, if the reader has learned the lesson of Ex. 7 when she hears Count Lucanor explain to Patronio the premise for Ex. 11, that he needs help collecting from a withholding friend, she should also know that the deán will not repay Don Ýllan's favor. The adept reader will anticipate the outcome. Both Ex. 7 and Ex. 11 depict worlds that exist only in a character's yet to be expressed volition. But the narrative positioning of Ex. 11 is more complex because most of the apologue occurs in the propositional future without signaling that it has shifted into this mode, so that we may not at first realize that the *deán* narrates not what he is doing but what he would do. Moreover, although he is a sorcerer and "ereje," the narrative is sympathetic to Don Ýllan, organizing not just the narration but the story's moral point around him.

The building frames Don Ýllan's knowledge not only as covert because occluded, but covert because exclusive. In her chapter on the *The Secret of Secrets* (the Middle English translation of the *Secretum secretorum*, itself a translation from the Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār*) in *Covert Operations: On the Medieval Uses of Secrecy*, Karma Lochrie calls attention to the common device in wisdom literature of presenting knowledge between men as valuable because secret and secret because its possessor only reveals it through "an elaborate process of initiation."

> The protection of knowledge in this truth technology is only one of the functions that secrecy serves. It also preserve's the master's mastery, excludes the ignorant/student from knowledge except through an elaborate process of initiation, and organizes the master's technique of guiding the disciple and revealing his knowledge. Perhaps most importantly, the elaborate secrecy of the master in the know functions to ensure the value—the capital—of his knowledge, rendering it esoteric, dangerous, and desirable because it is secret. What else is this circumspection of knowledge with secrecy but a form of recognizing intellectual property and asserting the master's proprietorship of that property?[417]

Hence Patronio allies himself with Don Ýllan as the captive source of wisdom, "Graecia capta," and Juan Manuel sets into motion the dynamic frame through which Patronio and Don Ýllan's wisdom becomes available to Christian rulers as it unfolds in his frametale. The frametale performs the transfer of property. But in the next two *enxienplos* that I will discuss, two kings

[417] Lochrie, 95. The first Latin translation of the *Sirr al-Asrār* was done in Toledo in the twelfth century.

prove unable to learn, allowing those who purport to control arcane arts to make off with the kingdom's wealth.

Enclosure is key to the deception of *enxienplos* 20 and 32. The deceivers in each story lock themselves away very soon after their arrival in town, and their enclosure in these buildings underscoring how little the other townspeople know about them. In Ex. 32, when the *burladores* arrive in town, they insist on being set apart in a "palacio." They need privacy so that the townspeople whose fortunes the king hopes to nab when they are exposed as bastards, will not notice that the cloth was at no point visible.

> Et ellos dixiéronles que por que viesse que non le querían engañar, que les mandasse cerrar en aquel palacio fasta que el paño fuesse fecho. Desto plogo mucho al rey. Et desque ovieron tomado para fazer el paño mucho oro et plata et seda et muy grand aver para que lo fiziesses, entraron en aquel palacio et cerráronlos.[418]
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> [And the told him, so that they could see that they had no desire to deceive, that they must shut themselves away in a palace until the cloth was made. This pleased the king greatly. And having taken great quantities of gold and silver and silk, they entered the palace and shut themselves up in it.]

The king lets these unknown men lock themselves away with items of exchangeable value: gold and silver and silk, which they transform into an illusion. Their trick depends on their ability to produce illusions through words, the greedy king's desire to confiscate the property of his subjects, and anxiety about heredity. When the king's advisors, and finally the King, cannot see the cloth, they assume not that they are being deceived, but that they aren't their fathers' sons. When the advisors praise the "bondad et la nobleza del paño,"[419] they use the terms about which they have suddenly become insecure about being to apply to themselves: goodness and nobility. The tricksters weave the *paño* that they pull over the townpeople's eyes from a anxious thread in the social fabric of the community, one that exposes the threat of interruption inherent to patrilineal sucession, and the beginnings of the problematic discourses of "limpieza de sangre" that will become more pronounced in the following centuries, showing up for example in the rips of the jacket of *Lazarillo*'s hidalgo, a man so beholden to the strictures of class prerogative that he cannot work even though he is starving and can barely clothe himself.

The trickster of Ex. 20 also manipulates a king's greed by sequestering himself in a building. In Ex. 20, when the pseudo-alchemist arrives in town, he first sells some gold pellets he has prepared to a spice vendor. Having established that entity, he next establishes his identity, setting up house and pretending to let townspeople into his confidence by conveying to them that he is an alchemist. "Et aquel golfín moró un tiempo en aquella villa en manera de omne muy assessegado et fue diziendo a unos et a otros, en manera de poridat, que sabía fazer alquimia."[420] [And that man lived for awhile in that house discreetly and started to spread the word among the people, as if it were a secret, that he know how to perform alchemy.] When this rumor reaches the king, he asks to speak to the *golfín*. The *golfín* lets the king think that he has initiated contact with him. He manipulates the context of the spice vendor to obscure his

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[418] *CL*, 142.
[419] CL, 144.
[420] CL, 86.

tautological trick: turning gold into gold. By recasting gold as "tabardíe," an item of nominal value that can be bought from a spice vendor, he makes it seem like he can transform less valuable items into more valuable ones, prompting the king to give him more valuable items. The irony in both Ex. 20 and 32 is that the king believes himself to be in on the deception, when in fact he is just as duped as those he intends to extort. In both cases, the tricksters leave town before the ruler is able to notice his mistake. Having no investment in the town, they have nothing to lose by running away with their winnings. Just as alchemy often symbolizes the process of spiritual enlightenment, and here also invokes the Semitic communities with which the arcane sciences were associated, knowledge is the intangible value that these stories trade in. And in these two stories, the wise figures are charlatans who not only hold onto but increase their wealth by manipulating those more foolish.

Many of these enclosures are sites of textual production. The *burladores* lock themselves away in Ex. 32 claiming to weave cloth. The *golfín* in Ex. 20 establishes his reputation by sowing rumor and cements it by borrowing the neutrality of the spice vendor to pretend to perform alchemy for the king. The tricksters' *legerdemain* is linguistic: their ability to manipulate words and the relationship between words and their referents. Ex. 20 also links enclosure specifically with writing. When the king realizes that he has been deceived in Ex. 20, he hunts down the domicile of the man who had pretended to be an alchemist to find only a trunk containing a written reprimand:

> Et non fallaron en su casa cosa del mundo sinon un arca cerrada, et desque la abrieron, fallaron ý un excripto que dizía assi: 'Bien creed que non ha en el mundo tabardíe, mas abet que vos he engañado. Et cuando yo vos dizía que vos faría rico, deviéredes me dezir que lo feziesse primero a mí et que me creeríedes.[421]
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> [In his house nothing was found but a locked chest, and when they opened it they read the following message: 'Now hear this: there is nothing in the world called 'tabardíe,' for I have deceived you, and when I told you I would make you rich, you should have told me that if I first made myself rich you would believe me.]

Just as he establishes his reputation "en la manera de poridat," he encloses his message to the king in an "arca cerrada." Like the joke traveling about Alhaquem, the jibe contains the potential for the king's re-inscription as somebody other than a person of "mal recado," which is how we are introduced to him at the beginning of the *enxienplo*. The *golfín* seeks out this town because of the king's reputation: "Et aquel omne sopo que un rey, que non era de muy buen recado, se trabajava de fazer alquimia."[422] [And this man knew of a king, who did not have the best judgment, who was attempting to perform alchemy.] Instead, the incident only reinforces this opinion, as demonstrated by the joking townspeople who refuse to remove the king from their list of foolish men at the end of the *enxienplo:*

> A cabo de algunos días, unos omnes estavan riendo et trebejando, et escribían todos los omnes que ellos conoscían, cada uno de cuál manera era….Et cuando ovieron a escribir

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[421] *CL*, 88.
[422] *Conde Lucanor*, 86.

> los omnes de mal recado, escribieron ý el rey….Et el rey les dixo que avian errado, et que si viniesse aquel que avía levado el aver, que non fincaría él poe omne de mal recabdo. Et ellos le dixieron que ellos non perdían nada de su cuenta, ca si el otro viniese, que sacarían el rey del escripto et que pornían a él.[423]
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> [In a few days time men were laughing and joking about the matter and decided to write down a list of the names of all the people they knew together with their qualities….And when they came to write about men with bad judgment, they put down the name of the king….And the king admitted that he had made a mistake, but if the man who taken the money returned, they would no longer think him so ill advised. And they said that they would not alter their list, but if that man were to return that they would take the king off the list and add him instead.]

Unlike Alhaquem, he cannot turn around his reputation because unlike the king in the first *enxienplo*, he did not think to test this stranger before entrusting him with items of actual worth. The *golfín* is the character able to swap referents in this tale. These deceivers write "texts" that the kings only learn how to read once it is too late. The kings remain excluded from the "hermeneutic circle," unable to discern the tricksters' wiles. The form of inscription that these men at the end of *enxienplo* 20 model evaluates equally kings and commoners based on the same criteria: perspicacity not social station.

Crucial to the buildings in all of these stories is the "poridat" or secrecy that they allow their inhabitants. *Poridat* looks to resemble "puritas," or Latin for purity, but while its meaning connotes purity as far as "purity" means being kept apart (in opposition to mixed), Ámerico Castro speculates that the Arabic word "kha-la-sa" has inflected the meaning of the word to also mean "secret," an inflection that Castro attributes to the Mozárabs' bilingualism.[424] *Poridat de poridades* in the title of the Castilian translation of the *Sirr al-Asrār*, the Arabic text of wisdom literature translated into Latin as the *Secretum secretorum*. The *paronomasia* of the construction "blank of blank" is notably Semitic, and Galmés de Fuentes considers it characteristic of Castilian texts translated from Arabic.[425] Furthermore, it means "sincerity," as in the form of communication "in confidence" possible between friends, and not outside of an intimate relationship. Count Lucanor speaks to Patronio "en poridat."

The connection of reading and "secretum" may also have a Christian model, that of one of the most influential readers in Christianity: Augustine. In her article on the role of the reader in Petrarch's *Secretum*, Victoria Kahn takes Augustine's *Confessions* as the textual model for reading as a space apart, and that the word "secretum" designates that space in the garden crucial for Augustine's conversion, and also the space of friendship between Augustine and Alypius. In Book VIII:8, Augustine retreats to the garden where he will eventually convert in

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[423] *Conde Lucanor*, 88-89.
[424] Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, 100. Etymology recurs in Castro's argumentation about Spanish identity. He uses it to show Arabic meaning informing a Spanish word with an ostensible Latin base, often identifying an attempt to erase a Semitic component in a gap he identifies between the Latin and Spanish meanings of a word.
[425] Galmés de Fuentes, 205.

the famous "tolle, lege" episode with his friend Alypius, whose presence we are told does not impinge on his solitude: "abscessi ergo in hortum et Alypius pedem post pedem. Neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi ille aderat." [So I went out into the garden. Alypius followed me step after step. Although he was present, I felt no intrusion on my solitude.][426]

However in the conversion episode later in Book 8, for which the conversion narrative of St. Anthony provides the model, and a willfully perverse interpretation of a child's call the prompt, to bibliomancy, Augustine moves into the garden alone, leaving Alypius behind: "Et ut totum effunderum cum vocibus suis, surrexi ab Alypio—solitudo mihi ad noegotium flendi aptior suggerebatur—et secessi remotius, quam ut posset mihi onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia." [I got up from beside Alypius (solitude seemed to me more appropriate to the business of weeping), and I moved further away to ensure that even his presence put no inhibition upon me.][427] Augustine presents reading and writing as more solitary and secret than talking. Whereas the list kept by the townspeople in Ex. 20 is a document that they publically author, the message in the "arca cerrada" demands its writers' absence. Storytelling demands at least two people be present: a teller and audience, and here Augustine presents reading as a potentially solitary activity and therefore a different model for reflection and conversion. Later, Alypius picks up the book, still following a few steps behind, and finds himself converted not by the same passage as Augustine, but the subsequent one. Each of the stories in Juan Manuel's collection presents itself as a discrete teachable moment, a space where the reader can follow Count Lucanor in the instruction he gets from Patronio, and a space to which the reader can return either after reading a similar later *enxienplo* or in another reading of the text entirely.

In the last two building-organized stories in the collection that I will discuss, the building stands for a site capable of multiple readings, including re-reading. We also move from public buildings to homes, from the palatial to the domestic. In Ex. 50 the *poridat* is also *vergüenza* or *pudor*, that which a ruler must keep private, the mortifying shame that allows him to control himself. At the center of this story, a woman attempts to retain control over her home after the king has sent her husband away so that he can seduce her, a scenario that underscores—especially coming at the end of the collection—that the concept of *señorio* connects manliness with the ability to rule one's home. Saladin's vassal's wife buys time by trapping Saladin in a promise that necessitates him voyaging out to discover what it is that women most want.[428] The ability to delay also prevents the father in Ex. 36 from too hastily murdering his wife and son when he returns home after many years away. When the merchant looks in the window to find his wife in bed with an unknown man (the son he doesn't know that he has), the building frames the event incorrectly. The father spies on his own home, and only restrains himself from acting hastily and murdering his family by remembering the *seso*, or proverb, that he bought from "un grant maestro" for "una dobla," the second and more expensive of the two pieces of wisdom that he buys from this vendor.

That *seso* advised "cuando fuesse muy sañudo et quiziese fazer alguna cosa arrebatadamente, que se non quexasse nin se arrebatasse fasta que sopiesse toda la verdat."[429]

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[426] Kahn, 155. Augustine, *Confessions* VIII:8. Translation from Chadwick, 146.
[427] Augustine, *Confessions*, Bk. VIII: 11-12. Chadwick, 153.
[428] Chaucer's Wife of Bath tells a similar story.
[429] *CL*, 157-158.

[When you are very angry and want to do something hastily, do not despair or act hastily until you know the truth.] In both cases, the practice of gathering wise sayings orally, because that is also what Saladin is charged with collecting—"cuál era la major cosa que omne podia aver en sí, et que era madre et cabeça de todas las bondades"[430] –-and acting on them is what indicates the wisdom of the person attempting to act in accord with it, and, no coincidence, that which preserves their good reputation. As a place of return and repetition, able to signal difference, the building stages learning as a process that occurs within an individual's often unreadable interiority. Buildings are not only politically charged sites but the charged site of the subject in formation who looks to the book for instruction. In these stories, wisdom comes from outside the home, and needs to be brought in, domesticated, incorporated, and made part of the interpretive framework of its inhabitants.

House as Learning in Sendebar

In *Sendebar*, the most articulated physical space represents the space of learning that the collection purportedly represents and transfers: the house in which Çendubete instructs the son of King Alarcos. When Çendubete takes the ignorant prince home to instruct him, it is to a palace that is a book in building format:

> Çendubete tomó este día el niño por la mano e fuese con él para su posada e fiz fazer un gran palacio fermoso de muy gran guisa e escrivió por las paredes todos las saberes que l'avía de mostrar e de aprender: todas las estrellas e todas las feguras e todas las cosas.[431]
>
> [That day, Çendubete took the boy by the hand and went with him to his house, which was a big beautiful palace with tall aspect and he wrote on the walls all of knowledge that there were to show and learn: all of the stars and all figures and all things.]

Amidst these walls, teacher and student sit side by side, reading together until the student has learned, as the text tells us, everything that Çendubete has to teach and the prince has to learn. The building is encyclopedic and complete. Moreover, it is contained. Just as an individual reader can spend time with a book, teacher and student will remain in this finite space for an indefinite amount of time until the prince has learned everything written on the building's walls. Çendubete addresses his pupil: "Esta es mi silla e ésta es la tuya fasta que aprendas los saberes todos que yo aprendí en este palaçio."[432] [This is my seat and that is yours until you learn all of the teaching that I learned in this palace.] The instructor will lead his student through the same paces of learning that he himself underwent, through the same reading, and at the end of the process ostensibly the prince will be wise and fit to rule the kingdom after his father.

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[430] CL, 212.
[431] *Sendebar*, 72.
[432] *Sendebar*, 72-73.

Whereas the prince had been unable to learn how to read between the ages of nine and fifteen, the narrator recounts that transfer of wisdom between teacher and student went well: "E el niño era de buen engeño e de buen entendimiento, de guisa que, ante que llegase el plazo, aprendió todos los saberes que Çendubete, su maestro, avía escripto del saber de los omnes."[433] [And the boy was of good mind and good understanding, in a manner that, before long he learned all the knowledge that Çendubete, his teacher, had written about the knowledge of men.] The narrator reports that the prince has absorbed all of the knowledge written on the walls, doing much better than in his attempts to learn previously, his reading perhaps facilitated by the constant company of his teacher Çendubete.

If this were the *Conde Lucanor*, the story would sum up with "e fízolo así," as the prince returns to rule successfully. Neither *Calila e Dimna* nor the *Conde Lucanor* demonstrates the results of their student's education. However, in *Sendebar*, Çendubete's prognostication upon the prince's return to his father, by being a predictive utterance, opens up another space in the narrative: the space where the prince will reveal what he has learned. At the time appointed for the prince's return, the teacher consults the stars and determines that the prince will be in great danger unless he remains silent for the next seven days, the seven days that make the middle I discuss in Chapter 2. This time/space is overlaid onto that of the first prediction of the work, highlighting its final minute—that the prince will come into life-threatening conflict with his father when he turns twenty. But we should also notice that this interior space of the instructional building encloses the space that follows—the middle space of debate—because it ostensibly determines its outcome.

When the prince returns to his father's palace, before he can be reunited with his father, his father's favorite wife, "muger, la qual más amava e onrávala más que a todas las otras mugeres qu'él avía," [woman who he loved and honored more than the other women that he had] requests time and space to speak with the boy alone and attempts to interrupt the smooth secession of political power between father and son. She removes him to her "palacio," and proposes that they kill the father, who has become in her words "de muy gran hedat e flaco," [of advanced age and weak] and marry her instead. "Matemos a tu padre e serás tú rey e sere yo tu muger."[434] [Let us kill your father and you will be king and I will be your wife.] In addition to fratricidal and regicidal, this proposal is quite possibly incestuous, Oedipal. The story does not specify that this woman is the prince's mother, although at the beginning of the collection his mother is described in the same terms: "una de sus mugeres, aquella qu'él más quería, e era cuerda e entendida."[435] [one of his women, she who he most loved, and she was smart and shrewd], and the *Seven Sabios* branch of this narrative does specify that the woman is his mother. The queen's intelligence appears to be more wiles than wisdom, and when the son refuses to enter into her plan, she accuses him of attempting to violate her.

What follows during those seven days when the son is silent and on trial is not unlike what happens to the father and son on the road in Ex. 2 of the *Conde Lucanor*. One wise man advises the king to kill his son, his wife attempts to discredit the advisor, and the next advisor asks him to delay judgment. Much like that overly quick-to-act son, the King allows himself to

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[433] *Sendebar*, 73.
[434] *Sendebar*, 75.
[435] *Sendebar*, 65.

be pushed by the rhetorical thrust of each story, leaning first in one direction and next in another as his advisors attempt to convince him either that all women are deceitful and should not be trusted, or that women can be good or that not all advisors should be trusted. They conduct the argument in categorical terms. An additional narrative frame opens within the first frame narrative of the book, but it is not that the framing narrative that has been the prince's instruction in the book-building closes, but that it is pending, as with the dilation caused by the embedded narratives that Shkovsky describes. This middle space of debate (as I discuss it in Chapter 2) is a necessary delay while the prince waits out the span of days that Çendubete has mandated that he remain silent. This framing narrative is about *translatio studii*, one that does not proceed unproblematically from father to son, but rather demands the mediation of the intervening and wise Çendubete. When the seven days are up, the prince calls his teacher to the palace and the two explain the situation to the assembled court.

When the king criticizes Çendubete and the Infante for not speaking up during those seven days, Cendubete replies, "Non e así commo vos dezides. Qu'el mayor saber que en el mundo ay es dezir."[436] [It is not like you say: that the best knowledge in the world is in speaking.] Silence is the sign of wisdom. This building represents the space of our inculcation as readers into this wisdom because we are supposed to be edified by the process of reading and because it is the space that determines the outcome of the story. The author transfers the space of instruction that the room represents as space onto the temporal axis: the seven day's silence demanded by Çendubete after he reads the prince's fortune and determines that he must not speak for seven days after returning home. Whereas most of the narration occurs in an unspecified place—the neutral hall that ostensibly houses Çendubete, the King, and the king's other viziers while they debate the prince's fate—the house that informs the shape and outcome of that debate is a house of learning onto whose walls Çendubete has written all the prince needs to learn. The prince's enforced silence creates the narrative possibility, and his silence becomes one of the signs of his learning.

But it is not the only sign. When the prince finally speaks and reveals his innocence, the assembled group again erupts into debate, this time a debate about who was most at fault for the politically unstable situation of the last week. The king asks "E vosotros, sabios, si matara mi fijo, ¿cúya sería la culpa? Si sería la mía, o de mi fijo, o de mi muger, o del maestro?"[437] [And you, wise men, if I had killed my son, whose fault would it have been? Would it have been mine? Or my son's? Or my wife's? Or the teacher's?] The prince proves his worth by telling the most apt analogical story: one that accounts for complex dynamic between all four players, and his story absolves all the actors, ceding to the will of God. He announces that with it "me dexeste mostrar mi fazienda e mi razón."[438] [Leave off asking me to demonstrate my work and my reason.] When the king's advisors once again fall into inconclusive debate, the prince proves not only that he is able to account for himself, but that he has surpassed the court's own wise men. When the king thanks him for training his son, Çendubete reports to the king that student has even surpassed teacher: "Señor, yo non sé cosa en el mundo que yo non le mostré, e bien creo que non la ay en el mundo, e non ay más sabio qu'él."[439] [Sir, I know nothing in the world

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[436] *Sendebar*, 138.
[437] *Sendebar*, 136.
[438] *Sendebar*, 138.
[439] *Sendebar*, 140.

that I haven't shown him, and I will believe that there in nobody in this world more learned than him.] Thus the story ends with a secure transfer of power between men, mediated not by a woman, but by the figure of the sage Çendubete.

This sequestration at the beginning of the tale accomplishes two things. First, it concretizes the prince's education. Second, it feminizes Çendubete and the learning that he stands for. His book-building is a womb, and here it is one that regenerates the future ruler. Whereas, the story's most prominent woman and possibly the prince's mother, threatened to interrupt this succession of power from father to son by interposing herself, Çendubete's palace-as-book provides an alternate matrix from which to generate the future ruler, one that follows the maternal womb and ultimately cuts off the female. Martha Dana Rust uses the term "manuscript matrix" to describe the phenomenal realm of reading a book as "an imagined, virtual dimension in which physical form and linguistic content function in dialectical reciprocity: a space in which words and pages, 'colours' of rhetoric and colors of ink, covers of books and veils of allegory function together in one overarching, category-crossing metasystem of systems of signs."[440] This term invokes the space between the reader's body and the book as a reflexive, generative space, like the space that Çendubete creates in his palace of instruction. But by feminizing Çendubete, the story announces his exclusion from the hand-off of power from father to son (we will remember that one of the few corporal details we get in the story is that Çendubete leads off the son by the hand) even while he was necessary to effect it. While necessary to the patriarchal succession from father to son, this advisor will never interrupt that relationship, remaining instead permanently sidelined.

This characterization should remind us of Copeland's formulation that "The replicative principles of translation are not founded on a dream of patriarchal continuity or evolutionary progress, but on a historical agenda of conquest and supremacy through submission."[441] Whereas the mother threatened to interrupt the transfer of power beteen father and son, the sage characters assures it. As we saw on the cover of the 1498 Burgos edition of the *Exemplario contra los engaños e peligros de mundo*, Cendubete or Sendebar becomes a somewhat generic name for a wise advisor. It is applied there to the sage character in *Calila e Dimna*, even though the sage in the framing narrative (not the sage in the prologues) has not otherwise been named. In fact, as we saw in the last chapter, the source of the wisdom in that text is textual, mediated and handled by a series of sages.

The Effiminate Moor: Orality and Subordination

This dissertation has shown that the frametale is eminently concerned with the interaction between oral and written literary modes. In this chapter I have been examining how the frametale organizes diegetic space in order to plot the relationship between nascent vernacular Spanish prose and the Semitic and Latin "source" materials that comprise so many of the stories. I would like to suggest here that Juan Manuel uses the Semitic relegation to the spoken to declare the supersession of the Semitic by Romance that I have been describing in this chapter

[440] Rust, 9.
[441] Copeland, 31.

as a spatial negotiation. In fact these two strains come together in the *Conde Lucanor* in *enxienplos* in which Don Manuel takes pains to represent and then enclose Arabic speech, which ends up framing Arabic as a non-written language and presenting Castilian, a formerly oral language less than a century into its employ for writing, as the only authoritative language for inscription. Lastly, this linguistic difference is gendered. Juan Manuel links orality and Arabic to femininity and lack of political power.

To return to Ex. 41 one last time, Patronio brings up al-Hakam to note that this famed ruler of the Andalusī Caliphate took control of his reputation by insuring that he was known not for innovations to the *albogón,* a wind instrument, but for completing the construction of the Great Mosque at Córdova. Al-Hakam does this when he learns that his name has become associated with a proverb (presented here as transliterated in one of the manuscripts): "V.a. he de ziat Alhaquim." The expression does not make immediate sense to the ruler, who must ask his vassals to translate, ostensibly all in Arabic. But Patronio also needs to translate from Arabic to Castilian, the language of his narration. This *enxienplo* is one of three to contain translated, or rather transliterated, Arabic. Patronio follows the expression: "V. a. he de ziat Alhaquim," with its translation into Spanish: "es quiere dezir: Este es el añadamiento del rey Alhaquem."[442] [which is to say, this is the addition of King Alhaquem.] The text announces that this is a translation "de algaravía."

What does this term mean: "de algaravía"? Certainly it looks like, and in this case we would expect it to be, an older form of the term "arabía," which designates the Arabic language in Castilian. In some instances, the text reads that the character speaks "en arabigo," in others in "en algarabia." At first glance, the variation looks like the addition of the Arabic definite article: 'al. Substituting a "g" for the 'ayn was a common way to transliterate, so "algarabia" represents "al-'arabiyya." But it inadvertently registers the inflection of another word entirely: *al-gharb* meaning "from the west" (hence *al-Maghreb* for Morocco, and Algarve, the southernmost province in Portugal, both the westernmost provinces of the Islamic Empire),[443] and *gharīb*, foreign or strange. Orthographically, 'ayn and 'gayn differ by just one dot, and both sounds generate from the same guttural position, only the 'gayn is voiced. According to Karla Mallette, what is strange or "gharīb" is often contrasted to grammatical speech or *'arabiyya* (from 'a-r-b).[444] Mallette notes that Averroes' (Ibn Rushd) in his translation of and commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* uses *gharīb* to translate *barbarismos, barbarismos* meaning the use of non-Attic Greek. We see a similar contrast in Latin, between grammatical use of the language—*Latinitas* or *grammatica*, and *barbarismos*, where what is "barbarian" does not follow the grammatical rules of syntax or otherwise departs from the regimen of the written language into the vagaries of

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[442] *CL*, 170.

[443] Vincent Barletta interprets *arávigo* to mean a Moorish style of music mentioned in the *Libro de Bueno Amor* immediately after the exchange between Trotaconventos and the Mora, the only place to include Arabic words in that work. My interpretation of those passages is that Juan Ruíz is discussing other instruments (the viuela de arco, the guitarra, the odrecillo) with respect to the suitability to songs "en arávigo," attempting again to show his mastery of Arabic song traditions. The association between Andalusi vernacular and instruments suggests a narrative song or storytelling tradition that featured (exclusively?) characters speaking in the dialect accompanied by music.

[444] Mallette, Karla. "Beyond Mimesis: Aristotle's Poetics in the Medieval Mediterranean." *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009).

spoken dialect.[445] We see here and in other places of the *Conde Lucanor* that feature citations of Arabic speech (and also characterologically in many of the Moors) an association between Arabic and an inability to govern writing and homes, connected to loss of dominion in Iberia.

We saw Ex. 41 figure Christian dominion in architectural terms, which Patronio interpreted in political and religious terms, but in the other two *enxienplos* to depict Andalusī Arabic, it plays out characterologically, in particular through a Moorish man's inability to control the women in his family. The resulting frustration makes him resort to chiding the intransigent woman in Arabic. The transliteration of Arabic then marks precisely this failure to govern within the home, playing out in family drama the Arabs' political and military defeat. Existing only in oral form, as direct reported speech set into a Castilian narrative, Castilian being the language which in al-Andalus and in Arabic literary forms such as the *muwashshaha* was primarily a spoken language associated with women—this presentation of Arabic announces the reversal of the roles that Moors and Christians formerly occupied using the feminine connotations of the mother tongue. Whereas previously Christian songs and singing girls prompted the use of melodic tags in Romance (the *kharjas*) at the end of the predominantly Andalusī Arabic poetic form the *muwashshaha*,[446] in the fourteenth century Juan Ruiz writes songs for "moras y judias," the newly subordinated Semitic women, to sing in their native languages.

The other two *enxienplos* to depict Arabic speech are Ex. 30 and Ex. 47, which also depict colloquial expressions and put them into the mouths of men exasperated with female family members. Both of these *enxienplos* show a man driven to Arabic out of frustration, a man who cannot manage the women in his family, and in particular their speech. In Ex. 40 the beleagured King Abenabet of Sevilla (as Juan Manuel calls Al-Mu'tamid Ala-llahī ibn 'Abbad who ruled Sevilla in the eleventh century) attempts to placate his queen, Rumayquía, who makes a series of demands, until he finally exclaims "en algaravia" "V. le mahar aten?"[447] which the text explains means "Et non el dia de lodo?" that is, "Not even on the day of the mud?" This statement references a time when the king created a mud patch "suited for a queen," that is comprised of "açúcar et de canela et de gengibre et aspic et clavos et musgo et ambra et algalina,"[448] [sugar, and of cinnamon, and of ginger, and spices and cloves and musk and amber

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[445] The scribes who copied these manuscripts weren't consistently able to govern the transliterated Arabic. For them, if not before, the idiom is so foreign that its orthographic ordinance is impossible. They variants between manuscripts are significant and here I have relied on the deciphering of Arabists, and in particular A. R. Nykl, for help decoding these phrases. The Arabic proper names are also troubling for the copiers who vary the spelling of Alhaquem and Ramayquia even within a few lines of a given manuscript. I have used the names as given in the manuscripts when referring to the passages, and then the version in proper translated Arabic when referring to the historical person.

[446] The interpretation of the *kharjas* has raged in the sixty years since Samuel Stern deciphered them at the end of Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshahat* in 1948. While few contest that they represent words in Romance, only one strain considers the poems songs, and the final lines tags to the melody to which they are to be sung. For a review of the debate, see the debate in *La Corónica*. The poem position is most strongly made by Corriente and Jones, whereas the song camp includes Samuel Armistead, James T. Monroe, and Benjamin Liu.

[447] *CL*, 139.

[448] *CL*, 138.

and perfume], when his wife saw a peasant woman wading by a river bank and wanted to revisit her youth by making mud bricks (adobes) in the mud. Juan Manuel presents Rumayquía as silly for wanting to undertake this project of make-believe building-making and judges Abenabet for placating her at all. Ostensibly, his duties as a husband include refusing her idle wishes, and the expenditure of royal resources (the long list of luxury spices) on such trifling desires. Unlike the building projects of al-Hakam or al-Mansur, this project does not build up political prestige, but instead more closely resembles Alhaquem's *albogón*. Juan Manuel once again equates aesthetic production with political subjugation, or as R. Howard Bloch describes medieval misogynstic discourse "a linking of the feminine with the aesthetic—the decorative, the ornamental, and the materially contingent."[449] Here Rumayquía does not intend to build anything, but merely plays at brick-making.

Ex. 45 also depicts a Moorish woman who incongruously and affectedly mixes high and low desires, a brother who indulges her, and dirt, in this case the ground that the brother and sister displace when they disinter the recently deceased to steal the valuable items they were buried with. In the story, while a brother and sister rob a grave, the sister displays great ferocity, breaking the head off the body to extract the fine fabrics wrapped about it. Later, at the dinner table, she affects mannered delicacy, leading her brother to exclaim: "Aha ya ohti, tafza min bocu bocu; va liz tafza min fotuh encu." The narrator introduces the translation with "Et esto quiere decir," that is "that is to say." The translation is "Aha, hermana, despantadesvos del sueno de la tarrazuela que faze boc, boc; et non vos espantávades del descojuntamiento del pescueço del muerto."[450] Or, in English, "Hey sister, you jumped at the sound of the jar which went 'boc, boc,' but you weren't afraid to rip the head off that corpse." Juan Manuel concludes this episode noting that this saying is common among the Moors: "muy retraýdo entre los moros,"[451] that is that the phrase circulates orally, most likely proverbially.

James T. Monroe has identified a variant of this proverb in the colloquial Arabic *zejels* of Ibn Quzmān, the tenth-century Cordoban poet, proving the phrase's circulation in Arabic-speaking Iberia. He also draws our attention to the nature of the Arabic in these phrases; they are in colloquial not classical Arabic.[452] We should assume that all of these phrases were proverbial, and were likely to be understood translingually more than many other forms of Arabic discourse. A person who was not fluent in Arabic may still have known them, the way an English speaker who does not know French may use the phrase "jay nay say qua," that is "je n'ai sais quoi" intending to connote he is not sure what, but something difficult to express, something impressive, exotic. By citing these proverbs, Juan Manuel announces himself as one of those conversant people, one able to take materials from Arabic oral narrative traditions as well as from the recently translated Arabic story collections like *Calila e Dimna*. Thus he asserts that he can make the most fundamental and daily cultural materials of the Moors available to Castilian-speaking Christians. And he, not them, will make it available because while the subaltern speaks (if only when requested to do so), he does not write.

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[449] R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*, viii.
[450] *CL*, 198.
[451] *CL*, 198.
[452] Monroe (1988).

Juan Manuel is not performing mastery over written Arabic. These citations are explicitly *of speech*, and not *of texts*. Scholars have long debated whether Juan Manuel could speak or write Arabic, some positing that he had mastery of the written language, others that he must have had a ability to understand and speak the spoken dialect from living on the frontier and interacting with Arabic speakers, and still others that he could not even write in Romance, much less Arabic, and that he composed using oral dictation. On this topic, I agree most with Lida de Malkiel who asserts that Juan Manuel was working with some form of Arabic source, but we cannot be sure whether it was a written source in Arabic or one that had already been translated into Castilian with only these discrete moments left in Arabic, or an oral source in Arabic or Castilian. What we do know is that these stories present these Arabic words *as speech*, and even as an emblem of speech. Although scholars have gone over and over these passages attempting to ascertain Juan Manuel's linguistic abilities, surprisingly none have bothered to ask: Why did the author leave these words in Arabic when not just the story but most of the rest of the speech of these same characters in the same story is presented in Castilian? We only begin to answer this question by noting that leaving the speech in Arabic highlights that the story came from an Arabic source, which it has now displaced so thoroughly that—not incidentally—the source cannot be found.

As we have seen, Juan Manuel does not try to hide the Arabic provenance but he does not foreground it in every case. For example, Juan Manuel took Ex. 19 and 22 from the recent (1251) Castilian translation of *Kalilah wā Dimnah*, but gives no indication that those stories had an Arabic source. *Enxienplos* 30 and 41 feature kings with Arabic names from recently conquered cities, but the two tales from *Kalilah* are animal fables, thus much less culturally specific. One of the features of the frametale that encourages its translation and ready dissemination is its ability to receive culturally specific alterations that allow it to be meaningful in a new context without losing necessary narrative cohesion. But the decision here is to use linguistic markers so specific to Arabic that the Castilian scribes who copy it later cannot properly handle them. We should also consider that many of the building-organized *enxienplos* that I have discussed in this chapter are those that Ayerbe-Chaux considers "de ambiente oriental." The stories inflected as "Moorish" are stories that show Moorish characters dominated or exhibiting behaviors that, per Juan Manuel, make it possible to dominate them.

What do these stories have in common? For one, they are about reputation. In each case a Moorish character exhibits a vanity or weakness that provokes a reprimand from another Moorish man. King Alhaqem finishes the mosque at Cordoba when he hears that other men have been making fun of him for his musical endeavors. The sister affects the feminine trait of squeamishness that her ruthlessness as a grave robber belies. In this story, Queen Rumayquía is fickle and self-indulgent, asking her husband to go to great effort and expense to let her pursue her youthful pastimes (she was the daughter of a sheepherder) in a manner befitting a queen. They are also about characters whose actions do not properly ally with their stations, that is, who do not act in a manner appropriate to their "estado." That Juan Manuel wrote an entire book on the importance of fulfilling the duties of one's station (*El Libro de los Estados*) attests to the importance of the theme to his work. While Ex. 3 showed that there are multiple "carreras" to salvation, according to Juan Manuel the most proper path is the one that entails fulfillment of the earthly duties particular to one's station. And in this respect, the characters in these three *enxienplos* have failed, both in action and in self-awareness. These characters must be informed by an outside source that their words do not correspond to their actions. The message of Ex. 30

is quite similar to that of Ex. 11: withhold benefits from the ungrateful. Ex. 47 also concerns limit setting. While the class status within the couples differs between and even within *enxienplos* (Rumayquía is a peasant who became a queen; the sister affects refined manners when she is quite poor) the salient commonality is that these women's failures render both them and their families ridiculous. The message in each story is that the Moors cannot properly manage their households and thus have lost dominion in Iberia.

The importance of policing Arabic speech at this time was political precisely because the frontier was under contestation. We could consider the frontier between al-Andalus and Castilla y León a "translation zone," to use Emily Apter's phrase in the text of the same title, and to revise Pratt's formulation of "the contact zone."

> When war is at issue, it makes more sense to define it [the translation zone] as a translation no-fly zone, an area of border trouble where the lines dividing discrete languages are muddy and disputatious, where linguistic separatism is enforced by high-surveillance missions or, where misfired, off-kilter semantic missles are beached or disabled. Construed in terms of border patrols and military operations, the paradigm of a translation zone at war may be applied beyond the Balkans to the way in which multilingual nations police their internal linguistic borders.[453]

In an attempt to bring these foreign materials into the house of fiction that they are assembling as part of the broad base of Castilian letters, these first Castilian prose writers attempt to muffle the dissonance with that program that these words could signal, instead assigning them a fixed and subordinate place within a structure that renders them virtually nonsensical. Arabic speech becomes garbled when transliterated into Latin characters and further garbled when those words are copied by scribes who do not know the language. These words are kept intact to look like foreign objects that have been effectively de-detonated by their enclosure in this Castilian narrative. Traces of the Arabic source remain but they have been left to signal a departure, not only of people but also of meaning, a muddling tending to silence or nonsense. Around these hard to decipher passages, we see how the poetics of *translatio studii* is also a poetics of the arabesque, that shape that has the aspect of Arabic calligraphy or Islamic non-figural decoration but which outside of an Arabic milieu no longer carries semantic meaning.[454] We see the poetics

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[453] Apter, *The Translation Zone*, 129.

[454] I am using the definition of the arabesque as a highly wrought decorative element associated with the Arabic and Islamic world, the particular shape of which is associated with Arabic calligraphy. This is not at all to assert that the arabesque contains no meaning, but that its meaning is not exclusively semantic, even for a viewer who knows Arabic. As Abdelkabir Khatibi and Mohammed Sijelmassi describe it in a poetic epiphanic passage from their book on Islamic calligraphy: "The significant factor in Islamic art is neither aversion to empty space nor a gratuitous use of geometric design, but a drive towards absolute sanctification. The superabundance of the sacred is such that it contains its own void. Muslim art moves onward in a secret, veiled anguish which harbours in itself a mystical experience. Hence, the arabesque, which expresses this anguish in decorative form. It holds the balance of line and color to a point where they begin to waver and vibrate in an interlaced tracery, and epigraphy and natural or geometric decoration are combined. This tracery holds the superabundance in check, yet marks a secret desire to lose itself. Epigraphy tells the word of God. Geometry and nature bear witness to his omnipotent

of the arabesque in operation in the desire to retain the beautiful inscriptions on the walls of the Mosque at Córdoba, only possible with the concomitant compunction to disassociate them from the *Qur'an*, not by altering them but by working assiduously to rout out knowledge of Arabic writing on the Peninsula so that the words become merely ornamental. By the end of the fifteenth century, the policies of the Inquisition demanded that all books written in Arabic script be burned, though the influence of Arabic script lingers. We see it in the work of scribes and epigraphers in later centuries who make arabesque flourishes on the ascenders of letters in the Roman alphabet and in the creation of swirling networks of letter-like shapes with an Arabic aspect in the corners of cathedrals. In the *Conde Lucanor*, transliterated Arabic is the sign of what formerly carried semantic weight, and represented political and religious domination of the Peninsula, here resignified as an emblem of Castilian linguistic and political domination.

We could look to the untranslated Latin in the *Conde Lucanor* as a point of contrast. Just as Ex. 47 is the amplification of a proverbial saying in Arabic so is Ex. 14 a dramatization of the Latin maxim: "ubi est thesaurus tuus, ibi est cor tuum," which, per Juan Manuel, in Castilian "quiere dezir: do es el tu tesoro, ý es el tu coraçón."[455] [Where your treasure is, there your heart lies.] Juan Manuel translates the Latin using the exact same formula that he used with the Arabic, "quiere decir," showing that he assumes that his audience, the "legos" or laypeople, would not be able to translate it themselves. The Latin in this story is not spoken, not colloquial, nor would we expect it to be, given how Latin was used during the fourteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula. Juan Manuel gives the source for this citation: "el Evangelio," the New Testament (it is from Matthew 6:21),[456] and furthermore notes that it was used as a tag in the preachers' manuals: "Et cuando en la predigación ovo de fablar daquel omne, dixo una palabra que dize el Evangelio que dize assi."[457] [And when in preaching one goes to speak of this man, he said a saying that the Evangelist said like this.]

The scribal errors around these passages inform us that the scribes could make enough sense of the Latin to copy it almost correctly—enough to make sense at both the level of word and phrase, but were consistently baffled by the Arabic, their redactions showing that the word forms were basically meaningless to them. The Latin in Ex. 42 is also from Matthew (and from within a few passages: Matthew 7:16) and introduced similarly by Juan Manuel: "A fructibus eorum coñoscetis eos; que quiere dezir que por las sus obras los cognoscederes."[458] [which is to say: you will know them by their deeds.] The two Latin citations are Biblical and Juan Manuel uses them with the authority of maxims. In a sense, they repeat the function of the verses at the end of the story within the story, signaling the meritorious nugget of wisdom that the reader can place in the *thesaura* of their memories and apply later.

A comparison of Juan Manuel's use of Latin and Arabic citations and proper names allows us to revisit the politics inherent to Juan Manuel's framing of his narrative. He borrows the dialogism of the Lucanor-Patronio dynamic from the Semitic frametale tradition and backs

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presence. And on this voyage of celebration, this world delivers the soul of the believer to the anguish of the Invisisble." *The Splendour of Islamic Calligraphy*, 170.

[455] *CL*, 69.

[456] Which reads in the *Vulgate*: "ubi enim est thesaurus tuus ibi est et cor tuum."

[457] *CL*, 69.

[458] *CL*, 176. In the *Vulgate*: "a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos."

up his assertion that his collection is edifying and instructive within a Christian framework by invoking the Christian preaching tradition that derived its textual authority (if not all of its narratives) from the Bible, and received its mandate from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In his collection, what the explicitly Moorish so often represent is fallibility. We have seen the characters in Patronio's stories instruct either through negative or positive example. When Patronio needs to present a cautionary message to Count Lucanor, Juan Manuel often has him use characters the Castilians were happy to degrade to assert their own superiority: not only Moors, but Italians, Beguines, characters who are decidedly not part of the Castilian "us," represented in Juan Manuel's collection by warriors in the tradition of Richard Coeur de Lion: Ferrant González, Lorenço Suárez Gallinato, Pero Núñez el Leal. Perhaps the only "successful" explicitly Moorish character in the collection is the husband in Ex. 35, who effectively tames his rich but strong-willed bride by terrifying her with carefully stagecrafted displays of violence. Although this husband is "Moorish," he speaks Castilian, in keeping with his linguistic mastery over his household. What the stories from Semitic sources not marked as such belie (like Ex. 20 and Ex. 32), is that Moorish figures are able to steal back social and material capital through wise caution and wily subterfuge, which allows to them to remain mobile and manipulate those officially in charge.

Domus/Dominari and the Man of the House

> DOMESTIC
>
> 1. a) to have the character or position of the inmate of a house; housed.
>
> b) intimate or familiar; at home.
>
> 2. of or pertaining to a) the/one's home, place of residence or b) one's self.
>
> 3. a) of or pertaining to one' own country or nation; not foreign; internal, inland, home.
>
> b) indigenous, native, home-made.
>
> 4. settled, not wild.[459]

In the early Castilian frametales, the translators, compilers, and bookmakers assert Castilian dominance over conquered Semitic materials through architecturally articulated narrative enclosures, and through the gendered associations of the "domestic" realm that adhere to the etymology of the word "domus," or home, itself. From "domus" we get "dominus," literally the one who rules over the home. From the noun "dominus" we get the verb "dominari" a deponent verb that means "to rule over," that is "to dominate." But the etymology witnesses some of the complication of this term, which is a takeover with only very strategic destruction of

[459] Oxford English Dictionary.

the structure, as those verses from the *Cantar de Mio Cid* made clear: "posaremos en sus casas, e dellos nos serviremos." The translating conquerors were quick to incorporate Semitic literary materials into the growing corpus of Spanish, few as quick as Juan Manuel's immediate family members: Fernando III and Alfonso X to "posaremos en sus casas," situate themselves in the houses, of fiction or otherwise, formerly occupied by the Moors. Does a propensity to look to Latin etymologies betray the desire to read for Semitic elements that the nascent Spaniards and suppressed is their translation of these texts beginning in the thirteenth century, and with increasing force and disavow over the centuries to come? Not necessarily. Ámerico Castro also believes that the broader associations of the Arabic "dār" inflect "casa" to mean something more like "domain" as in the *dār al-Islam*, and that in those lines from the *Cid*, that casa means not house but town.

Etymologically, the words "domus," house, and domination are related and relate to the *señorio* I discussed with respect to this passage from the *Cid* earlier. Throughout these stories, the action of "getting above" is linked both to literal enclosure (as in "dome" meaning roof) and physical incorporation, and to an unquestioned assumption that men should rule over women. This overlay helps us to explain the misogyny so characteristic of the frametales, in which women are so often a threat to patrilineal political succession.[460] The figure for the wisdom tradition in these works is the male sage who is not necessarily part of the family, but who replaces the mother as the character who enables the transfer of power between father and son. Karma Lochrie would extend this set of associations to any entity understood to be other, not only women.

> This truth technology of the master and the disciple is a discourse between men almost exclusively, and one that produces its own specific pleasures. At the same time, as I will argue, this particular technology is often deployed to appropriate, if only fictionally, the secrets of the "other," including the secrets of nature, the East, and women.[461]

What the translator of *Sendebar* conveys and Juan Manuel ultimately seeks to assert, is the domestication of the Semitic within the appropriated Semitic form that he uses, a form that he makes Spanish while he makes it his, at the level of the framing narrative and within in places that juxtapose Castilian and Semitic speech or characters. The Semitic does not appear in any particulars in the frame narrative of either work, where the dedication and prologue instead establish Juan Manuel's Christian piety and the pertinence of *Sendebar* to Christianity. The wise character in *Sendebar* wields his knowledge in a structure apart from the royal palace but the story shows that the prince is able to learn from that structure and return home with the mastery that formerly only Çendubete wielded. While *Calila e Dimna* also presents this alternative masculine reproductive matrix, it performs supersession of the Semitic as a hand-off of sapiential power from Empire to Empire, and finally with the Spanish. Though neither text seeks to destroy or negate the Semitic, their representation of it is nonetheless aggressive, a display of literary *spolia,* insisting on rule over these houses and materials. Part of the definition

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[460] In fact, sibling rivalry caused the most problems of succession between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries in Christian Iberia, with fratricide often the preferred solution.
[461] Lochrie, 95.

of "domestic," as in the third definition above, is the incorporation of the foreign so as to tame it, to neutralize its wildness and its foreignness, a taming not unlike that portrayed in Ex. 35 of the Conde Lucanor, in which the forceful husband establishes his *señorio* by terrifying the will out of his new bride.

Necessarily the example of al-Andalus complicates the Orientalist paradigm. While describing a widespread phenomenon, Said focuses on the French and English colonizers who harbored a national identity before those nations became an imperial forces seeking to justify their subordination of "Eastern" powers. The early Castilians in the centuries I am discussing must fight on linguistic and military battlefields to establish the ground on which they plan to declare their existence as a kingdom. They do not have nearly as much to stand on because they are still in the process of battling with Islamic powers for control over territory. On the Iberian Peninsula, the nascent nation of Spain instead used the language of "Reconquista" to assert Christian priority over the lands controlled by Arabs and Berbers since the eighth century. We might assume that at the moment of this assertion, early Castilian authors and translators would be inclined to affiliate with and declare themselves as inheritors of the Latin tradition, which they did, but they also attempted to smuggle in as much Semitic wealth as they could mute and made subject to Castilian.

In these frametales, the authors associate the feminine with the Semitic, and then connect both the feminine and the Semitic to the status that women most commonly hold within the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition: the cultural force that must be overcome to ensure the happy functioning of the kingdom.[462] In the romance, a female protagonist often facilitates inter-faith communication, often by serving as the love object that brings a foreigner into the sphere of the home or court at which she resides. Although female agency is peculiarly evacuated from Ex. 25 of the *Conde Lucanor*, it is a story of this type. Beginning in the thirteenth century in (what became) France and Italy, European romance writers began to portray Salaḥ ad-dīn (infamous because he took Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187 and repelled the attempts of the Third Crusade to recapture the city) not as the scourge or enemy, but as an exemplar of chivalry. John Tolan sees these portrayals as common wartime propaganda: the need to create an enemy worthy of fighting and—should it be necessary to justify—worthy of being defeated by. But he also traces a trend to "domesticate" Salaḥ al-dīn: to make him aspire to European codes of chivalry (if not Christianity), to fall in love with European women, and to visit Europe and speak French and Italian.[463] While it is difficult to sort out fact from legend when it comes to Salaḥ ad-Dīn, this domestication is so clearly a product of European desire to tame this foreign

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[462] Sharāzād and Donzella Teodor being notable exceptions. Both emerge from the failure of a man of a man to properly conduct himself in a male sphere and both demand the potential indenture of the female protagonist. Donzella Teodor confounds the stereotypes of the female figure within the often misogynist wisdom literature tradition. She is more successful (in worldly terms) than her male owner because she combines his erudition with her beauty and feminine wiles. This difference from him, and her ability to circulate as a good on the slave market, is what allows her to enter the economy of exchange that puts her in the king's path and allows her to win his favor and finally a form of patronage that saves her master from poverty. However that she has to be sold, and that it takes her beauty to validate her teacher's erudition makes her a problematic feminist figure.

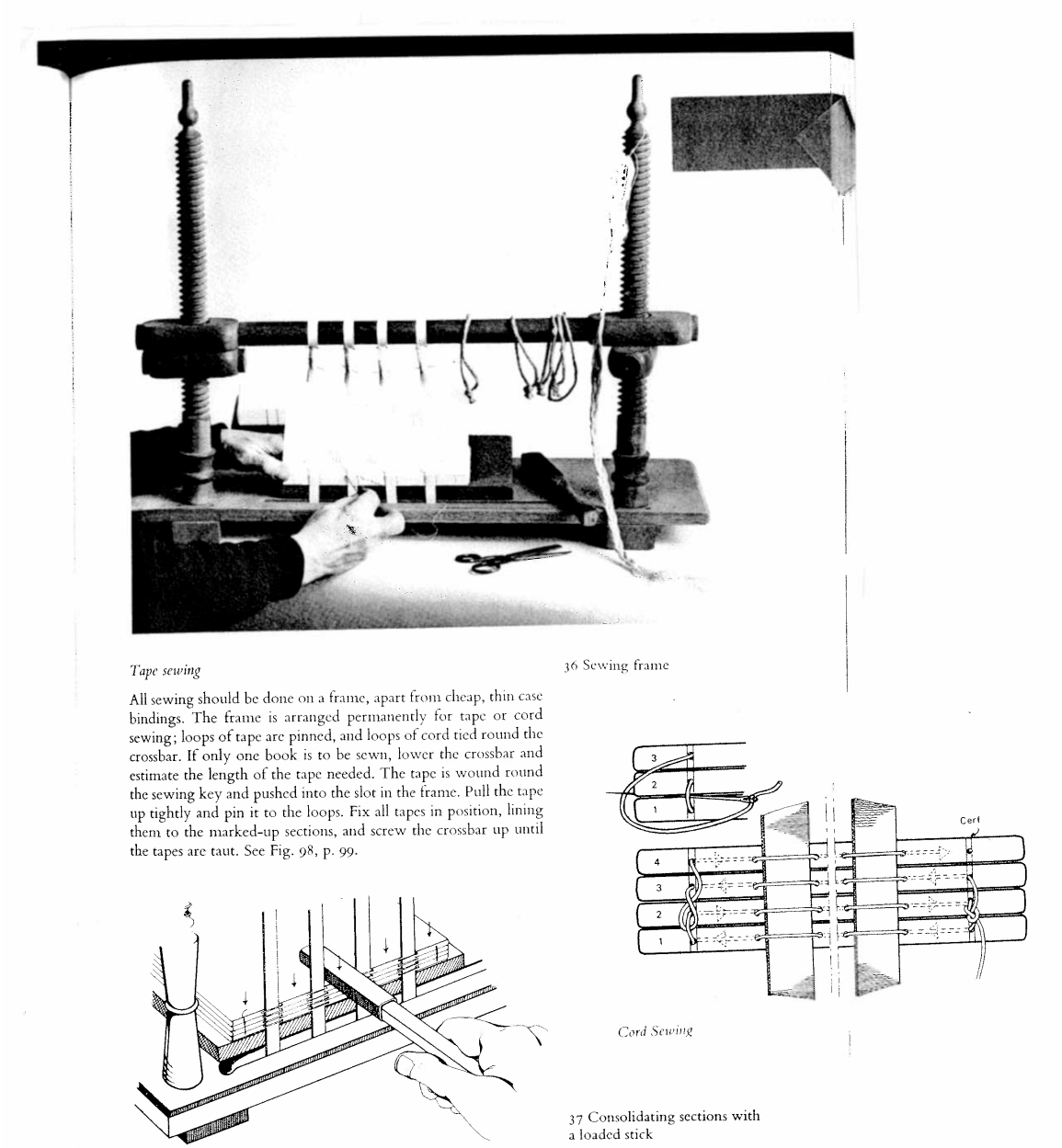
[463] Tolan, 94. The Old French romances that treat Saladin are also of interest to Ámerico Castro and have been well analyzed by Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken.

power whose control of Jerusalem could otherwise be interpreted as a sign of God's favor of Muslims over Christians. Juan Manuel keeps with this trend of domestication.

In both stories featuring him, Saladín (as Juan Manuel refers to him) is a ruler at the height of his powers. Ex. 25 shows him hunting with a vast retinue. Ex. 50 depicts him ordering around vassals. Yet both stories hinge on Saladín's abdication of power. Both stories concern relationships between men as mediated by a woman, and take up the question of just what it is that constitutes a man. Ex. 25 argues that a man's worth should be determined by his actions not his noble birth. When a man imprisoned during the Crusades ("us") asks Saladín ("them") for advice about marrying off his daughter, Saladín tells him to make sure the suitor "es omne," which the chosen groom proves by setting off to rescue his father-in-law from imprisonment the day after the wedding. Ex. 50 asserts that a man's most important attribute is self-restraint or *vergüenza*, a lesson Saladín is taught by the wife of a vassal whom he fails to seduce. In neither of these situations does Saladín have the upper hand. In Juan Manuel's collection, he is the exemplary Moorish ruler because he decides to abdicate his power when faced by a challenge from an unexpected former subordinate, a subordinate who ends the story in charge.

But in the *speculum principis* tradition women are a threat—at base to the patrilineal regency which they support—and within the stories as seducers and adulterers. Many of these works qualify as misogynist literature and identifying and teaching readers to evade "the wiles of women" becomes one of their primary goals. The female as category potentially undermines the entire premise of the "mirror for princes" genre, which attempts to secure the transmission of wisdom from father to son through the mediation of the wise man who forms one pole in the dialogic project that we also engage in when reading. Within a kinship structure, of course it is the mother who can upset this patrilineal transmission by convincing a man that a child is his when it is not. This patrilineal focus likely accounts for the misogyny that characterizes so many works in this genre, more obvious in the adulterous female characters in *Sendebar* and *Calila* than in the *Conde Lucanor*, and in later Castilian works in the tradition such as the *Corbacho*, but evident nonetheless here if we looks at the characterization and narrative actantiality of male versus female characters. The potential breakdown of this structure—the prince unfit to inherit the kingdom—forms the premise for the framing fictions of *Sendebar* and the *Pançatantra*, the source text for *Calila e Dimna*. Whereas those stories belonged to the Arabic cultural patrimony, the Castilian appropriators of these frametales use them not only to effect the transfer from oral to written that I have been describing throughout, but also the transfer from Semitic to Castilian power.

Images



Tape sewing

All sewing should be done on a frame, apart from cheap, thin case bindings. The frame is arranged permanently for tape or cord sewing; loops of tape are pinned, and loops of cord tied round the crossbar. If only one book is to be sewn, lower the crossbar and estimate the length of the tape needed. The tape is wound round the sewing key and pushed into the slot in the frame. Pull the tape up tightly and pin it to the loops. Fix all tapes in position, lining them to the marked-up sections, and screw the crossbar up until the tapes are taut. See Fig. 98, p. 99.

36 Sewing frame

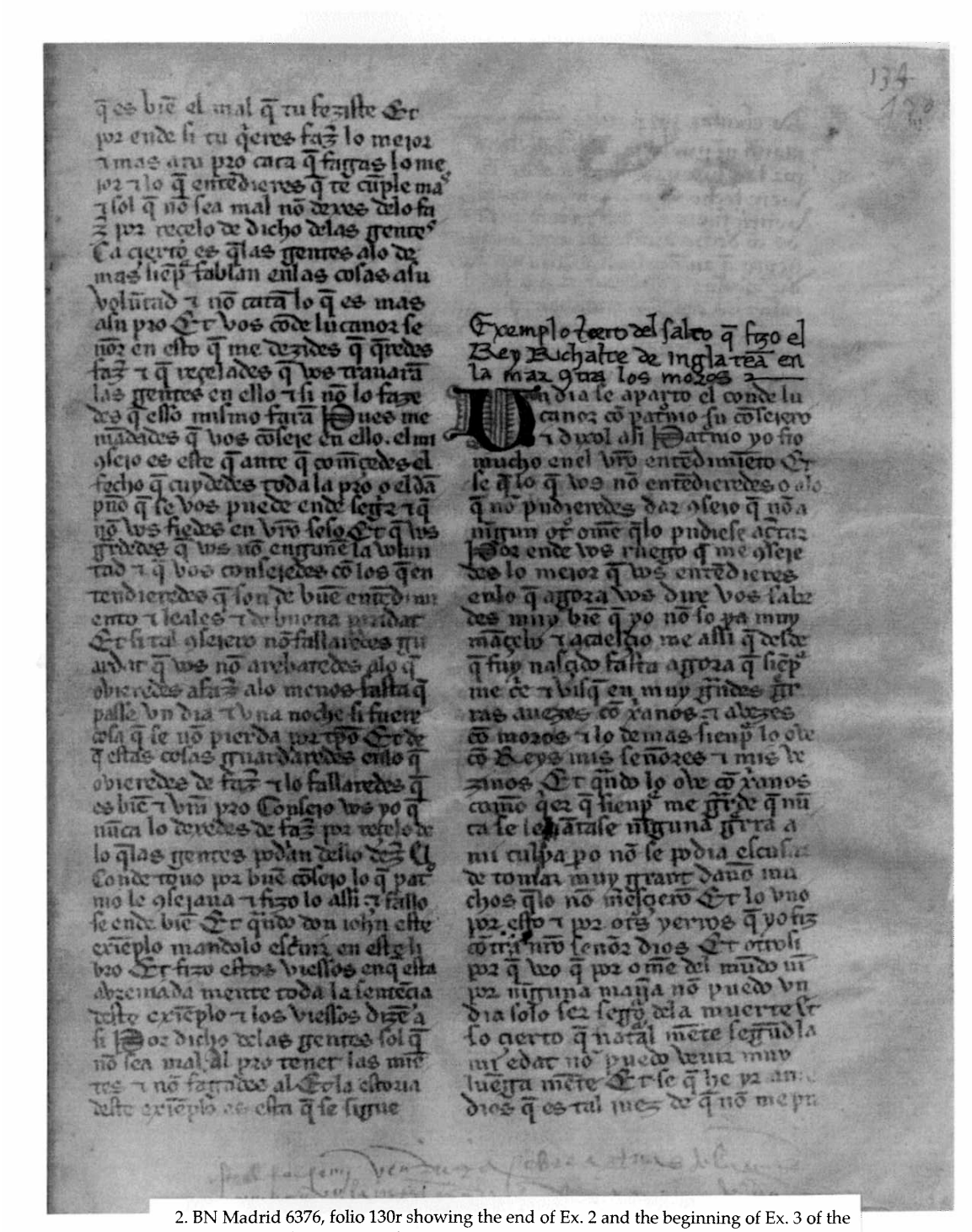
Cord Sewing

37 Consolidating sections with a loaded stick

63

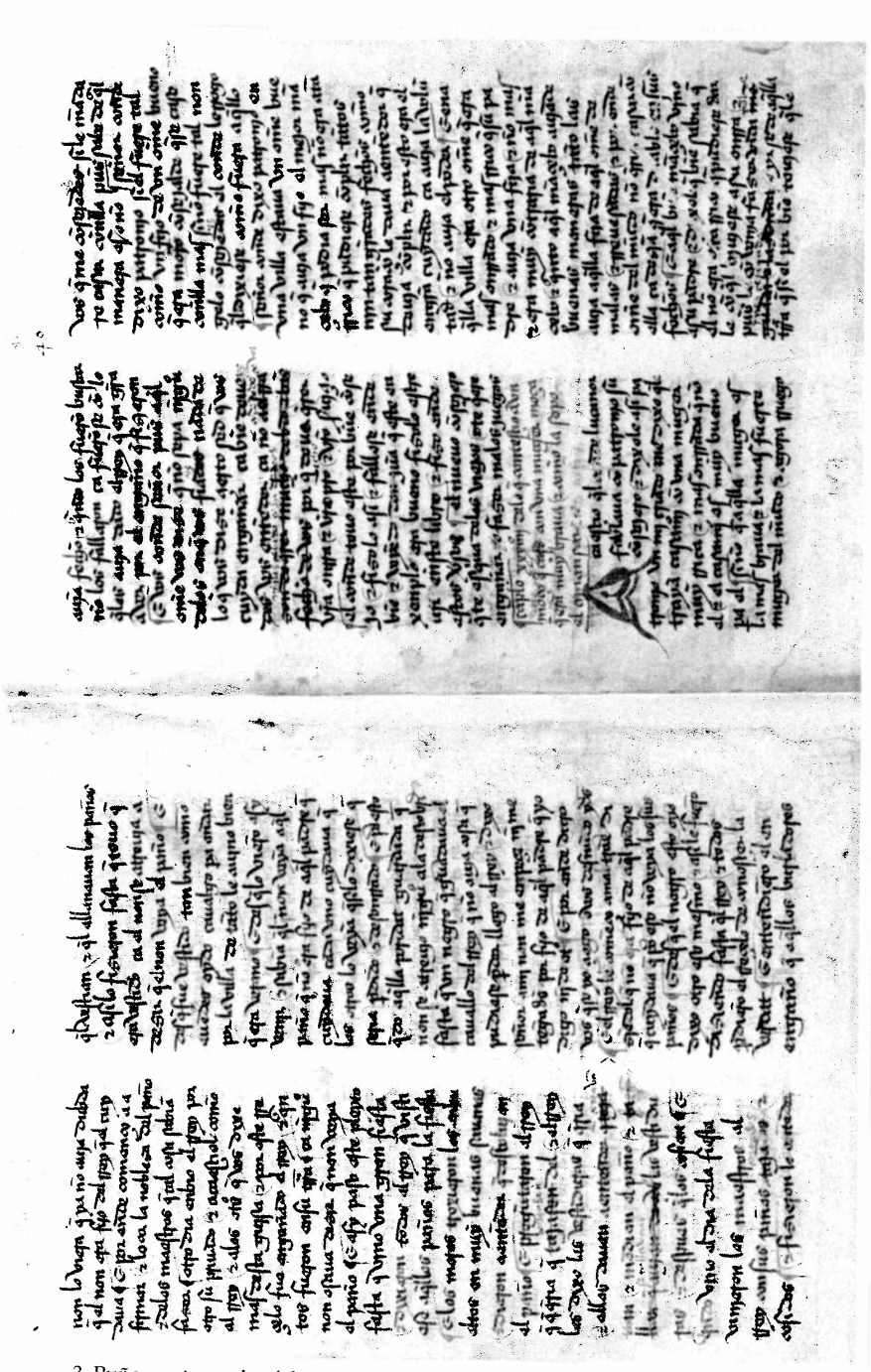
1. Sewing frame and sewing bands from Johnson, *The Thames and Hudson Manual of Bookbinding*, pages 63-64.

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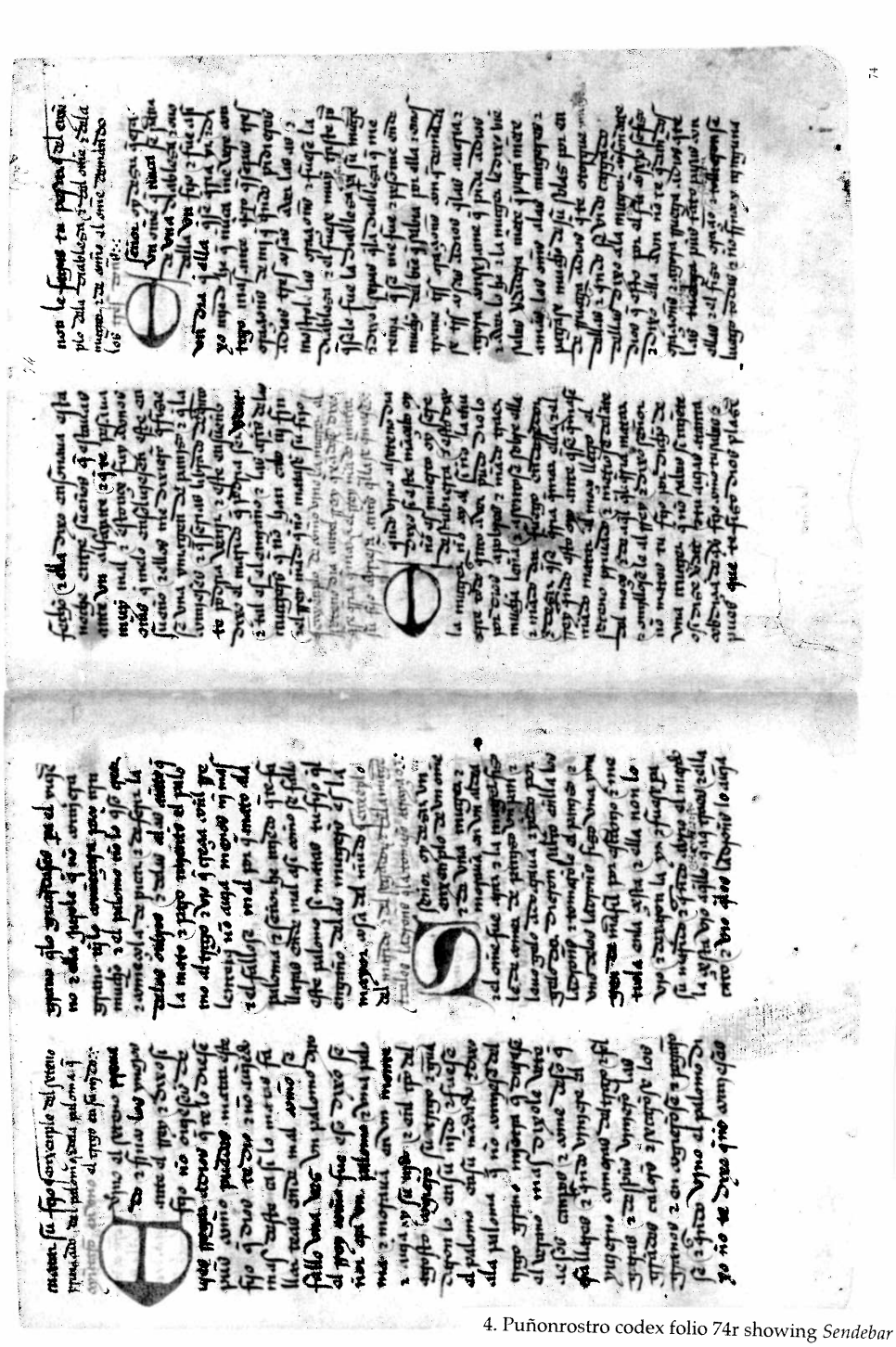
2. BN Madrid 6376, folio 130r showing the end of Ex. 2 and the beginning of Ex. 3 of the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript S)

2. BN Madrid 6376, folio 130r showing the end of Ex. 2 and the beginning of Ex. 3 of the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript S)



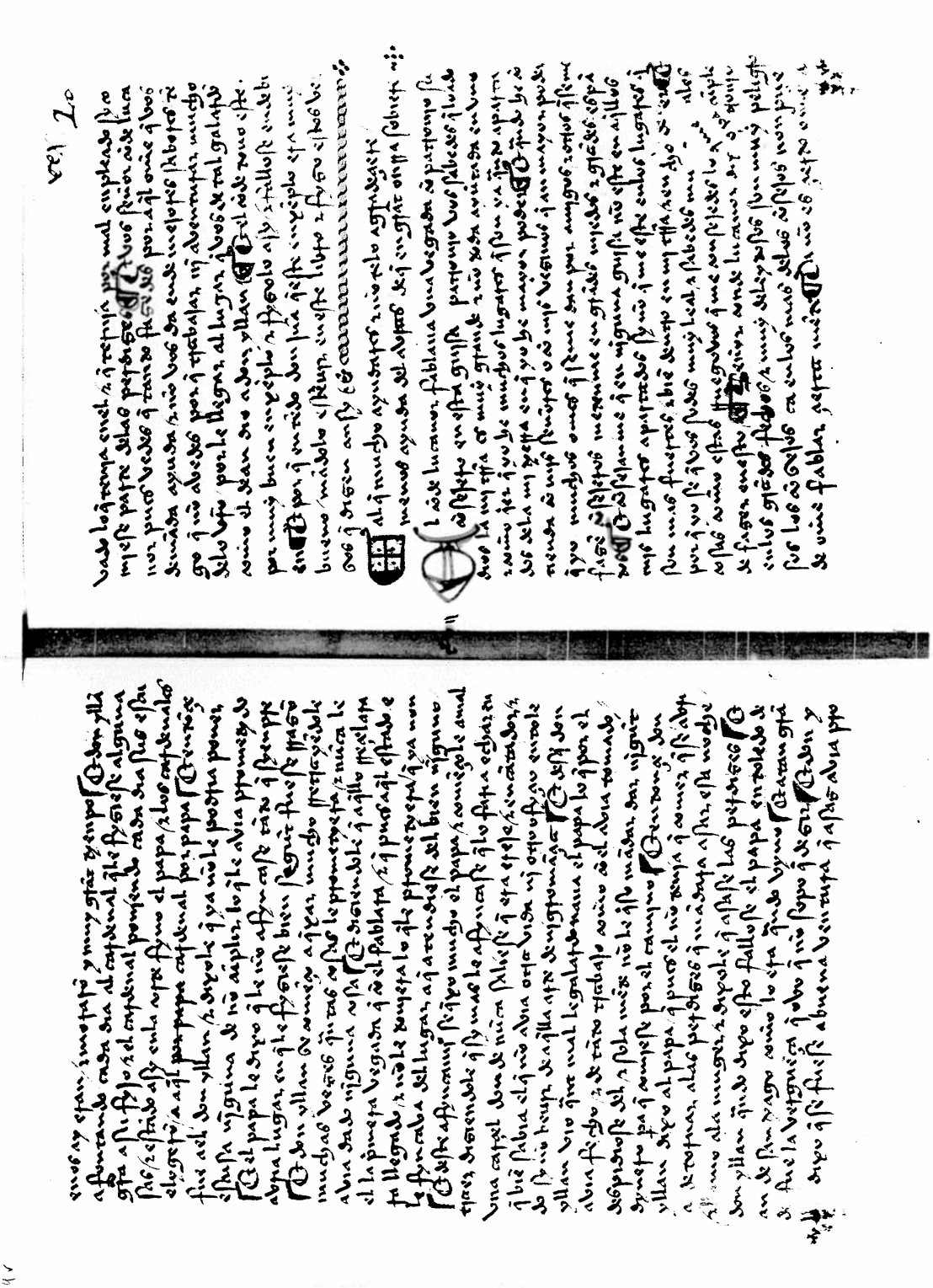
3. Puñonrostro codex folio 40r showing the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript P)

3. Puñonrostro codex 39v-40r showing the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript P)



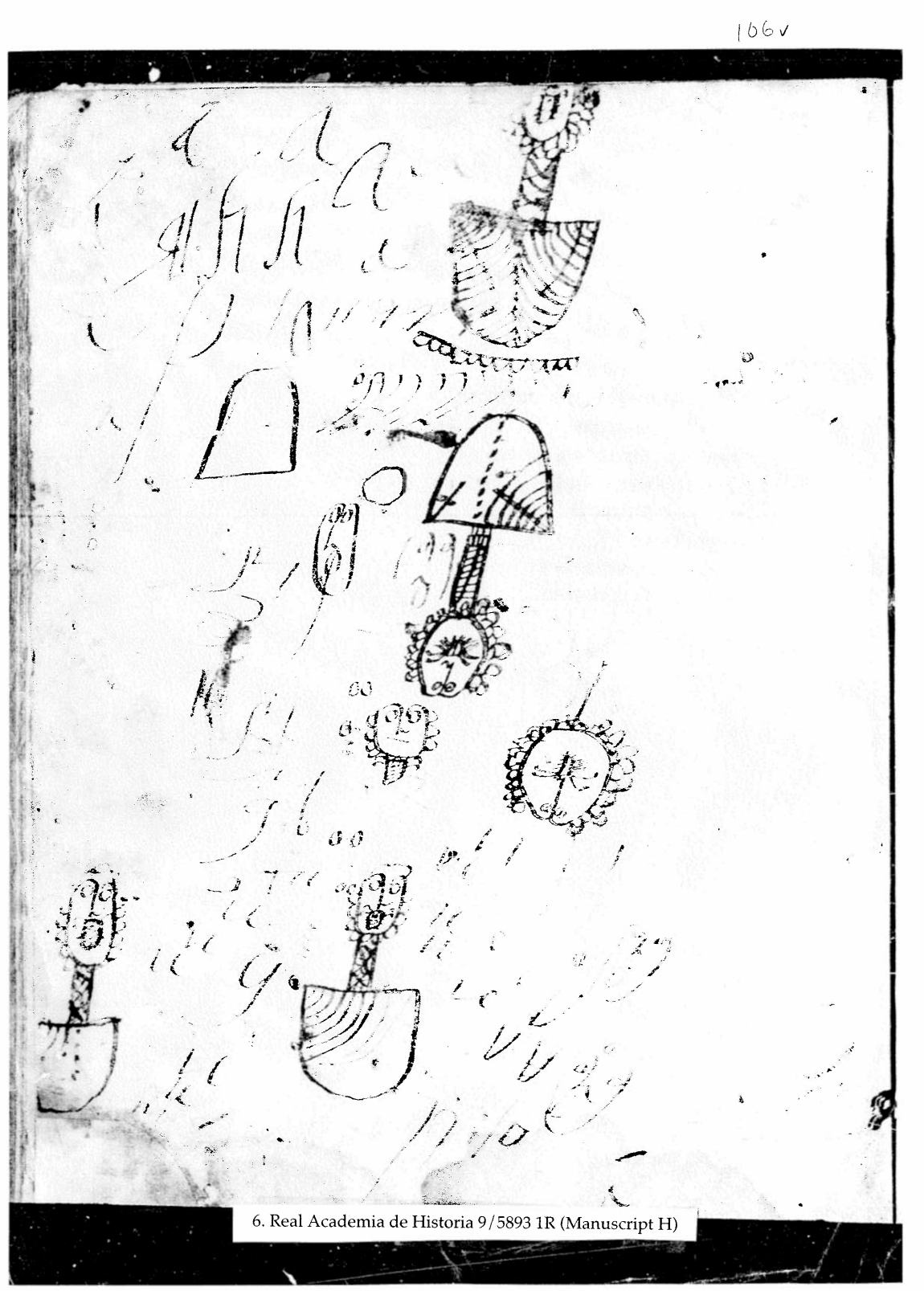
4. Puñonrostro codex folio 74r showing *Sendebar*

4. Puñonrostro codex 73v-74r showing *Sendebar*



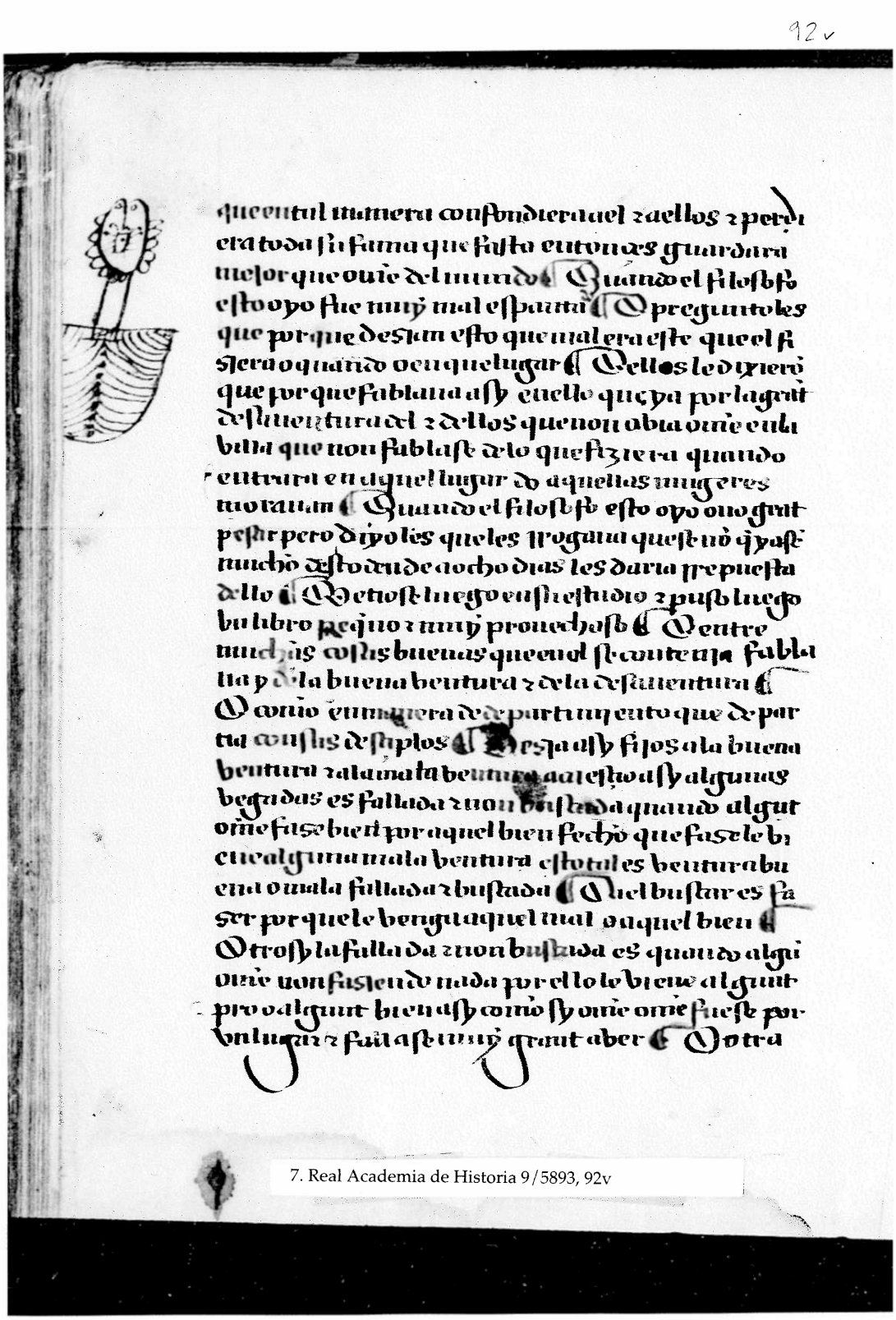
5. BN Madrid 4236, spread 19v-20r showing the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript M)

5. BN Madrid 4236, spread 19v-20r showing the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript M)



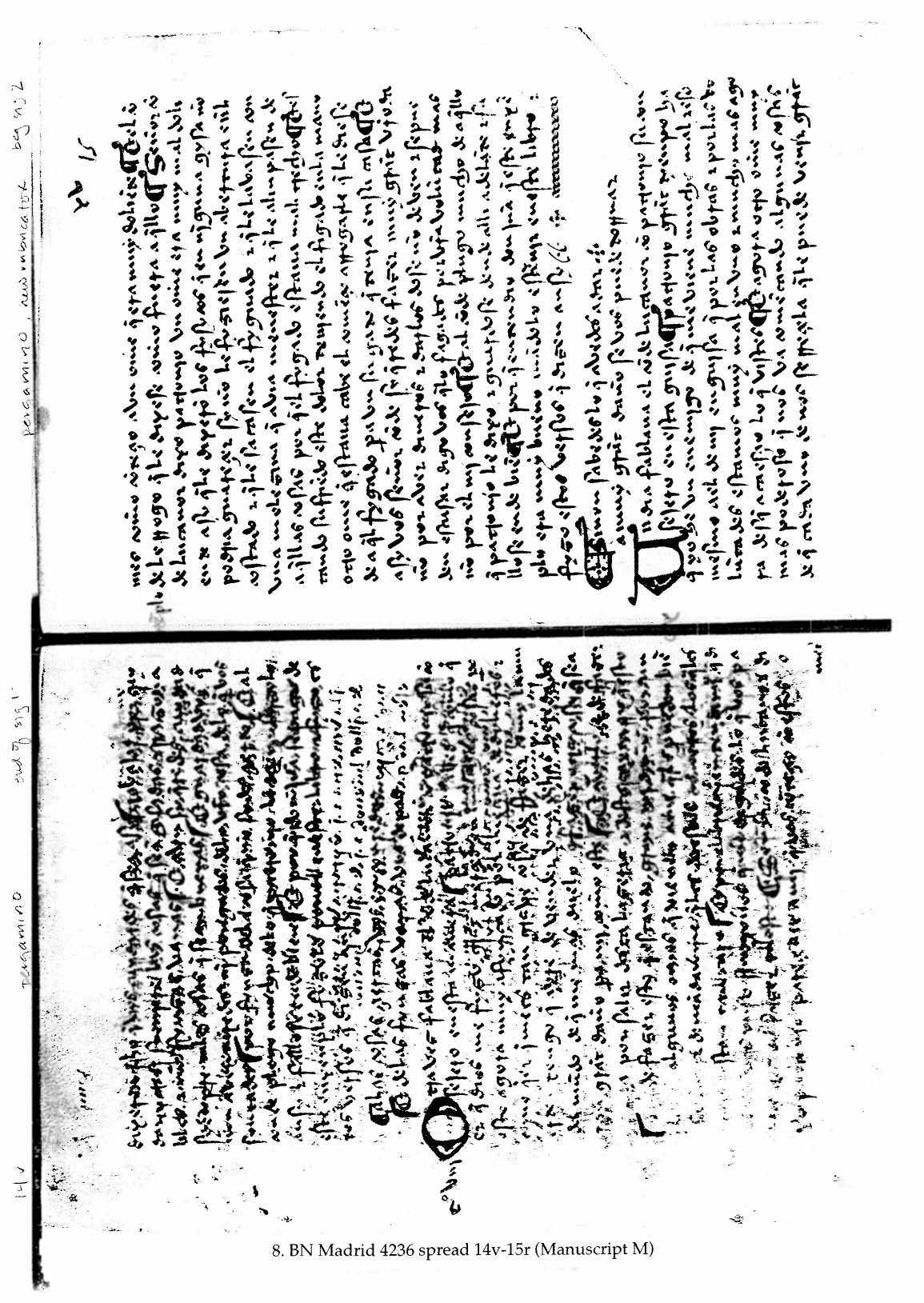
6. Real Academia de Historia 9/5893 1R (Manuscript H)

6. Real Academia de Historia 9/5893 106v (Manuscript H)



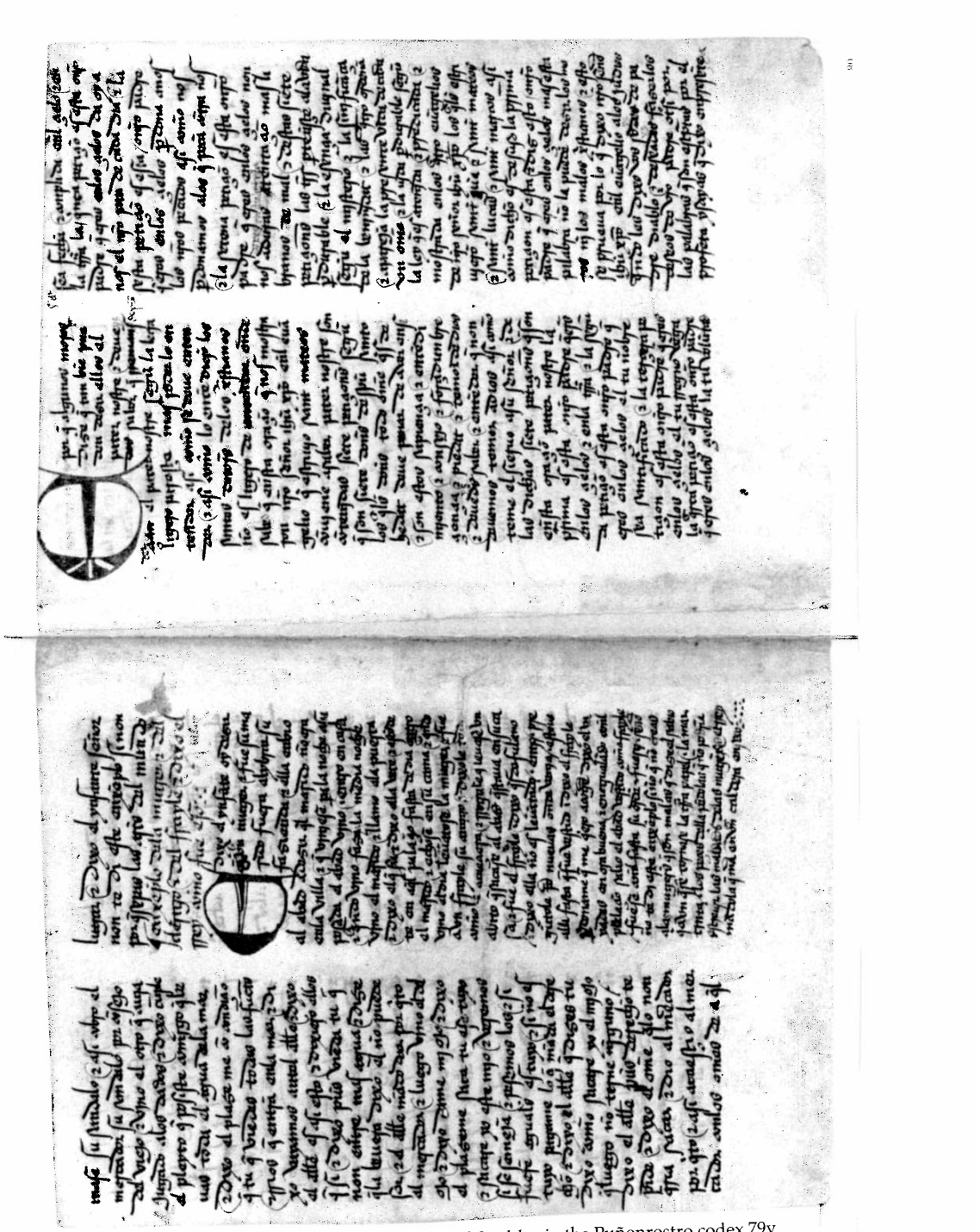
7. Real Academia de Historia 9/5893, 92v

7. Real Academia de Historia 9/5893 *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript H), 92v



8. BN Madrid 4236 spread 14v-15r (Manuscript M)

8. BN Madrid 4236, spread 14v-15r Ex. 8 of the *Conde Lucanor* (Manuscript M)



9. last page of *Sendebar* in the Puñonrostro codex 79v

9. last page of *Sendebar* in the Puñonrostro codex 79v

costumbres ⁊ es tal como el sandalo ffue q̃ sy mucho̅ es fregado tor
nase caliente ⁊ q̃ nace despues q̃ se obo sblastado digna con el leon
dixo veo q̃ non̅ q̃ ha tpo̅ q̃ estas en vn lugar q̃ te no̅ mudas esto
pm q̃ es · dixo el leon no̅ q̃ria q̃ sopiese dina q̃ lo q̃ fiziera co̅ cobardes
dixo no̅ es por miedo destando amos assy bramo con rabia muy
fuerte q̃ ⁊ tamaño fue el miedo q̃ olvo q̃ le fizo estar bos meto
vo a q̃ en este lugar ⁊ no̅ se q̃ es entro veo q̃ la persona q̃ la fize
tiene ser tan grande como la bos ⁊ si fuera tan grande como la
persona dixy esto assy es no̅ motemos en este lugar



dixo digna al leon escandalizastes de otra vez fuera desti dixy
no̅ te fizo al pauor sy no̅ esto no̅ deues dexar tu posada dixo fla
q̃za es ocasion dela bendez dixo la desuerguenca es ocasion dela
pelea dixo la mezcla es ocasion del amor dixo la grand bos es ocas
sion del flaco orgullo de esto se deputte en vn proverbio q̃ dize
no̅ se deue omẽ temer de todas bozes dixo el leon como fue esto
dixo digna dixen q̃ vna gulpeja sanbruenta paso por vn arbol
de estaua vn atambor colgado del arbol ⁊ mouyose el viento ol
fizieron lo los ramos ⁊ sonaua muy fuerte dixo la gulpeja oyo ol
q̃lla bos ⁊ fuese contra ella fasta q̃ llego alla dixen q̃ vio q̃ era
finchado cuydose q̃ era de mucha̅ carne q̃ auia de mucha̅ gorde
⁊ fendiolo ⁊ vio q̃ era hueco ⁊ dixo no̅ sera ventura la q̃ mas fla
cas osas ha̅ mayores persona̅s ⁊ mas altas bozes



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10. Escorial h-iii-9, 11v

10. Escorial h-iii-9, 11v

11. Strassbourg 1489 *Directorium humane vitae,* 10r

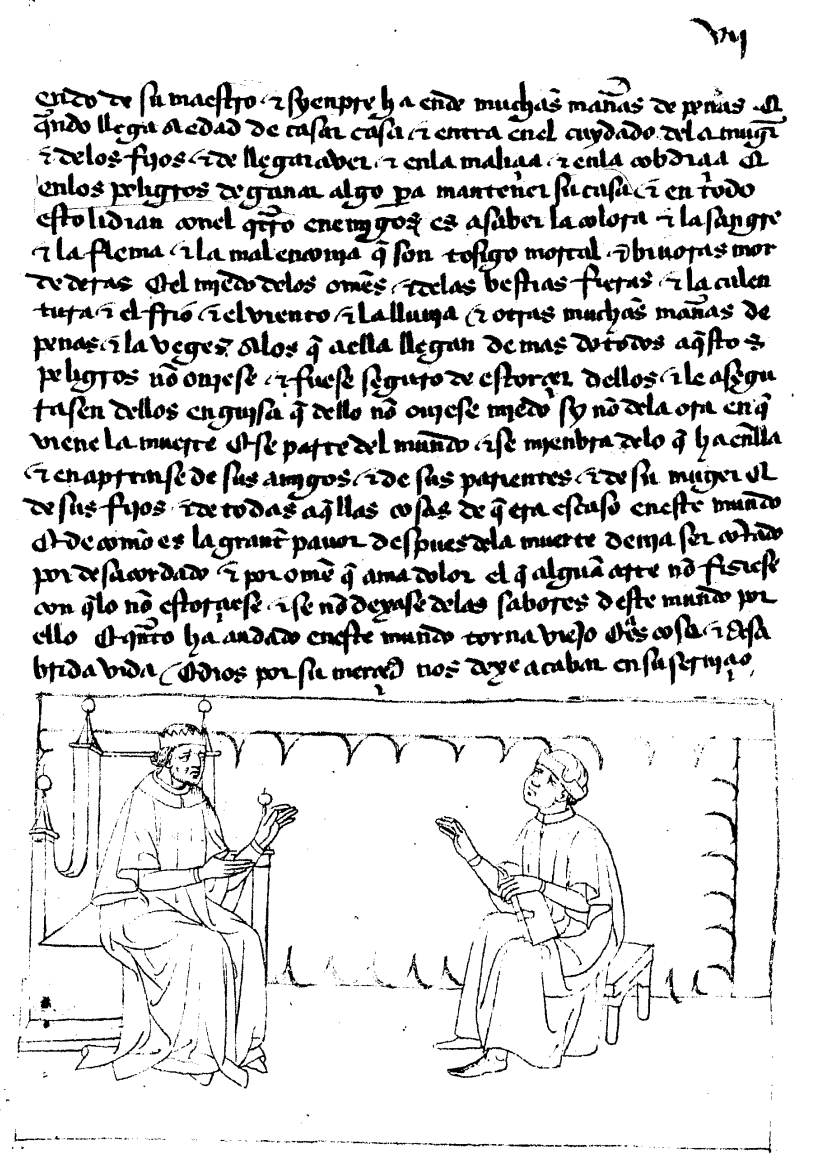




yo padre fue de mergelina ⁊ my madre fue delas fijas dalgo
de asemosina ¶delos legistas · ¶Vna delas cosas en q̃ dios
me fizo merçed es q̃ fue yo el mesor de sus fijos ¶ellos criaro
me lo mesor q̃ pudieron gouernandome delas mesores viandas q̃ pudieo
fasta q̃ one xiueue anos cõplidos ¶desy pusieron me con los maestros
¶yo nõ çeçe de continuar en apprender la gramatica ¶de meter la my cara
a sotileza ⁊ a buen entendimiento a cuanto q̃ vena amys auançeros ¶
amys yguales ¶vale mas q̃ ellos ⁊ leý libros ⁊ conoscý ⁊ sopy sus enten
dimientos ⁊ afirmose enel my coraçon ¶lo q̃ leý delas escripturas delos
filosofos · ¶de oyr las palabras delos sabios ⁊ las q̃stiones q̃ fazia
nos aotr̃ ⁊ las disputaçones q̃ fazian entre sy ⁊ mantouue esto con
my entendimiento ⁊ conçertelo con la opinõ q̃ yo tenia ¶sopy q̃ eran
mandados en los cursos del and ⁊ delos meses ⁊ delos dias ⁊ enlas na
turas delos cuerpos ⁊ enlas cosas delas enfermedades ⁊ enlas maneras
de sus meleznamientos ⁊ de su salud ¶puseron lo por escripto ⁊ plugom̃
de lo saber ¶començe aleer sus libros fasta q̃ los entendi ¶vi las ma
neras delos cuerpos las cosas delas malenas ⁊ las maneras del mele
znamiento ¶sopy enello a tanto q̃ me meti a melezinar enfermos ¶
despues q̃ lo començe di a my alma a estoguer en estas quatro cosas que
los oms demandan en este siglo ⁊ se trabajan delas aver ⁊ las cobdiçã
¶dixe qual destas quatro cosas deuo demandar seguir la verdad del
my saber ⁊ q̃l es la q̃ me finja alcançar lo q̃ he menester ¶sy lo pudiese
aver delevres o fama o riqueza o gualardon del otro siglo ¶vi que
demandado ayuntado todas quatro cosas ¶fallé q̃ esta cosa loada q̃r
en delos entendidos ⁊ nõ denostada delos sabios ⁊ delas leyes ⁊ delas
sanctas ¶fallé q̃ el mas sauio delos filosofos e q̃ aql q̃ nõ q̃ere aver por
si filosofia saluo el gualardon del otro siglo · ¶comedi en my coraçon
¶fallé q̃ todas las cosas q̃ los oms se trabajan son fallesçederas
¶yo nõ vi aq̃guno de mys ameçadores q̃ su allegm̃ lo floreçe diuible

13. Escorial h-iii-9, 2r

12. Escorial h-iii-9, 2r



14. Escorial h-iii-9, 7r

13. Escorial, h-iii-9, 7r



15. Burgos 1498 *Libro contra los peligros e engaños de mugeres*, 1v

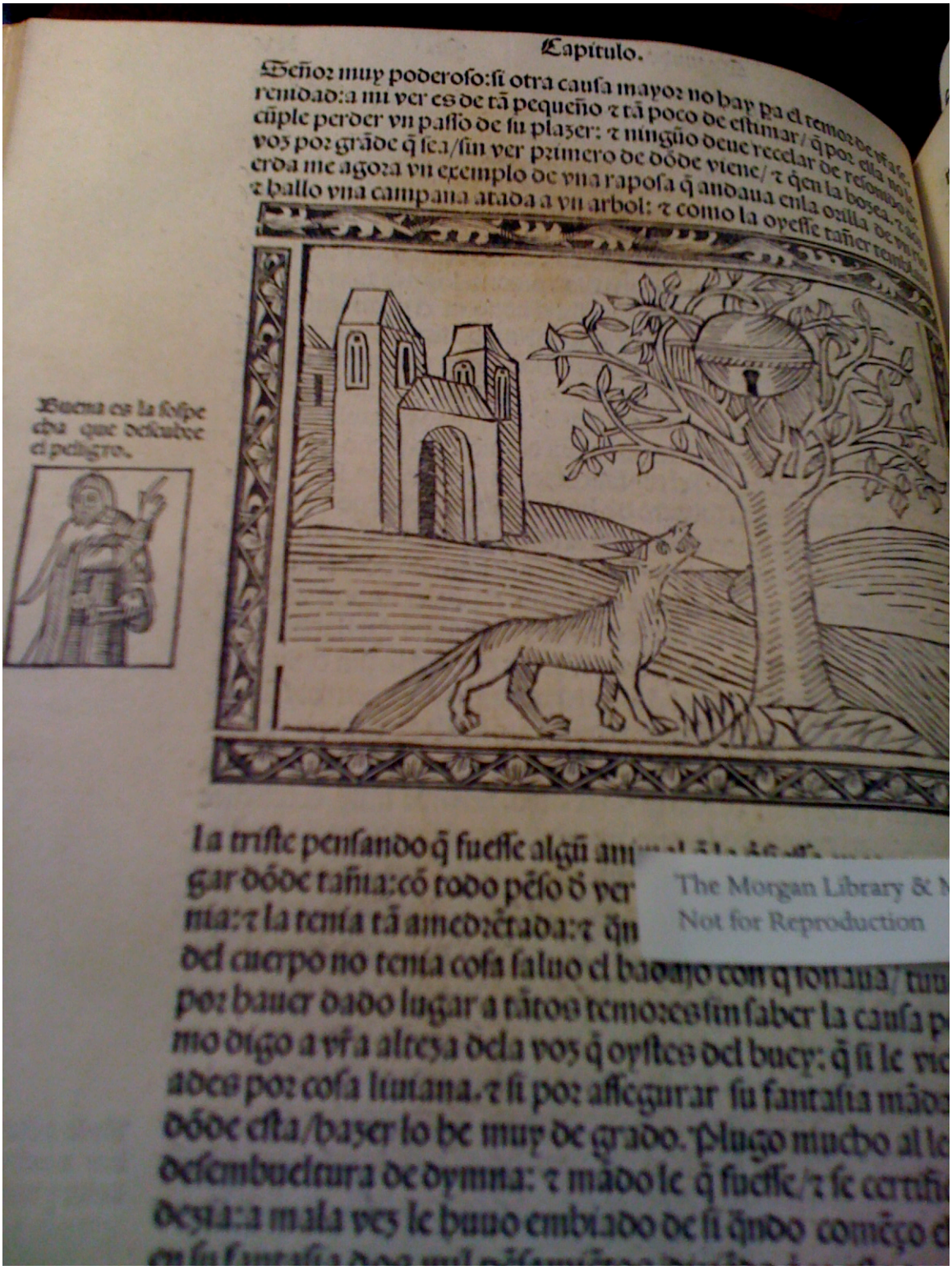
14. Burgos 1498 *Libro contra los peligros e engaños de mugeres*, 1v



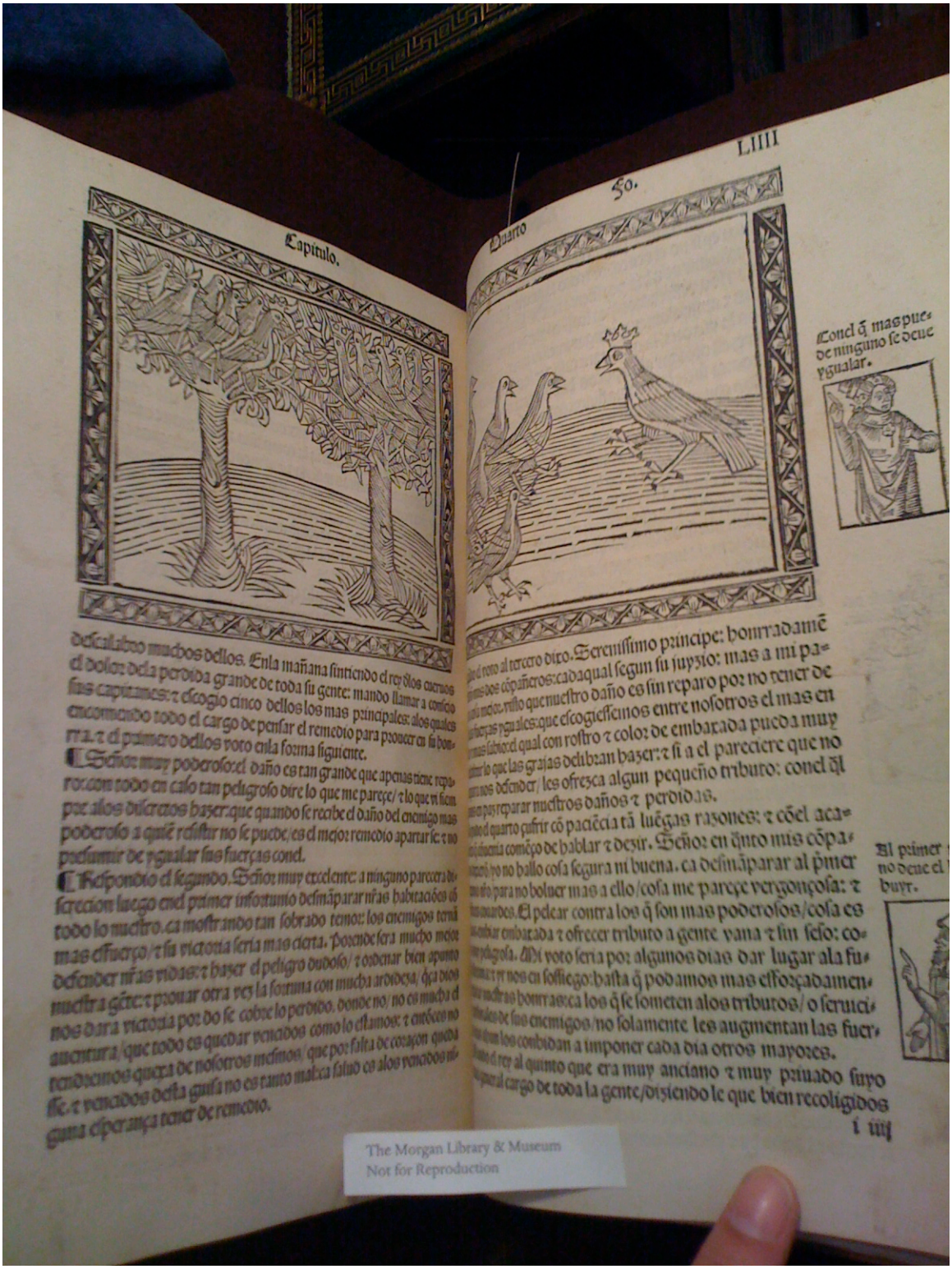
16. cover page of Zaragoza 1494 *Libro contra los peligros e engaños de mugeres* and of the Burgos 1498 cover page

15. cover page of Zaragoza 1494 and Burgos 1498 *Exemplario contra los peligros e engaños de mugeres* and of the Burgos 1498 cover page

16. Marginal manicles in Burgos 1498



17. Burgos 1498, 14v (bell in tree)



18. Burgos 1498, spread 53v and 54r the birds in trees and inside with crown

23R

23

Et vino luego se ya el leon e ayuntaronse antel e comenco el cuervo de fablar e dixo señor tu eres lacerado e enflaqueçido e as menester al gunt cobro por q̃ te mantengamos & nos devemos te mantener aun nos mismos e offreçemos te por el bien e por la merçed q̃ nos feziste ca por ti bevemos nos e por ti esforçamos q̃ bivamos los q̃ fincaren de nos & los q̃ vinieren de nos & sy tu murieres algũo de nos non lehaura pro despues de ty en bevir & yo ofresçere my cuerpo e comeme e non mucras de fanbre tendieron el lobo e el abuue e dixeron calla non reha pro antre de sanpaña a muerte e non aver el fey entre fuerça dixo el lobo mas coma amigo e fuerça sea e abondar lea my cuerpo dixeron el lobo e el abuue calla astroso non oyste desir q̃ el q̃ se q̃iere matar q̃ coma carne de lobo e le tomara postrema a la garganta e muera luego dixo el abuue mas coma amigo e sera mejor q̃ aty & dixeron el lobo e el cuervo e como anbos aty en tu sabes q̃ hueles muy mal e has el vientre lleno & dixo esto cuydo el camello mesquino q̃ quando el dixiese como dixeron los otros q̃ lo escusaria por q̃ esforçase como ellos e q̃ seria pagado el leon como se pago dellos otros & dixo en my as fuerça q̃ntro q̃eras ca my cuerpo es muy bueno e alua e sano e el my vientre es muy lynpio e non ha en my ruyna ninguna & dellos todos dixeron verdad dixeron e fezieste lealtad contra el leon e dios te de buenaventura por ello ca fizieron as lo q̃ demas e saltaron enel todos e matoron lo e comieron lo



& yo non te di este enxenplo sy non por q̃ si el leon e sus conpañeros & cofradron en my muerte magnero contra su voluntad e contra su voluntad del seu q̃ lo podran fazer e acabar lo q̃ q̃sieren en my & dixe q̃ el q̃ mejor fey es semeja al buey q̃ viene entremedio de sy las bestias bravas e non cura dellas e busca las muertas por q̃ se pague dellas mas q̃ de otra cosa Calos bueyes syempre se ayuntan ala bestias muertas & puesto q̃ el leon non me pensase mal & sando con el los malos consejeros abrialos de escuchar e fazer por ellos mayores

20. Escorial h-iii-9, 23r

19. Escorial h-iii-9, 23r



qndo esto vio calila dyxo a digna ay fulso vil tuabre qn mala es
dra vil ama flso Ca as merido al leon en affuenca i en verguē
ta i ya as muerto aseneba i as defamado los otros q nes delos
cauallelos desy veo con tu grand locura en q te alabaste q lo
fagas con tergeria dnō sabes q̄l peor consejo es aq̄l q̄ fuer al o
me lidiar podiendolo escusar mj sabes q̄ el omē por ventura apde
rinseda de su enemigo dolo pdiere matar i dyxalo por miedo de
nō ser enello mal andante o entra apligro adriendo esperanca q̄ se
vengara del de otra guysa dnjndo el prudo del fuy le consejaua aly
diar enlas cosas de q̄ se puede vengar en paz mayor enemistad le
ha i mayor danō le fase q̄ su enemigo Ca assy comō alcanca alale
gua flaqza de nō desar de tra mentre el pensamiento del otro
otrossy alcanca al esfuerco la cobardes por el mal consejo Ca q̄ndo el
omē se echa alabna destas dos cosas nō le ha la otra q̄ fuer ala
otra dela hd mj el consejo nj guna mejoria del esfuerco Ca en muchas
cosas cuple el consejo syn la fuerca dnō cuple la fuerca syn el cō
sejo dnen gete fazer enguno i nō sabela mana delo q̄ acnesca
por loar su ama sesa sa ferhō tal comō el tuyo dyxo sabra bien
tu maluestad i tu locura i thunca fue tuyo q̄ esto nō aya
desde ty dnvi q̄ tu golosia i tu cobdiaa alguna tray con tu
esta ardidura Ca el omē bueno i entendido piensa enlas cosas ante
q̄ las faga i se mete dellas i las q̄ ha esperanca q̄ se acabaran se
gunt el gete atreuese dellas dlas q̄ sabe q̄ dele ygualar tan
dyxala dyxo nō te deue de fuer entender tu yesso i tus alcues
al comenco de tu cosa sy nō por q̄ esta cosa q̄ nō podra mostrar mj/

21. Escorial h-iii-9, 26r

20. Escorial h-iii-9, 26r

14R

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convidado q̃ no tornaua sy no bendo q̃ grant noche q̃ vino el amigo q̃ asentose ala puerta atendiendo mandado q̃ enesto vino el curpintero su marido della de aq̃l lugar do fuera q̃ vio el amigo de su muger ala puerta q̃ auia lo ante sospechado q̃ ensañose contra su muger q̃ entro della q̃ fizola muy mal q̃ arrola aun pilar del pala



illustration of what precedes

cio

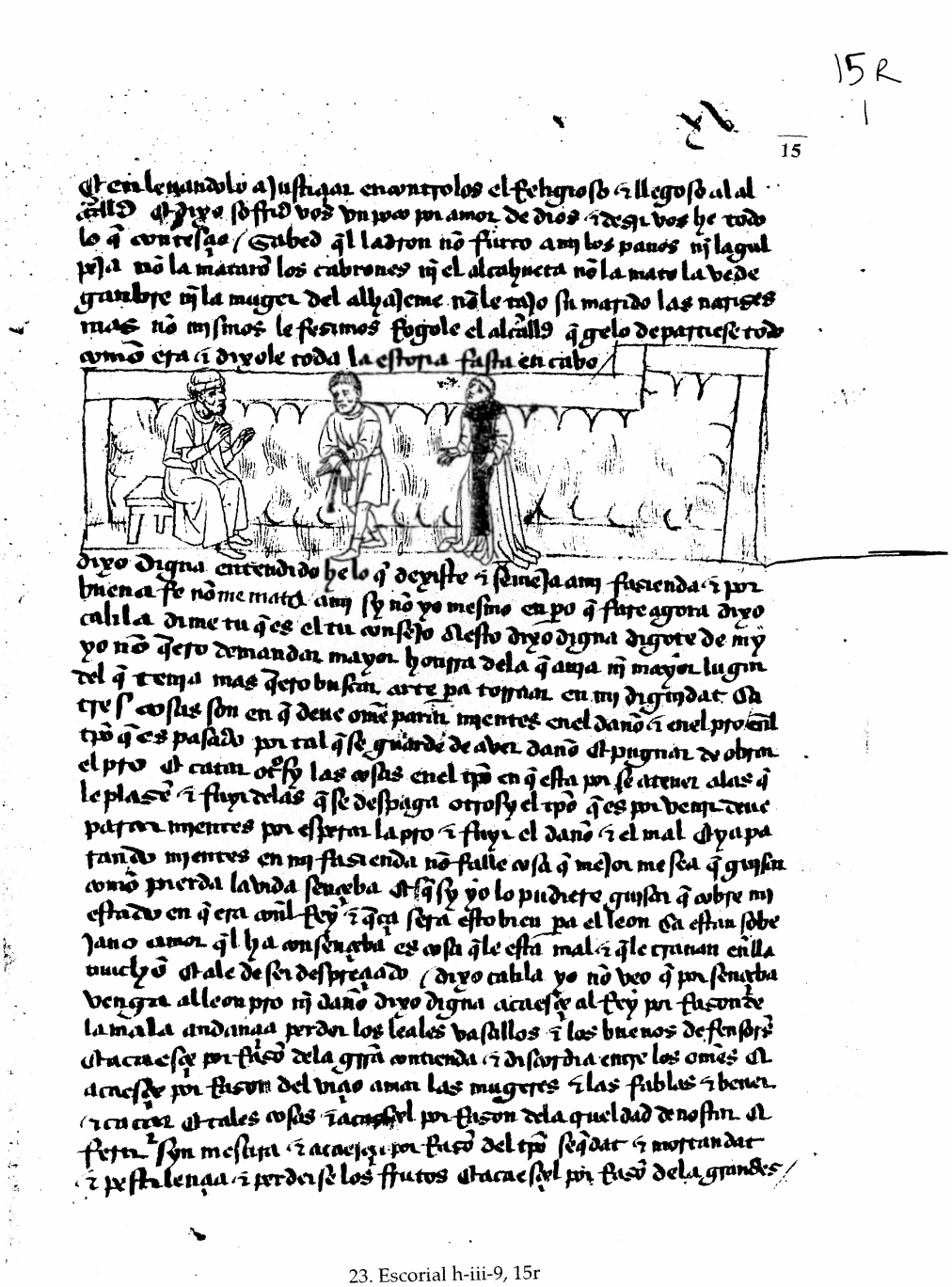
pues q̃l fue adormido q̃ dormio con todo⁹ tornose della muger del alhageme q̃ dixole mucho he estado ala puerta q̃ me mandaste di yo la muger del curpintero tu vees como esto q̃ sy tu q̃ sieres fa zer meas bien q̃ desatar me has q̃ ante q̃ yo en my lugar vn poco el yr me he pa el q̃ tornar me he luego pa ty q̃ fizolo asy la muger del alhageme q̃ desatola q̃ arose asy mesma en su lugar q̃ assen to el capatero ante q̃ tornase su muger q̃ llamola q̃ no le respo dio pues mjedo q̃ no conosciese su vos / desy llamola muchas veses q̃ no le respondio q̃ ensañose q̃ leuantose con vn cuchillo en la mano q̃ cortole las narises q̃ dixole toma tus narises q̃ presenta las a tu amigo



q̃ pues q̃ fue tornada la muger del capatero q̃ vino a su enpare ja de aq̃lla guisa desatola q̃ arose en su lugar q̃ tomo la muger del alhageme sus narises q̃ fuese veyendo esto el religioso /

22. Escorial h-iii-9, 14r

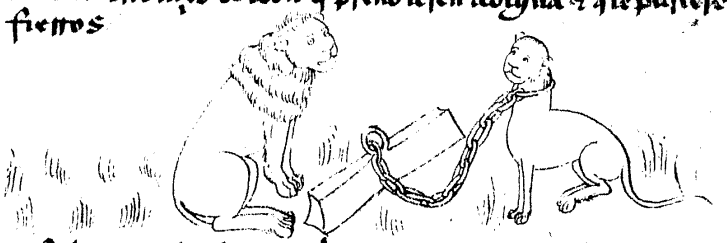
21. Escorial h-iii-9, 14r



23. Escorial h-iii-9, 15r

22. Escorial h-iii-9, 15r

de esforçar de tu grant pecado con tales palabras mynguo
sas ¿ dixo digna el q̃ dixo lo q̃ nõ fue meteſte lo q̃ tu dixeſte
dyo dixe verdad ⁊ moſtrarelo por prueua ⁊ dyxelo al rey
⁊ acompañ el omenaje q̃ le demanda ¿ dixo la madre del leon ⁊
q̃ fue lo q̃ tu dexiſte ⁊ q̃ fue la verdad q̃ tu le moſtruſte
dixo digna bien ſabe el rey q̃ ſy yo mynguoſo fueſſe nõle
diria ael tal dicho q̃ me atreueria adezir lo q̃ nõ era nin
oſaua an mentira dyo he eſperança q̃l veru q̃ yo ſo verda
dero ⁊ ſalua ⁊ de ſano cuydo ¿ dixo la madre del leõ
q̃ el leon nõ fablaua nada ⁊ en el pleyto de digna calloſſe
ella ⁊ dixo por ventura myentre contra el deſ ſalua de
lo q̃ le aponen ⁊ el q̃ ſe eſcuſa delante delos caualleros
⁊ nõ deſfierran ninguna coſa delo q̃ dixe ſe meſa q̃ es ver
dadero en lo q̃ dixe ⁊ callas alas razones del contrario
ſe meſa a noſotros la verdad q̃ dixe ⁊ dixeron los ſabios q̃ ſin
calla otorga ¿ deſy leuantoſe por ſallir ende ſanoſa ⁊
mando eſtonçes el leon q̃ prendieſen a digna ⁊ q̃ le puſieſſen
fierros

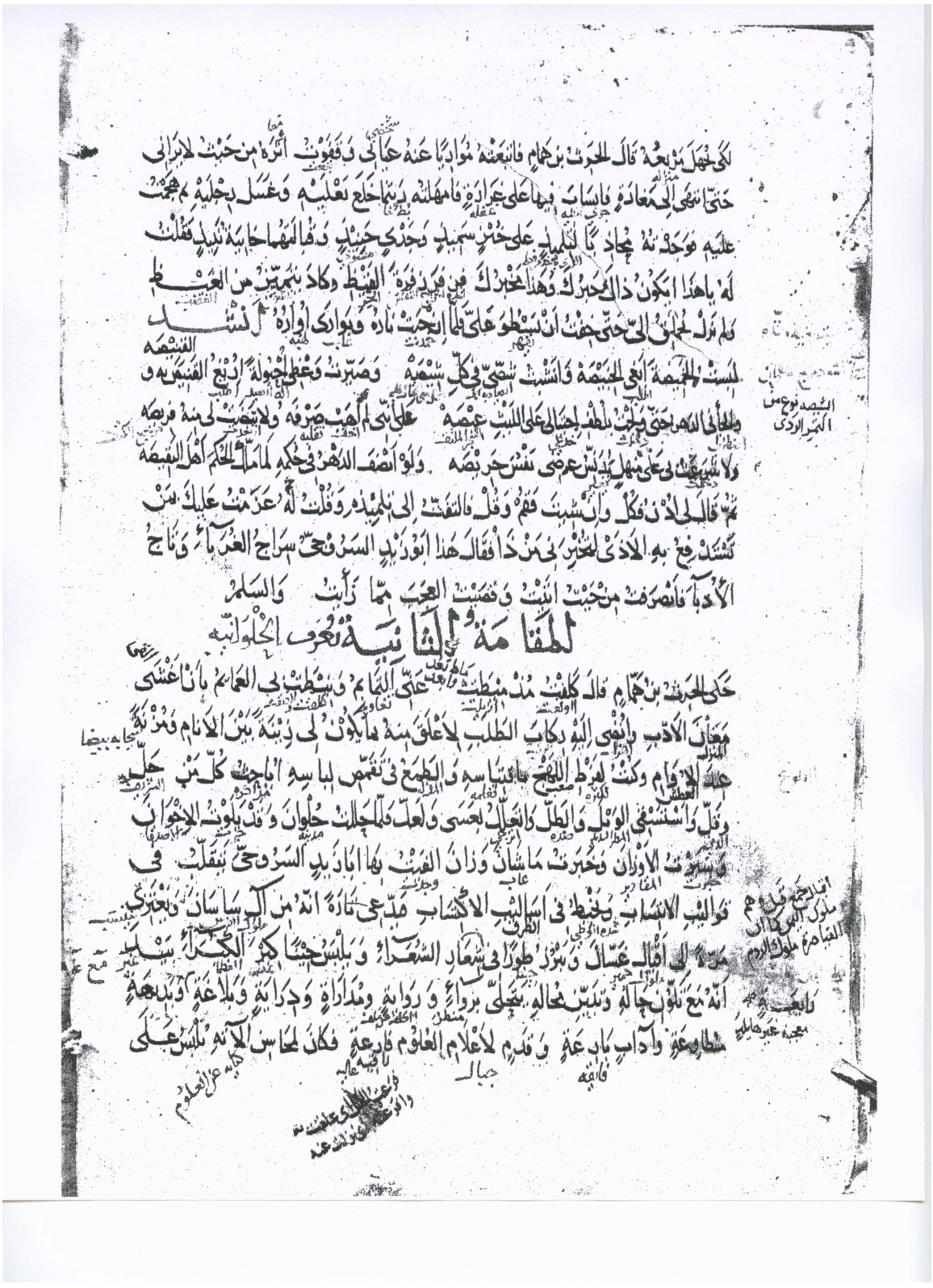


deſy leuaronlo ala carçel ⁊ mando catar ſu pleyto ⁊ fizo
ſobre el peſquiſa ⁊ q̃ gel moſtraſſen ⁊ yogo digna en la carçel
⁊ mando lo guardar ayn caualleros

24. Escorial h-iii-9, 36r

23. Escorial h-iii-9 Dimna, 36r

24. Burgos 1498, Dimna locked up in a building.



25. Escorial Árabe 492 page from al-Ḥarīrī maqāmāt collection.

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