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Like its predecessor the *Libro de buen amor*, Jaume Roig's *Spill* displays several formal and thematic traits that set it apart from other Romance language verse narratives of its time. In particular, the author-narrator-character we have in Roig himself (like the Juan Ruiz/narrator/Arçipreste of the *LBA*) lacks any exact analogues in medieval Romance literature. The uncertain literary pedigree of Roig's narrator has been variously ignored, or simply attributed to the author's originality. Only one voice, that of Victorio Agüera, has ventured to background the narrative innovation of the *Spill* against non-Latin sources.<sup>1</sup> His thesis is that Roig was familiar with the Arabic *maqāma* genre of rhymed prose narrative, from which Roig was inspired to give the *Spill* its episodic structure, ironic, proto-picaresque narrator, and tetrasyllabic rhyme.<sup>2</sup> This argument has met with some resistance, especially from Catalan-speaking scholars.<sup>3</sup> However, while Agüera argues that Roig was directly influenced by contact with readers of Arabic *maqāmāt*, I submit that it was far more likely that Roig would have been influenced by readers of Hebrew *maqāmāt* such as those of al-Harīzī and Ibn Zabara. It is through these authors that certain narrative resources of the Hebrew *maqāmāt* were transmitted to authors of Romance verse narratives such as Juan Ruiz (*Libro de buen amor*, ca. 1330)<sup>4</sup> and Jaume Roig (*Spill*, ca. 1460).<sup>5</sup> The authors of these Hebrew texts introduce into Peninsular literature the conflated author/narrator/protagonist, ironic voice, and explicit didactic tone that inform later, Christian authors such as Juan Ruiz and Jaume Roig.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Agüera, Victorio, *Un pícaro catalán del siglo XV: El Spill de Jaume Roig y la tradición picaresca* (Barcelona: Ediciones Hispam, 1975). It should be noted that Agüera's argument for the influence of the *maqāma* was made in the context of an argument positing the *Spill* as the first picaresque narrative in a Romance language.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars have also discussed the possible role of the Arabic *maqāma* in the development of the picaresque novel, but make it clear that an argument for direct influence is unfounded. See James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badi' az-Zaman al-Hamadani as Picaresque Narrative*, Papers of the Center for Arab and Middle East Studies, 2 (Beirut: Center for Arab and Middle East Studies, American University of Beirut, 1983), 74, and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 298-99.

<sup>3</sup> María Celeste Delgado-Librero, 'Jaume Roig's *Spill*: A Diplomatic Edition and an English Translation of MS. Vat. Lat. 4806,' Diss., U of Virginia, 2003, 1: 74.

<sup>4</sup> Citations are from the edition of Alberto Blecuá (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> The type of argument I am advancing here requires a certain acceptance of plausible social and intellectual contact between Jews and Christians in late medieval Iberia. The activities that are the fabric of literary culture (readings, discussions, paraphrases, lost translations, etc.) are not well represented in archival materials, and therefore the social realities that would lead to mutual literary influence are difficult to document. Therefore, much of the evidence I present here needs to be circumstantial.

<sup>6</sup> The arguments of Fernández y González and Lida de Malkiel for the influence of the Hebrew *maqāmāt*, and in particular the *Sefer Sha'ashū'im* of Ibn Zabara, are by now well known. See Francisco Fernández y González, *Discursos leídos ante al Real Academia Española* (Madrid: El Progreso Editorial, 1894), María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'Notas para la interpretación, influencia, fuentes y texto del Libro de buen amor,' *Revista de filología hispánica* 2 (1940), 105-50, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Dos obras maestras españolas: El Libro de buen amor y la Celestina*, Teoría e investigación (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1966), and María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'Nuevas notas para la interpretación del Libro de buen amor,' *Estudios de literatura española y comparada*, ed. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1969), 14-91. For an expansion and historicisation of their arguments, see chapter 4 of my dissertation, David Wacks, 'Framing Iberia: The Medieval Iberian Frametale Tradition (12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.),' Diss., U of California at Berkeley, 2003.

The *maqāma* was first introduced to Arabic literature by Badi` al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, in Baghdad.<sup>7</sup> He strove to reproduce in literature the antics of the highly eloquent street preachers, performers, and hustlers known collectively as the Banū Sasān.<sup>8</sup> Various urchins, conmen, and ascetics of questionable intent are combined in the rogue character, an itinerant opportunist who dazzles his audiences with his rhetorical acrobatics and invariably leaves them penniless, bidding them farewell with a poem that lays bare the deception into which they have just fallen. In al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, the narrator `Isā ibn Hishām recounts fifty such deceptions suffered at the hands of the rogue Abū-l Fath al-Iskandarī who appears each time in a different guise, as old man, youth, Bedouin, wanderer, and preacher. Only after `Isā bin Hishām is fleeced does he recognize the rogue, and marvels at his excellent rhetoric as al-Iskandarī makes off with his cash. The *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī were imitated and greatly popularized by al-Harīrī<sup>9</sup> in the Muslim East and in al-Andalus as well, where they inspired the Zaragoza author al-Saraqustī (d. 1143) to write his own *maqāmāt* sometime during the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in Cordova.<sup>10</sup>

After the Almohad invasions of al-Andalus beginning in the 1140s that drove many Jewish intellectuals north to Christian territories,<sup>11</sup> Jewish authors educated in Arabic began to cultivate the *maqāma* genre in Hebrew. The first to do so was the Toledan Judah al-Harīzī (ca. 1170-1230), who translated al-Harīrī's *maqāmāt* into Hebrew (*Mahberot Iti'el*) before writing his own, the *Tahkemonī* (ca. 1200).<sup>12</sup> Contemporary with the *Tahkemonī* is the *Sefer Ša`ašū`im* (Book of Delights) of the Barcelonan Joseph Ibn Zabara,<sup>13</sup> the *Minhat Yehudah, sonah hanašim*

<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the genre, with particular reference to al-Andalus, see Rina Drory, 'The maqama,' *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, eds. María Rosa Menocal, Michael Sells and Raymond P. Scheindlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000), 190-210. For a very thorough history of the genre in general, see Hämeen-Anttila.

<sup>8</sup> That is, members of the formerly aristocratic Sassānid dynasty who were displaced by the establishment of the Abbāsids. On the Banū Sasān and their treatment in poetry, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim ibn `Alī al-Harīrī al-Basrī (1054-1122) popularized the Arabic *maqāma* genre invented by the Persian Badi` al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (968-1008). See D.S. Margoliouth and Charles Pellat, 'al-Hariri,' *The Encyclopedia of Islam CD-Rom Edition v. 1.0* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Abū-l Tāhir Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqustī ibn al-Ashtarkūnī (d. 1143), an Andalusī scholar and writer whose literary legacy includes, apart from his *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmīyya*, a philological work on rare words in the Arabic language, and fragments of poetry. In addition, various references by contemporary writers to al-Saraqustī indicate that he was an active writer during much of his life, although the biographical information about him is scarce. See Monroe's introduction to his translation of al-Saraqustī (18-40).

<sup>11</sup> See Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 80.

<sup>12</sup> Aharon Mirsky, 'al-Harizi, Judah ben Solomon,' *Encyclopedia Judaica CD-ROM Edition Version 1.0*, ed. Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem: Judaica Multimedia, 1997). See the Hebrew edition of Judah al-Harizi's *Tahkemoni* by Yisrael Toporovsky (Tel Aviv: Mehaberot Lesifrut, 1952), the literal prose English translation by Victor Emanuel Reichert, *The Tahkemoni* (2 vols. Jerusalem: Raphael Haim Cohen, 1965 and 1973), the English rhyming prose translation (with excellent notes and analyses) by David Simha Segal, *The Book of Tahkemoni: Jewish Tales From Medieval Spain*, (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001), and the Spanish translation by Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez, *Las asambleas de los sabios (Tahkemoni)*, (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1986). On al-Harīzī's adaptation of Arabic poetics, see Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 215-32.

<sup>13</sup> See Israel Davidson's edition of the Hebrew text, *Sepher Shaashuim*, (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1914), Ignasi González-Llubera's Catalan translation (with an excellent introduction and notes), *Llibre d'ensenyaments delectables: Sēfer Xaaixuim*, (Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1931), the English translation by Moses Hadas, *The Book of Delight*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), and the excellent Spanish translation by Marta Forteza-Rey (with a general introduction giving an excellent overview of Hebrew literary production in medieval Iberia), *Libro de los entretenimientos*, (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1983).

(The Offering of Yehudah, Woman Hater) of the Toledan Judah ibn Shabbetai.<sup>14</sup> Toward the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Isaac ibn Sahula wrote his *Mešal haqadmoni* (Fables of the Ancient One) in Guadalajara.<sup>15</sup> These Jewish writers were native speakers of Catalan and Castilian, and lived in daily contact with their Christian neighbours. I propose that their work provided a model of Arabic and Hebrew literary values and narrative strategies for Christian authors who had indirect access to their texts through Jewish and *converso* friends and colleagues.<sup>16</sup>

The *Spill*, or *Llibre de les dones* of Valencian physician Jaume Roig (d. 1478) is a unique work of episodic verse narrative that has received relatively little critical attention outside of Valencia and Catalonia.<sup>17</sup> In vivid (sometimes nauseating) detail, and with a darkly ironic tone, the autobiographical narrator tells his audience of the wiles of women, the pitfalls of marriage, and the specific misadventures he has suffered at the hands of four consecutive wives. In Book 3, he is visited in a nocturnal vision by King Solomon, who upbraids him for repeatedly walking into the same trap, and corroborates his misogynist rant by adding one of his own based mostly on biblical example. All this, maintains the author, so that younger men will not make the same mistakes as him.

In terms of its misogynist content, the *Spill* is in good company in medieval Romance literature. It can be seen as a continuation of the Latin misogynist tradition of antiquity represented by writers such as Ovid and Juvenal, continued in Christian Latinity by Jerome and Augustine, and more systematically cultivated in the *Roman de la Rose* of Jean de Meun and especially the *Corbaccio* of Boccaccio.<sup>18</sup> It is nearly contemporary with the well-known Castilian misogynist treatise of Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, titled *Arçipreste de Talavera* or *Corbacho*. In fact, a good deal of the criticism dealing with the *Spill* has focused on its misogynist and/or medical content.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The Hebrew text has been edited by Matti Huss, *Minhat Yehudah, 'Ezrat ha-nashim' ve-'En mishpat*, 2 vols, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1991). Raymond P. Scheindlin has published an English translation of an excerpt in 'The Misogynist,' *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 269-94. See also the English translations of excerpts in Hamilton (195-252).

<sup>15</sup> See the Hebrew edition of Israel Zemorah (Tel Aviv: Ha Rav Kuk, 1952), the English/Hebrew facing page verse translation (with an excellent introduction and notes) by Raphael Loewe, *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past*, (Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), and Scheindlin's rhyming English translation of an excerpted tale, 'The Sorcerer,' *Fiction* (1983), 168-84.

<sup>16</sup> I have argued for such indirect influence in the case of the *Libro de buen amor*, placing author Juan Ruiz in likely contact of learned Jewish physicians who would most likely have known al-Harīzī's and Ibn Zabara's works (Wacks 140-78).

<sup>17</sup> For example, the translation of Delgado-Librero (2003) is the first in English. For the most recent Castilian translation, see Jaume Roig, *El espejo de Jaume Roig: poema valenciano del siglo XV*, trans. Ramón Miquel i Planas (Barcelona: Elzeviriana y Casa Miquel-Rius, 1942). I cite both the original Valencian (by verse number) and the English translation (by page number) from Delgado-Librero. Translations of all other texts are mine unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>18</sup> For a survey of Latin and Romance misogynist texts, see Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

<sup>19</sup> On misogyny in the *Spill*, see Rosanna Cantavella, *Els Cards i el Llir: Una lectura de l'Espill de Jaume Roig* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1992), Antònia Carré i Pons, 'La ginecòfòbia del *Spill* de Jaume Roig,' *Faig* 27 (1986), 69-71, Jean Dangler, *Mediating Fictions: Literature, Women Healers, and the Go-between in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), Hamilton, and Michael Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: The Arcipreste de Talavera and the Spill* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997). On medicine, see Antònia Carré i Pons, 'La medicina com a referens cultural a l'Espill de Jaume Roig,' *Jaume Roig i Crostòfor Despuig: Dos assaigs sobre cultura i literatura dels segles xv i xvi*, eds. Anotònia Carré i Pons and Josep Solervicens (Barcelona: Eumo, 1996), 7-71.

What set the *Spill* apart from this healthy tradition of Romance language misogynist texts are the didactic stance of its narrator, and its episodic structure.<sup>20</sup> Roig clearly intends for his work to serve as an example to his readers, that they avoid making the same mistakes he made and thereby be spared from a lifetime of suffering. He frames his autobiography from the perspective of an old man, broken and embittered.<sup>21</sup> This unfortunate pseudo-autobiographical narrator claims to be writing his book for the benefit of those younger than he, specifically, for those 'iouents verts/ he inesperts/ del toch del foch/ polls del bech groch' (293-96)<sup>22</sup> who still have a chance at a life of happiness. Roig explains that those who read this book will be forewarned, and will certainly avoid the errors the author details within.<sup>23</sup>

Agüera rejects the idea that this explicit exemplarity descends from the medieval *exempla* tradition.<sup>24</sup> In his estimation, Roig adapted this structure and didactic stance from the example of the Arabic and Hebrew *maqāmāt*, and that these works informed not only the didactic, episodic, pseudo-autobiographical form of the *Spill*, but also other traits of the *maqāma* genre such as the use of rhymed prose, the division of the autobiographical narrator into two characters (Jaume Roig and Solomon). However, his argument for the influence on the *Spill* of the Arabic *maqāmāt*, a genre of rhymed prose picaresque narrative cultivated in medieval Iberia in the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, is problematic.

The first problem with Agüera's hypothesis is that he does not test its feasibility; that is, he does not attempt to place Roig in contact with readers of Arabic or Hebrew *maqāmāt*. It is enough for him that Roig 'pudo haberse familiarizado [con la *maqāma*] mediante el trato y convivencia con los judíos y moriscos<sup>25</sup> de aquella población.'<sup>26</sup> While it would be futile to attempt to present documentary evidence of Roig's familiarity with any given *maqāma* text, it is worthwhile to attempt to constitute the social circumstances that would have made such familiarity possible.

<sup>20</sup> Victorio Agüera has noted that 'la peculiaridad del *Spill* se reduce, en último análisis, al uso de una estructura que, con la posible excepción del *Libro de buen amor*, aparece por primera vez en la literatura hispánica. Ella es el uso de la forma autobiográfica con una finalidad didáctica y que da unidad al material episódico de la obra ('Jaume Roig' 150).

<sup>21</sup> '...Yo com absent/ del mon vivint/ aquell iaquint/ aconortat/ d'ell apartat/ dant hi del peu/ vel ihubileu/ mort çivilment/ ja per la gent/ desconegut/ per tots tengut/ com hom saluatie/ tenint hostatie/ en lo meu llit/ prou enuellit/ antich de dies/ per malalties/ molt afligit/ uell enllegit/ per molt greus mals/ yres y tals/ ja consumit/ ab poch delit...' (160-82); (I live as if absent from the world, consoled by having left it, separated from it, having kicked it. Old and retired, I am dead to the law, already unknown to people, considered by all as a wild man. Living in my bed, quited aged and many days old, I am much afflicted by illness. Old and ugly, I am already consumed by very grave ailments, fits of ire and the like. With little joy, I am uneasy.) (2: 317)

<sup>22</sup> 'Green and inexperienced young men, chickens of yellow beak' (2: 318).

<sup>23</sup> "Si y llegiureu/ conexereu/ ab prou claror/ la gran error / tan manifesta/ la desonesta/ he uiciosa/ tant perillosa/ amor inica/ que huy's practica/ mes pecoral/ que humanal/ sols per delit/ la per profit/ mes auariçia/ que amiçia/ no cur tractar' (323-39); (If you read it, you will know, with enough clarity, the great and manifest error, the indecent and depraved, dangerous and iniquitous love that is practiced today, which is more bestial than human, and only for pleasure. The love that is motivated by profit is avarice rather than friendship, and I do not care to deal with it), (2 : 138-39).

<sup>24</sup> *Picaro*, 14.

<sup>25</sup> The use of the term *morisco* here is an anachronism. The term for a Muslim living under Christian rule is *mudéjar*. After Islam was outlawed in 1501 and Valencian Muslims were forcibly converted to Christianity (Granada 1501, Castile 1502), they became known as *moriscos*, a derogatory term for a new Christian of Muslim background. See Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos* (Albany: SUNY, 1983), 7. See also P. Chalmers, 'Mudejar,' *Encyclopedia of Islam CD-ROM Edition*, v. 1, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>26</sup> See Agüera, *Picaro*, 90.

It is highly unlikely that Roig would have had contact with any readers of Arabic *maqāmāt*, and even more so that he himself would have known Arabic. By the fifteenth century, the state of Arabic and Islamic learning in all the Christian territories of the Iberian peninsula was in such decline that Classical Arabic was used only for the most pedestrian documents, and there was no Arabic literary scene to speak of.<sup>27</sup> After the conquest of much of the Iberian peninsula by Christian rulers in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Islamic education was nearly entirely debilitated.<sup>28</sup> When a Muslim city was conquered, its governing elite and nearly all educated Muslims left for Granada or North Africa. Even in cities such as Valencia where the original terms of surrender had included provisions for the preservation of Islamic institutions,<sup>29</sup> over time the ruling Christians undermined them.<sup>30</sup> However, a large population of Muslims living under Christian rule, known as *mudéjares*, remained.<sup>31</sup> This is an extreme example of Islamic brain drain, by which in a matter of years, the Muslim population was almost entirely stripped of its educated elite.<sup>32</sup> Eventually the situation deteriorated to the point that the community became almost entirely ignorant of Classical Arabic, which gave rise to *aljamiado* literature—Castilian or Aragonese language written in Arabic characters.<sup>33</sup> *Aljamiado* texts were largely (but not entirely) religious:<sup>34</sup> translations of the Qur'an, legal compendia, and prayer books, intended for an audience whose formal Islamic education was limited to knowledge of the Arabic alphabet. Given the Islamic injunction against translating the Qur'an directly into a language other than Arabic, the existence of an *aljamiado* Qur'an demonstrates the sad state of Islamic education in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is therefore unlikely that Roig would have known any readers of Arabic *maqāmāt*.

The second problem with Agüera's thesis is his argument that Roig adopted his unique tetrasyllable verse in imitation of the rhyming prose (Ar. *sajj`*) of the Arabic and Hebrew *maqāmāt*.<sup>35</sup> He notes that Roig claims to have written his work using the rustic *algemia* of the

<sup>27</sup> L.P. Harvey notes that 'the Valencians continued to speak Arabic, and to write it for administrative purposes, but they do not seem to have participated in the exchange of intellectual life of the Islamic world as a whole, and they produce no writers of any note after the conquest. The explanation for this is presumably that Muslims with any talent emigrated to Granada, if not further afield' See L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 118-19.

<sup>28</sup> See Consuelo López-Morillas, 'Language,' *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, eds. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33-59 (pp. 54-55).

<sup>29</sup> For example, the charter granted to the Muslims of the Uxó valley by James I in 1250 allows for the continuation of Islamic practice in prayer, marriage, legal proceedings, and social autonomy (Harvey, 125).

<sup>30</sup> For example, while 'in the thirteenth century accusations against Muslims by Christians were heard in Islamic courts,' the Islamic legal system was eventually coopted, so that 'between 1355 and 1369 89 percent of all cases involving only Muslims were heard by Christian judges, and often were decided according to Christian and not Islamic law.' Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: between coexistence and crusade* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991), 189.

<sup>31</sup> See P. Chalmeta, 'Mudejar,' *The Encyclopedia of Islam CD-Rom Edition v. 1.0* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> Consider the difficulty encountered by Juan de Segovia in locating a Muslim scholar able to translate the Qur'an for him in his priory in Savoy in 1455. Finally, the Castilian King Juan II had to order Yça Gidelli, the *faqīh* of Segovia to go to Savoy to work on the project. See Gerard Albert Wieggers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 69-71.

<sup>33</sup> See López-Morillas, 54-57.

<sup>34</sup> *Aljamiado* texts of a secular literary nature are also extant, such as the *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana*, ed. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Gredos, 1970) and *El libro de las batallas: Narraciones épico-caballarescas*, ed. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

<sup>35</sup> For a thorough treatment of the use of rhyming prose in Arabic *maqāmāt*, see Douglas C. Young, *Rogues and Genres: Generic Transformation in the Spanish Picaresque and Arabic Maqama* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004), 21-43.

Muslim peasantry of the Valencian countryside. He states that the register of his work is written in 'l'algemia / he parleria/ dels de Paterna/ Torrent Soterna (686-90).<sup>36</sup> It is significant that Roig uses the word *algemia* (Castilian *aljamía*), which clearly refers to Romance (and not Arabic) spoken or written by Muslims.<sup>37</sup> Agüera, however, understands *algemia* quite differently, maintaining that 'Jaume Roig, al usar las palabras 'aljamía' y 'jerga' se está refiriendo a algo relacionado con lo árabe.<sup>38</sup> He then takes this as proof that Roig's choice of the tetrasyllable verse was done in imitation of the rhymed Classical Arabic prose of the *maqāmāt*.<sup>39</sup> On the contrary, it is highly improbable that Roig's tetrasyllable is an imitation of the rhyming prose of the *maqāmāt*. First, as noted above, *algemia* always refers to a non-Arabic language—even Roig himself declares that his language is 'romañ' (680)—so that Roig could not possibly have been referring to the Classical Arabic style of the *maqāmāt*. Although Agüera maintains that Roig uses *algemia* to indicate Arabic,<sup>40</sup> it is clear that the word, derived from the Arabic *ʿajamiyya*, is always used to refer to a non-Arabic language, here Valencian.<sup>41</sup> Let us assume, for argument's sake, that Roig was attempting to approximate the style of *colloquial* Valencian Arabic which was still widely spoken during the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> Even so, he would be imitating a dialect as far removed from the ultra-refined Classical Arabic employed by authors of the *maqāmāt* as colloquial Valencian Romance is from the Latin poetry of Ovid or Horace.

The Classical Arabic of the *maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī and al-Saraqustī,<sup>43</sup> two of the best-known and oft-referenced authors of the genre in al-Andalus, are written in an extremely rarefied,

<sup>36</sup> 'plainly woven. . . from the plain language and speech of the people from Paterna, Torrent, and Soterna' (2: 323).

<sup>37</sup> The Arabic *ʿajamiyya* means barbaric or non-Arab. See Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, ed. J.M. Cowan (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 694. It was a term applied to the languages spoken by non-Arab Muslims, originally Persians. In al-Andalus, it was used to by Muslims to describe the Romance dialects spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. See E. Lévi-Provencal and L. P. Harvey, 'Aljamia,' *The Encyclopedia of Islam CD-Rom Edition v. 1.0* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999). For the use of *ʿajamiyya* to describe Andalusī Romance, see James T. Monroe, 'Maimonides on the Mozarabic Lyric,' *La Corónica* 17.2 (1988-89), 18-32 (p. 18-32).

<sup>38</sup> Agüera, *Picaro*, 75.

<sup>39</sup> 'no hay motivo para sorprenderse de que Roig usase una forma métrica que existía en la tradición de las *maqamat* hispanas a partir del siglo XI. Si Roig había tejido su obra en la 'aljamía' de los de Paterna, se refería con ello a la forma y al fondo del *Spill*, es decir, a la tradición de las *maqamat*' (Agüera, *Jaume Roig*, 175).

<sup>40</sup> *Picaro*, 75-76.

<sup>41</sup> On this distinction, see Eugenio Ciscar Pallares, "'Algaravia" y "Algemia": Precisiones sobre la lengua de los moriscos en el reino de Valencia,' *Al-Qantara* 15.1 (1994), 131-62, and Epalza, Mikel, 'Sociolingüística de mudéjares y moriscos,' *Las lenguas prevaletianas*, ed. Federico Corriente (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1987), 111-14. On morisco dialect, see Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, 'La lengua de los moriscos,' *Manual de dialectología hispánica*, ed. Manuel Alvar, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Ariel, 1996), 111-18.

<sup>42</sup> In fact, Meyerson argues that Valencian Muslims were bilingual and spoke colloquial Arabic even into the 17<sup>th</sup> century (228). While he suggests that Valencian Muslims still read Arabic into the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the total absence of literary production after the 13<sup>th</sup> century suggests that most literate Muslims would have had a limited reading proficiency (with limited comprehension) of Classical Arabic for purposes of prayer. On Valencian Arabic, see María del Carmen Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano: historia y dialecto* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1984).

<sup>43</sup> For the *maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī, see the English translation of Thomas Chenery, *The Assemblies of Al Hariri*, 2 vols. (London: Willams and Norgate, 1867), the Arabic editions of ʿIsa Sabā, *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī*, (Beirut: Dār Sadr, Dār Bayrūt, 1970) and Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, *Les Séances de Hariri publiées en arabe avec un commentaire choisi*, (Paris: Joseph Reinaud and Joseph Derenbourg, 1847-1853). For the *maqāmāt* of al-Saraqustī, see the Arabic editions of Ibrahim Badr Ahmad Dayf, *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya li'l-Saraqustī* (Alexandria: al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-`ammā li'l-Kitāb, 1982) and Hasan al-Warāgī, *al-Maqamat al-Luzumiyya*, (Tetuan: Manšurāt `Ukāz, 1995), the Spanish translation of Ignacio Ferrando Frutos, *Las sesiones del Zaragocí: Relatos picarescos (maqamat)*, (Saragossa: U Zaragoza P, 1999), and the English translation of James T. Monroe, *Al-Maqamat al-Luzumiya* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 2002).

artificially obscure brand of Arabic, particular to high-level administrators and literati of the medieval Arab world. In fact, it is believed that al-Harīrī's primary objective in writing his *maqāmāt* was to preserve and showcase the usages of extremely rare words.<sup>44</sup> Given the sorry state of Arabic letters in 15<sup>th</sup> century Valencia, it is nearly impossible that Roig could have counted among his intimates anyone with the education needed to read and understand Arabic *maqāmāt*.

If we cannot establish a venue of transmission of the style of the Arabic *maqāmāt* to Roig's pen in his social environment, we must turn our attention to the internal textual evidence. We have mentioned that Agüera cites the episodic structure and didactic stance of the narrator as the two traits that identify the *Spill* with the Arabic *maqāma* tradition. This is an idea that needs to be nuanced, as there is a difference between authors of Arabic and Hebrew *maqāmāt* in the way they express their didactic intentions. The Arabic authors Al-Harīrī (whose Arabic *maqāmāt* are examined by Agüera) and al-Saraqustī are not explicit in their didactic purpose. That is, they do not specifically present the behaviour of their characters as a negative example. Rather, they rely on the educated reader's active critical reading to deduce the work's exemplarity by perceiving the intellectual and moral flaws of the narrator evident in his words and deeds. Al-Harīrī invokes the didactic purpose of his work only secondarily, as a way to excuse his use of fictional events for purposes of instructing the reader in rhetoric and rare vocabulary. He claims that although the tales he relates are as false as the animal fables (i.e., those of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*), his intention in writing them is to educate, and therefore he is justified.<sup>45</sup> Al-Saraqustī, whose *Maqāmāt al-luzūmīyya* are not included in Agüera's study,<sup>46</sup> is only slightly more forthright in discussing the didactic purpose in the colophon of his work. He contends that his *maqāmāt* are an opportunity for the reader to develop his or her critical skills in interpreting the language of the author and the behaviour of the characters he has invented.<sup>47</sup> While al-Saraqustī clearly expresses didactic concern here, his is not an exemplary didacticism. That is, he is not explicitly offering his work (nor the blunders of the narrator) as a negative example for others to avoid. Rather, he excuses himself for the vanity of his undertaking, for the seeming frivolity of his writing, and somewhat

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<sup>44</sup> Carl Brockelmann and Charles Pellat, 'Makama,' *The Encyclopedia of Islam CD-Rom Edition v. 1.0* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> 'Since deeds depend on intentions, and in these lies the effectiveness of religious obligations, —What fault is there in one who composes stories for instruction not for display, and whose purpose in them is the education and not the fäblings? —Nay, is he not in the position of one who assents to doctrine, and 'guides to the right path?' (trans. Chenery 1: 107; ed. Sabā 14-15). On the problem of fictionality in medieval Arabic literature and especially the development of the *maqāmāt* in light of the Aesopic tradition, see Drory, *Models*, 22-27.

<sup>46</sup> al-Saraqustī's work was not translated into Spanish until 1999 (trans. Ferrando Frutos), and into English in 2002 (trans. Monroe), nearly twenty years after the appearance Agüera's dissertation ('Jaume Roig,'1972) and monograph (*Pícaro*, 1975).

<sup>47</sup> 'These *maqāmāt* have issued from a mind exhausted by its effort, and from a goal neither wished for nor desired by me, but rather, from the darkening of horizons and the concern and apprehension over the passing of life; from the vain departure of words, from the failure of truth to praise those words from the moment it first goes to drink from them to the time it leaves, even if they have only issued—as God be my witness—from a soul that hovers over truth, grazes and freely pastures on the meadow of hope, consistently offers guidance toward righteousness, and constantly proceeds in the direction of repentance while, at the same time, it aims at seriousness in its jesting, and follows the path of earnestness in its joking. In the name of God—may he be exalted—we implore whoever considers and takes note of these words of ours, and strives and aspires to understand them with a critical appraisal, to be judicious and apply allegorical interpretation in his examination of them, and to make it his practice and conclusion to judge them favorably, and to realize that the human soul can move from one state to another, can change its condition, and can alternate between truth and falsehood, whereas God, in His excellence, erases its sin, hastens its return to Him, and accepts its repentance' (trans. Monroe 502-03; ed. al-Warāglī 467).

obliquely suggests that readers should understand that even those who behave as poorly as the rogue al-Sadūsī or as foolishly as the narrator al-Sā'ib ibn Tammām can earn redemption if they turn to God. His apology is more of a reflection on the flawed character of humankind and the unwavering mercy of God than an attempt to directly influence the behaviour of the reader. In fact, his recommendation that readers 'apply allegorical interpretation' in their reading of his *maqāmāt* suggests that he encourages critical and interpretative readings of his work, and not simple obedience or adherence to a doctrine he sets forth. That is, he sees his work more as a textbook for critical thought than a handbook for improper or proper behaviour, as does Roig.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it seems unlikely that Roig would have adopted his explicit exemplary didactic stance from the Arabic *maqāmāt*, be they of al-Harīrī, or al-Saraqustī.<sup>49</sup>

From where, then, might Roig have adopted his unique didactic stance? We have seen that the total demise of Arabic letters in Valencia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the poor state of Islamic education in the 15<sup>th</sup> makes it virtually impossible that Roig would have been influenced by Arabic *maqāmāt*. However, as Agüera also suggests (if only in passing), Roig might have had exposure to Hebrew *maqāmāt*. The genre was also cultivated in Hebrew in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in Castile and Catalonia.<sup>50</sup> Of the Hebrew *maqāmāt*, al-Harīzī's *Tahkemonī* is strictest (and most unapologetic) in his adherence to the model of the 'classical' *maqāma* set forth by al-Harīrī.<sup>51</sup> Other Hebrew *maqāmāt*, such as the *Minhat Yehudah* ('Offering of Yehudah') of Ibn Shabbetai or the *Sefer Sha'ashu'īm* ('Book of Delight') of Ibn Zabara more freely interpret the structural and stylistic exigencies of the genre.

Such Hebrew *maqamat* were widely read in the Jewish communities of Medieval Iberia and were likely have been familiar to some of Roig's peers, specifically the Hebrew-educated *converso* physicians who had converted in the wake of the Disputations of Tortosa.<sup>52</sup> There is no known documentary evidence that suggests Roig was a *converso*. However, Delgado-Librero suggests that the professions pursued by the male members of the Roig family (lawyer, notary, doctor), along with 'the family name, and Jaume Roig's vast knowledge of the Old Testament... indicate a possible Jewish origin, a matter that has not been suggested or studied and that deserves investigation'.<sup>53</sup> As his family had long been active in the public life of the Christian community, it is doubtful that he was raised as a Jew. His great-grandfather had held several public service positions in Valencia already at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> On the didactic nature of the *Spill*, see Antònia Carré i Pons, 'L'estil de Jaume Roig: les propostes ètica y estètica de l'*Espill*, *Intel·lectuals i escriptors a la baixa edat mitjana* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1994), 185-219, (pp. 186-87).

<sup>49</sup> The difficulty of transmission from Arabic to European languages of the genre is supported by Hämeen-Anttila, based on the difficulty of the Arabic, although he is more inclined to admit the possibility of transmission via the Hebrew *maqāmāt*. Ultimately, though, he rejects the idea that the Spanish picaresque was influenced by the *maqāmāt* (298-99).

<sup>50</sup> On the Arabic and Hebrew *maqāmāt* in al-Andalus, see Drory, 'Maqama'.

<sup>51</sup> 'Now the thing that has stirred up my spirit to compose this book was that a wise man among the sages of the Arabs and one of the choicest of the enlightened whose tongue is powerful in Arabic poetry and through whose mouth the vision of song is spread abroad—he is the famous Al-Hariri, all the authors of poetry except him are barren' (trans. Reichert 34-35; ed. Toporovsky 11).

<sup>52</sup> The popularity of the Hebrew *maqāmāt* is supported by several 16<sup>th</sup> century editions published in the Sephardic communities of Constantinople and Venice. See A. M. Haberman, 'The Book of *Tahkemonī* and its Editions,' in *Essays in Poetry and Piyyut* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, 1972), 115-36 (p. 118-19). On the Disputation at Tortosa and its effect on the Jewish community, see Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1978), 2: 170-234.

<sup>53</sup> p. 150.

<sup>54</sup> Carré i Pons, 'Medicina' (13).



Given that the great majority of Valencian *conversos* became Christian in the wake of the pogroms of 1391, it is unlikely that Roig had *converso* blood on his father's side. In any event, as examiner of physicians, Roig would have been surrounded with medical professionals who had converted after 1391, and would have been active in social circles heavily populated by *conversos*.<sup>55</sup> As medical inspector general of Valencia, Roig would have known dozens, if not hundreds of doctors in the area. A great number of these would have been *conversos* who had perhaps received their medical and literary training as Jews, and as Christians would have continued to draw on this training in their medical and literary praxis. Such men would have been familiar with the Hebrew *maqāmāt* of al-Harīzī, Ibn Shabbetai, and Ibn Zabara, as well as the other abundant Hebrew poetic and literary output of the Jewish communities of medieval Iberia. Unlike the Arabic literary culture of medieval Iberia, which was nearly completely extinguished (with the exception of Granada) during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Hebrew literary culture thrived up until the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula in 1492.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, the Jewish and *converso* community of Roig's time would have included active readers of Hebrew literature, and perhaps some writers.<sup>57</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that a physician with a literary bent such as Roig would discuss literature with his colleagues, particularly those who were knowledgeable of books Roig would have been unable to read himself. These Hebrew *maqāmāt* with which Roig might have been familiar bear not only the structural and discursive traits of the Arabic *maqāmāt*, but also contain chapters with misogynistic or misogamistic material.<sup>58</sup> In the case of the *Minhat Yehudah* of Ibn Shabbetai, the entire work is a biting ironic misogamous narrative.<sup>59</sup>

We have seen that the combination of a specifically exemplary didactic stance and of an episodic structure cannot be accounted for in Romance literature, and that in order to explain these features of the *Spill* an investigation of the *maqāma* literature of medieval Iberia goes a long way toward explaining these peculiarities of Roig's work. It happens there is a also medieval French text that most likely provided Roig with a model for the exemplary misogamous narrative. Delgado-Librero has established that Roig was influenced in large part by

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<sup>55</sup> One such man, Magister Astruc Rimoch, converted to Christianity in 1414 and took the name Magister Francisc de Sant Jordi. See Baer, 2: 218. By the time Roig assumed the post of examiner of physicians in 1434 (See Delgado-Librero, 1: 6), Magister Francisc might have been still practising medicine in Valencia.

<sup>56</sup> For example, there were several Hebrew poets active in the area of Saragossa in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. See Raymond P. Scheindlin, 'Secular Hebrew Poetry in Fifteenth-Century Spain,' *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World*, ed. Benjamin R. Gampel (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), 25-37.

<sup>57</sup> As discussed by Scheindlin, Hebrew literary production in 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain was centered largely in Aragon, whose Jewish population had not been nearly as decimated by the pogroms of 1391 as had those of Valencia and Catalonia. Since Roig lived in Valencia, it is less likely that he would have been in contact with writers actually working in Hebrew.

<sup>58</sup> See al-Harīzī's *maqāma* 6, which contains a vicious description of an ugly woman (ed. Toporovsky 74-82; trans. Segal 73-80), and Ibn Zabara's chapter 12, containing the tale of the washerwoman (trans. Hadas 149-60). On women in medieval Hebrew literature, see Judith Dishon, 'Images of Women in Hebrew Literature,' *Women of the Word: Jewish Women and Jewish Writing*, ed. Judith R. Baskin (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1994), 35-47. On misogamy in Ibn Shabbetai's *Minhat Yehuda*, see Tova Rosen, *Unveiling Eve: Reading Gender in Medieval Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003), 103-23.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Shabbetai and Ibn Zabara were both physicians. The latter includes a great deal of medical material in his *Sefer Sha'ashū'im*, including a chapter in which the rogue examines the narrator (Ibn Zabara himself) on medical knowledge (trans. Hadas 126-36). For further affinities between the *Spill* and the Hebrew *maqāmāt* (except those of Ibn Shabbetai), see Agüera, *Picaro*, 79-85.

Jean Le Fèvre's Old French translation of the *Lamentations of Matheolus*.<sup>60</sup> In the introduction to the second book, Matheolus explains that his book is a warning to all those who have not yet had to suffer his fate, that of marriage. Even though it may be too late to save himself, he might still be able to help those who have not yet fallen into the trap.<sup>61</sup> The didactic tone is identical to that of Roig: the author puts forth his own experience as a warning to the younger, less experienced reader. So, while Le Fèvre's text may well have served as a model for Roig's didactic, autobiographical stance,<sup>62</sup> it does not account for the episodic structure of the *Spill*, perhaps the one picaresque feature of the *Spill* that can best be explained by the influence of the *maqāma* genre.

In fact, we have a precedent of a Christian author showing the influence of the Hebrew *maqāmāt* in the *Libro de buen amor*, another enigmatic work of pseudo-autobiographical verse narrative peppered with lyric poems, chronicling the misadventures of a hapless narrator. Among the episodes narrated are a series of failed seductions in which the narrator is repeatedly ridiculed, embarrassed, and in one case, raped by a robust *serrana*, or mountain girl (stanza 971).

Nearly every aspect of the *LBA*'s content has been linked to sources in the Latin tradition.<sup>63</sup> However, the question of the *LBA*'s autobiographical nature and the disposition of the author-narrator is still open. Autobiography was not an invention of the Middle Ages; it had been practiced since classical times, and in Christianity its foremost example is St. Augustine's *Confessions*. It was also widely cultivated by medieval authors.<sup>64</sup> The question of Juan Ruiz's more immediate model remains open. Gybbon-Monypenny situates the *LBA* in the European tradition of 'amorous pseudo-autobiography'.<sup>65</sup> Lida de Malkiel refutes by asserting that the *LBA* does not meet the criteria for 'amorous pseudo-autobiography' set by Gybbon-Monypenny

<sup>60</sup> This is an old French translation of the Latin *Liber Lamentationum Matheoluli* (ca. 1290) dating from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. For English translations of several sections, see Blamires, 177-97. Delgado-Librero (citing Morel-Fatio) especially notes the 'appearance of God to Mathéolus in the third book and similar appearance of Solomon to the narrator of the *Spill*, also in the third book' (1: 81). See also Alfred Morel-Fatio, 'Rapport sur une mission philologique à Valencie suivi d'une étude sur le *Livre des femmes*, poème du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, de Maître Jaume Roig,' *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartres* 45 (1884 and 1885), 630-54; 108-29.

<sup>61</sup> 'Par moy, qui muir a grief martire,/ Doit on a tous les autres dire/ Que euls de marier se gardent/ Et qu'a cest exemple regardent/ Pour eschever femme et son art./ Quant la prochaine maison art/ Ou l'en i voit le feu boubter,/ On doit de la sienne douter' (vv. 19-26); (Since I am dying a terrible death, I should serve as a warning to all other men not to get married and to learn from my mistakes, thereby escaping woman and her wiles. If one's neighbour's house is on fire and one sees the flames leaping higher, one ought to fear for one's own house), (trans. Karen Pratt, Blamires 182).

<sup>62</sup> Other works of autobiography have also been held to influence the structure and moral stance of the *Spill*, including St. Augustine's *Speculum peccatoris* and Vicent of Beauvais' various *Specula*. See Carré i Pons, 'L'estil' (192).

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Félix LeCoy, *Recherches sur le Libro de buen amor de Juan Ruiz, Archiprêtre de Hita* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1938), 113-307, Lida de Malkiel, *Dos obras*, 40-62, Elizabeth Drayson MacDonald, 'Translation or Re-Creation? A Textual Comparison between Two Sections of Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* and Their Latin and French Counterparts,' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35.4 (1999), Vittorio Marmo, *Dalle fonti alle forme: Studi sul Libro de buen amor* (Naples: Liguori, 1983), Richard W. Burkard, *The Archpriest of Hita and the Imitators of Ovid* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta Hispanic Monographs, 1999), and Alan D. Deyermond and Roger M. Walker, 'A Further Vernacular Source for the *Libro de buen amor*,' *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 46 (1969), 193-200.

<sup>64</sup> See Paul Lehmann, 'Autobiographies of the Middle Ages,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.3 (1953), 41-52, Paul Zumthor, 'Autobiographie au Moyen Age?,' *Langue, texte, énigme*, ed. Paul Zumthor (Paris: Seuil, 1975), Philippe Lejeune, *L'autobiographie en France* (Paris: Colin, 1972).

<sup>65</sup> C.B. Gybbon-Monypenny, 'Autobiography in the *Libro De Buen Amor* in Light of Some Literary Comparisons,' *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 34.2 (1957), 63-78.

himself.<sup>66</sup> The more recent effort of de Looze<sup>67</sup> to place Juan Ruiz in a Christian tradition of pseudo-autobiography is more sophisticated, but cannot alone account for the idiosyncrasies of the narrator of the *LBA*. One of the features of the *LBA* most difficult to attribute to Christian literary sources is its narrative voice, its 'yo Juan Royz, Açipreste de Fita' (st. 19b-c).<sup>68</sup> This voice, and the ambiguities which it embodies, are what most link the work of Ruiz to that of Ibn Zabara. It is by far the most convincing evidence of Ruiz's familiarity with the Hebrew *maqāmāt*, in particular the *Sefer Ša`ašū`im* (Book of Delight). Lida de Malkiel concludes that there are no precedents for the narrator of the *LBA* in Christian literature.<sup>69</sup> Instead, she points to the *Sefer Ša`ašū`im* of Ibn Zabara as a more likely model, as we have seen. Ibn Zabara, a physician living in Barcelona, wrote his *Sefer Ša`ašū`im* (Book of Delight) at the end of the twelfth century. His text departs from the classical form of the *maqāma* represented by the work of al-Hamadhānī and al-Harīrī,<sup>70</sup> like the *LBA*, it is a more free-ranging treatise touching on several subjects and including proverbs, short tales, debates, and poetry. Like the classical *maqāmāt*, the content is framed by a series of discussions or encounters between the protagonist and his antagonist.

One innovation of Ibn Zabara is of particular import to the present discussion, namely the conflation of author, narrator, and character also evident in the *LBA*. Ibn Zabara is a self-fictionalizing author. He introduces his narrator in the third person: 'there once was a man in the County of Barcelona, whose name was Joseph ibn Zabara' (*Shaashuim* 5). With this conflated author/narrator/character, Ibn Zabara is moving a step away from the narrative convention of the classical Hebrew *maqāma*, and taking us a step closer to the *LBA* and the *Spill*. After this brief introduction, the audience is prepared to read a conventional third-person narrative, introduced by the marker 'there once was a man[....]' In the very next paragraph, however, Ibn Zabara immediately switches to a first person narrative: 'It was night time, and I, Joseph, was sleeping in

<sup>66</sup> According to Lida de Malkiel, such works 'narran un amor cortés llevado a formas extremas de refinamiento; el autor se identifica como protagonista, mencionando pormenores personales; se presenta favorablemente como dechado de amantes trovadorescos; inserta poemas líricos trovadorescos dirigidos a su dama. Gybbon-Monypenny no puede menos de reconocer lo evidente, a saber, que ninguno de estos rasgos figura en el *Buen amor* y, tras apurar su ingenio para explicarlo, concluye que tal ausencia se debe a que el *Buen amor* es una parodia de la autobiografía cortés' ('Nuevas notas', 21).

<sup>67</sup> Laurence de Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997).

<sup>68</sup> On the question of the narrator-protagonist in the *LBA*, see Marina S. Brownlee, 'Autobiography as Self-(Re)Presentation: The Augustinian Paradigm and Juan Ruiz's Theory of Reading,' *Mimesis: From Mirror to Method, Augustine to Descartes*, eds. John D. Lyons and Stephen G. Nichols, Jr. (Hanover: UP of New England for Dartmouth College, 1982), 71-82, Marina S. Brownlee 'Permutations of the Narrator-Protagonist: The *Serrana* Episodes of the *Libro De Buen Amor* in Light of the Doña Endrina Sequence,' *Romance Notes* 22.1 (1981), 98-101, Dayle Seidenspinner-Núñez, *The Allegory of Good Love: Parodic Perspectivism in the Libro de buen amor* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1981), 38-58, Anthony Zahareas, *The Art of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita* (Madrid: Estudios de Literatura Española, 1965), 39-42, Humberto López Morales, 'La estructura del narrador en el *Libro de buen amor*,' *El Arcipreste de Hita: El libro, el autor, la tierra, la época*, Ed. Manuel Criado de Val, (Barcelona: S.E.R.E., 1973), 38-50, José Santos, 'La disolución del 'yo' en el *Libro de buen amor*: La puesta en práctica de los límites de la expresión,' *Romance Review* 5.1 (1995), 55-63, and Hans Rudolf Picard, 'Constitution et fonction du moi narrateur dans *El Libro de buen amor* de Juan Ruiz,' *L'Autoportrait en Espagne: littérature et peinture*, ed. Guy Mercadier (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1992), 7-16.

<sup>69</sup> *Dos obras*, 22.

<sup>70</sup> Later *maqāmāt* began to display characteristics of the *risāla* genre of treatise, which was sometimes written in dialogue and was not necessarily a narrative genre. See Munibur Rahman, 'Risala,' *Encyclopedia of Islam CD-ROM Edition. Version 1.0* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), especially section six, 'Risāla and makāma.'

my bed with a sweet sleep, the only recompense for my fatigue[...] (5).<sup>71</sup> From the very beginning, Ibn Zabara is playing with the audience's expectations of how a story is told and how the author positions himself before his putatively autobiographical material. This play with the mimetic boundaries of narrative resonates in the *LBA* and the *Spill*.

Aside from the unified author-narrator character, The *LBA* bears a number of striking structural and thematic similarities to Ibn Zabara's *Sefer Ša`ašū`īm*, some of which were pointed out by Lida de Malkiel (31-32).<sup>72</sup>

Structurally, both works are much more loosely organized than the classical *maqāma*. They are not divided into clearly demarcated chapters of comparable length. Both authors expound on topics in which they specialize: religion for the Archpriest Juan Ruiz, and medicine for the physician Ibn Zabara. Their interlocutors, Don Amor and `Enan Hanatas, are both described as physically imposing.<sup>73</sup> Both contain invectives against wine.<sup>74</sup> Both contain proverbs drawn from antiquity on the subject of small women,<sup>75</sup> and on physiognomy. This last topic plays an important part in placing the Ruiz and Roig in the tradition of unreliable and hapless narrators of the medieval Iberian Hebrew and Arabic *maqāmāt*. In the *LBA*, the Archpriest dispatches his go-between Trotaconventos to woo the nun Doña Garoça on his behalf (st. 1344-1493). In making her sales pitch, the *alcahueta* gives a detailed description of the Archpriest's features.<sup>76</sup> The description seems largely positive, as might be expected from a go-between whose livelihood depends on successfully matching her clients (such as the Archpriest) with their love objects. However, while moderns believe (or profess to believe) that beauty is only skin deep, there is a body of physiognomic literature whose object is to divine the character of a person by their facial and bodily features.<sup>77</sup> In reference to this episode, Peter Dunn surveys the Latin physiognomic literature of Medieval Europe and suggests that features of the description of Juan Ruiz given by Trotaconventos are suggestive of the Archpriest's sexual

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Zabara's 'I, Joseph' seems almost to prefigure Ruiz's 'yo, Juan Royz' (st. 19b).

<sup>72</sup> There are also differences in the structures of the two texts. For example, the *LBA* does not maintain the same narrator/interlocutor relationship throughout, but rather limits it to the Archpriest's dialogue with Don Amor (st. 181-88; 388-575).

<sup>73</sup> *LBA*: 'un ome grande, feroso, mesurado, a mí vino' (st. 181c); Ibn Zabara: 'And it came to pass as I slumbered that I saw an appearance of a man before me in my dream, in the likeness of a man exceeding tall' (*Delight* 47-48, *Shaashuim*, 8).

<sup>74</sup> The invectives against wine found in the *LBA* (st. 544-45) and in the *Sefer Ša`ašū`īm* Ibn Zabara, *Delight* 51, Ibn Zabara, *Shaashuim* 10. coincide in several details concerning the physical detriments of excessive wine bibbing: According to Ruiz, wine 'faze perder la vista' and to Ibn Zabara it 'blindeth the eyes.' The Archpriest warns that wine 'tira la fuerça si-s toma sin medida' and 'faze tenblar los miembros'; Ibn Zabara, that 'it weakeneth the power of the body' and 'corrupt[s] all the members of the body.' Finally, Ruiz claims that the winedrinker 'todo seso olvida'; Ibn Zabara, that he will suffer 'forgetfulness' and 'foolish[ness].'

<sup>75</sup> *LBA*: 'del mal tomar lo menos, dízelo el sabidor./ por ende de las mugeres la mejor es la menor' (st. 1617c-d); *Sefer*: 'I have chosen the least of the evil' Ibn Zabara, *Shaashuim* 30, Ibn Zabara, *Delight* 66. None of the editors or translators of Zabara cites a source for the anecdote as applied to women. However, Blecua (note st. 1617c, 419) attributes the general concept to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, as indicated by Cicero in his *De officiis*.

<sup>76</sup> "Señora' diz la vieja, 'yo-l veo a menudo:/ el cuerpo ha bien largo, miembros grandes, trefudo:/ la cabeça non chica, velloso, pescocado:/ el cuello non muy luengo, cabelprietio, orejudo; / 'las çejas apartadas, prietas como carbón:/ el su andar enfiesto, bien como de pavón:/ el paso sosegado e de buena razón:/ la su nariz es luenga: esto le descompón./ 'Las ençivas bermejias e la fabla tunbal:/ la boca non pequeña, labros al comunal./ más gordos que delgados, bermejios como coral:/ las espaldas bien grandes, las muñecas atal./ 'los ojos ha pequeños, es un poquillo baço:/ los pechos delanteros, bien trefudo el braço:/ bien conplidas las piernas; el pie, chico pedaço' (st. 1485-1488).

<sup>77</sup> On this subject in the Muslim world, see T. Fahd, 'Firāsa,' *The Encyclopedia of Islam CD-Rom Edition v. 1.0*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

prowess.<sup>78</sup> However, while the Archpriest's physiognomy indicates a confident and capable lover, the character's words and deeds reveal him as 'a man whose temperament promises success, but who is rendered helpless by some contrary influence. [He is a] cynical clown who stumbles over himself, and who can blame his fate for the falls'.<sup>79</sup> This 'cynical clown' is very reminiscent of the narrators of the classical *maqāmāt*, who repeatedly blame their misdeeds on 'fate' or 'time' (Ar. *dahr* or *zamān*).<sup>80</sup>

Likewise, Jaume Roig-narrator seems to be incapable or unwilling to act in order to change his fate. He characterizes himself as a man with poor judgment and weak resolve. Even before his first marriage, he readily eats up the lies of a go-between who offers to find him a wife. With the benefit of hindsight, he bemoans his gullibility to the reader.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, he displays a total inability to fend for himself. He buys his new wife a luxurious wardrobe of furs, velvet, and precious stones, at which she 'arunça'l nas/ caboteiant/ he morreiant/ ab gran menyspreu/ dona-y del peu' (2072-76).<sup>82</sup> Roig's response to this and other displays of such abuse is totally passive. He merely punctuates the accounts of his bride's behaviour with utter resignation, admitting: "[vaig] sofrir l'enpastre/ no li dich res" (2088-90).<sup>83</sup> Again, when he discovers that his wife had lied to him about her dowry, and that her property was all mortgaged, he lamely says: 'hagui'm begut/ ja les adiués/ a mi noçiués/ al cos e bossa (2126-29).<sup>84</sup> He suffers one indignation after another without a word in his defence. Even the most basic of household functions, Roig tells us, is an opportunity for his wife to abuse him. In addition to her sour personality, his new wife is unable to manage a kitchen staff. Roig laments: 'quant mal dinar/ pijor sopar/ n'agui callant/ he soportant/ hi quant mal dia/ res no'm valia' (2577-82).<sup>85</sup>

This narrator willingly suffers abuse and makes no move to free himself. It is a deliberately unsympathetic voice meant to ironise his misogynistic rant. His complaints of his wife's abusive behaviour (and therefore his credibility as a narrator) are undercut by his unwillingness to lift a finger in order to improve his lot. Here we have a narrator who complains incessantly about his circumstances but does not lift a finger to change them. This disposition of the narrator calls the exemplarity of his work into question; Roig's suggests that all men lead a celibate life in order to find salvation.<sup>86</sup> This is a simplistic argument that all women are bad, and no marriage can result in salvation because a man, through no fault of his own, will always be implicated in a woman's sin. However, Roig's tacit consent of the abuse he suffers is a choice for which he may be held responsible; he is a tacit accomplice to his own suffering, and therefore party to the sin of abuse committed by his wives. Like the ironic unreliable narrators of the *maqāmāt*, his denial of free will makes him a 'cynical clown' in the eyes of a rationalist author or reader, who believes that

<sup>78</sup> "De las figuras del arcipreste," *Libro de buen amor Studies*, ed. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny (London: Tamesis, 1970), 79-93. His discussion of Ruiz's sexual prowess is found on pages 84-88.

<sup>79</sup> Dunn, 89.

<sup>80</sup> See al-Saraqusti, trans. Monroe, 124, 31, 33, 353, 61, 66, 414, 40, and 514.

<sup>81</sup> 'Ffalsa parlara/ vella uelera/ m'en babuxa/ hi'm tabuxa/ de tot mentia/ de sa falsia' (2029-34); 'The deceitful prattler, the old matchmaker tricked me and confounded me. She lied about everything, and I believed her lies' (2: 339).

<sup>82</sup> 'wrinkled her nose, shaking her head and making faces, with great contempt. She kicked it all and refused to wear it' (2: 339).

<sup>83</sup> 'I suffered the ranting and said nothing to her' (2: 339).

<sup>84</sup> 'I swallowed up my irritation, which was harmful to me, to my body and to my purse' (2: 340).

<sup>85</sup> 'How many bad dinners and worse suppers I endured in silence! And how many bad days! Nothing helped' (2: 345).

<sup>86</sup> 'Los homens si dixeran/ mulles Iohan ymitant/ en lo mon franchs militant/ ab Ihesus trihunfaran (33-36); (If men gave up women, imitating John and serving free in the world, they would triumph with Jesus), (2: 314).

we are free to shape our destinies, and that our duty as readers is to not simply take the narrator's words at face value, but rather to apply critical interpretation to them, just as al-Saraqustī and Juan Ruiz ask the reader to do in their respective works. Like the Archpriest of Hita, Jaume Roig (the narrator) is another 'cynical clown' whose misogynistic diatribe is clearly ironised by his behaviour: he complains incessantly yet takes no action. Roig *qua* narrator inherits this discrepancy between intention and deed from the narrators of the Hebrew *maqāmāt* of al-Harīzī, and especially of Ibn Zabara.

This intentionally unreliable narrator helps to carry out the didactic programs of the *maqāmāt*, the *LBA*, and the *Spill*. Ruiz, like Roig, is explicit in his didactic purpose.<sup>87</sup> Both authors purport to set forth a negative example for the reader. Ruiz shows us the wrong way to find a girlfriend, and Roig shows the wrong way to marry, or rather that we should not marry at all. In both cases, the purported didactic stance of the narrator is undermined by his own behaviour, which contradicts the lessons he claims to teach us. In the case of Ruiz, this commentary must be taken with at least a few grains of salt, because the Archpriest undermines his own didactic position by suggesting that his book will also be useful for those wishing to 'usar del loco amor, aquí fallarán algunas maneras para ello' (lines 17-19). Like Juan Ruiz, Roig sets forth his life experience as a negative example for his readers, lest they suffer the same fate he did. A full century before the *Libro de buen amor*, various versions of this explicit didactic stance were employed by authors of Hebrew *maqāmāt*. While such authors as Judah al-Harīzī and Joseph Ibn Zabara are better known for boasting of their linguistic and rhetorical virtuosity,<sup>88</sup> they also do openly adopt a didactic tone in introducing their work. Al-Harīzī states that his work fulfils the double purpose of exalting the Hebrew language and making available the received wisdom of generations past.<sup>89</sup> Likewise, in the introductory poem to his *Minhat Yehudah*, Ibn Shabbetai claims that he wrote his work in order to guide his audience away from the errors of marriage and family life, to serve as a warning to them.<sup>90</sup> From the above examples, we see that the stated didactic purpose of the Hebrew *maqāmāt* of Ibn Zabara (Barcelona, ca. 1200) and Ibn Shabbetai (Toledo, ca. 1208), most resemble that of the *LBA* and the *Spill*: the seek to teach by explicit pseudo-autobiographical negative example.

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<sup>87</sup> '[yo] fiz esta chica escriptura en memoria de bien e compuse este nuevo libro en que son escriptas algunas maneras e maestrías e sotilezas engañosas del loco amor del mundo, que usan algunos para pecar. Las quales, leyéndolas e oyéndolas omne o muger de buen entendimiento se quiera salvar, descogerá e obrarlo ha... E Dios sabe que la mi intención non fue de lo fazer por dar manera de pecar ni por maldezir, mas fue por reduçir a toda persona a memoria buena de bien obrar e dar ensienplo de buenas costumbres e castigos de salvaçión' (lines 95-101 and 31-35).

<sup>88</sup> Al-Harizi explains that his primary mission in writing the *Tahkemonī* is to prove Hebrew's superiority over Arabic in poetic and rhetorical excellence (trans. Segal 15). Ibn Zabara introduces his *Sefer Sha`ashū`īm* noting that he was written it in a clear style and brought together in it wit and wisdom (trans. Hadas 181).

<sup>89</sup> 'And every one whose soul hungers for pleasant bread and the delights of songs of friendship and the sweet things of parables and riddles will find them in this book ten-fold abundant—jar and cruse in which the blessing of the Lord blossoms. And if he takes from them wisdom and instruction, the jar of meal will not be spent, neither will the cruse of oil fail! For its table is prepared for all who come, and its house is forever blessed; its food may be eaten by anyone and all who are hungry may come and eat' (trans. Reichert 1: 38; ed. Toporovsky 14).

<sup>90</sup> 'So that they not fall from what has been advised to them,/ I have written this book to bear witness to them./ I will warn them with the best response of my mouth./ reproach them with a pleasant rebuke./ Take the instruction of a man who brings a voluntary offering, / pearls of poetry, not rubies and sapphires./ Listen to this offering, the fruits of his wisdom, and from all / the offerings, the sweetest is the Offering of Yehudah' (vv. 6-9); The translation is mine, with reference to the translations of sections of Ibn Shabbetai's work found in Hamilton (195-252). See also Talya Fishman, 'Medieval Parody of Misogyny: Judah Ibn Shabbetai's *Minhat Yehudah*, *Soneh Hanashim*,' *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 8.1 (1988), 89-111.

By way of conclusion, we can see that the narrator of the *Spill*, like that of the *Libro de buen amor* before it, is a romance language product of a medieval Iberian *maqāma* tradition of a conflated author/narrator/protagonist whose fallibility and unreliability underscore the author's stated didactic purpose. Through his contact with Jewish and/or *converso* physicians in Valencia, Roig may well have learned of the misogynous *maqāma* of Ibn Shabbetai and al-Harīzī, as well as the unstable pseudo-autobiographical narrator of Ibn Zabara, previously reproduced in the *Libro de buen amor*. However, this model of transmission is not a closed system; Roig most likely drew on a large variety of sources, most notably the *Lamentations de Mathéolus*. In the end, the question is not which work or works are the definitive progenitors of the *Spill*—such a question is beside the point. Rather, the question is how to approach the study of the literary culture that nourished Jaume Roig and enabled him to write the *Spill*. If we fail to seriously consider and interrogate the role of Arabic and especially of Hebrew authors as vital contributors to this culture, we are painting the literary scene of medieval Iberia in something less than full-spectrum colour.

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