

# 1185–1207: The Story of the Man from Upper Egypt and His Frankish Wife

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**Abstract:** In its later versions, the collection of tales known as 1001 Nights contains “The Story of the Man from Upper Egypt and His Frankish Wife” (*Ḥikāyat al-Ṣaʿīd wa-zawġatihi al-ifranġiyya*). Its earliest written evidence hails from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The story as such unfolds in the Ayyūbid period between 1185 and 1207 and describes events that led up to, and followed from the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn (1187). Its main protagonist is a flax merchant from Upper Egypt who falls in love with a Frankish woman from Acre and eventually marries her. The article describes the story’s historical setting and analyses its narrative patterns. Discussing to which degree a fictional text can provide insight into the historical realities of Ayyūbid Syria and Egypt, it comments on various issues that form part of the narrative, including slavery and captivity, romance and marriage, and different instances of interreligious communication.

## Source

*Alf layla wa-layla / The Alif Laila, or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, ed. Wilyam Ḥayy Maknāṭīn / William H. MacNaghten, Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew’s Library, 1842, vol. 4, pp. 353–357. English version adapted from the translations of John Payne and Richard Burton. See below for references.

ومما يُحكى أيضًا أن الأمير شجاع الدين محمد متولي  
القاهرة قال: بتنا عند رجل من بلاد الصعيد فضيَّقنا  
وأكرمنا، وكان ذلك الرجل أَسَمَرَ شديد السُّمرة وهو شيخ  
كبير، وكان له أولاد صغار بيض، بياضهم مشرب  
بُخْمرة، فقلنا: يا فلان، ما بال أولادك هؤلاء بيضًا وأنت  
شديد السُّمرة؟ فقال: هؤلاء أمهم إفرنجية، أخذتها ولي  
معها حديث عجيب. فقلنا له: أُخِّفْنَا به.

فقال: نعم، اعلموا أيّ قد كنتُ زرعْتُ كَثَانًا في هذه  
البلدة وقلعته ونفضته وصرفت عليه خمسمائة دينار، ثم  
أردتُ بيعه فلم يجيء لي منه شيء أكثر من ذلك. فقالوا  
لي: اذهب به إلى عكاء لعلك تربح فيه ربحًا عظيمًا.  
وكانت عكاء ذلك الوقت في يد الإفرنج، فذهبتُ به

And this is what is also told that the amīr Ṣuġāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the prefect (*mutawallī*) of Cairo said: We lay one night in the house of a man of Upper Egypt, and he entertained us and entreated us with the utmost hospitality. This man was extremely dark of skin colour and an old man, and he had little children, who were white, of a white mingled with red. So we said, ‘Oh you, how is it that your children are white, while you are so dark?’ So he said: ‘Their mother is a Frankish woman, whom I took and with whom I had a rare adventure.’ So we said to him: ‘Favour us with it.’

So he said, ‘Yes. Know that I once sowed a crop of flax in this district, which I pulled, scutched, and spent five hundred dinars on. Then I wanted to sell it, but I could not get more than I had spent. So they told me: “Carry it to Acre, maybe you will make a great profit by it there.” At that time, Acre was in the hands of the Franks. So I carried it there and sold part of it at six months’

إلى عكاء وبعث بعضه صبراً إلى ستة أشهر، فبينما أنا أبيع إذ مرّت بي امرأة إفريقية، وعادة نساء الإفرنج أن تمشي في السوق بلا نقاب، فأنت لتشتري مني كناناً، فرأيت من جمالها ما بخر عقلي، فبعث لها شيئاً وتساهلت في الثمن، فأخذته وانصرفت، ثم عادت إليّ بعد أيام فبعث لها شيئاً وتساهلت معها أكثر من المرة الأولى، فكررت مجيئها لي وعرفت أنني أحبها، وكان عادتاً أن تمشي مع عجوز، فقلت للعجوز التي معها: إني قد شغفتُ بحبها، فهل تتحيلين لي في الاتصال بها؟ فقالت: أتحيّل لك في ذلك، ولكن هذا السر لا يخرج من بين ثلاثتنا، أنا وأنت وهي، ومع ذلك لا بد من أن تبذل مالاً. فقلتُ لها: إذا ذهبَ رُوحِي باجتماعي عليها فما هو كثير.

وأدرك شهرزاد الصباح، فسكتت عن الكلام المباح. فلما كانت الليلة الخامسة والتسعون بعد الثمانمائة قالت:

بلغني أيها الملك السعيد، أن العجوز لما أجابت ذلك الرجل، قالت له: ولكن هذا السر لا يخرج من بين ثلاثتنا، أنا وأنت وهي، ولا بد من أن تبذل مالاً. فقال لها: إذا ذهبَ رُوحِي باجتماعي عليها فما هو كثير. واتفق الحال على أن يدفع لها خمسين ديناراً وتجيء إليه، فجهرّ الخمسين ديناراً وسلّمها للعجوز. فلما أخذت الخمسين ديناراً قالت له: هيّئ لها موضعاً في بيتك وهي تجيء إليك في هذه الليلة. ثم قال: فمضيتُ وجهّزتُ ما قدرْتُ عليه من مأكَل ومشرب وشمع وحلوى، وكانت داري مُطلّة على البحر، وكان ذلك في زمن الصيف، ففرشتُ على سطح الدار، وجاءت الإفريقية فأكلنا وشربنا، وجنّ الليل فنمنا تحت السماء والقمر يضيء علينا، وسرنا ننظر خيالَ النجوم في البحر؛ فقلتُ في نفسي: أمّا تستحي من الله عز وجل وأنت غريب وتحت السماء وعلى البحر وتعصي الله تعالى مع نصرانية، وتستوجب عذاب النار؟ اللهم إني أشهدُك أنني قد

credit. While I was selling, a Frankish woman passed by me, and it is the custom of the women of the Franks to walk unveiled (*bilā niqāb*) in the market. So she came to buy flax from me, and I saw of her beauty what dazzled my wit. So I sold her somewhat and was easy concerning the price; and she took it and went away. Some days later, she returned and I sold her some and I was yet easier about the price than the first time. She repeated her visits to me and understood that I was in love with her. It was her custom to walk in the company of an old woman, so I said to the old woman who was with her: “I have become passionately infatuated by her love, can you ponder ways and means for me to get in touch with her?” So she said: “I will support you in this, but this secret shall not leave the company of us three—me, you, and her. Moreover, you have no choice but to spend money.” So I said to here: “If my spirit left me because of my encounter with her, this would be no great matter.”

Then Šahrazād became aware of the morning and silenced her permissible speech. And when the 895<sup>th</sup> night came, she said:

It has reached me, o happy king, that the old woman, when she answered the man, said to him: “But this secret shall not leave the company of us three—me, you, and her, moreover, you have no choice but to spend money.” So I said to here: “If my spirit left me because of my encounter with her, this would be no great matter.” So it was agreed that he would pay her fifty dinars and that she would come to him. So he procured the fifty dinars and gave them to the old woman. And when she had taken the fifty dinar, she said to him: “Go and prepare a place for her in your house and she will come to you tonight.” Then he said: “So I went home and prepared what I could of food, drink, candles, and sweets. My house overlooked the sea and this was in the season of summer. So I spread cushions on the rooftop. Then the Frankish woman came, and we drank and ate. Night fell and we lay down under the sky and the moon shone on us, and we enjoyed watching the reflection of the stars in the sea, when I said to myself: “Aren’t you ashamed before God almighty, being a stranger, under the sky and at the sea, to rebel against God most high with a

عَفَفْتُ عَنْ هَذِهِ النَّصْرَانِيَّةِ فِي هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةِ حَيَاءً مِنْكَ  
وُخُوفًا مِنْ عِقَابِكَ.

ثُمَّ إِنِّي نَمْتُ إِلَى الصُّبْحِ وَقَامْتُ فِي السَّحَرِ وَهِيَ غَضْبَى  
وَمَضَتْ إِلَى مَكَانِهَا، وَمَشَيْتُ أَنَا إِلَى حَانُوتِي فَجَلَسْتُ  
فِيهِ، وَإِذَا هِيَ قَدْ عَبَّرَتْ عَلَيَّ هِيَ وَالْعَجُوزُ وَهِيَ مُغْضَبَةٌ  
وَكَأَنَّهَا الْقَمَرُ، فَهَلَكْتُ وَقَلْتُ فِي نَفْسِي: مَنْ هُوَ أَنْتِ  
حَتَّى تَتْرَكِ هَذِهِ الْجَارِيَّةَ؟ هَلْ أَنْتِ السَّرِيَّةُ السَّقَطِيَّةُ، أَوْ  
بِشْرُ الْحَافِي، أَوْ الْجُنَيْدُ الْبَغْدَادِيُّ، أَوْ الْفُضَيْلُ بْنُ عِيَّاضٍ؟  
ثُمَّ لَحَقْتُ الْعَجُوزَ وَقَلْتُ لَهَا: ارْجِعِي إِلَيَّ بِهَا. فَقَالَتْ  
الْعَجُوزُ: وَحَقِّ الْمَسِيحِ مَا تَرْجِعُ إِلَيْكَ إِلَّا بِمِائَةِ دِينَارٍ.  
فَقَلْتُ: أَعْطِيكَ مِائَةَ دِينَارٍ. ثُمَّ أَعْطَيْتُهَا الْمِائَةَ دِينَارَ  
وَجَاءَتْ إِلَيَّ ثَانِي مَرَّةً، فَلَمَّا صَارَتْ عِنْدِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى  
تِلْكَ الْفِكْرَةِ، فَعَفَفْتُ عَنْهَا وَتَرَكْتُهَا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى، ثُمَّ مَضَيْتُ  
وَمَشَيْتُ إِلَى مَوْضِعِي. ثُمَّ عَبَّرَتْ عَلَيَّ الْعَجُوزُ وَهِيَ  
غَضْبَى، فَقُلْتُ لَهَا: ارْجِعِي بِهَا إِلَيَّ. فَقَالَتْ: وَحَقِّ  
الْمَسِيحِ، مَا بَقِيَتْ تَفْرَحُ بِهَا عِنْدَكَ إِلَّا بِخَمْسِمِائَةِ دِينَارٍ  
وَتَمُوتُ كَمَدًّا.

فَارْتَعِدْتُ لِذَلِكَ، وَعَزَمْتُ أَنْ أَغْرِمَ ثَمَنَ الْكَتَّانِ جَمِيعَهُ  
وَأَفْدِي نَفْسِي بِذَلِكَ، فَمَا شَعَرْتُ إِلَّا وَالْمَنَادِي يَنَادِي  
وَيَقُولُ: يَا مَعَاشِرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، إِنَّ الْهَدَنَةَ الَّتِي بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ  
قَدْ انْقَضَتْ، وَقَدْ أَهْمَلْنَا مَنْ هُنَا مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ جَمْعَةً  
لِيَقْضُوا أَشْغَالَهُمْ وَيَنْصَرَفُوا إِلَى بِلَادِهِمْ. فَانْقَطَعَتْ عَنِّي  
وَأَخَذْتُ فِي تَحْصِيلِ ثَمَنِ الْكَتَّانِ الَّذِي اشْتَرَاهُ مِنِّي النَّاسُ  
مَوْجَلًا وَالْمَقَابِضَةَ عَلَى مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُ، وَأَخَذْتُ مَعِيَ بَضَاعَةً  
حَسَنَةً، وَخَرَجْتُ مِنْ عَكَاءٍ وَأَنَا فِي قَلْبِي مِنَ الْإِفْرَنْجِيَّةِ مَا  
فِيهِ مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْمَحَبَّةِ وَالْعَشْقِ؛ لِأَنَّهَا أَخَذَتْ قَلْبِي وَمَالِي. ثُمَّ  
خَرَجْتُ وَسَرْتُ حَتَّى وَصَلْتُ دِمَشْقَ وَبَعْتُ الْبَضَاعَةَ الَّتِي

Christian woman, thus meriting the torments of fire? O God, I bear witness to you that I have abstained from this Christian woman this night, ashamed before you and fearing your punishment.”

So I slept till the morning, and she arose angrily at dawn and returned to her place. I went to my shop and sat down there; and presently she walked by me, as if she were the moon, followed by the old woman, who was angry; whereat my heart sank and I said to myself, “Who are you that you should forbear this girl (*al-ġāriyya*)? Are you *al-Sarrī al-Saqatī*<sup>1</sup> or *Bišr al-Barefoot*<sup>2</sup> or *al-Ġunayd of Baghdad*<sup>3</sup>, or *Fuḍayl bin ‘Iyād*?”<sup>4</sup> So I attached myself to the old woman and said to her: “Bring her to me again.” “By the truth of the Messiah, she said, ‘she will not return to you but for a hundred dinars!’” So I said: “I will give you a hundred dinars.” So I gave her the hundred dinars and she came to me a second time; but no sooner was she with me than I returned to my former thought and abstained from her and forbore her for the sake of God the Most High. So she left and I walked to my shop, and presently the old woman came up, in a rage. So I said to her, “Bring her to me again.” And she answered, “By the truth of the Messiah, you shall never again rejoice in her presence with you, except for five hundred dinars, and you shall perish miserably.”

At this I trembled and resolved to sacrifice the whole price of my flax and ransom myself therewith. But, before I could think, I heard the urban watch (*al-munādī*) calling, saying, “O Muslims, the truce between us and you has expired, and we have given all of the Muslims present here a week [literally: a Friday] to finish their business and depart to their country.” So she was separated from me and I betook myself to getting in the price for my flax, that the people had bought from me, and bartered for what remained in my hands. I took nice merchandise with me and departed from Acre, full of love and longing for the Frankish woman, because she had taken my heart and my money. I departed

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Sarrī al-Saqatī* (d. 253/867), an important Sūfī of the second generation of Sūfīs in Baghdad.

<sup>2</sup> *Bišr al-Ḥafī* (d. 226/840 or 227/841–842), another Sūfī saint from Merv who is known for his pious conversion.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Ġunayd* (d. 298/910), a famous Sūfī from Baghdad and disciple of *al-Sarrī al-Saqatī*.

<sup>4</sup> *Fuḍayl bin ‘Iyād* (d. 187/803), an early Sūfī saint who converted from being a highway robber.

أخذتها من عكاء بأقصى ثمن لانقطاع وصولها بسبب انقضاء مدة الهدنة، ومنَّ الله سبحانه وتعالى عليَّ بكسبٍ جيد، وصرْتُ أُجْر في جوارِي السَّيِّ لِيذهب ما بقلبي من الإفرنجية، ولازمتُ التجارةَ فيهن، فمضتُ عليَّ ثلاثَ سنوات وأنا بتلك الحالة، وجرى للملك الناصر مع الإفرنج ما جرى من الوقائع ونصره الله عليهم وأسرَ جميعَ ملوكهم وفتح بلاد الساحل بإذن الله تعالى، فاتفق أنه جاء رجل وطلب مني جارية للملك الناصر، وكان عندي جارية حسناء فعرضتها عليه، فاشتراها له مني بمائة دينار، فأوصلني تسعين دينارًا وبقي لي عشرة دنائير، فلم يجدوها في خزنته ذلك اليوم؛ لأنه أنفق الأموال جميعها في حرب الإفرنج، فأخبروه بذلك، فقال الملك: امضوا به إلى خزنة السَّيِّ وخيروه بين بنات الإفرنج ليأخذ واحدةً منهن في العشرة دنائير.

وأدرك شهرزاد الصباح، فسكتت عن الكلام المباح. فلما كانت الليلة السادسة والتسعون بعد الثمانمائة قالت:

بلغني أيها الملك السعيد، أن الملك الناصر لما قال: خيروه في واحدةٍ منهن ليأخذها في العشرة دنائير التي له، أخذوني وتوجَّهوا بي إلى خزنة السَّيِّ، فنظرتُ ما فيها وتأملتُ في جميع السَّيِّ فرائث الجارية الإفرنجية التي كنتُ تعلَّقتُ بها وعرفتُها حق المعرفة، وكانت امرأةً فارسٍ من فرسان الإفرنج، فقلتُ: أعطوني هذه. فأخذتها ومضيتُ إلى خيمتي وقلتُ لها: أتعرفيني؟ قالت: لا. قلتُ: أنا صاحبك الذي كنتُ أتاخر في الكُتَّان، وقد جرى لي معك ما جرى، وأخذتُ مني الذهب وقلتُ: ما بقيتُ تنظرنِي إلا بخمسمائة دينار، وقد أخذتُك ملكًا بعشرة دنائير. فقالت: هذا سرُّ دينك الصحيح، أنا أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله، وأشهد أن محمدًا رسول الله. فأسلمتُ وحسُنَ إسلامها، فقلتُ في نفسي: والله لا أفضي إليها إلا بعد عتقها وإطلاع القاضي. فرُحْتُ إلى ابن شداد

and travelled until I reached Damascus, where I sold my merchandise, that I had brought from Acre, at a great price, because such wares had ceased to arrive because the period of truce had ended. God, blessed and exalted be He, vouchsafed me a good profit. Then I turned to trafficking in captive slave-girls to free myself from my feelings for the Frankish woman. So I continued this trade for three years and remained in this state, until what happened to al-Malik al-Nāṣir with the Franks in these events [Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn?]. God gave him the victory over them, so that he took all their kings prisoners and conquered the cities on the coast by His leave. It so happened that a man came to me and asked me for a slave-girl for al-Malik al-Nāṣir. I had a handsome girl; so I showed her to him and he bought her from me for a hundred dinars, but he gave me ninety dinars with ten dinars still due to me, for on that day, they did not find them in his treasury since he had spent all of it in the war against the Franks. So they informed him about this, and the ruler said: “Bring him to the lodging of the captives and allow him to choose among the girls of the Franks, so he may take one of them for ten dinars.”

Then Šahrazād became aware of the morning and silenced her worthy speech. And when the 896<sup>th</sup> night came, she said:

It has reached me, oh happy king, that al-Malik al-Nāṣir said: “‘Bring him to the lodging of the captives and allow him to choose among the girls of the Franks, so he may take one of them for the ten dinars that are due to him.’ So they took me along and brought me to the captives’ lodging, and I looked around considering all the captives, when I saw the Frankish slave-girl (*al-ġāriyya al-ifranġiyya*) to whom I had become attached and whom I knew very well. Now she was the wife of one of the Frankish knights. So I said, “Give me this one.” So I took her and brought her to my tent, and said to her, “Do you recognise me?” She answered “No.” And I said, “I am your friend (*ṣāhibuki*) who used to trade in flax, and this is what happened to me with you. You took gold from me and said, ‘You shall never again see me but for five hundred dinars.’ And now you have become my property for ten dinars.” She said, “This is the secret of your correct religion, and I testify that there is no god but God

وحكيث له ما جرى وعقد لي عليها، ثم بعد ذلك بثُّ معها فحملت، ثم رحل العسكر وأتيننا دمشق، فما كان إلا أيام قلائل وأتى رسول الملك يطلب الأسارى والسبي باتفاقي وقَعَ بين الملوك، فزُد كلٌّ مَنْ كان أسيراً من النساء والرجال، ولم يَبَقْ إلا المرأة التي عندي، فقالوا: إن امرأة الفارس فلان لم تحضر.

وسألوا عنها وأخووا في السؤال والكشف، فأخبروا بأنها عندي، فطلبوها مني، فحضرْتُ وأنا في شِدَّة الوَلَه وقد تغيَّر لوني. فقالت لي: ما لك، وما الذي أصابك؟ فقلت: جاء رسول الملك يأخذ الأسارى جميعهم وطلبوك مني. فقالت: لا بأس عليك، أوصلي إلى الملك وأنا أعرف الذي أقوله بين يديه. قال: أخذتها وأحضرتها قدام السلطان الملك الناصر، ورسول ملك الإفرنج جالس على يمينه. وقلت: هذه المرأة التي عندي. فقال لها الملك الناصر والرسول: أتروحين إلى بلادك أم إلى زوجك؟ فقد فكَّ الله أسرك أنت وغيرك.

فقالت للسلطان: أنا قد أسلمتُ وحملتُ وها بطني كما ترون، وما بقيت الإفرنج تنتفع بي. فقال الرسول: أما أحبُّ إليك، أهذا المسلم أم زوجك الفارس فلان؟ فقالت له كما قالت للسلطان. فقال الرسول لمن معه من الإفرنج: هل سمعتم كلامها؟ قالوا: نعم. ثم قال لي الرسول: خذ امرأتك وامض بها. فمضيتُ بها، ثم إنه أرسل خلفي عاجلاً وقال: إن أمها أرسلت إليها معي وديعةً وقالت: إن بنتي أسيرة وهي عريانة، ومرادي أن توصل إليها هذا الصندوق، فخذهُ وسلِّمه إليها. فتسلَّمتُ الصندوق ومضيتُ به إلى الدار وأعطيتها لها،

and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!" So she became Muslim and her Islam became sincere. Then said I to myself, "By God, I will not attain to her until I have set her free and notified the judge." So I went to Ibn Šaddād and told him what had happened and he married me to her. Then I lay with her that night and she conceived; after this the troops departed and we returned to Damascus. Only a few days later a messenger from the king came asking for the prisoners according to the treaty concluded between the rulers. So he [al-Malik al-Nāṣir] restored all the men and women he held in captivity, until there remained only the woman who was with me. And they [the Franks] said, "The wife of the knight so-and-so has not appeared."

So they enquired after her and engaged in questioning and searching, and were informed that she was with me. Whereupon they demanded her from me and I went to her, mad with grief and pale in the face; and she said to me, "What is wrong and what has happened to you?" So I said, "A messenger of the king has come who takes home all the captives, and they demand you from me." "Do not worry," she answered; "bring me to the king and I know what to say to him." So I brought her before the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and the messenger from the king of the Franks was seated on his right, and I said, "This is the woman that is with me." So al-Malik al-Nāṣir and the messenger said to her, "Will you go back to you country or to your husband? For God has set you and others free."

So she said, "I have become a Muslim and am pregnant, and here is my belly as you can see. I am of no use to the Franks anymore." So the messenger said, "Who is dearer to you, this Muslim or your husband, the knight so-and-so?" So she answered him as she had answered the sultan. Then the messenger said to the Franks who were with him, "Have you heard her words?" They answered, "Yes." Then the messenger said to me, "Take you wife and depart with her." So I took her along; but the messenger sent after me in haste and said, "Her mother sent her a charge by me, saying, 'My daughter is a captive and naked: and I would have you deliver this chest to her.' So take it and bring it to her." Accordingly, I carried the chest home and gave

ففتحتُه فرأت فيهِ قماشها بعينه ووجدت الصرَّين  
الذهب والخمسين دينارًا والمائة دينار، فرأيتُ الجميع  
برباطي لم يتغيَّر منها شيء، وحمدت الله تعالى، وهؤلاء  
الأولاد منها، وهي تعيش إلى الآن، وهي التي عملتُ  
لكم هذا الطعام. فتعجَّبنا من حكايته وما حصل له من  
الحظ، والله أعلم.

it to her. She opened it and found in it all her clothes, and found the two purses of gold with the fifty and the hundred dinars. And I saw all this tied up with my own ties and untouched, wherefore I praised God Most High. These are my children by her and she lives to this day, and it is she who has prepared this food for you.' And we marvelled at his story and at the good fortune that had befallen him, and God is All-knowing.

## Authorship & Work

[§1] In the collection of stories known as “1001 Nights,” defining authorship is a complicated affair. As is well known, the entire collection of stories is told by Šahrazād, daughter of the vizier to the king Šahriyār. To avoid being killed by the psychologically deranged king of Samarqand, she tells him enchanting stories for a period of 1001 nights. She breaks off her narration at dawn, thus forcing the king to let her live another day to hear the end of the story and the beginning of a new one. This particular episode is told by the amīr Šuġā‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the prefect (*mutawallī*) of Cairo. He reports on a soirée at the house of the man from Upper Egypt who is asked to explain why he and his children differ so much in terms of the colour of their skin. Thus enters the nameless man from Upper Egypt as the first-person narrator of his own personal history.

[§2] The collection of stories that developed to become the 1001 nights is assigned to the eighth or ninth century by some scholars, with a ninth-century manuscript dating from 266/879 featuring the title “Book which contains the narrative of thousand nights” (*kitāb fīhi ḥadīṭ alf layla*) as well as fragments of the framing story involving Šahrazād.<sup>5</sup> In the tenth century, the bibliophiles al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956) and Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c. 385–388/995–998) provided further details. Al-Mas‘ūdī speaks of the translation of texts from Iran, India, and the Graeco-Roman sphere<sup>6</sup> and refers to a Middle Persian work called *Hazār afsānah*, translated to Arabic as “A Thousand Fantastic Tales” in this context.<sup>7</sup> This is replicated by Ibn al-Nadīm. Both give a short summary of the framing story, with al-Mas‘ūdī referring additionally to the story of Sindbād, and Ibn al-Nadīm claiming that the work

“contains a thousand nights and less than two hundred night stories, for the narration of a story often lasted through several nights. I have seen it in its entirety several times. It is in reality a worthless book of silly tales.”<sup>8</sup>

[§3] It is clear that a tenth-century collection of tales could not yet contain a story set in the late twelfth century. The evolution of this collection of stories was traced by Muḥsin Maḥdī who re-edited the Arabic manuscript used by Antoine Galland (1646–1715)<sup>9</sup> to produce the first French translation of this work between 1704 and 1717. Galland’s translation was not faithful to the manuscript text and added a number of stories not contained in the manuscript.<sup>10</sup> Maḥdī

<sup>5</sup> Abbot, Ninth-Century Fragment; al-Musawi, *Arabian Nights*, p. 177; Marzolph, *Arabian Nights*, chap. 3.1.

<sup>6</sup> Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūġ al-ḍahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille, Pellat, vol. 2, § 1416 [cap. IV, 90], pp. 406.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 304; Abbot, Ninth-Century Fragment, pp. 150–151; al-Musawi, *Arabian Nights*, p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> Bauden, *Nouveaux éclaircissements*, pp. 1–66; Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 23–29, 132–134.

<sup>10</sup> Marzolph, *Arabian Nights*, chap. 3.3.

assumes that the first collection (*al-umm al-qadīma*) stems from the third/ninth century and compiled stories of earlier provenance. Throughout the fourth/tenth to the eighth/fourteenth centuries, this collection was enriched on the basis of oral and written accounts (*rawāt al-qīṣaṣ wa-mu'allifūhā*, *al-maṣādir al-adabiyya*) to produce an enlarged collection (*al-umm*). Its copy (*al-dustūr*) then served as the basis for the manuscript used by Galland, whose origins are located in Syria. Against Heinz Grotzfeld, who dates this manuscript to the early ninth/fifteenth century,<sup>11</sup> Mahdī assigns it to the late seventh/thirteenth century, its copy to the eighth/fourteenth century. From then on, the collection of stories developed independently in a Syrian and in an Egyptian branch, both of which fanned out into different directions.<sup>12</sup>

[§4] “Full” collections of the Arabic text were only produced in reaction to European demands after the enormous success of Galland’s translation. The first, allegedly “complete” prints of the Arabic text were produced in the nineteenth century in the Būlāq Press in Cairo, in Calcutta, and in Breslau.<sup>13</sup> They form the basis for all ensuing translations into European languages after Galland’s first effort. In these most comprehensive editions of the collection of 1001 nights, we find different chronological and geographical layers of texts, ranging from a pre-Islamic Indian and Persian stratum via stories centering in and around ‘Abbāsīd Baghdad in the eighth and ninth centuries, stories dealing with the south and east Asian Muslim diaspora of the same period, and then stories from Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Syria and Egypt.<sup>14</sup>

[§5] The story treated here hails from this latest stratum. It does not form part of the Arabic manuscript used by Galland and edited by Mahdī, but is part of the editions of Breslau, Calcutta II and Būlāq II.<sup>15</sup> The story, however, cannot be regarded as a very late addition since it already appears, almost verbatim, in al-Ġuzūlī’s (d. 815/1412) anthology “Views of the Full Moons into the Homesteads of Pleasure” (*Maṭāli‘ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*) as one of a cycle of six stories.<sup>16</sup> It is also part of the work “Fruits of the Lectures in the Reading Sessions” (*Tamarāt al-awraq fī l-muḥāḍarāt*) by Ibn Ḥiğga al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434) who, in fact assigns the narrator of the story, the prefect of Cairo, Šuġa‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad, to the ruling period of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. He even dates the narration to the year 603/1207 before proceeding to tell the story in a slightly variant wording.<sup>17</sup>

[§6] We thus have a story before us that came into being approximately in the two-and-a-half centuries after the age of Saladin, who figures so prominently in the tale. It may have already originated in the Ayyūbid period, i.e. in the early seventh/thirteenth century, but—apart from the story’s historical context and Ibn Ḥiğga’s dating of the narrative to the year 603/1207—there is no concrete evidence to corroborate this. It belongs to a small group of stories within the collection of 1001 nights that involve “Franks,” i.e. Latin Christians, and are set in the milieu of the Levant of the crusading era.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Grotzfeld, *The Age*, pp. 50–64.

<sup>12</sup> Mahdī, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 27, with the stemma; Grotzfeld, *Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 17–21.

<sup>13</sup> Calcutta I, ed. Aḥmad al-Širwānī, Calcutta, 1814–1818; Breslau, ed. Maximilian Habicht and Heinrich L. Fleischer, 12 vols, 1825–1843; Būlāq I, no editor, 2 vols, 1835; Calcutta II, ed. William Hay Macnaghten, 4 vols, 1839–1842; Būlāq II, no editor, 4 vols, 1862. See Marzolph, *Arabian Nights*, chap. 3.6.

<sup>14</sup> Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 123, 255.

<sup>15</sup> Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 288–289, 574, 597, 607, 634, 640, Appendix 1.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Ġuzūlī, *Maṭāli‘ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 207–214; Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 288; Torrey, *The Story*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥiğga al-Ḥamawī, *Tamarāt al-awraq*, no editor, vol. 1, p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 87 [‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Šāmāt], 98–99 [‘Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle-girl], 212 [Ḥasan, the King of Egypt], 434 [‘Umar b. al-Nu‘mān and His Sons—with reference to Frankish clothes]. Other examples in: Christie, *Noble Betrayers*, pp. 84–98; Irwin, *Image*, pp. 226–242.

## Content & Context

[§7] In the story carrying the title “The Man from Upper Egypt and his Frankish Wife” (*Hikāyat al-Ṣaʿīdī wa-zawġatihi al-ifranġiyya*), a merchant from Upper Egypt becomes infatuated with a Frankish woman in the city of Acre, where he is trying to sell flax for a high profit. He arranges to meet her at his house three times in exchange for a rising sum of money, but shies away from amorous engagement with her during the first two meetings, fearing that God will punish him for having succumbed to the charms of a Christian woman in a period clearly marked by intensified Christian-Muslim warfare. The third meeting does not take place because the city’s herald asks all Muslims to leave the city within a week since the Frankish–Ayyūbid truce that had facilitated commercial and other forms of exchange between Muslims and Christians has ended. Still infatuated, the man from Upper Egypt moves to Damascus and engages in trading slave girls to get his mind away from the Frankish woman. After Saladin’s military successes in and after the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn, the man finds the Frankish woman among the sultan’s captives and receives her as compensation for a debt of ten dinars that the sultan is not able to pay him. Having become the property of a man who has previously been obliged to pay for seeing her, the Frankish woman acknowledges the power and truth of Islam and converts. The man from Upper Egypt decides to free and marry her. When a Frankish ambassador seeks to ransom all Frankish prisoners, the man from Upper Egypt fears to lose his beloved again, but is saved by his wife’s refusal to return to the Frankish lands and her former husband. From her mother, she receives a chest with her private belongings, including the money the man from Upper Egypt had paid to her in Acre to be able to see her. The whole story is framed as an account given by the man from Upper Egypt himself during a soirée at his house where he entertains several guests, including the prefect (*mutawallī*) of Cairo. His account is sparked by a question raised by the guests as to why the man’s skin colour is so much darker than that of his children.

[§8] As opposed to other stories from and beyond the collection of 1001 Nights, the story does not contain magical or fantastic elements. Yet we are dealing with fiction that bends realities to meet the needs of the narrative. The stated fact that Saladin was not able to pay ten dinars for a slave girl because he had invested so much money into fighting the Franks smacks of Ayyūbid propaganda. That Saladin should have purchased a slave girl for 100 dinars and then compensated the lacking ten dinars by letting the man from Upper Egypt choose a slave girl of his liking for merely ten dinars is devoid of logic. In front of the sultan and the Frankish ambassador, the Frankish woman displays her protruding belly to show that she is pregnant and cannot return home anymore. According to the story, however, the sexual act that led to this pregnancy does not seem to have taken place several months before the woman’s encounter with the sultan and the Frankish ambassador. According to the man from Upper Egypt, his Frankish wife conceived, the troops then departed, the couple returned to Damascus, and “only a few days later” the Frankish ambassador came asking for the prisoners. Apart from such smaller inconsistencies, the story is embedded in a historical context that features concrete events and persona.

[§9] The sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, is obviously Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, r. 567–589/1171–1193), the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt.<sup>19</sup> The Franks’ crushing defeat obviously refers to the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn on 24 Rabiʿ II 583/4 July 1187 that led to the surrender of many towns and fortresses, including Jerusalem, to the Ayyūbid forces.<sup>20</sup> Ibn Ṣaddād, the judge (*qāḍī*) who marries the man from Upper Egypt to the Frankish woman, can probably be equated with Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ b. Tamīm b. Ṣaddād (d. 632/1235), author of Saladin’s biography “Sultan Prodigies and Merits of Joseph” (*al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-maḥāsin al-*

<sup>19</sup> Richards, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

<sup>20</sup> Richards, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; Buhl and Cahen, Ḥiṭṭīn.



*Yūsufiyya*) or simply “Biography of Saladin” (*Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*). Ibn Ṣaddād entered Saladin’s service in Ġumādā I 584/July 1188, i.e. after the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn. As *qāḍī* of the army and of Jerusalem he remained in the sultan’s surroundings until Saladin’s death in 589/1193.<sup>21</sup>

[§10] According to Michael Köhler, a truce between Saladin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem ended in April 1182. In view of factionalism and associated tensions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Saladin concluded a separate peace treaty with Raymond III of Tripolis (d. 1187) and Bohemund III of Antioch (d. 1201) in September 1182 and summer 1183, respectively. After the death of King Balduin IV of Jerusalem (r. 1174–1185), Raymond III of Tripolis served as the kingdom’s steward (*bailli*) and, in this context, concluded a truce of four years around April 1185. This truce was broken by Reynald of Châtillon (d. 1187) on 13 March 1187, with the ensuing Ayyūbid–Frankish hostilities leading to the Frankish defeat of Ḥiṭṭīn, the surrender of Jerusalem, Saladin’s conquest of Acre and of the entire coast from Gaza to Ġubayl until D̡jumādā II / early September 1187. These events then led to the Third Crusade.<sup>22</sup>

[§11] Inserting the chronology of the story into this historical context raises some difficulties. According to the story, the man from Upper Egypt went to Acre when it was still ruled by the Franks. This must have been after Saladin’s truce with Raymond III of Tripolis in 1185 and some time before the end of this truce on 13 March 1187. He supposedly spent a few months there, given that he had sold his flax for six months of credit and had rented a house overlooking the sea. The end of the truce is said to have forced him to move to Damascus. This would have happened in early 584/March 1187 when Reynald of Châtillon provoked the beginning of Saladin’s campaign.<sup>23</sup> In Damascus, he first sold his merchandise for great profit during the period of hostilities, and then became a slave trader, possibly profiting from the great number of captives that became available after the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn on 24 Rabī‘ II 583 / 4 July 1187.<sup>24</sup> Yet the story claims that he engaged in slave trade “for three years (...) until what happened to al-Malik al-Nāṣir with the Franks in these events.” In this context, Saladin’s conquests of the cities on the coast are mentioned explicitly. The story thus suggests an impossible chronology, i.e. that the trader began trading in slaves in 1187 for a period of three years and then stopped doing so in the same year of 1187.

[§12] Moreover, the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn and the surrender of Jerusalem do not seem to have led to a single act of redeeming the prisoners that brought a messenger from the Frankish king to Saladin, as is suggested in the story. The ruling Frankish king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan (d. 1194) had become captive himself. According to Yohanan Friedman, several sources, including papal letters, testify to “vigorous efforts to promote the release of captives using international connections and diplomacy.”<sup>25</sup> In sum, the story suggests a historical framework, but subjects historical facts and details to the exigencies of the story’s romantic narrative of an infatuated man finding his beloved amid the turbulences of war.

## Contextualization, Analysis & Interpretation

[§13] The story of the man from Upper Egypt and his Frankish wife is a fictional text that adheres to certain narrative patterns. Thus, it presents us with a retrospective literary embellishment of the historical realities that characterised Frankish–Ayyūbid relations in the late twelfth century. Notwithstanding this, it provides insight into a large variety of topics, most

<sup>21</sup> Shayyal, Ibn Ṣaddād.

<sup>22</sup> Köhler, *Allianzen*, pp. 306, 311, 322, 329–330, 335, 337, 339, 343–344, 347, 350; Hamilton, *Leper King*; Böhme, 1174: Letter of Condolence.

<sup>23</sup> Friedman, *Encounters*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Friedman, *Encounters*, pp. 44, 149.

<sup>25</sup> Friedman, *Encounters*, p. 88 (quote); *ibid.*, pp. 7, 86–88, 124–125; Richard, *Prisonniers et leur rachat*.

notably the expectations, imaginaries, and the notions of what seemed fitting, acceptable, possible, and even plausible to a Muslim audience that would have heard this story, perhaps from the Ayyūbid period onwards. The story can thus be read as the product of a literary historicisation of a triumphant moment in the Muslim history of the crusades, a kind of popular narrative version of al-Qalqaṣandī's (d. 821/1418) intellectual historicisation of the crusading period.<sup>26</sup> The following paragraphs will first expose the narrative patterns that underly this story and then turn to the issues of slavery and captivity, romance, and interreligious communication that are addressed in the story.

[§14] The story can be classified as pertaining to the genre of Arabic folk epic, which often demonises the Franks,<sup>27</sup> but also features positive depictions of Frankish women who convert to Islam. It thus builds on the narrative pattern of an “infidel” woman converting to the true religion, which also exists in other Arabic stories from this period.<sup>28</sup> In this standard narrative, an amorous relationship develops between a Muslim man and a Christian woman, which eventually leads to her conversion and full integration into the Islamic sphere. Since the convert is always female, some scholars claim that this narrative pattern demonstrates, not only the superiority of Islam, but also a religious gender hierarchy, in which the dominant male from the dominant religion subjects the female “Other.”<sup>29</sup> Some of the story's elements point into this direction: At least initially, the man from Upper Egypt is slightly scandalised by the fact that Frankish women go shopping without carrying a veil, thus exposing their beauty to strange men. In the arrangement he finds with her governess, the Frankish woman is described as available for purchase. Her anger at being repudiated by the man from Upper Egypt defines her as a woman interested in sexual relations. The later part of the story even suggests that she may have been married to a Frankish knight at this time. The man's triumph that the woman who has made him pay to see her has become his “property for ten dinars,” and her ensuing acknowledgement of the power and truth of Islam prove that the story plays with the issue of dominance both on the level of gender and religion.

[§15] This narrative pattern is also found in late medieval Christian texts and thus seems to be a shared feature of Christian and Muslim literary traditions dealing with the respective religious Other in and beyond the crusading period. In the Christian texts, it is the “Saracen” woman who engages in an amorous relationship with a Christian man and is eventually won over to the true faith and fully integrated into the Christian sphere. Focusing on the “Saracen princess” who eventually marries a Christian knight after having converted to Christianity, specialists in Romance and Germanic literatures highlight these narratives' racial topoi, their tendency to demonise Muslims in general, and to “whiten” Muslim women in particular within a literary framework that incorporates the Muslim female through subjugation and sexual possession.<sup>30</sup>

[§16] To today's readers it may seem morally repulsive that the issue of female slavery and its sexual implications is regarded as completely normal by the narrators of this story. Trading in female slaves or taking advantage of them with the aim of distracting oneself is not judged morally, but is even presented as a method of psychological compensation to alleviate the emotional suffering of the main protagonist, the man from upper Egypt.<sup>31</sup> This form of dealing with the phenomenon of slavery, and particular female slavery, is characteristic of the late

<sup>26</sup> König, 1412: al-Qalqaṣandī.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. in the *Sīrat Baybars*: Vidal Luengo, *Conflict Resolution*, pp. 474–480.

<sup>28</sup> Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 640.

<sup>29</sup> Christie, *Noble Betrayers*, pp. 84–98; Irwin, *Image*, p. 231.

<sup>30</sup> Weever, *Sheeba's Daughters*; Le, *Reconsidering Medieval Orientalism*, p. 5; Ailes, *Desiring the Other*, pp. 173–188; Comfort, *Literary Role*, pp. 628–629, 659; Norris, *Arabic Folk Epic*, p. 129; Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, pp. 15–45, 46–104; Deimann, *Zu den Gesetzen*.

<sup>31</sup> Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 705.

medieval period, in which household slavery was an accepted fact in all societies around the Mediterranean, be they ruled by Muslims or Christians.<sup>32</sup>

[§17] In the story, the man from upper Egypt manumits the Frankish woman before marrying and having sexual intercourse with her. From a legal point of view, marriage would not have been necessary. Islamic law makes provisions for unfree women who procreate children with their Muslim masters. If the Frankish woman had given birth to the man's child while still being his slave, she would have received the status of a "mother of a child / of offspring" (*umm al-walad*) and would have been entitled to manumission at his death, whereas her child would have been accepted as his legal heir.<sup>33</sup>

[§18] More interesting is the question whether Islamic law would have defined concubinage with a married captive woman as licit, i.e. how it would have dealt with the issue that the Frankish woman was in fact married to a Frankish knight. In an Andalusī context, for example, Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 456/1064) *Zāhirī* compilation of Islamic law considers marriages of non-Muslim captives from the non-Muslim sphere (*dār al-ḥarb*) legally valid, regardless of whether their spouse has remained behind or not.<sup>34</sup> In this case, however, there is no legal issue since the Frankish woman converts to Islam before entering a sexual or marital relationship with the man from Upper Egypt. According to Ṣāfi'ī law, the Islamic legal school (*madhhab*) propagated by Saladin, the Frankish woman had broken the marriage bond to her Christian husband by converting to Islam, "because a Muslim woman is not permissible for a polytheist under any circumstances."<sup>35</sup> The relationship between the Frankish woman and the man from Upper Egypt thus adheres to the normative framework formulated by Islamic law.

[§19] The whole story insists that the man is really infatuated with the Frankish woman. He needs to get his mind off her after his forced departure from Acre, and he makes it a point of honour to first manumit and then marry her before engaging with her sexually. The possibility of losing her again to the Frankish ambassador makes him "mad with grief and pale in the face." The story also suggests that his feelings are reciprocated. The Frankish wife consoles her husband when he fears losing her to the Franks by telling him that she will devise a solution. Before the sultan and the ambassador, she argues that she "is of no use to the Franks anymore" since she has become Muslim and is pregnant. However, the text does not formulate her answer to the ambassador's question, whether "this Muslim" or her husband is dearer to her. She merely answers "as she had answered the sultan." While her statement that she is "of no use to the Franks anymore" could be interpreted as an expression of fear that she will not be able to re-integrate into Frankish society, the general impression is that she has not merely resigned to her fate, but has made a conscious decision to stay with the man from Upper Egypt and to rear children with him.

[§20] Because of its fictional nature, the story of the man from Upper Egypt and his Frankish wife provides insight into the possibilities of interreligious Christian-Muslim relations that are rarely gleaned from legal, historiographical, or other genres. These tend to ignore the living conditions of people who do not belong to the higher echelons of society. The story does not only present us with a man trading in flax, undefined merchandise from Acre, and slave girls, but also with the wife of a Frankish knight, her governess, and her mother, as they are confronted with the commercial, political, and military realities in Syria and Egypt of the late

<sup>32</sup> Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques*.

<sup>33</sup> Schacht, *Umm al-Walad*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, vol. 10, ed. al-Dimašqī, mas'ala 1940, pp. 132–33.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Ṣāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, ed. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalab, vol. 5, *kitāb al-ḡihad wa-l-ḡizya*, lib. 32, cap. 2118, p. 666; or: al-Ṣāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, no editor (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), vol. 4, p. 287: "yanbaḡī an yaqūl fī l-mar'a tuslim qabla l-raḡul qad inqata'at al-'iṣma baynahumā li'anna l-muslima lā taḥill li-mušrik bi-hāl."

twelfth century. The story shows these people in interaction and consequently describes several acts of interreligious communication: the Muslim merchant negotiating with the Frankish woman's governess to be able to spend the night with his beloved for an agreed sum; the Christian herald announcing the end of the truce and asking all Muslims to leave the city within eight days; the merchant revealing himself to the captive woman; the woman's explanation why she prefers to stay with her Muslim husband rather than return to the Frankish knight in front of Saladin and the Frankish ambassador responsible for redeeming Frankish prisoners of war; finally the information given by the ambassador to the Muslim merchant that the woman's mother would like her to have her personal belongings now that she would not return home anymore.<sup>36</sup> All these details are subjected to narrative patterns that confirm religious and gender hierarchies while pursuing the trajectory of romantic and sexual fulfilment from a male perspective. Yet the story gives unique insights into the routines and pragmatics, the incalculable factors and concomitant complications, and the emotional facets of daily life in a historical constellation marked by Frankish–Muslim interaction in the era of the crusades. Divested of their ideological narrative framing, these details seem plausible, notwithstanding their literary elaboration.

[§21] “The Story of the Man from Upper Egypt and His Frankish Wife” is a fictional text that is first documented in the late Mamlūk period, but probably originated in the Ayyūbid period at the end of the seventh/thirteenth or the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century. Adhering to standardised narrative patterns, it reproduces hierarchies of religion and gender from a male Muslim perspective. As a piece of literature it historicises a triumphant moment in the Muslim history of the crusades. It mirrors the expectations, imaginaries, and the notions of what seemed fitting, acceptable, possible, and even plausible to a Muslim audience of this period. At the same time, the text has a strong emotional component, telling us the story of a Muslim man and a Frankish woman who manage to fulfil their romantic longing for each other despite the obstacles that are put in their path by the political and military tensions of their time. In this way, the story provides insights into the possibilities and intricacies of Christian–Muslim relations and communication that are not found in many other sources.

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## Edition(s) & Translation(s)

[in chronological order of the story's reproduction]

Al-Ġuzūlī (d. 815/1412), *Maṭāli‘ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, 2 vols, Cairo: Matba‘at Idārat al-Waṭan, 1882–1883, vol. 1, pp. 207–214 [the sixth night in a tale of six nights, with almost identical wording of the Calcutta II version].

Ibn Ḥiġġa al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), *Tamarāt al-awraq fī l-muḥāḍarāt*, no editor, 2 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-ġumhūriyya al-‘arabiyya, no date, vol. 1, p. 201–205, URL: <https://shamela.ws/book/11056/199#p1> (access 27.05.2024) [Arabic text with slight variants of the Calcutta II version].

*Alf layla wa-layla / The Alif Laila, or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, ed. Wilyam Ḥayy Maknāṭin / William H. MacNaghten, Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew's Library, 1842, vol. 4, pp. 353–357, URN: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-19702> [Arabic text, so-called Calcutta II edition].

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<sup>36</sup> Irwin, *Image*, pp. 232–233.

*Hāḍā Kitāb Alf laila wa-laila min al-mubtadā' ilā l-muntahā*, ed. Maximilian Habich and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer [on the basis of a manuscript from Tunis], vol. 10, Breslau: Hirt, 1842, pp. 421–429, URN: urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-31603.

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*Kitāb Alif layla wa-layla*, Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ruṣḍī Bak al-kā'ina bi-Būlāq, 1279/1862, vol. 4, pp. 200–203 [Būlāq II version].

*Alif layla wa-layla*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1328/1910, pp. 187–190 [reprint of Cairo: Maṭba'at Būlāq, 1279/1862, vol. 4, pp. 200–203, i.e. Būlāq II version].

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*The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night, A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments*, trans. Richard F. Burton, London: The Burton Club, 1885, vol. 9, pp. 19–24, URL: <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/3443/pg3443-images.html#chap02>; <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.35988/page/n33/mode/1up> (access 23.05.2024)

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