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A PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF
SOME MSS OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

In the course of editing the Galland and the Vatican MSS (hereafter G and V) of the Arabian Nights it has shown itself necessary to make some attempt towards an appraisal and genealogical classification of the other evidence, manuscript and printed. This investigation is not yet, by any means, complete; but the time seems come for at least a preliminary statement of the results so far reached. It may, perhaps, lead other students of the subject to communicate information as to MSS which are as yet unknown or insufficiently described and catalogued.

In *J.R.A.S.* for 1909 (pp. 685-704) I dealt in detail with Habicht's edition (Breslau, 1825-38, completed by Fleischer, 1842-3), and there showed, from his MSS, that this was a recension which he had himself constructed, and that there existed no such thing as a Tunisian MS or recension. His edition must be resolved into its component parts, that is the different MSS which he used, and these must be referred to their places in the general classification. Habicht "wilfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights."

Another divergent printed text, the classification of which has given much difficulty, is that commonly called "The I Calcutta," or "The Calcutta Edition of the first 200 Nights" (Calcutta, 2 vols., 1814, 1818). I can now prove that it is a descendant of the Galland MS; the proof will come below.

All the other printed texts, with the exception of some separate stories and fragments, belong to the recension which Zotenberg, in the *Notice* prefixed to his "Histoire d'Alâ al-Dîn," called "la rédaction égyptienne" (hereafter ZER). He considered that the complete text "n'a reçu sa forme actuelle qu'à une époque assez récente" (p. 52/217¹).

¹ On p. 47/213, he says that all these MSS were transcribed at the beginning of the XIXth century, or the end of the XVIIIth, and that they all derive from one single, original text, "dont la rédaction n'est peut-être pas de beaucoup antérieure."

Of this recension the I Bülâq Edition (A.H. 1251, A.D. 1835) is, in general, the best representative; the II Calcutta Edition (1839-42) is often fuller, but it can be shown that the editors have expanded it from I Calcutta and from Habicht's Breslau text. We have therefore no assurance that a *plus* in it stood in the MS brought from Egypt by Major Turner Macan. It is demonstrable, also, that the different MSS of this recension differ in details among themselves. Proof of this will come hereafter.

I turn now to the MSS. To classify the MSS of a book like the Nights, or to begin a classification of them, it is necessary to find a passage of difficulty as to sense which seems to call for emendation. I think I have found such a passage in the Story of the Fisherman and the Jinnî, which I printed fourteen years ago from G, in the Nöldeke *Festschrift* (pp. 357-383). It will be remembered that that story breaks into two parts having only a most mechanical connection with one another. The first part posits a Jinnî contemporary with Solomon, imprisoned by him in a brass *qum-qum*, and thus cut off from all contact with the world, who knows about a certain enchanted lake with enchanted fish in it, near the sea-shore where he is himself fished up. These fish are white, red, blue and yellow and have a covenant with a beautiful damsel and with a black slave. If any one tries to cook them, then, at the moment when they are turned in the pan, either the damsel or the black slave appears—which one comes seems to depend on whether the cook is a woman or a man—and asks if they hold to the covenant. They reply, "Yes, yes, if ye do it again, we will do it again", and if ye keep faith, we will keep faith; and if ye desert, we have done likewise." Apparently this answer is displeasing, for the fish are then overturned into the fire and are burned black. Further, the fisherman gets only four fish at each cast of his net, and is warned not to cast more than once in a day. As a matter of fact he does so three times in one day and nothing happens.

In the second part there is a lake with fish of four colours in it and there is a queen and a black slave. But

¹ Cf. a similar phrase in *Nuzhat-al-absâr wal-asmâ'*, p. 25, l. 14, of Cairo ed. A.H. 1305. In the printed forms of ZER this has been turned into a *basîf* verse; but in G V I Calcutta and Breslau it is plain prose.

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that is all. There is no covenant, no explanation of the cooking scenes, and the people are contemporaries of the fisherman and of his world. The first part has evidently a folk-lore motif, on which I will not enter now¹; the second part is a quite normal Muslim story of feminine depravity and enchantment. That the second part is the original ending of the first I cannot believe; that original ending must have been lost, and I think that it is just possible that the second part was roughly adjusted to the first by a change in the nature of the enchantment.

However all that may be, the join comes between the king's marching out with his army and court and finding the lake between the four hills, on the one hand, and the story told to the king by the young king of the Black Isles, on the other. At this story-telling "fault" I have chosen my test passage. The king determines to set out alone and investigate for himself the story which must lie behind the fish and the lake. He thus addresses his wazīr, in G (Night 20, vol. i, F. 27b; p. 373, ll. 13 ff. in my print in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*):

وفي غداة غد اجلس انت على باب خيمتي وقول للامرا الملك
متشوش وامرني ان لا اعطى احدا دستورا بالدخول عليه ولا تعلم احدا
بغدي ولا برواحي واستثنائي ثلاث ايام فقبل الوزير الامر وقال السمع
والطاعة ولم يقدر يخالفه ثم ان السلطان تحزم وشد عليه وتقلد بسيف
الملك وطلع من احد جبال البركة حتى بقى على ظهره ومسى بقيه
ليله الى الصباح فلما طلع النهار واضى بنوره ولاح وعلى وامتد على
صطح الجبل فنظر واذا قد لاح له سواد من بعد قال صاحب الحديث
فلما راه فرح به وقصده...

¹ The nearest folk-lore parallel to it in my knowledge is what is called in Scottish Gaelic "Taghairm," probably meaning "spirit call." It consisted in roasting cats alive on spits, until the devil appeared and granted the wishes of those who dared so to force him. This parallel, I may say, was approved by the late Professor Chauvin, who wrote to me that he had always been puzzled by the story. On Taghairm see especially John Gregorson Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 304 ff. and, also, Note 2T to Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. The story stimulated the imagination of later Muslim story-tellers; I know several other forms of it, all derivative. It seems to have suggested, also, to Keats his "to draw | His magian fish through hated fire and flame" (*Endymion*, iii, 264-5).

I translate:—"And to-morrow morning sit thou at the door of my tent and say to the Emirs, 'The King is indisposed and commanded me not to permit any one to go in to him.' And let no one know that I am away and journeying; but await me three days." Then the wazir accepted the command and said, "Hearing and obeying!" and he could not oppose him. Next, the Sultan put on his *hizām* and drew it tight upon him¹ and hung on him his royal sword and mounted on one of the hills surrounding (*lit.*, of) the lake until he was on its top. And he passed the rest of the night until dawn². Then when the day had appeared, and shone out with its light and gleamed and was high and extended over the flat top of the hill, he looked, and lo! there had appeared to him a blackness at a distance. So said the teller of the story. Then when he saw it he rejoiced at it and set out towards it...³

G was evidently written in Egypt, and Zotenberg in his *Notice* (p. 5/171) suggests for its date the second half of the XIVth century. Nöldeke, in his review of Zotenberg in *WZ.*, ii, pp. 168 ff., would make it even older; but local Cairene references in it indicate a date considerably younger than even that assigned by Zotenberg. I hope to deal with these elsewhere in connection with the older history of the Nights. It was sent to Galland from Syria after 1700 ("Il a fallu le faire venir de Syrie," Galland in the *Dédicace* to his first volume), and it was at the Syrian Tripoli in A.H. 955 = A.D. 1548, as we learn from a note in it. The Patrick Russell MS and the William Jones MS, descendants of it, were brought from Aleppo in the XVIIth century; of them more hereafter. The Vatican MS (Cod. Vat. Ar. 782) divides into two parts; the first extending to

¹ I have translated here rather pedantically because of the different reading, by error, I am sure, in V. On the *hizām* see Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 139 ff. and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. 1, with illustrations.

² I am quite aware that this is an uncommon use of *مسا* or *مسا*, but the context seems to require it. Cf. *رفق به = مسى السير* for every kind of *استلال*. It may also be *امسى* for *مسى*.

³ A comparison of this translation with Galland's French version will prove interesting. Galland evidently read *مشى* and that drove him to making the king come down from the hill again and walk on the plain. I do not think that any of the Arabic derivatives from G have adopted this method of escape.

F. 87b inclusive is not directly from G; but from a somewhat illegible descendant or collateral of G; the second part is an immediate transcript of G and has a dated colophon saying that it was transcribed in Aleppo in A.H. 1001 (=A.D. 1592-3). It is certain, therefore, that G was at Aleppo at that date.

In V, Night 20, F. 41 b, the same passage runs:

وفي غداة غد اجلس انت على باب خيمتي وقول للامراء الملك
مشوش وامرني ان لا اعطى احدًا دستورًا بالدخول عليه ولا تعلم احدًا
بفقدى ولا برواحي واستتاني ثلاثة ايام فقبل الوزير الامر وقال السمع
والطاعة ولم يقدر يخالفه ثم ان السلطان تحوّر وشدّ عدته وتقلد بسيف
الملك وطلع من احد جبال البركه حتى بقى على ظهره ومشى بقية
ليله الى الصباح فلما طلع الى النهار وأضى بنوره ولاح وامتد على
صطح الجبل فنظر واذا قد لاح له سواد من بعد قال صاحب الحديث
فلما راه فرح به وقصده...

There are only two considerable differences here, both for the worse. I have already referred (p. 307, note 1) to *عدته* instead of *عليه* after *وشدّ*. It seems due to an obscurely written MS; but the *عليه* in G is very clear. The other, *ومشى* instead of *ومسى*, has had portentous consequences. Once start the king walking instead of passing the night quietly on the hill-top, and ZER ends by making him walk all that night, all the next day until the sun was too strong for him and all the second night until dawn. What was his guide as to direction we are not told.

Nearest to G and V comes a MS in the library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It belonged to the late Sr. Gayangos and now forms part of the Colección Gayangos in that library, Nos. XLIX^{1&2}. It has been most kindly examined and described in detail for me by Professor Miguel Asín Palacios of the University of Madrid. It consists of 2 vols., forming vols. i and iii; vol. i contains Parts I and II, and vol. iii, Parts V-VII; vol. ii is lost. It is a modern MS of Christian origin and is not divided into Nights. Vol. i (Parts I and II) gives the tales in the order of G, down to the end of the Hunchback cycle.

Then comes *Hikāya Juḥā*. This is, in my knowledge, the only appearance of Juḥā in a MS of the Nights, although there is no reason why he should not so appear; a *Kitāb Nawādir Juḥā* is given in the *Fihrist* (p. 313, l. 21) under the rubric of the *Mughaffilīn*. See, too, Juḥā in the *Qāmūs* and *Tāj* and in the *Lisān* (vol. xvii, p. 189) where his *kunya* is given as Abū-l-ghuṣn. For the more modern Juḥā see René Basset's *Étude* prefixed to Mouléras' "Fourberies de Si Djeh'a." Thereafter comes the story of Anīs al-Jalīs, in the middle of which the volume closes. The lost second volume contained Parts III and IV, but what stories can only be guessed. The third volume (Parts V-VII) contains the long romance of King 'Umar an-Nu'mān and Sharr Kān, relieved in its dulness by several intercalated stories. In ZER the story of Tāj al-Mulūk, with that of 'Azīz and 'Azīza and the story of the ḥashīsh eater in the bath are so inserted. Here, to the story of Tāj al-Mulūk is added that of Ghānim and Qūt al-Qulūb, and to the ḥashīsh eater, the Sleeper and the Waker. There follow ten pages of robber stories and five pages of the Beast Fables which come also in ZER. The volume closes shortly after the beginning of the story of the Son of Adam and the Beasts.

It is plain that this MS does not belong to ZER, for there Ghānim follows Anīs al-Jalīs, and thereafter comes immediately the romance of 'Umar an-Nu'mān. Here a whole volume with two parts comes between. But that arrangement connects it with another class of MSS. In the Tübingen University Library there is a MS (No. 32) of this same romance of 'Umar, dated by Seybold (*Verzeichniss*, p. 75) at latest at the beginning of the XVth century. It consists of 209 leaves out of an original 219, numbered 286 to 506. It professes to be a second volume (*kitāb*) of the Nights, and Part (*juz'*) VII to XIII; the Nights are 283-542. Seybold unfortunately does not state what are the intercalated stories. Again, in the Rylands Library there is another MS of this romance (Arabic 706). Like the Tübingen MS it is very old and a large folio and has lost quite a number of its leaves. It begins on F. 31 (original numberings) in Part VI, Night 251 and ends on F. 263 in Part XII. The story of 'Umar an-Nu'mān begins on F. 57a, Night 281, and extends to the end of the MS; it includes

the stories of Tāj al-Mulūk and of Ghānim. The first part of the MS contains a story which I did not recognize when I examined it in Sept., 1914.

I conjecture that these three MSS represent an early recension of the Nights in which the contents of G formed the first quarter and the story of 'Umar formed the second quarter of the whole; it was earlier and quite different from ZER. The Christ Church MS mentioned by Jonathan Scott, in the preface to his edition of Galland (vol. i, p. x, ed. of 1811) may also be of this recension. It is of the story of 'Umar and contains Part VIII of the Nights: the Nights are not numbered. But I know no evidence which can decide whether, when G came from Egypt, it was part of such a complete recension, or whether it came as a fragment and this recension was a Syrian expansion.

The treatment, as to intercalation, of the story of 'Umar is somewhat similar in the two Paris MSS, which Zotenberg described in his *Notice*, pp. 17/183 ff. and 21/187 ff.

I give now the text of our passage in the Madrid MS (F. 49a, ll. 3-9):

وأمرني ان لا اعطى احدًا دستور بالدخول عليه ولا تعلم احدًا
بقصتي ولا برواحي وانتظرنى ثلاثة ايام فقال الوزير سمعًا وطاعة ولم
يقدر يخالفه: ثمران السلطان سل سيف الملك وطلع من احدى جبال
البركة حتى بقا على ظاهر الجبل وتمشا بقية ليلته الى الصباح فلما
طلع الصباح واضأ بنوره ولاح وامتد على سطح الجبل وقد لاح سواد
من بعيد: قال فلما رآه السلطان فرح به وقصده...

The Sultan draws his sword and mounts one of the hills.

He walks (تمشى) all that night until dawn. This is evidently derivative from G, by a scribe who abbreviates but also thinks for himself. I know no other version quite like it.

It may be convenient to describe here, so far as I can, another MS of the Aleppo group although I cannot give its reading of our passage. It is well known that Sir William Jones possessed a MS of the Nights of considerable extent. He refers to it in the preface (p. iv) to his "Poems," published anonymously at Oxford in 1772; "the *Arabian* tales of *A Thousand and one nights*, a copy of which work in

Arabick was procured for me by a learned friend at *Aleppo*." Dr Patrick Russell was at Aleppo from 1750 to 1771 and may have been the "learned friend" in question. In Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones there are other references to his study of the Nights, especially with the assistance of a native of Aleppo whom he met accidentally in London and took with him to Oxford; see pp. 32, 33, 36, 111 of the ed. of 1804. Extracts from his MS have appeared in Richardson's *Grammar of the Arabick Language*, pp. 200-209 (ed. of 1776); and in the 20 pp. printed by Joseph White, Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford from 1775 to 1814, as a specimen of a projected edition of the Nights; see for this specimen Schnurrer's *Bibl. Arabica*, p. 487. From these it is evident that the MS was in substantial agreement, as to reading and division into Nights, with G, being closer to it than I Calcutta, to which I have already referred. Unfortunately this MS has, at present, been lost sight of. At the death of Sir William Jones in 1794 it did not pass to the India Office Library with his other oriental MSS, but was evidently retained by Lady Jones. At her death her library was sold at auction at Evans's, May 10th, 1831, and this MS was bought by the Persian scholar Nathaniel Bland¹. At his death in 1865 his oriental MSS were bought by the Earl of Crawford (*D.N.B.*, Suppl. i, 216) and it might, therefore, be looked for in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; but it is not there. In the auction catalogue it is described as a quarto, two vols. bound in one, containing 222 Nights.

I have already referred, more than once, to the I Calcutta Edition (Calcutta, 2 vols., 1814, 1818; ii lithogr. ed. in one vol., Calcutta, 1829). The text of our passage runs in it (vol. i, pp. 124 f.):

فاجلس انت في حَيْمَتِي حتى اعود ولا تُظهر ما قلته لك لاحدٍ
وقل للامراء والعسكر اذا اصبحت ان الملك خاطره مَشَوْشًا فلذلك لا يريد
ان يدخل عليه احدٌ غيرى وقد امرنى بان اُخبركم بذلك وانا عائدٌ

¹ I am indebted for this clue to the sagacity and kindness of Mr William Roberts, the well-known bibliographer and authority on the history of art. The certainty with which he put his hand on the Evans' Sale Catalogue in the British Museum Library seems to me as magical as anything in the Nights.

ان شاء الله تعالى بعد ثلاثة ايام قال الوزير حبا وكرامة والطاعة لله ثم
لك يا ملك الزمان ثم ان الملك لبس عدته وركب جواده من ساعته
وسار بقية ليله الى الصباح فلما اشرفت الشمس لاح له سواد عظيم من
بعيد فلما راه فرح به ثم انه سار قاصدا له وقال ان شاء الله تعالى
اجد احدا يخبرني بحقيقة هذا الامر من غير عناء

In the India Office Library there is a MS (Loth's *Catalogue*, p. 243, No. 842) to which Zotenberg has already drawn attention as belonging to his oriental recension (*Notice*, p. 45/211) and as being in close agreement with I Calcutta (p. 50/216). That is exactly so. Part of our passage runs in that MS (F. 51, ll. 5-7):

ثم ان الملك لبس عدته وركب جواده من ساعته وسار بقية ليلة
(ليلته؟) الى الصباح فلما اشرفت (sic) الشمس واذا (sic) قد لاح له
سواد عظيم من بعيد فلما راه فرح به

The unity of the text here is evident and also that it is another attempt to make the story more probable. But there is another witness to this same type of text. In September, 1914, I found, in the Rylands Library, the first volume (Arabic 40) of Dr Patrick Russell's MS of the Nights. Dr Russell had entitled it, "*Arabian Nights*, Book 1st. 141 Nights." Dr Russell died in 1805 (*D.N.B.*, xlix, 469), and this MS was bought by S. W. Lewin in 1827. Thereafter it was bought by Lord Lindsay and passed from him to the Rylands Library. It consists of 229 leaves and ends, in Night 141, in the story of the young man of Bagdad and the barber, with a long piece of verse spoken by the old woman who gets from him his secret that he has fallen in love with the judge's daughter. I Calcutta (vol. i, pp. 100 f., Night 137) gives only four lines of this; but in G (Night 141, vol. ii, FF. 47b, 48a, b) there are 49 lines. In this MS (Night 20, F. 58a, b) our passage runs:

ثم ان الملك لبس عدته وركب جواده من ساعته وسار بقية ليلته
الى الصباح: فلما اشرفت الشمس واذا قد لاح له سواد عظيم من بعيد:
فلما راه فرح به: ثم انه سار قاصد له وقال ان شاء الله تعالى اجد
احد يخبرني عن هذا الامر من غير عنا

We have, therefore, three witnesses for a practically identical text. (i) A text printed in Calcutta in 1814-18, "under the patronage of the College of Fort William," and edited by "Shuekh Uhmud bin Moohumud Shirwane ool Yumunee of the Arabic department" in that college. Edouard Gauttier refers to him in the preface (pp. xi f.) to his edition of Galland (Paris, 1822) as "Le Mollah Firouz." The Mullā expresses the opinion in a Persian note of introduction to his edition that the tales were written by a Syrian Arab for the instruction of Europeans who wished to learn Arabic. In this he follows an Arabic preface to (ii), the Russell MS. This MS was brought by Dr Russell from Aleppo where he was resident physician to the English Factory from 1750 to 1771. Thereafter he was in India, principally at Madras (1781-89) as botanist to the East India Company. (iii) The India Office Library MS came from the library of John Leyden, the friend of Sir Walter Scott. He reached Madras on the 19th of August, 1803, and remained there until 1805; he lived at Calcutta at different times, principally 1806-10, and died at Java, August 28th, 1811. He may have met Patrick Russell in London as he stayed there a few months studying oriental languages before sailing for India. Earlier still he had studied Arabic at Edinburgh during his vacations. Patrick Russell's letter to Sylvanus Urban (*Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1799, pp. 91 f.) had drawn wide attention to his MS of the Nights and had shown also how much attention was being paid at the time to the general subject of the Nights. John Leyden must have been following all that.

There can be no doubt that these three are connected and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Russell MS is the source of the other two. But exactly how, where and when these two were derived from the Russell MS is not so easy to decide. That I Calcutta is not based immediately on either seems certain. Its editor evidently intended to put one hundred Nights into each volume and he had difficulty in making out two volumes. Yet the India Office MS has 281 Nights and ends like G and V in the story of Qamar az-Zamān, and the one volume, so far found, of the Russell MS has 141 Nights, while, in his letter, Dr Russell says that his MS has 280 Nights. The editor of I Calcutta

has had to pad out his first volume at the end with the story of the marriage of al-Ma'mūn and Būrān (Nights 94-100; pp. 398-430); the source of his text has not been determined; it is fuller than any other form of this story in the Nights. His second volume he has padded with the story of the Guile of Women (Nights 196-200; pp. 367-378). He then added for good measure *Sindbad the Sailor*, pp. 378-458, not divided into Nights. Guile of Women and Sindbad he got from Langlès' edition, *Les Voyages de Sind-Bād le Marin, et la Ruse des Femmes* (Paris, 1814); both are also in an appendix to Savary's *Grammaire de la Langue arabe* which was edited by Langlès in 1813. That this was his source was stated by Gauttier in the preface to his edition of Galland (vol. i, p. xx) and De Goeje showed in his *De Reizen van Sindebaad* (De Gids, 1889, No. 8; and separately) that Langlès and I Calcutta were of the same recension. But the Indian editor must have touched up the style and introduced slight modifications from the point of view of the teacher of Arabic. That was evidently his attitude, and I suspect that he so dealt with his whole book¹. It becomes, therefore, very difficult to say whether any differences between the texts, of change, addition or omission, are due to this pedagogical attitude or to the MS which he used. It is plain, however, that his MS was defective at the end of the Porter cycle of stories. I Calcutta omits entirely the second Lady (*al-madrūba*), and an ending had to be invented. So the wronged sister (she of the dogs) disenchant the dogs at Hārūn's request (p. 302, ll. 5 ff. from below). With a view to this possibility she had learned and remembered the formula. Hārūn, Ja'far and Masrūr (!) marry the three sisters. This does not give a high impression of the independent story-telling ability of the editor. At the end of the Hunchback cycle there is an equally strange addition. The Barber not only becomes a boon companion of the king but shows himself a magician and a poet (I Calcutta, vol. ii, pp. 186-188; Night 162 = G, vol. iii, F. 3b; Night 170).

I now take up the question of the Habicht text or texts. In the Breslau edition, vol. i to the middle of p. 12 (l. 9) is

¹ So the young Fleischer thought in 1827. See his "Remarques critiques" on Habicht's first volume in *J. A.*, vol. xi, p. 222.

the ordinary ZER text; but there a text begins which is a descendant of G. But in G, in the story of the Merchant and the Jinnī, the third Shaykh's story is omitted. That has been inserted here (p. 63, l. 12 to p. 66, l. 1) from ZER. On the margin of V, at this point, there is a similar insertion but abbreviated. At the foot of p. 349 in Night 69 comes the end of the Porter cycle, and on p. 350 the story of the Apples begins. But I have already noted, in my article in *J.R.A.S.* (July, 1909, p. 690) on Habicht's recension, that Habicht's MS reckoned by me as 1b and marked with Library No. ii, 17 is in two parts, coinciding with this division and change of story, and that the first part ends, in Night 69, with

وما هذا باغرب مما جرى للخليفة مع ابنة كسرى: تم الجلد الاول
من كتاب الف ليلة وابيلة

This part of the volume is in a small unidentified modern hand; but the second part is a single gathering written by Habicht and evidently intended to bridge over to his MS volume ii, printed in Breslau, vol. ii. We have here, therefore, a MS, a descendant of G, with Nights numbered as in G, ending, like G, the Porter cycle in Night 69; but following that immediately with the story of the Daughter (i.e. female descendant) of the Kisrā (Chauvin's No. 106).

In A.H. 1115 (A.D. 1703-4) there was finished at Baghdad the transcription of a MS of the Nights in which the first 69 Nights coincided with the first 69 Nights of G. There, then, followed the story of Hārūn ar-Rashīd and the Daughter of the Kisrā. Other stories followed in a sequence not found elsewhere. Apparently there had come to the transcriber a MS derived from the first 69 Nights of G, and he had continued it freely from other sources. For all this see Zotenberg's *Notice*, pp. 35/201 ff. This MS is now lost; but was copied in Paris early in the XIXth century by Michel Sabbagh for Caussin de Perceval. It must have come into his possession after 1806, for in that year, the year of his edition of Galland's version, he evidently did not yet know it. This copy is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds arabe 4678, 4679; Suppl. ar. 2522, 2523). In 1827 it was used by Fleischer in his article already referred to in criticism of the first vol. of Breslau in *J. A.*, vol. xi, pp. 217 ff.

From the above it is highly probable that this Baghdad MS lies behind the first vol. of Breslau, and a comparison of our test passage makes it certain. It runs in Breslau (i, p. 116, ll. 11 ff.):

وانا اغيب ثلاثة ايام لا غير فقط فقال السمع والطاعة ثمران السلطان
تحزمر وتقلد بسيفه وخرج من هناك ومسك الطريق الى (الذي التي)
تخرج من الجبل ولا زال ماشياً حتى طلع النهار واضي بنوره ولاح
وعلمت الشمس فنظر من بعيد سواد فلما راه فرح وقال لعل اجد احداً
حتى استخبر منه...

In Michel Sabbagh's transcript of the Baghdad MS (Night 20, F. 35b) the same passage runs:

وانا اغيب ثلاثة ايام فقط لا غير فقال له الوزير سمعاً وطاعة ثمران السلطان
قام تحزمر وتقلد بسيفه وتكر وخرج من وطاقه ومسك الطريق التي
تخرج من الجبل ولا زال ماشياً حتى اشرق الصباح واضاً بنوره ولاح
وعلمت الشمس على الروابي والبطاح فنظر من بعيد سواد فلما راه فرح
وقال لعل اجد احداً استخبر منه...

Another MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale is of the same type. It is Suppl. 1715 I, II (Nos. 3613-3614) and is described by Zotenberg in a note on p. 45/211 of his *Notice*. He considered it a modern copy, executed in Europe, perhaps by the Syrian monk Chavis. It reproduces the order of the above MS although the division into Nights is not exactly the same, and ends in the middle of the story of Gulnar of the Sea, omitting like G the third Shaykh's tale in the story of the Merchant and the Jinnī. Our passage in it runs (Night 20, F. 35a, b):

وانا ساغب (sic) ثلاثة ايام لا غير فقال السمع والطاعة ثمران السلطان
تحزمر وتقلد بسيفه فخرج من هناك ومسك طريق الذي تخرج من
الجبل وبقي يمشى حتى طلع النهار واضي بنوره ولاه (sic) وعلى الشمس
فنظر من بعد سواد فلما راه فرح وقال لعله احد استخبر منه...

These three, then, are all descendants from G and are of one type.

The second part of the Breslau text is derived directly from G. It extends from Night 72b to Night 208, Breslau, vol. ii, p. 4 to التي in Breslau, vol. iii, p. 102, l. 7. This in Habicht's MS (see my article on him in *J.R.A.S.*, p. 691) is in the hand of Ibn Najjār, his Tunisian friend; but is derived straight from G. Why Ibn Najjār sent a MS to Habicht, which he had copied from G, breaking off abruptly in the middle of the story of Anīs al-Jalīs, I do not know; but that is the fact. It may be proved thus. Zotenberg observed (*Notice*, p. 6/172) that one leaf was lost from G containing the greater part of Night 102, the whole of Night 103, and some lines of Night 104, and that at the foot of the preceding page (G, vol. ii, F. 29b) and on the margin of the following page a few phrases had been inserted to fill the gap. These phrases are reproduced almost exactly in Ibn Najjār's MS and in Breslau (vol. ii, p. 123, l. 8, وان to p. 124, l. 15). Only I do not think, as apparently Zotenberg did, that they were suggested by the context. They seem to be derived from another recension; it is noticeable that ZER has the same recension as G (on the evidence of V) had originally, but omits much of the verse.

I now give the readings of a number of MSS which seem, so far as my present knowledge goes, to be isolated. The most remarkable of them, as to reading, is the Christ Church MS, at Oxford, No. 207 (Kitchin's *Cat.*, p. 60), which is apparently the same as the C 20 referred to by Jonathan Scott in the preface to his *Arabian Nights*, vol. i, p. x. Zotenberg (p. 45/211) reckons it in his oriental group and, according to Scott, it gives G's sequence of stories to the end of the Hunchback cycle; but I do not know how the Nights are numbered. Our passage—for the transcript I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Margoliouth—runs in it:

فلعل الله تعالى يدلني على شي اعلم منه خبر هذه البركة وانت
تجلس في هذا المكان باب خيمتي ولا تمكن احد من العساكر
الدخول فيها وكل من سالك عنى فقل له المالك متشوش لا يقدر
يجتمع على احد ولا تخبر احد بخبري الى ثلثة ايام فقال له الوزير
يا مالك الزمان كيف تسير وحدك في هذا الليل ونحن في جبال
واودية خوالى فقال له لا تخاف على يا وزير ولا تخالفني فيما قلته

لك فقال سمعا وطاعة يا مولانا ثم ان الملك تقلد بسيفه وصعد على ذلك الجبل الى ان صار في اعلاه ولم يزل ماشى باقى ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد خافى فانشرح صدره لذلك وقصده...

This seems to me a derivative attempt to produce a smooth narrative in independent language.

The Wortley-Montague MS in the Bodleian stands also by itself both in contents and in reading of this passage. To the end of the Porter cycle it has apparently the same division and numbering of Nights as G; thereafter is chaos. It is a quite modern MS of the middle of the XVIIIth century (A.H. 1177/8) and shows that even at that date there was not any generally recognized recension of the Nights and that individuals had to form their own. The passage runs (vol. i, p. 89):

ثم ان الملك تحزيم واعتقل بسيفه وتسلى من على احد الجبال الذى على البركه حتى صار على ظهره ومشى بقية ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد من بعيد ففرج وقال لعلى اقع على من يخبرنى القضييه...

I have extracts from two other MSS which are so abbreviated that it is not worth while to transcribe them: the Ouseley MS in the Bodleian (Ous. 242; in Ouseley's *Cat.* No. 577) and a MS in the India Office Library, Loth 843.

But the readings in a Paris MS are so individual that I give them although I cannot bring them into connection with any other MS. It is Suppl. arabe 1721 iv (Fonds ar. No. 3615; cf. Zotenberg, p. 49/215)¹. Written at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, it came from Egypt and contains the first 210 Nights, agreeing with G in division and numbering of the Nights down to the end of the Hunchback cycle. Thereafter comes Anīs al-Jalīs; then Zādbakht; then Sindbād. Our passage comes in Night 19 on F. 29b:

فصبر الملك الى ان اقبل الظلام فاخذ سيفه وطلع على سطح الجبل وسار طول ليلته فلما اصبح ظهر له قصر من بعيد فقصده حتى قرب منه...

¹ It may be worth noticing that on l. 10 of this page Zotenberg, by a slip, has written "conte du Pêcheur" instead of "conte du Marchand."

I pass now to the MS which connects best with ZER. It is the Reinhardt MS in the Strasbourg University Library in four vols., of which ii and iii are dated A.H. 1247. It will be remembered that I Būlāq appeared in A.H. 1251 (1835). The first 73 pages to the end of the Porter cycle and the division and numbering of the Nights on these pages are as in ZER, but thereafter we have an entirely separate recension, containing some stories which elsewhere have not found their way into the Nights, e.g. Saif b. Dhī Yazan and Saif at-Tijān (Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.* iv, pp. 210-212). Our passage comes in Night 7 and I am indebted for the following transcript to the kindness of Professor Nöldeke:

وقل للامرا والوزرا والحجاب ان السلطان تشوش وامرنى ان لا اذن لاحد فى الدخول عليه ولا تعلم احد بقصدى فلم يقدر الوزير على مخالفته ثم ان الملك غير حالته وتقلد سيفه وانسل من بينهر ومشى بقية ليله الى الصباح فلاح له سواد من بعيد...

This is almost verbatim what stands in I Būlāq (vol. i, p. 20) except that it omits about a line which tells how the king continued journeying a day and a second night. This *may* have dropped out through the repetition of the phrase الى الصباح.

I do not take space here to reproduce the printed texts of ZER. They divide under two types which can easily be linked up with the MS evidence. In the one—I Būlāq, II Būlāq and the Cairo editions generally—there is no mention of the king climbing a hill and the difficulty, which Galland removed by making him come down again, is not raised. This type says instead *وانسل من بينهر*, just as we have seen in Reinhardt. In one Paris MS (Fonds ar. No. 3606) neither this phrase nor mention of the hill occurs. The other type of text (II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 43; Bombay lithograph, vol. i, pp. 33, 34; Salhani, vol. i, p. 39) follows the original tradition with *وتسلى من على احد الجبال* and makes no mention of coming down again; the king walks on upon that hill for a day and two nights. This is also the reading in Wortley-Montague (vol. i, p. 89) and in two Paris MSS (Fonds ar. Nos. 3595 and 4675); in all these in Night 7. In this there is evidently such conscious editing as we have already seen in the Habicht text (and the Paris MSS 3613,

4678) with its *ومسك الطريق الذي (التي) تخرج من الجبل*. But it may be simple accident which makes the Christ Church MS and the Bodleian Ouseley 242 agree in substituting *صعد* for *طلع*. It is plain, too, that at this point II Calcutta is more original than Būlāq, which is more drastically edited. The puzzle is that the Reinhardt MS should agree so closely with this edited Būlāq only in its first 73 pages. Its scribe evidently had no more of that recension, or of any recension except what he put together himself.

Zotenberg's hypothesis of an Egyptian recension formed in the latter part of the XVIIIth century has been accepted above. It may now be in place to give some other evidence supporting it. The MSS and printed texts which, *ex hypothesis*, represent it are characterized by very long Nights. Thus, the test passage comes in it in Night 7, while in G it is in Night 20. But mingled with these long Nights are some which are very short, and it is worth while to consider whether behind this variation there lies a significant explanation. Further, the G recension when complete, if it was ever complete, would have amounted only to about vols. i and ii of II Calcutta. The first 170 Nights in G, to the end of the Hunchback cycle, take 278 pages in II Calcutta. A complete 1001 Nights of the length of these would, therefore, have required about 1630 pages; but II Calcutta has in its four vols. 2972 pp. and its first two vols. have together 1608 pp. Therefore, ZER, as contrasted with the G recension, has been greatly expanded by additions.

In the first 349 pages of II Calcutta are only 44 Nights. These are occupied by stories which take 200 Nights in G—from the beginning to the end of the Hunchback cycle (Nights 1–170) plus *Anīs al-Jalīs* (Nights 201–229)—with the addition of Ghānim which is not in G and which has six Nights (39–44) in II Calcutta. Thereafter in II Calcutta comes 'Umar an-Nu'mān on 366 pp. and in 101 Nights; then *Beast Fables*, 44 pages and six Nights; then 'Alī b. Bakkār and part of *Qamar az-Zamān* on 150 pages and in 65 Nights close vol. i of II Calcutta. In G 'Alī b. Bakkār and the part of *Qamar az-Zamān* which survives (to first five lines on p. 832 in II Calcutta) amount to 38 Nights, and this portion is 30 Nights and 71 pages in II Calcutta.

I interpret this irregularity in length of Nights by the

following hypothesis. In the recension immediately preceding ZER there were originally 152 Nights up to the end of Ghānim, and Ghānim was followed immediately by 'Alī b. Bakkār. It was desired to lengthen, by the addition of 'Umar and the *Beast Fables*, which seem frequently to follow 'Umar; see on this my article on *Habicht* in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1909, p. 701. So the Nights up to the end of Ghānim were lengthened and reduced in number to 44. That set free 107–8 Nights. Of these 101 were given to 'Umar—about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages to a Night—and over the remainder the *Beast Fables* were spread, $7\frac{1}{3}$ pages to a Night. But this means that the recension preceding ZER contained the full number of 1001 Nights; as, otherwise, 'Umar could have been added at the end or in a gap. Also, it means that that recension did not already contain 'Umar, as we have evidence that some quite early recensions did. Also, this explains the double occurrence of what is essentially the same story in *Tāj al-Mulūk* and *Ardashīr*; the latter was already in the Nights when 'Umar was introduced bringing with it the former.

It was a remarkable piece of luck which, at the beginning of the XVIIIth century played what is still the oldest known MS of the Nights into the hands of Galland, their first introducer to Europe. But a quite modern MS may carry a more complete tradition than one centuries older. It would, therefore, be unsafe to take G alone and disregard all others, and I already possess evidence that even ZER contains elements which had been lost in the ancestry of G; or, otherwise expressed, that ZER goes back to a more complete text of the G recension. But upon that and upon some other questions of relationship I am not yet in a position to make a complete statement.

Finally, it is a pleasant duty to thank a number of scholars, besides those specially mentioned above, for much help in examining MSS inaccessible to me here; they are M. H. Ananikian, T. W. Arnold, A. G. Ellis, I. Guidi, Sir Charles Lyall, F. Macler, L. Massignon, B. Meissner, R. A. Nicholson, C. F. Seybold, W. H. Worrell.

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