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The Man Who Made the *Nights* Immortal

The Tales of the Syrian Maronite Storyteller Ḥannā Diyāb[1]

Ironically, to a considerable extent the book of *The Thousand and One Nights* owes its tremendous success in world literature and world culture to stories that never belonged to the collection in Arabic. Narrated to Antoine Galland by Syrian Maronite Ḥannā Diyāb, these stories are today part and parcel of international narrative tradition (Marzolph, "The *Arabian Nights*"). The present text serves as a short introduction to the complete English translation of Galland's French summaries of the tales, which is published for the first time in the "Texts and Translations" section of the present and the next issues of *Marvels & Tales*. Galland's French summaries of the tales Diyāb performed for him have been available since Abdel-Halim's (428–470) 1964 publication and have recently been published in the critical edition of Galland's diaries (*Le journal*, vol. 1). A facsimile of the handwritten diaries is available on the website Gallica, which holds the digital collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[2] As Galland's early eighteenth-century French is not easily accessible to international readers, the hope in making the complete English translation available now is to stimulate further research.

While most of the tales of the *Nights* did not leave a lasting impression in world memory, even a general public with no detailed knowledge of the collection's complex history and varied content would know at least the tales of "Aladdin and the Magic Lamp" and of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" by name.[3] These tales belong to a corpus of eight tales in Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuit*[4] (The Thousand and One Nights) whose origin until quite recently had been considered "of an uncertain standing" (Gerhardt 14). Beginning with

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Hermann Zotenberg's systematic attempt to reconstruct the textual history of the *Nights*, and including a number of detailed studies by scholars such as Mohamed Abdel-Halim, Georges May, Muhsin Mahdi, Sylvette Larzul, Ruth B. Bottigheimer, and most recently, Paulo Lemos Horta (17–54), the peculiar transmission of these "orphan tales," as Mia Gerhardt (13–14) labeled them, has meanwhile been unraveled. Gerhardt obviously was prone to believe in written sources for all texts of the *Nights*, as her criterion for defining the "orphan tales" was the fact that "either no Arabic text of them has been found at all, or, if one exists, it may well be derived directly from Galland" (13–14).[5] But as the organizers of the *Thousand and One Nights* conference in Copenhagen 2012, devoted to studying "The Syrian-French Connection: Antoine Galland's and Hanna Diyab's *Arabian Nights*," pointed out in their call for papers, these tales are by no means "orphans," since they actually owe their existence to two "fathers." Although Galland never publicly acknowledged his indebtedness to his source, it is now commonly agreed that the "orphan tales" were narrated to him by the Syrian Maronite storyteller Anṭūn Yūsuf Ḥannā Diyāb, in previous research often simply called Hanna.[6]

The subsequent ingenious manner in which Galland reworked his summaries of the oral performances into full-fledged tales contributed significantly to the success of his early eighteenth-century publication *Mille et Une Nuit* and particularly to its reputation as a "chef d'œuvre" (May) of French literature. Already Galland's discovery and acquisition of the fifteenth-century Arabic manuscript of the *Nights* had been an exceptional stroke of luck. When Galland had run out of tales due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript at his disposal, he was even luckier to become acquainted with Ḥannā Diyāb in Paris. When compiling his *Nights*, in addition to the fragmentary manuscript available to him, Galland had included the originally separate tales of "Sindbād the Seafaring Merchant" and exploited a second Arabic manuscript, a recently identified copy of the romance of "'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān," from which he extracted the originally embedded tales of "Ghānim ibn Ayyūb" and "The Sleeper and the Waker," also known as "The Sleeper Awakened" (Akel 207, 213; Marzolph, "The Arabic Source"). Yet he primarily used Ḥannā Diyāb's tales, most of which he reworked in his own style, to comply with the demand of his contemporary audience for more new stories. And eventually, these tales enabled him to complete his version of the *Nights* in a manner that satisfied the curiosity of his readers. Before discussing the tales in some detail, it is necessary to recall the present state of knowledge about Galland's acquaintance with the storyteller.

According to Ḥannā Diyāb's recently discovered travelogue, written in Arabic (Dyâb), he appears to have come to Paris towards the end of the year 1708. He arrived in the company of the French traveler Paul Lucas, who had hired him

in Aleppo in February 1707, when Diyāb was probably a youthful 18 years of age. In Paris, Diyāb and Galland first met, as the latter noted in his diary, on Sunday, March 17, 1809, and Galland makes a point to foreground that Diyāb spoke several other languages, including Turkish, Provençal, and French, besides his native Arabic (Galland, 1: 286). When Galland visited Lucas again on Monday, March 25, 1709, it dawned upon him that Ḥannā Diyāb was a gifted storyteller. In a slightly enigmatic statement, Galland noted in his diary that "Hanna ... some very beautiful Arabic tales" (290). Whether the sentence's absent verb should be filled in as "told me" or "narrated to me" (as has been variously suggested) or, maybe only, "knew," would make a distinctive difference. Since Galland later took extensive notes of Ḥannā Diyāb's oral performances of storytelling, one might conjecture that during their first encounter, he merely learned about the storyteller's narrative competence without him actually performing.

On the same day, Galland also mentions that Diyāb promised to write down those tales, so as to communicate them to him. Apparently, he kept his promise, at least to a certain degree, since on May 5, 1709, Galland notes that "le Maronite Hanna d'Alep" (321) "finished" (*acheva de me faire*) the "tale of the lamp" (i.e., the tale of "Aladdin and the Magic Lamp"). Although Galland's wording might imply an oral performance, on November 3, 1710, Galland unambiguously refers to a written Arabic version of the "tale of the lamp" that he had received more than a year ago from the storyteller (whom he erroneously remembers as "the Maronite from Damascus"; Galland, 2: 253). Moreover, in a note dated January 10, 1711, Galland mentions having finished the tales in the tenth volume of his work by translating from the Arabic text that "Hanna, ou Iean Dipi" (vol. 2: 302) had given him. The tenth volume begins with the end of the tale of "Aladdin," and so Galland's statement might simply refer to that tale. The tenth volume also contains the tales of "The Caliph's Night Adventures" together with "Blind Man Bābā ʿAbdallāh" and "Sīdī Nuʿmān," tales that Galland in his summary dated May 10, 1709, had quoted as embedding and embedded tales (vol. 1: 327–30). Not having an unambiguous clue as to which tale or tales Galland's statement relates to exactly, previous researchers saw sufficient reason to wonder whether Galland might also have received a written version for the other tales published in that volume. Meanwhile, the only one of Ḥannā Diyāb's tales not summarized in Galland's diary is the tale of "Aladdin," which Galland is known to have received in writing and so would not have seen the necessity for reminding himself of the tale's content. There appears to be no obvious reason why he should have summarized other tales that he might similarly have received in writing, unless the tales were first narrated orally and supplied in writing at a later date.

After Galland had received the written version of the tale of "Aladdin," Ḥannā Diyāb narrated fifteen additional tales (including the three tales embed-

ded in the tale of "The Caliph's Night Adventures"), and Galland took down summaries of the tales in his diary. This lasted for a total of eleven storytelling sessions beginning on May 6, 1709 (Galland, 1: 322), and ending some four weeks later on June 2 (373). Some time later that year, Ḥannā Diyāb left Paris, since he is mentioned as being in Marseille on his way back to the Levant on October 25 (483), and again on November 19 (504). Diyāb's travelogue ends with his return to Aleppo in July 1710. Even though the travelogue was written down only some fifty years later, Diyāb's memory of his stay in Paris is quite vivid, as he explicitly mentions an "old man responsible for the Arabic books at the library" who asked his assistance in clarifying certain points in his French translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* that he did not understand (Galland, 1: 49; Dyâb 334). Moreover, Diyāb recalls his own role as narrating several tales so that the book could be completed. Though Diyāb does not mention Galland by name, his statement clearly refers to their communication and his own substantial contribution in supplying the raw materials for the final volumes of the book that Galland published without mentioning Diyāb's name.

Out of the sixteen tales Galland received from Ḥannā Diyāb either in writing or as oral performance, Galland published ten in volumes nine to twelve of his work. In chronological order, these are "Aladdin;" "The Caliph's Night Adventures," including the three embedded tales "The Story of Blind Man Bābā ʿAbdallāh," "Sīdī Nuʿmān," and "Khawājā Hasan al-Habbāl;" "Alī Bābā and the Forty Thieves;" "Alī Khawājā and the Merchant of Bagdad;" "The Ebony Horse;" "Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Perī-Bānū;" and "The Two Sisters Who Envied Their Cadette." Galland's reasons for publishing these tales and leaving aside the others are not obvious. Even so, Georges May argued that Galland must have made a deliberate and conscious decision (87). The evidence May referred to is a note in Galland's diary dated August 24, 1711, stating that Galland browsed through some of the tales he had summarized from Diyāb's performance in view of which ones to use for filling the eleventh volume of his *Thousand and One Nights* (2: 407). In addition to this personal statement, a comparison of the sequence of tales in Galland's diary and his translation demonstrates that after a first consecutive browsing he jumped back and forth in his notes selecting the tales to be translated. In vol. 9, that he had begun with the tale of "The Sleeper Awakened" as translated from a different Arabic manuscript than that of the *Nights* (Akel 213), he only added the tale of "Aladdin" (no. 1) that he had received in writing. Used to translating from the familiar medium of a written Arabic text, at this stage Galland was probably still experimenting with how to integrate the material extraneous to the Arabic *Nights*. Obviously feeling comfortable with Diyāb's Arabic text of "Aladdin," and putting aside any scruples he may or may not have had, for vol. 10, he then decided to mine the notes he had taken of Diyāb's performances

and elaborate them into full-fledged tales, choosing tales no. 3 with the embedded nos. 4 and 5, together with the chronologically following tale no. 13. For vol. 11, he first went back to Diyāb's tale no. 12, then proceeded to no. 14, and again went back to no. 6. Again having browsed through his notes of Diyāb's performances, he chose nos. 8 and 10 for his final vol. 12. One cannot say whether the fact that Galland did not even entrust his method of elaborating the *Nights* to the confidentiality of his diary indicates he harbored any scruples.

No.	Date	Tale	Tale Type	Galland	Chauvin	Remarks
	March 25					"and Mr. Hanna […] several very beautiful Arabic tales, and promised me to write them down"
1	May 5	*Aladdin*	561	Vol. 9.2	No. 19	"… Hanna .. finished the tale"
2	May 6	*Qamar al-dīn and Badr al-Budūr*	888			"… the Maronite Anna … told me …"
3	May 10	*The Caliph's Night Adventures*	Frame tale	Vol. 10.1	No. 209	"… Hanna .. told me"
4		*Blind Man Bābā ʿAbdallāh*	836F*	Vol. 10.2	No. 72	
5		*Sīdī Nuʿmān*	449	Vol. 10.3	No. 371	
		Alī al-Zaybaq				[short mention]
6	May 13	*The Ebony Horse*	575	Vol. 11.3	No. 130	"The Maronite Hanna told me"
7	May 15	*The Golden City*	306			
8	May 22	*Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Perī-Bānū*	653A+465	Vol. 12.1	No. 286	"Hanna … entertained me with this tale"

(*continued*)

No.	Date	Tale	Tale Type	Galland	Chauvin	Remarks
9	May 23	*The Sultan of Samarkand and His Three Sons*	550+301		No. 181	"Told by the Maronite Hanna"
10	May 25	*The Two Sisters Who Envied Their Cadette*	707	Vol. 12.2	No. 375	"The Maronite Hanna told me"
11	May 27	*The Ten Viziers*	875D*		No. 48	"… learnt from the Maronite Hanna"
12	May 27	*Ali Baba*	676+954	Vol. 11.1	No. 24	
13	May 29	*Khawājā Hasan al-Habbāl*	945A*	Vol. 10.4	No. 202	
14	May 29	*Alī Khawājā and the Merchant of Bagdad*	1617	Vol. 11.2	No. 26	
15	May 31	*The Purse, the Dervish's Horn, the Figs, and the Horns*	566			
16	June 2	*Hasan the Seller of Herbal Tea*				"The Maronite Hanna told me"
	October 25					Mentions a letter from Diyāb

None of Ḥannā Diyāb's tales is known from Arabic manuscript tradition predating his performance. The Arabic manuscripts that were at various later points discussed as constituting possible models for Galland's versions of the tales of "Aladdin" and "Ali Baba" have been unmasked as mystifications produced at a later date, following and based on Galland's text (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, 1: 84, 91; Zakhharia, "Jean-Georges Varsy," "La versiona arabe"). As a matter of fact, the only one of Diyāb's tales known from indigenous Arabic manuscript tradition (postdating Galland) is the tale of "The Ebony Horse" (1: 173). Consequently, this tale is the only one of his tales that is included in standard published editions of the *Nights* in Arabic. As for possible links between Diyāb's oral performances and

Arabic manuscript tradition, Galland's mention of the "Histoire Arabe d'Ali Zibac" (1: 330) is interesting.[7] As the mention occurs right after Galland's summary of one of Diyāb's tales, it likely refers to information received from the storyteller. The mention not only demonstrates Galland's continued interest to acquire yet more narrative material. It also suggests that Diyāb was well aware of the written tradition of some of the tales he knew, raising the question to which extent his own narrative repertoire derived from written tradition. While Galland does not note any details for the tale of ʿAlī Zaybaq, Diyāb supplied a summary for the frame tale of the second manuscript he mentioned, the book of *The Ten Viziers* (1: 358–59), indicating that he was familiar with the book's content.

Through the translations and adaptations of Galland's work, and particularly through its numerous editions addressing a juvenile audience, many of Diyāb's tales have become the darlings of Western audiences. Unconcerned with the scholarly problem of authenticity (i.e., the question whether these tales ever belonged to the Arabic *Alf layla wa-layla* in the first place), these audiences took the tales as an integral part of the Arabic collection based on the manner in which they had been indiscriminately presented by Galland.

As for the position of Ḥannā Diyāb's tales in international narrative tradition, it is quite remarkable that virtually all of his tales correspond more or less directly to tale types in the international index of Indo-European tales,[8] with the exception of the last tale he told Galland, the tale of "Ḥasan the Seller of Herbal Tea." This general assessment of Diyāb's tales needs to be detailed from various angles to do justice to their position in international tradition. Most of the tales are documented in closely corresponding, similar, and sometimes probably even genetically connected versions before the beginning of the eighteenth century—whether in Far Eastern, Indian, Persian, Arabic, or European tradition. In the following I offer the basic data for all of Diyāb's tales in chronological order of their appearance in Galland's diary.

1. The tale of "Aladdin," delivered to Galland in writing on May 5, 1709 (Galland, 1: 321), corresponds to tale type 561: *Aladdin* (Ranke, "Alad(d)in"). The tale type was established to account for the tale's strong impact on subsequent oral tradition. As Galland did not summarize the tale in his diary, the extent to which he reworked Diyāb's written version cannot be studied. The tale is about a good-for-nothing who makes his fortune with the help of a genie bound to a lamp. Together with the tale of "Ali Baba," the tale of "Aladdin" is the most popular item of the *Nights*. Although single motifs are of considerable antiquity, no complete version of the tale predating Diyāb's performance is known.

2. The tale of "Qamar al-dīn and Badr al-Budūr," not published by Galland, was told on May 6, 1709 (Galland, 1: 322–25). It corresponds to tale

type 888: *The Faithful Wife* (Williams-Krapp). The tale tells of a woman who rescues her enslaved husband through a clever stratagem. It is first documented in two fifteenth-century German narrative songs, namely "Count Alexander," and "The Count of Rome."

3. The tale of "The Caliph's Night Adventures" was told on May 10, 1709 (Galland, 1: 327–30). The popular motif of the caliph and his vizier strolling through the city in disguise (motif K 1812.17 in Thompson, 4: 431) serves as a mere framing device for the two following stories, nos. 4 and 5.

4. The tale of "Blind Man Bābā ʿAbdallāh," embedded in "The Caliph's Night Adventures," corresponds to tale type 836F*: *The Miser and the Eye Ointment*. Rubbing a certain ointment on one of his eyes, a miser is able to see the treasures of the world. Greedily, he also rubs the ointment on his other eye and becomes blind. No versions of this tale predating Ḥannā Diyāb's performance are known.

5. "Sīdī Nuʿmān," also embedded in *The Caliph's Night Adventures*, corresponds to tale type 449: *Sidi Numan* (Lox). It tells of a man who is transformed into a dog by his wicked wife. Having regained his human shape, he transforms his wife into a mare and punishes her severely. In terms of content and structure, the tale is similar to "The Third Shaykh's Story" (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, 1: 378). This tale in turn is embedded in the Story of "The Trader and the Jinnī" (1: 419–20) and belongs to the core corpus of the *Nights* as documented in the oldest preserved manuscript. The fact that the tale type borrows its title from Galland's publication indicates the latter's considerable influence on subsequent oral tradition.

6. The tale of "The Ebony Horse," told on May 13, 1709 (Galland, 1: 331–33), corresponds to tale type 575: *The Prince's Wings* (Horálek). Diyāb's version and its relation to the tale's medieval European versions have been extensively discussed by Ruth Bottigheimer ("The Case of the Ebony Horse," parts 1–2). The oldest known version of this tale has been identified in the *Pancakhyānaka,* a Jain recension of the *Pancatantra* that was compiled between the years 1000 and 1100. The tale's constitutive motif is an artificial flying animal by means of which the hero gains the princess. Medieval European versions of the tale include a Spanish-French branch of transmission represented by the novels *Cléomades* by Adenet le Roi and *Méliacin* by Girard of Amiens (Houdebert). The unfinished "Squire's Tale" in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is also related to this tale type. The tale is both the only one of Ḥannā Diyāb's tales known from indigenous Arabic manuscript tradition and the only one that is included in the standard editions of the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights*.

7. The tale of "The Golden City," not published by Galland, was told on May 15, 1709 (Galland, 1: 335–38). It is to be classified as a version of tale type 306: *The Danced-Out Shoes* (Köhler-Zülch). A princess is promised to the suitor who is able to solve a specific riddle; suitors who do not will be killed. The clever suitor overcomes various obstacles and discovers that the princess is engaged in an act of debauchery in a far-away place. Claude Bremond has identified a similar story in Somadeva's *Ocean of Stories*, compiled around the year 1000. In international scholarship, the tale has been discussed exclusively against the backdrop of its influential version in the tales of the brothers Grimm.

8. The tale of "Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Perī-Bānū" was told on May 22, 1709 (Galland, 1: 243–46). It constitutes a combination of tale types 653A: *The Rarest Thing in the World* (Ranke, "Brüder: Die vier kunstreichen B.") and 465: *The Man Persecuted because of His Beautiful Wife* (Pöge-Alder). The tale's first episode in which three brothers competing for a bride are requested to acquire a truly rare object is closely related to tale type 653: *The Four Skillful Brothers*, a tale type known from both medieval Oriental and early modern European tradition. It is contained in the Indian *Vetālapancavinsati* (Twenty-five Tales of a Genie) and the Persian *Ṭuṭi-nāme* (Book of the Parrot) as well as *Sendbād-nāme* (Book of Sindbād). Early European versions are given in early modern Italian novelistic literature, including the *Cento novelle antiche*, Girolamo Morlini's *Novellae*, Giovan Francesco Straparola's *Piacevoli notti*, and Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone*. However, the earliest known occurrence for tale type 653A is Ḥannā Diyāb's tale as published by Galland. In the tale's second episode, corresponding to tale type 465, the ruler covets the hero's wife and seeks to destroy him by setting impossible tasks. The hero's magic wife assists him and has the ruler annihilated in the end. Similar tales are known from ancient Chinese and Japanese literatures. Galland's publication of Diyāb's performance is the tale's only known early modern European version.

9. The tale of "The Sultan of Samarkand and His Three Sons," not published by Galland, was told on May 23, 1709 (Galland, 1: 347–52). It corresponds mainly to tale type 301: *The Three Stolen Princesses* (Puchner). After a lengthy introductory episode in which three brothers marry the three daughters of a demon, the youngest brother lives through a series of adventures in an underground world. He rescues a maiden that is about to be sacrificed to a monster and escapes with the help of the bird Rukhkh, whose little one he had previously saved. Elements of the tale are known from both ancient Chinese and Greek literatures, but the tale only became popular from the nineteenth century onwards. The tale is included in the late eighteenth-century Arabic

manuscript compiled by Dom Chavis who most likely elaborated the text from Galland's notes.

10. The Tale of "The Two Sisters Who Envied Their Cadette" was told on May 25, 1709 (Galland, 1: 353–57). Corresponding to tale type 707: *The Three Golden Children* (Goldberg), it is the final tale in Galland's *Mille et Une Nuit*. The tale is about two elder sisters seeking to destroy their younger sister who has married the ruler. When the latter gives birth to three children, the envious sisters replace the children first with a little dog, then a cat, and finally a piece of meat. The younger sister is exiled and only much later is reunited with her husband with the help of her grown-up sons and a magic bird. Except for details, Ḥannā Diyāb's version largely agrees with the tale's oldest known version as given in Straparola's *Piacevoli notti*.

11. Summarizing the frame tale of *The Ten Viziers*, Galland on May 27, 1709, mentions Ḥannā Diyāb's reference to a book (1: 358), this being a rare indication that Diyāb might have learned some of his stories from written tradition. The tale of the *Ten Viziers*, not published by Galland, is a version of the *Sendbād-nāme*, better known in European tradition as *The Seven Sages (of Rome)*. It has been classified as tale type 875D*: *The Prince's Seven Wise Teachers.*

12. The tale of "Ali Baba" was told on May 27, 1709 (Galland, 1, 359–63). It corresponds to tale type 954: *The Forty Thieves*. As indicated in the tale's original title, "Murjāna's Perspicacity: Or, The Forty Robbers Extinguished through the Skillfulness of a Slave," its main hero is not the male character Ali Baba (originally called Hoja Bābā), but his slave girl Murjāna. Ali Baba happens to learn about the robbers' secret treasure trove in a magic cave and steals some of their booty. When Ali Baba's greedy brother follows his example, he forgets the magic formula to open the cave's entrance and is killed by the returning robbers. Murjāna cleverly helps Ali Baba cover up the reason for his brother's death and overcomes the robbers as they plot to kill her master. Ḥannā Diyāb's performance is the tale's oldest documented version. In Galland's reworking, the tale has become one of the *Nights*' most popular tales, second in fame only to "Aladdin."

13. "Khawājā Ḥasan al-Ḥabbāl," told on May 29 (Galland, 1: 363–66), corresponds to tale type 945A*: *Money and Fortune*. Two friends try to change the fortune of a poor rope-maker by giving him money, to no avail. But when the rope-maker's wife lends a small piece of lead to a fisherman, the latter catches a large fish in whose belly they find a large diamond.

14. "Alī Khawājā and the Merchant of Bagdad," not published by Galland, was told on May 29, 1709 (Galland, 1: 366–67). It corresponds to the Middle-Eastern tale type 1617: *Unjust Banker Deceived into Delivering Deposits* (Marzolph, "Kredit erschwindelt"). Tales classified under this heading treat the story of a man who deposits his wealth with a seemingly trustworthy person, as he is about to travel abroad. When he returns home, however, the safe-keeper denies ever having received the deposit and has to be tricked into eventually delivering it back to its rightful owner. A variety of different tales with this structure are known from medieval Arabic literature. The specific form of Diyāb's version, in which the safe-keeper replaces the old olives covering up the treasure in the jar with new ones, is otherwise only known from recent oral tradition.

15. "The Purse, the Dervish's Horn, the Figs, and the Horns," not published by Galland, was told on May 31, 1709 (Galland, 1: 369–72). It corresponds to tale type 566: *The Three Magic Objects and the Wonderful Fruits* (Uther), a widely documented tale dealing with the acquisition, loss, and subsequent regaining of several magic objects. The tale has recently been studied in detail (Marzolph, "Ḥannā Diyāb's Unpublished Tales"). While single motifs are already known from the ancient Indian or Greek literatures, the tale's earliest consistent version is given in the thirteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum*. The tale became extremely popular as of the sixteenth century, when it was first published separately in Germany.

16. The tale of "Ḥasan the Seller of Herbal Tea," not published by Galland, was told on June 2, 1709 (Galland, 1: 373–76). It is the only tale from Diyāb's repertoire that escapes classification according to the international system. Yet it is composed of a number of stock motifs from Arabic narrative tradition that are well-documented in other tales of the *Nights*, such as "The Second Shaykh's Story" (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen 1: 377–78) and "The Eldest Lady's Tale" (1: 174–75), both belonging to the core corpus of the *Nights*. Essentially, the tale is about a poor man who makes his fortune, first by saving the money he makes from selling herbal tea, and then by freeing a princess who had been held captive by a demon (whom he kills). Although an envious merchant tries to deprive him of his goods, the testimony of the princess helps him regain his possession and the princess herself.

In each of the cases detailed above, Ḥannā Diyāb's role is that of a link in a web of tradition that chronologically extends both before and after him. Although a considerable number of the tales are not known from international tradition prior to Diyāb's performance, the storyteller is bound to have profited from the

oral tradition of his native city of Aleppo, then a bustling trade center in whose international atmosphere all kinds of traditions met and merged (Bottigheimer, "East Meets West"; Heyberger in Dyâb, 7–47). Though the exact relation of his tales to other versions of the same tales documented in international tradition remains to be explored in detail, as a storyteller he proves to be well-versed and firmly rooted in an international web of tradition linking regions from as far as Southeast Asia via India and Iran to the West. Not all of Diyāb's tales necessarily derive from ancient "Oriental" tradition. Quite to the contrary, it is not unlikely that several of the items he told derive from tales that originated in the West and reached the Eastern Mediterranean world before the beginning of the eighteenth century, whether by way of oral or written tradition.

As this question needs further research, so do the repercussions of Diyāb's tales in subsequent oral tradition, particularly that of the Western world. This question is extremely difficult to disentangle for tales that also exist outside of and independently from Diyāb's repertoire, since a detailed textual analysis is needed in order to determine the degree to which oral versions documented in the nineteenth and twentieth century do or do not relate to Diyāb's versions. The question is somewhat easier to solve for those tales that are first documented in Diyāb's oral repertoire. As Aboubakr Chraïbi has convincingly argued in his diligent analysis of various modern oral versions of the tale of "Ali Baba" in comparison to both Galland's notes and his published version, the lack of previous evidence does not necessarily equal the evidence of previous lack. Even so, until further evidence is disclosed, we may presume that Diyāb's tales rarely competed with other versions in influencing subsequent oral tradition. To the best of our present knowledge, the tales spread and became part of international tradition only after Galland included rewritten and elaborated versions of Diyāb's performances in his *Mille et Une Nuit*. And even if other contemporaneous versions may have existed, the overwhelming presence of Galland's publication is bound to have outshone their influence by far.

Besides the famous tales of "Aladdin" and "Ali Baba," other tales not documented prior to Galland's publication include the tale of "Blind Man Bābā ʿAbdallāh" and the tale of "Khawājā Ḥasan al-Ḥabbāl," and—to certain extent—also the tales of "Sīdī Nuʿmān," "Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Perī-Bānū," and "The Sultan of Samarkand and His Three Sons." The codification of these tales as tale types in modern folk-narrative research bespeaks the tremendous impact Diyāb's tales had on popular European narrative tradition by way of the countless individual and public readings as well as retellings that Galland's publication or its translations into various European languages must have experienced. In fact, thanks to these tales, Diyāb is the internationally most influential individual early modern narrator known by name.

That said, Galland never publicly acknowledged his indebtedness to Diyāb, and even recent research often reduces this storyteller's tremendous contribution to the lasting success of Galland's *Nights* to that of a subaltern who furnished the raw material that Galland later turned into a masterpiece of world literature. Until recently, the only information about "Hanna" was his name and the basic information Galland mentioned concerning his background. The publication of the French translation of Diyāb's Arabic diary of his travels in the company of Paul Lucas now fleshes him out as an individual and also as a gifted storyteller in his own right. Although Galland deserves to be credited with making the *Nights* famous, it was the addition of Diyāb's tales that made the *Nights* immortal. Considering the historical fact that popular tales recorded from oral tradition in Europe are only documented after the beginning of the nineteenth century and in the aftermath of the *Children and Household Tales* (1812–14) published by the German brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, it is high time that Ḥannā Diyāb and his early eighteenth-century performances receive their due credit in historical and comparative folk narrative research as well as in the appreciation of the general public. After all, it is this gifted Syrian storyteller to whom the tales in the final volumes of Galland's *Thousand and One Nights* owe much of their charm, fascination, and enduring fame.

Notes

1. The present introduction to Ḥannā Diyāb's tales is an adapted, enlarged, and updated version of my oral presentation at the 2012 Copenhagen conference "The Syrian-French Connection: Antoine Galland's and Hanna Diyab's *Arabian Nights*." Another version of the conference presentation with a distinctly different focus (and some overlap) is being published as "Hannā Diyāb's Unpublished Tales."
2. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061484b.r=galland%20journal?rk=85837;2 (accessed July 1, 2017).
3. Except for the tales not included in the *Nights*, the titles of the less well-known tales are quoted (with added diacritics) as they appear in the *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen).
4. In early eighteenth-century usage, the word "nuit" did not have a plural "s."
5. Strictly speaking, Gerhardt (13–14) labeled eight of Galland's twenty-one tales as "orphan tales." Two of these, "Zayn al-Aṣnām" and "Khudādād and His Brothers" were introduced into Galland's *Nights* from François Pétis de la Croix's French translation of the Ottoman Turkish collection *Ferec ba'd eş-şidde*, some more of whose tales Pétis de la Croix published as *Les Mille et Un Jours* (The Thousand and One Days) in 1712–14; see Karateke; Marzolph, *Relief after Hardship* 14.
6. According to present-day standards, calling the storyteller only by his given name risks to imply the exploitation of a subaltern or individual of lower social status. To avoid this implication and to do the storyteller's achievement justice, in the following, he will be called either with his full name or only with his family name.

7. There is no documentation that Galland ever used this reference. Summaries of the epic tale of ʻAlī Zaybaq are given by Lyons, 2: 9–17, and 3: 2–16.
8. Tale types are quoted according to Uther. As a standard work of reference for comparative folk narrative research, the tale type index is commonly quoted without page numbers.

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