The Literary Genre of "Oriental Miscellany"

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Ten years before the initial volume of his *Mille et une nuit*, Antoine Galland in 1694 published his first contribution to the study of Oriental literatures, a little booklet titled Les Paroles remarquables, les Bons mots, et les Maximes des Orientaux.² Galland's enlarged adaptation of the Arabic Alf layla wa layla not only created the phenomenon known as The Arabian Nights with whose modern history his name remains inseparably connected, but also initiated a tremendous interest in Oriental manners and matters that in its turn formed the basis of romantic Orientalism. His booklet of *Paroles remarquables*, on the contrary, today is more or less forgotten. Yet, this booklet also initiated a literary genre in its own right. This genre for want of a commonly accepted terminology will here be discussed under the label of "Oriental Miscellany". While the genre has been little studied, for about a century and a half it was quite popular in French, German, and English literature and still lingers on today in modern anthologies of clippings from, predominantly, medieval Arabic literature. The present essay will introduce the genre of "Oriental Miscellany" and present in some detail two of its most important representatives. It will then proceed to discuss some of the genre's implications for the transmission and study of the medieval narrative repertoire of Arabic—or, more exactly, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—literature. My concluding remarks aim to posit the genre against the backdrop of the contemporary political situation.

In terms of Oriental literature, besides the *Paroles remarquables*, Galland also prepared a little known translation of the *Homāyūn-nāme*, ^cAlī Çelebī's Turkish translation of the Persian *Anvār-e Soheili*, itself a version of the Arabic collection of fables known as *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Galland's booklet of *Paroles remarquables* was published separately in 1694 (Paris, The Hague) and 1695 (Lyon) and again, under the title of *Orientaliana*, in 1708 (Paris) and 1730 (Amsterdam). Moreover, it gained a potentially wide audience by being appended to editions of Denis Dominique Cardonne's *Mélanges de littérature orientale* and Barthélemi d'Herbelot's tremendously influential *Bibliothèque orientale*. As for Cardonne's book, the *Paroles remarquables* are appended to

¹ A. Galland, *Mille et une nuit*.

² Id., Paroles.

³ Id., Contes; see V. Chauvin, Bibliographie, vol. 2, p. 52, no. 76 A.

⁴ Recent reprint: Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1999.

the French editions published in The Hague 1771 and 1788 and the English translation titled *A Miscellany of Eastern Learning* published in London 1771. In d'Herbelot's encyclopedia, they are contained in two of the French editions, the one volume edition published in Maestricht 1776–80 and the four volume edition published in The Hague 1777 and 1783; besides, they are also appended to d'Herbelot's German edition of 1787. Altogether, the *Paroles remarquables* were published no less than twelve times in a period of less than ninety years.⁵

In the introduction to the *Paroles remarquables*, ⁶ Galland posits his work within the contemporary debate known as "querelle des anciens et des modernes" that had been initiated by Charles Perrault. Clearly supporting the position of ancient literature, Galland presents his anthology as a Near Eastern sibling of the apophthegms of Plutarch and Valerius Maximus. Following Plutarch's intention as aiming to prove the spirit of the great men of ancient times, Galland justifies his own work by his intention to explore and make known the spirit and genius of what he calls "the Orientals"—a term which in his notion comprises not only Arabs and Persians, but also Turks and Turkic peoples, and actually "almost all the Asian peoples up to China, whether they are Muslim, pagan or heathen". In the same manner as the Paroles remarquables would represent the sincerity and justice of the soul, the Bons Mots would demonstrate the liveliness, subtlety, and even the naïveté of the Oriental mind, and both approaches combined would prove that "the Orientals" are neither less spirited nor less lively than "les peuples du Couchant", the Western Europeans. Galland moreover consciously refrains from interpreting the material he presents and explicitly refers the readers to their own judgment in order to find out "whether they have reason to believe that [the Orientals] are less spirited or less endowed with human intellect than the other nations that are better known to us because they are our neighbors." While his approach thus shows a humanist inclination, Galland's "holistic" vision of the Orient betrays the contemporary attitude that ever since the discussion initiated by Edward Said's declaration of *Orientalism*⁷ has been held responsible for propagating an undifferentiated view of the multiplicity of Oriental peoples and cultures.

The tales Galland presents are extracted from various works of Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature, predominantly works of history. In addition, he has also exploited various works of an entertaining and moralizing nature such as the Persian *Golestān* of Sa^cdi and the *Bahārestān* of Ğāmi or the Turkish *History of Poets* by Letifi. While in referring to the *Maximes*, Galland acknowledges the primacy of the Latin works of Thomas Erpenius and Jaco-

⁵ For editions of the *Paroles* see V. Chauvin, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 35-36, nos. 81 A-I and vol. 9, p. 58. The edition used here is the one of La Haye: Louis & Henry van Dole, 1694.

⁶ For the following see the "Avertissement", no pagination.

⁷ E. Said, *Orientalism*. For the impact of Said's book, see most recently R. Irwin, *For Lust*.

bus Golius, his anthology coins and initiates the literary genre of "Oriental Miscellany" in the European vernacular languages. Moreover, as Galland's selection of tales is focused on the exemplary behavior of wise men and rulers from Alexander the Great to the Mongol emperors, in addition to exploring what he labels the "spirit of the Orientals" he succeeds in molding a convincing representative of the "irror for princes" genre. The relation of this aspect of his work to the contemporary political situation will be discussed in some detail in my concluding remarks.

The genre Galland's Paroles remarquables initiated, in the listing the German Orientalist scholar Anton Theodor Hartmann published in 1800 (and continued in 1806), comprises some thirty collections drawing from what Hartmann regards as "genuine" Oriental sources—which he sets off against the invented literary tales in the Oriental style. Some of the better known items include the Contes orientaux tirés des ms. de la Bibliothèque du Roy de France compiled by Anne Claude Philippe Comte de Caylus (1743; English translation 1745), the Anecdotes arabes et musulmans by Jean François de La Croix and Antoine Hornot (Paris 1772), the Nouveaux Contes turcs et arabes by M. Digeon (Paris 1781) and the Apologues et contes orientaux by François Blanchet (Paris 1784). Besides Galland's work and, as mentioned above, in several editions physically combined with it, the most influential representative of the genre is Cardonne's Mélanges de littérature orientale. Cardonne, who was born in Paris in 1720, had lived in Constantinople from the age of nine to twenty, upon his return to Paris had acquired the chair of Turkish and Persian at the Collège Royal and had subsequently been nominated interpreter of the King for Oriental languages in 1750. His two-volume anthology of Oriental tales was first published in Paris in 1770 (original edition by Hérissant; second edition by Hérissant le Fils). Only one year later, two translations were published, the German one titled Versuche der Orientalischen Literatur (Breßlau 1771); the English one is titled A Miscellany of Eastern Learning (London 1771) and, following the edition The Hague 1771, also contains a version of Galland's Paroles remarquables. At least two more separate editions of Paris 1772 (Delalain) and The Hague 1788 (including the *Paroles remarquables*) are known to exist. 10

Cardonne's *Mélanges* are structured fairly similarly to Galland's *Paroles remarquables* inasmuch as the translation of the seventeenth-century Turkish poet Nābī's famous *Ḥayriyya*, a didactic poem addressed to his son, is relegated to the end of the second volume—similar to the position of the *Maximes* in Galland's volume. Nevertheless, Cardonne puts a stronger emphasis than Galland on popular entertaining narratives and, probably, also includes some

⁸ For the "mirrors for princes" literature, see A. De Benedictis (ed.), *Specula principum*; St. Leder, "Speculum principum".

 $^{^9\,}$ Th. Hartmann, Asiatische Perlenschnur, pp. 1-XCV; Id., Morgenländische Erzählungen.

¹⁰ For editions of Cardonnes *Mélanges* see V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, pp. 57-58. The edition used here is the one Paris: Hérissant le Fils, 1770.

funnier and more appealing tales. Resulting from its appeal, the actual success of Cardonne's book cannot be judged solely from its separate or complete editions. As has already been noted by Victor Chauvin, tales from Cardonne have often been quoted in various other contexts, such as the enlarged French editions of the Mille et un jours by Rapilly (1826), Loiseleur (1838) and Pajot (1843), as well as the German edition by von der Hagen (1827–28). 11 Moreover, most of the German representatives of the genre of "Oriental Miscellany" published in the nineteenth century profit to some extent from Cardonne's anthology, including Hartmann's Asiatische Perlenschnur (2 vols., Berlin 1800-1) and Morgenländische Erzählungen (Leipzig 1806), August Jacob Liebeskind's Palmblätter (prefaced by Johann Gottfried Herder; new edition by Friedrich Adolph Krummacher, 4 vols., Berlin 1821), the anonymous Erzählungen, Fabeln und kleine Geschichten aus dem Orient (Jena 1804), and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's *Rosenöl* (1813). In addition to the entertaining value of the tales presented by Cardonne, several other aspects might also have assured the success of his anthology: first, Cardonne not only mentions his sources summarily in the introduction such as does Galland, but also quotes the exact source with reference to a manuscript in the Royal Library at the beginning of each tale; in this manner, he invites his readers to verify and exploit his sources. Second, Cardonne's commentaries to the quoted tales are sparser than Galland's, in whose booklet the tales would at times regularly alternate with commentaries. And third, while Cardonne acknowledges having used to some extent the same sources as "Messieurs d'Herbelot, Galand & de la Croix", ¹² he claims to have chosen his tales with particular attention to new and hitherto unpublished material. A thorough comparison of Cardonne's selection with the previously published books actually reveals a certain amount of duplication, but even so the compiler has been wise enough to add an apologetic remark for what he regards as an accidental slip of attention ("il se pourroit cependant qu'il se fût glissé ici quelque Histoire qui se trouveroit ailleurs sans que je le susse").

Both Galland's *Paroles remarquables* and Cardonne's *Mélanges de litté-rature orientale* share the potential of contributing to popularizing entertaining and moralizing narratives from the Oriental literatures concerned.

Turkish tales include two anecdotes quoted by Galland in the name of an unnamed man from the Anatolian town of Sivri-Hissar. In the first tale, the "bon homme" is asked by his neighbor how he should treat his hurting eye; the man recalls how his bad tooth had been extracted the year before and advises the same treatment, namely to pull out the eye. ¹³ In the second tale, a man is

¹¹ V. Chauvin, *ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 58; see also *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 123-132.

¹² This and the following quotation from the "Préface", no pagination.

¹³ A. Galland, *Paroles*, pp. 16-17. Galland's "remarque" reads: "Sivri-Hissar est une petite ville de l'Anatolie dont les habitans ont la reputation d'être simples." This anecdote is first attested in the collection of jocular tales compiled by the Persian author "Obeid-e Zākāni (died 1371); see U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, vol. 1, p. 111.

used to securing his axe in a locked box. When asked why he does so, he argues that the cat might steal it. And when further challenged that the cat would not possibly steal an axe, he argues that the cat has stolen a piece of liver costing an *asper* and a half, so why would it not steal an axe worth twenty *asper*?¹⁴ Both tales due to their location in Sivri-Hissar can easily be identified as belonging to the repertoire of tales about Nasreddin Hodja, the trickster whose tales have been documented in Turkish manuscript collections since the fifteenth century.¹⁵ While more extensive collections of Nasreddin Hodja-tales in French were only published as of the nineteenth century, Galland's renderings constitute an early, if not the earliest Western European quotation of such tales.

Persian tales, or rather tales from Persian sources, include a substantial amount of jocular narratives extracted from Ğāmi's *Bahārestān*, and also comprise what is most probably the first mention of the Wise fool Bohlul in a European language. In the first one, Bohlul is requested to compile a list of the stupid people in Basra; he asks to be excused from this enormous task and instead offers to compile a list of the clever people in Basra, as there obviously are so few. In the second anecdote, the king's vizier aims to make fun at Bohlul by telling him that the king has nominated him as the ruler of the monkeys and boars; Bohlul reacts by immediately requesting the vizier to obey his orders, thus insinuating that he regards him as one of the before-mentioned species. Together with some other duplicates, the first of the two anecdotes is notably contained in both Galland's and Cardonne's anthologies, thus refuting Cardonne's claim concerning the exclusive nature of his selection.

While the Turkish and Persian sources Galland and Cardonne exploited may or may not contain original material in their own right, a considerable amount of the tales quoted by both compilers is derived from Arabic sources. In Galland's selection, at least some twenty-five of the shorter jocular narratives have been documented from pre-modern Arabic literature. ¹⁹

Particularly in the work's latter half, Galland quotes at length stories about the Mongol emperors. The frame of his anthology is, however, constructed by tales that are unmistakably quoted from Arabic sources. The first anecdote, preceded only by a short admonishment quoted in the name of the prophet Muḥammad's favorite spouse ${}^{\circ}\bar{A}{}^{\circ}i\check{s}a$, is that of Hormozān, the ruler of the Persian city of Šuštar, who, when about to be executed by Caliph ${}^{\circ}Umar$, was

¹⁴ A. Galland, *Paroles*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ See G. Kut, "Nasreddin Hoca", pp. 147-200, nos. 74, 300.

¹⁶ A. Galland, *Paroles*, p. 34. For parallel versions see U. Marzolph, *Der Weise Narr Buhlūl*, p. 44, no. 63.

¹⁷ A. Galland, *ibid.*, pp. 34-35. For parallel versions see U. Marzolph, *Der Weise Narr Buhlūl*, p. 51, no. 89.

¹⁸ D. Cardonne, *Mélanges*, vol. 2, pp. 119-120.

¹⁹ See the index listing in U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, vol. 2, p. 300.

granted security until he would have drunk the glass of water he had asked for—cleverly, he dropped the glass of water before drinking and profited from his enemy's sincere promise not to kill him.²⁰ The final narrative quoted by Galland deserves to be quoted at length, as it constitutes an important link between strands of Oriental and Western tradition:

In the days of Jesus, three travelers found a treasure on their way and said between themselves: "We are hungry. One of us should go to the city and buy something to eat." So one of them separated from the others and went away in order to fetch something to prepare a meal. But he said to himself: "I must poison the meat so they will die when eating it, and I will be the only one to profit from the treasure!" He then executed his plan and put some poison in the food he brought back. While he had been away, the two others had thought of the same strategy against him. When he returned, they killed him and became the sole owners of the treasure. After killing him, they ate the poisoned meat, and both of them also died.

Now Jesus and his apostles passed by the place where these things had happened, and Jesus said: "This is how the world is! Look at how it has treated these three persons. Misery upon him who demands riches from it!" 21

This tale can easily be recognized as a counterpart to Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, and has been registered by comparative folk narrative research as tale-type AaTh/ATU 763.²² While the tale's roots go back to ancient Buddhist narrative tradition, the mention of Jesus in the tale's frame is germane to Islamic tradition. In Arabic and Persian sources, probably deriving from an apocryphal Christian version and starting with al-Tabarī's (died 923) commentary to the Koran, the tale has been documented in different textual versions of varying length. Chauvin has also pointed out its occurrence in the Breslau edition of the Arabian Nights and, subsequently, in the translations of Habicht, Payne, Burton, and Henning.²³ As in the case of the previously quoted jocular narratives about the "bon homme" of Sivri-Hissar and Bohlul, Galland's rendering of the Islamic version constitutes another first instance of an "Oriental" narrative being made accessible to a European readership in translation. The fact that no traces of this version in Western oral tradition can be found may be interpreted in various ways. Probably, the collectors of narratives from oral tradition in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would not have considered this narrative as genuine, since it was quite obviously derived from a written source and not from the anonymous collective "folk" memory whose tradition they aimed to document. On the other hand, the lacking influence of this version on European oral tradition also underlines the obvious

²⁰ A. Galland, *Paroles*, pp. 2-3; see U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, vol. 2, no. 138.

²¹ A. Galland, *Paroles*, pp. 225-226.

References to the following see U. Marzolph, "Schatzfinder". In the following AaTh = A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *Types*; ATU = H.-J. Uther, *Types*.

²³ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, pp. 100-101, no. 73; see also U. Marzolph, and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights*, vol. 2, pp. 415-416, no. 299.

argument that the particular readership of Galland's work was not in close contact with the rural peasant population whose oral tradition later collectors would document.

In contrast to Galland, Cardonne's selection includes a considerable amount of folktales that have been widely documented from Oriental as well as Western tradition. Cases in point include the tale of Aristotle and Phyllis (AaTh/ATU 1501), in which the aged philosopher succumbs to the wishes of his female beloved to ride on his back before giving in to his desire;²⁴ the tale of the tailor's dream (AaTh/ATU 1574), in which the tailor dreams of stealing pieces of cloth from his customers;²⁵ and the tale of the equivocal oath (AaTh/ATU 1418), in which the unfaithful woman tricks her lover into touching her in an unsuspicious situation, so that she is later able to swear in public that nobody except her husband and "that man" ever touched her. 26 Predominantly Oriental tale-types or oicotypes include the tale of the clever woman who tricks the boastful man into an extremely uncomfortable situation and thus makes him understand that there is no limit to the wiles of women;²⁷ the tale of the unfaithful trustee, who is only convinced to return the man's deposit when he is tricked into believing that he is to receive a still larger deposit instead (AaTh/ATU 1617);²⁸ the tale of the king for a year, who must profit from his one-year rule in order to secure provisions for his later life (ATU 944);²⁹ and the tale of the betrayed depositor who abducts the trustee's children and later pretends that they have been transformed to bears (AaTh/ATU 1592 A). 30

Probably the funniest tale in Cardonne's anthology, and certainly the most influential one in later selections from the *Mélanges* and beyond, is the tale of stingy Abū al-Qāsim Tambūrī who when trying to get rid of his old slippers causes one unlucky incident after the other. In the end, he is forced to have the Qadi (in the words of Alexander Clouston) "publish an order that no one may any more impute to [him] the disasters [the slippers] may yet occasion". This tale, whose first written version dates from Ibn Ḥiǧǧa al-Ḥamawī's adabanthology *Tamarāt al-awrāq* ("The Fruits of [Reading Dispersed] Leaves"), compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is quoted by Cardonne from Turkish author Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdam's work 'Aǧā'ib al-ma'ātir wa ġarā'ib al-nawādir ("The Wonders of Remarkable Incidents and Rarities of

²⁴ D. Cardonne, *Mélanges*, vol. 1, pp. 16-21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-28; see also U. Marzolph, *Typologie*, type *1351 B.

²⁸ D. Cardonne, *Mélanges*, vol. 1, pp. 61-64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-77.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 63-69.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 95-104.

³² W.A. Clouston, "Oriental Wit", p. 87.

³³ Ibn Ḥiǧǧa al-Ḥamawī, *Ṭamarāt al-awrāq*, ed. Qumayḥa, pp. 287-288.

Anecdotes"), composed for Ottoman Sultan Murād IV who reigned from 1623 to 1640. Since Cardonne includes a number of tales from the ${}^cA\check{g}\bar{a}{}^\circ ib$ alma ${}^o\bar{a}tir$, Chauvin even felt entitled to dedicate a separate entry to this important collection—even though, as he admits, the Turkish work in strict terms is beyond the limitations of his Bibliographie. Incidentally, the aftermath of this tale in both Western and Oriental tradition is quite fascinating: on the one hand, the tale is quite popular in Arabic oral tradition of the twentieth century; on the other, it has given rise to a number of adapted retellings and recreations in French and English literature of the nineteenth century. So here we have a case in which the introduction of an Oriental tale to a Western audience has resulted in different ways of creative adaptation.

In order to evaluate the hypothetical impact the genre of "Oriental Miscellany" could have had on the European readership, it is necessary to cast a quick glance at the contemporary political situation in France and, later, Germany. When Galland published his *Paroles remarquables*, the power of the "Roi Soleil" Louis XIV (reigned 1643–1715) was still unquestioned. Even though any work of the "mirror for princes" genre might implicitly be understood not only to advise but also to admonish or criticize the ruler, Galland's anthology in its contemporary context was obviously taken for its humanist value, as a well-intended addition to the knowledge about the "Oriental" civilizations as sibling cultures of the Western nations. Even the concluding sentence in the final tale, thus a sentence in a very prominent position, reading "Malheur à celui qui [...] demande des richesses", 37 was quite obviously not taken to be directed at the contemporary audience, but rather understood as expressing the moral values of a distant culture whose criticism of mundane vanities would—in principle—correspond to one's own Christian values. With the reign of Louis XV (reigned 1715–1774) the tone of some of the French "Oriental Miscellanies" changes. Out of the narratives in the *Anecdotes arabes* et musulmanes (Paris 1772), every other tale about unjust kings and tyrants might also be read as part of the rising public discourse of civil discontent in France. From a later perspective, the work's title even appears to be somewhat prophetic. According to its subtitle, the anthology includes anecdotes from the establishment of Islam in Arabia "up to the total extinction of the Caliphate" thus, in some way, foreshadowing the French Revolution that took place just seventeen years later. Nevertheless, even this anthology passed the censor's office and received the "approbation & privilège du Roi" as required.

The readership addressed by the French "Oriental Miscellanies" was primarily one of nobility and courtiers. This fact also explains why the genre went out of use in France with the event of the Revolution, as both the authors

³⁴ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 9, p. 57, no. 66.

³⁵ H.M. El-Shamy, *Types*, p. 649, type 0946E§.

³⁶ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 129-130, no. 283; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, vol. 1, pp. 164-167, no. 14.

³⁷ A. Galland, *Paroles*, p. 226.

or compilers and the audience for this kind of anthology were not in power any more. In Germany, the contemporary political situation was decisively different, and the readership of the genre, as has been convincingly argued for the German adaptation of Galland's Mille et une nuit by Johann Heinrich Voss (1781–85), was to be found in the intellectual middle-classes of urban population.³⁸ In consequence, the German branch of the genre continued to exist and flourish after the French Revolution, even though its intention was probably different from what it had been in the French predecessors. German Orientalist scholar Hartmann in the preface to his Asiatische Perlenschnur (1800) still acknowledges the tales' capacity to inform the readers about Oriental customs and mentality—even though his sketch of the major preoccupations of Oriental males is not exactly favorable but rather derogatory.³⁹ Contrasting with this, Krummacher's introduction to the *Palmblätter* (1821), an anthology explicitly addressing young adults, expresses the rather strange conviction that no nation is better equipped than the German one to transfer itself into foreign countries and adopt the positive qualities inherent in foreign cultures. 40 Though Krummacher's intention in underlining this adaptive quality was probably good, history would later cynically prove his vision to bring forth quite different results.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the genre of "Oriental Miscellany" appears to have gone out of currency. The widely accessible first-hand experience of Oriental cultures contrasting with previous knowledge that had largely been based on traditional written documents might have contributed to this development as much as a growing scholarly approach in contrast to the previous philosophic one. Modern collections such as Khati Cheghlou's Histoires arabes (Paris 1927) or, most recently, Jean-Jacques Schmidt's Le Livre de l'humour arabe (Paris 2005) are but faint memories of the truly humanist literary genre of "Oriental Miscellany" that in addition to conveying the "spirit of the Orientals" also introduced a considerable amount of inspiring Oriental narratives to the Western public.

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³⁸ E.-P. Wieckenberg, *Johann Heinrich Voβ*.

³⁹ See Th. Hartmann, *Asiatische Perlenschnur*, p. X, where he opines that "Oriental males do not like to move around, but rather prefer to stay seated all day long and listen to tales".

⁴⁰ A.J. Liebeskind, *Palmblätter*, pp. XXVII ff.

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