Ulrich Marzolph

The Hundred and One Nights: A Recently Acquired Old Manuscript

The Book of the Stories of the Hundred and One Nights, in Arabic (Hadīth) Mi'at layla wa-layla, is a sibling to the Book of the Stories of the Thousand and One Nights, commonly referred to as Alf layla wa-layla. The Thousand and One Nights, better known in English as the Arabian Nights, were "discovered" and subsequently translated by the French scholar Antoine Galland at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since then, they have become part of world literature. In fact, the monumental impact of the Thousand and One Nights on world culture can hardly be overestimated. First, the work has decisively shaped French literature of the eighteenth century and onwards, in particular the French genre of conte de fées and novels "in the Oriental mode"; second, it has contributed to the Western perception of "the Orient" and related concepts, in particular the notion of "Orientalism" as a preconceived and biased notion of the Muslim world; and third, while originating from the "simple" effort of translation, Galland's Mille et une Nuits has introduced to world literature a collection of tales that in terms of its international repercussion in imagination and creativity is second only to the Bible (which, notably, is also a work of Near Eastern origin). Besides inspiring innumerable translations into dozens of world languages as well as literary adaptations and imitations, the Thousand and One Nights have left their imprint in painting, theatre, opera, ballet, film, and many other areas. Even while Galland's translation was still being published in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the work's fame had already spread to other European cultures, in particular England and Germany. Since the nineteenth century, the Thousand and One Nights have become a truly international phenomenon, branching out over all continents and linking to cultures as different as Japan and East Africa.2

In contrast to its famous sibling, the text of the *Hundred and One Nights* remains little known even today. In fact, besides Belgian bibliographer Victor Chauvin and a few other scholars, predominantly nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French specialists of Arabic

literature and folklore,³ not many have ever taken notice of the *Hundred and One Nights*. And yet, the book offers entertaining reading to the general public in its own right. At the same time, from a scholarly perspective – that has been propagated above all by Aboubakr Chraïbi⁴ – it suggests valuable insights into the history of the collection of stories of which both works, the *Hundred and One Nights* and the *Thousand and One Nights*, are but two different versions.

Both works overlap in that they introduce a specific narrative frame that is germane to these two collections only. The main trait of the narrative frame is defined by presenting a king who, after the traumatic experience of witnessing his wife's debauchery, decides to marry a virgin every day, only to kill her right after the wedding night. The king is only cured from his cruel habit by the vizier's daughter Shahrazād. The young woman manages to win the king's attention by telling stories whose sequel she promises for the following night — should the king permit her to live on. In the end, after having told her stories for a certain length of time, Shahrazād manages to win the king's affection, and the action dissolves in a happy ending. This frame applies more or less to both collections, yet the individual versions of the frame also differ in a number of points. These points concern details of the framing narrative as well as the number and the nature of the embedded tales.

First and foremost, the *Thousand and One Nights* covers a much longer period, i.e. almost three years, while the *Hundred and One Nights* lasts for a period of little more than three months. In terms of practical consequences, Shahrazād at the end of some versions of the *Thousand and One Nights* has given birth to three children,⁵ while in the *Hundred and One Nights* her pregnancy is just becoming obvious; in both versions the development serves to win her the king's pardon, since she is about to give birth to his own offspring. Another practical result of the varying length of the two collections is the differing number of tales embedded within the narrative frame. The *Thousand and One Nights* contains hundreds of narratives of various genres, such as tales of magic and sorcery, long epics, and a large number of short fables, religious legends and anecdotes alluding to the lives of historical or pseudo-historical characters.⁶ The *Hundred and One Nights*, to the contrary, in most versions contains just less than a mere twenty tales.

Second, the nature of the tales contained in both collections differs. The original kernel of the *Thousand and One Nights* consists of a fairly small number of narratives that appear to be consciously designed so as to mirror the precarious condition of the storyteller herself. After all, Shahrazād tells stories in order to save her life (and, by extension, the lives of all females the king would otherwise marry and eventually kill). The first narratives embedded in the frame of the *Thousand and One Nights* – such as the stories of *The Merchant and the Jinni*, *The Fisherman and the 'Ifrit*, *The Porter and the Three Ladies*, and several more – mirror the storyteller's dilemma in that the lives of their characters are also threatened and the stories are told to enable the characters' survival. The specific relation between the embedding frame narrative and the early embedded tales suggests the conscious design of an author. It is abandoned in the later stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*, notably those that were later added in the numerous manuscripts of the *Thousand and One Nights* compiled in an attempt to produce a "complete" version of the work in order to satisfy the growing demand for such a version after the publication of Galland's translation. A similar relation between the frame tale and the embedded

narratives does not occur in the *Hundred and One Nights*, where Shahrazād simply tells attractive and instructive stories in order to entertain the king and arouse his curiosity so that she may live on to the following night. In this manner, the frame of the *Hundred and One Nights* appears as less intricately designed and more straightforward than that of the *Thousand and One Nights*. This apparent simplicity may or may not bespeak an earlier stage of development in contrast to a later stage as witnessed in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Several of the stories contained in the *Hundred and One Nights* share a self-reflective, almost mystical tendency, in that they allude to the inevitable end of human life by illustrating the admonition to consider one's deeds in this world in preparation for the consequences in the hereafter. This characteristic, best illustrated by the literary trope known as *ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?* ("Where are those who were before us in this world?"), is particularly evident in the lengthy tale of *The City of Brass*, an originally independent narrative that is included in several manuscripts of the *Hundred and One Nights* and forms a standard constituent of the *Thousand and One Nights*.⁸

A third point of difference relates to the regional origin of the collections as well as to the period in which they were compiled. The earliest known information about the existence of the Thousand and One Nights is included in two Arabic works dating to the tenth century CE. Both the historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956) and the Baghdad bookseller Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995) testify to the existence of a book of Persian origin whose frame tale more or less corresponds to that of the work's extant manuscripts. Virtually all of the manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights preserved today have been produced in the eastern heartlands of the Islamic world, i.e. in Syria or Egypt. The oldest known manuscript of the Thousand and One Nights is a Syrian manuscript dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. While less than a dozen manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights are known to date from the period before Galland's translation, 10 numerous manuscripts were produced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, above all in Egypt. Moreover, many of the tales presented in the Thousand and One Nights allude to historical circumstances of the Eastern parts of the Islamic world, notably the 'Abbasid period with the eighth-century caliph Harun al-Rashid residing in the city of Baghdad, and the Mamluk period (1250-1517) in Cairo. In contrast, the existing manuscripts of the Hundred and One Nights without any exception were produced in the Maghrib or the western periphery of the Islamic world, i.e. Muslim Spain and the western regions of North Africa.11 This fact is evident from the particular style of calligraphy these manuscripts are written in, a style known as maghribī. The calligraphy alone serves as a justification to regard the Hundred and One Nights as the shorter "western" sibling of the Thousand and One Nights. Moreover, several tales of the Hundred and One Nights mention members of the Umayyad family such as Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 715-717), Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, or 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 685-705), a feature that in view of the reign of the Spanish Umayyads (756-1031) might serve as a further indication of the work's origin in the Muslim West.12

As for the period in which the shorter collection was supposedly compiled, research has so far been at a loss to come up with any reasonably argued theses. While the *Thousand and One Nights* have been mentioned in Arabic sources at various intervals even before the date of the earliest extant manuscript, so far only a single mention of the *Hundred and One Nights* in an

Arabic source has been identified. This mention is found in the catalogue of books compiled by seventeenth-century Turkish scholar Hājjī Khalīfa (d. 1657). Hājjī Khalīfa attributes the compilation of the *Hundred and One Nights* to a certain "philosopher" (*faylasūf*) Fahrās (or Fahdās) who incidentally is mentioned in the Tarshūna edition as the narrator of the *Hundred and One Nights*, in a manner reminiscent of the ancient philosopher Bidpay who is said to have narrated the tales of the famous collection of fables, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, to king Dabshalīm. Hājjī Khalīfa either saw a different book from the one known today or only referred to the book without actually having read it, since he says that the *Hundred and One Nights* contain a hundred stories. However short and possibly even erroneous his mention of the book might be, it firmly establishes the existence of the *Hundred and One Nights* more than a century before the oldest dated manuscripts identified so far.

In comparison to the Thousand and One Nights, the number of manuscripts of the Hundred and One Nights is considerably smaller than that of its eastern sibling. Until recently, a mere eight manuscripts of the Hundred and One Nights were known to researchers. 16 Two manuscripts mentioned in earlier studies on the Hundred and One Nights as belonging to French Orientalist scholars René Basset and M. Sainte Croix de Pajot are not available any more. ¹⁷ Three manuscripts are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (nos. 3660, 3661, 3662), two in the Tunisian National Library (nos. 04576, 18260), and one in an Algerian private collection. While the majority of these manuscripts do not bear a clear indication of period of origin, three of them are dated. These are in chronological order: (1) the Paris manuscript 3662 dated 1190 H/1776 CE; this manuscript has been edited by Mahmūd Tarshūna in 1979; (2) the Algerian manuscript compiled by a certain al-Hājj al-Bāhī al-Būnī dated 1257 H/1841 CE; this manuscript has been edited by Shuraybit Ahmad Shuraybit in 2005; (3) the Tunis manuscript 04576 dated 1268 H/1852 CE. The manuscript Paris 3660 served as the basis of the French translation published by M. Gaudefroy Demombynes in 1911, while the translator's learned notes refer to the other two manuscripts preserved in Paris as well as to the one owned by Basset. Previous research agrees that the original compilation of the Hundred and One Nights was probably achieved much earlier than any one of the preserved manuscripts, and the Russian scholar Ignatij Krachkovskij has even proposed to date the collection's origin as early as the second half of the fourteenth century.18

A final point linking the *Hundred and One Nights* to its eastern sibling, the *Thousand and One Nights*, has so far only been mentioned in passing and needs to be discussed in some more detail. This point will also shed light on the genesis of the frame tale of both works as well as its reception in European literatures.¹⁹ In short, the frame tale ultimately derives from ancient Indian literature. In the frame tale of both works the king of a certain country invites another person living in a distant country to his court. The initial invitation produces the dynamics that then accelerate dramatically. As the invited person sets out for travel, he returns back home shortly after his departure since he has forgotten an item of some importance. Coming home unexpectedly, he witnesses his wife's infidelity, a fact that makes him disillusioned and depressed. Notably, his psychological state of mind also shows in his physical appearance. After several days in his host's presence, he witnesses the even greater debauchery

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of the king's wife (who often acts in a sexual orgy involving a considerable group of people). Only then do his good spirits return. Once the king notices this development, he requests to be informed, and once informed, he eventually decides to adopt his murderous ways of marrying a virgin every day and having her executed after the wedding night, so that no woman would ever again be able to betray him. In the Thousand and One Nights, the other person is the king's brother whom the king invites to come to his court since they have not seen each other for quite some time. In the Hundred and One Nights, however, the king follows a specific incentive to invite the other person to his court. Here, the king considers himself to be the most beautiful person on earth. Every year, he displays his beauty during a large festivity and, much like the evil stepmother in the European fairy tale of Snow-white, admires his beauty in a mirror challenging his followers to say whether there is any other person as beautiful as himself. This goes on until one day somebody informs the king of the existence of another person in a distant land who is supposed to be even more beautiful than the king. The king orders this person to be brought to his presence, but when the person arrives, his beauty has vanished due to the fact that when leaving he had witnessed his wife's infidelity. Moreover, the husband's trauma in the Hundred and One Nights is further motivated by the fact that when requested to visit the king, the husband had at first asked leave for a whole year so as not to leave his newlywed wife whom he loved dearly.

The element of the beauty contest and the related events as told in the frame tale of the Hundred and One Nights are already encountered in the tale's oldest version, dated to the year 251 CE, that is contained in the Tripitaka, a Chinese translation of Indian Buddhist tales. 20 The frame tale of the Hundred and One Nights thus mirrors a version older than the one in the frame tale of the Thousand and One Nights. In the Thousand and One Nights, instead of the strong motivation of the beauty contest we find the considerably weaker motivation of a family reunion. Moreover, the frame tale of the Thousand and One Nights has apparently been reworked and enlarged by integrating various other, originally independent tales, such as the tale of the woman who has been abducted by a demon but that, even though the demon keeps her in a basket, manages to seduce numerous men. The beauty contest also features in the introduction to the tale of Astolfo in Italian Renaissance author Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando furioso, compiled in 1516-1532.21 While Ariosto's tale has so far usually been taken as constituting an early European analogue to the frame tale of the Thousand and One Nights, it should in fact rather be considered as a close analogue to the frame tale of the Hundred and One Nights. Consequently, Ariosto's tale serves as an argument that the specific form of the frame tale involving the beauty contest was already known in the (western?) Mediterranean in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Arabic literature would suggest itself as the logical intermediary between the ancient Buddhist tale and its more recent analogues in the West. Even though previous research has not succeeded in documenting older written versions of the element of the beauty contest, evidence from oral tradition has been added to substantiate the claim for transmission. It is highly interesting to see the element of the beauty contest in nineteenth-century Hungarian folk-tales²² as well as in recent folk-tales from Belorussia²³ and Syria.²⁴ Considering the very specific and highly detailed corresponding sequences of events in

(Facing page)
Colophon of the
Kitāb al-jughrāfiyya
(cat. no. 53).

these tales, it appears likely that the different attestations of the element of the beauty contest are in some way related to each other.

Considering the above facts, the discovery of the manuscript now held by the Aga Khan Museum (cat. no. 53, AKM 00513) does not fall short of being truly sensational.²⁵ This recently discovered manuscript of the *Hundred and One Nights*, acquired at a Sotheby's auction in 2005, is bound together with a copy of the *Book of Geography (Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyya)* compiled by Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī, an author who is known to have lived in the Spanish city of Granada, then under Muslim domination, at the beginning of the twelfth century. The calligrapher's colophon dates the completion of his copy of the *Book of Geography* to the month Rabī' II of the year 632, a month that commenced on December 24, 1234. The manuscript is thus more than a century older than the book's oldest copy known so far, a Paris manuscript dated 1410. While the *Book of Geography* finishes on the *verso* side of the folio, the copy of the *Hundred and One Nights* only begins after an inserted sheet on the *verso* side of the following folio. Both books are written in a fairly similar clear *maghribī* hand and might or might not have been prepared by the very same calligrapher. Moreover, the paper of both books appears to be the same.

There are, however, various indications that serve as a caveat not to rush to the tempting conclusion that the dating of the first book would also be valid for the second one. Unfortunately, the newly acquired manuscript of the Hundred and One Nights is fragmentary, breaking off on the verso side of a folio numbered as 39; consequently, it does not have a colophon that could unambiguously document its dating. Since the work begins on fol. 1v, the text of this manuscript of the Hundred and One Nights comprises a total of 77 pages. Notably, only the folios of the Hundred and One Nights bear numbers that have been added in a European hand. Highly important is the fact that the pages holding the text of the Hundred and One Nights - contrary to that of the Book of Geography whose pages remain in a fragile condition - have been restored in the margins. Considering the modern techniques applied, the restoration has been reliably dated to later than the year 1970.²⁶ For restoration, the pages of the book obviously had to be separated from the binding, which in the manuscript's present state is a well preserved and probably fairly recent red leather cover. The restored pages of the Hundred and One Nights were bound together with the unrestored pages of the Book of Geography only after restoration was completed. Whatever might have prompted the manuscript's previous owner to conduct such a procedure is not clear, yet it creates some doubt as to whether the authentic dating of the first book can also be applied to the second book.

In terms of content, the Aga Khan manuscript (henceforth AKM) corresponds closely to the ones edited by Tarshūna (henceforth T) and Shuraybit (henceforth SH), thus containing the following tales:

No	Title	AKM	Night	T	Night	SH_	Night
1	The Merchant's Son	3v/-1	1	92	1	195	2
2	Najm al-Diyā'	7^/-3	7_	107	6	205	7
3	The Camphor Island	9v/3	12	128	13	217	13
4	Zāfir ibn Lāhiq	111/7	17	137	17	223	17
5_	The Vizier (and His Son)	14r/6	23	152	23	230	23
6	Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik	16r/10	- 28	164	28	236	28
	Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik	20r/-2	38	187	38	250	38
8	Gharibat al-Husn	210/3	40	192	40	254	40
9	The Young Man and His Cousin	23r/-7	44	201	44	261	44
10	The King and His Three Sons	24v/8	47	208	47	264	47
11	The Bracelet	25V/-5	50	215	50	268	- 51
12	The Four Companions	27r/-6	53	223	53	271	54
13	The Seven Viziers	28v/15	56	231	56	274	57
14	The King and the Snake	36r/-4	75	277	75	299	80
15	The Ebony Horse	39r/1	83	293	82	310	88

AKM breaks off at fol. 39v just after the beginning of night 84. While the tale of *The Ebony Horse* is the final one in SH, T (as well as two of the other manuscripts) has two more tales, the tales of *The King and the Gazelle* (begins p. 320, Night 95) and *The Vizier Ibn Abī I-Qamar and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān* (begins p. 335, Nights 100). Since the distribution of the nights in AKM is closer to T (and related manuscripts) than to SH, AKM might well have contained these two tales as well.

Out of the tales the Hundred and One Nights have in common with the Thousand and One Nights, the tale of the Seven Viziers deserves particular attention.²⁷ This tale, better known in western tradition as the Seven Sages (of Rome), is itself an originally independent frame tale containing a varying number of embedded short tales that serve as arguments in the discussion between the king's favourite and his viziers. About half of the tales embedded in the version of the Hundred and One Nights are also contained in the version of the Thousand and One Nights (nos. 13.2–13.12, 13.15, 13.19). The other embedded tales derive from a variety of sources. The first tale (no. 13.1) is only known from the early Persian version of the Seven Viziers, ²⁸ and a total of four tales (nos. 13.13, 13.14, 13.16, 13.18) are documented from the Syrian version of the Seven Viziers. A number of the embedded tales have over the centuries become so popular that they were eventually recorded as folktales from oral tradition, such as The Drop of Honey (no. 13.8), The Dog That Shed Tears (no. 13.12), The Snake and the Dog (no. 13.14), and The Three Wishes (no. 13.19).²⁹

Considering the above evaluation, the recently acquired manuscript offers fascinating new insights into the history of the *Hundred and One Nights* as well as into the relation of the smaller collection with the larger tradition of the *Thousand and One Nights*. Further scrutiny will have to supply reliable data for the dating of the manuscript's physical components, in particular the paper and ink. Moreover, a close reading of the text should bring to light clues for dating the manuscript in terms of language and wording. Whatever the results of any such future scrutiny will prove to be, until then it appears fairly safe to regard the manuscript in the Aga Khan

No	Title	AKM	' Т	SH	AN ³⁰	Chauvin 8 ³¹
13.1	The Trained Elephant	29r/4	233	276	_	35, no. 2
13.2	The Lion's Trace	30r/6	239	279	х	35, no. 3
13.3	The Parrot	30r/-9	241	280	х	36, no. 4
13.4	The Fuller and His Son	30v/11	242	- 281	х	37, no. 5
13.5	The Miser and the Loaves of Bread	30v/16	243	282	х	38, no. 6
13.6	The Lady and Her Two Lovers	31r/5	244	282	х	38, no. 7
13.7	The King's Son and the Ogress	31r/-4	246	284	х	39, no. 8
13.8	The Drop of Honey	31v/-5	249	285	х	41, no. 9
13.9	The Woman Who Made Her					
	Husband Sift Dust	32r/5	250	285	х	42, no. 10
13.10	The Enchanted Spring	32r/-7	251	286	x	43. no. 11
13.11	The King's Son and the					
	Hammam-keeper's Wife	320/11	253	286	x	44, no. 12
13.12	The Dog That Shed Tears	32V/-7	255	288	х	45, no. 13
13.13	The Monkey and the Wild Boar	33r/-3	258	290	х	66, no. 30
13.14	The Snake and the Dog	33V/3	259	290	_	66, no. 31
13.15	The Burned Clothes	33v/16	260	291	x	57, no. 23
13.16	The Lion and the Thief	34r/-6	264	292	_	67, no. 32 _32
13.17	The Fisherman and the King	34V/-13	266	294	_	_32
13.18	The Elephant Statue	34v/-1	267	295	_	68, no. 33
13.19	The Three Wishes	35r/13	269	295	х	51, no. 19
13.20	The Man Who Wrote A Book					
	about the Wiles of Women	35/-5	270	296	_	69, no. 34

Museum as an early example, and probably even the oldest manuscript of the *Hundred and One Nights* that has so far become known.

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- 24 Grotzfeld, Erzählungen, 139-143.
- 25 I would like to thank Mr. Benoît Junod, Director of the Aga Khan Museum collection, for making the newly acquired manuscript available to me in a most cordial manner.
- 26 See the detailed evaluation by the Atelier de Restauration Florence Dabre, prepared at the order of Mr. Benoît Junod, in summer 2010.
- 27 For the following discussion see Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 160–161; vol. 2, 703–704; Chraïbi, *Les Mille et une nuits*, 170–191.
- 28 Clouston 1884, pp. 17-21.
- 29 See Uther 2004, nos. 2036, 1515, 178 A, and 750 A.
- 30 AN = Arabian Nights; see Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, Encyclopedia, vol. 1, 160~161, no. 181.
- 31 Chauvin 8 = Victor Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes, vol. 8 (Liège 1904).
- 32 Ulrich Marzolph, Arabia ridens: Die humoristische Kurzprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht (Frankfurt 1992), vol. 2, 117–118, no. 468.

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