

## A Scholar in the Making: Antoine Galland's Early Travel Diaries in the Light of Comparative Folk Narrative Research

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### Abstract

Antoine Galland (1646–1715) is best known for his adapted translation of *Thousand and One Nights*, published in the final decade of his life (1704–1717), when he was a respected scholar. His interest for stories and storytelling, however, already shows in the diaries preserved from his sojourn in Constantinople in 1672–1673, when Galland was merely in the second half of this twenties. In the present article, I explore these diaries in the light of comparative folk narrative research.

This is the world: people have a stronger inclination towards entertainment than towards anything that requires an effort, however little it may be.<sup>1</sup>

The introduction of *Thousand and One Nights* (henceforth ‘the *Nights*’) into world culture is undoubtedly Antoine Galland’s greatest achievement. Much as Galland’s translation of the *Nights* deserves praise, research over the past centuries has shown that it owes its success to a considerable extent to the unwitting collaboration of the Syrian maronite storyteller Ḥannā Diyāb. Although Galland mentioned Ḥannā in his Parisian diaries, he never acknowledged his indebtedness to him publicly, and the scope of Ḥannā’s contribution to the *Nights* is only recently being explored in detail.<sup>2</sup> It was Ḥannā’s performance that enabled Galland to create (or rather recreate) tales such as *Aladdin* and *Ali Baba* that today are perceived as the acme of ‘Oriental’ storytelling. Using Ḥannā’s tales to complement the fragmentary 15th-century Arabic manuscript at his disposal, Galland not only fulfilled the expectations of his contemporary audience. Moreover, he demonstrated a remarkable instinct for recognizing the potential of a good story in editing some of the tales from Ḥannā’s narrative repertoire and leaving aside others. This instinct went together with a distinct penchant for stories and storytelling that Galland already demonstrated as a young man when he was not yet the famed translator

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of the *Mille et une nuit*, but rather still in his formative period.<sup>3</sup> Born in 1646, Galland published the first volume of the *Nights* in 1704, when he was in his late fifties. As the publication of his 12-volume translation of the *Nights* took more than a decade, the final two volumes he had prepared before his death (1715) were only published posthumously in 1717. His interest in stories and storytelling, however, already shows in the diaries preserved from his sojourn in Constantinople in 1672–1673, when Galland was merely in the second half of this twenties. In the present article, I explore these diaries in the light of comparative folk narrative research.<sup>4</sup>

Having studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and several other Oriental languages, Galland arrived in Constantinople in the company of the newly appointed French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Charles-Marie-François Olier, marquis de Nointel (1635–1685). Galland's official duty was to serve as the ambassador's translator and theological attaché as he aimed to negotiate a signed declaration of faith from the Eastern Catholics concerning the understanding of transubstantiation. This aspect of Galland's mission apparently soon became secondary to his other interests, as the diaries he wrote during his first sojourn in Constantinople document a keen interest in cultural and political events of all kinds. One of Galland's regular occupations was the acquisition of antiquities, particularly books. To the modern reader, the anecdotal character of the diaries bespeaks a fascinating mixture of naiveté and gradually growing expertise.<sup>5</sup>

For instance, on 14 January 1672, Galland acquired the magnificently illustrated 15th-century Uyghur copy of the *Me'rāj-nāme*, a text about the Prophet Mohammad's ascension to heaven.<sup>6</sup> Although the images would have enabled him to recognize the book's subject, he quotes the title as advertised by the bookseller as '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* (The Marvels of Creation), not realizing that—as Charles Schefer, the 19th-century editor of the diaries, later explained—the booksellers apparently used this title as a generic denomination for any anonymous work that was adorned with miniatures. Moreover, Galland identified the script as 'old Kufi characters', and not as the vertically written Uyghur script it was. His short notes about the *Divān-e Hāfeẓ* (20 January 1672) and the *Shāh-nāme* (21 January 1672) betray that he had never seen those works before.<sup>7</sup> The notice for 29 January 1672 demonstrates an admirably dutiful compulsion for writing his diary every day, as he took down the perfunctory remark: 'There has been nothing notable today, only that at evening the wind changed to north-east, with the snow melting, ...'<sup>8</sup> And in his detailed description of a procession of the Grand Vizier on 7 May 1672, he frankly admits that

it is here that I would need all the help rhetoric can give to anybody so as to achieve the description of whatever remains of that magnificence. This subject is ultimately beyond my capacity, and even if I did not lack all that help, I doubt that it would be useful for me, as I believe that it is something ultimately beyond whatever can be explained and expressed by the mediation of words.<sup>9</sup>

Conceding the limitations of his rhetorical capacity, Galland was a keen observer of daily events and contemporary life, and the numerous books he saw, bought, and read<sup>10</sup> as well as the tales he listened to contributed to his growing expertise for narratives of all kind, a genre he usually termed 'fable'. Of the tale of *The Woodcutter Yūsuf* (Josuph Odungi, i.e. modern Turkish *oduncu*), told by a certain Ibrahim Efendi on 5 August 1672, he unfortunately only took down the title, probably not deeming the tale to

deserve being retold in full.<sup>11</sup> Woodcutters are stock characters in Turkish (and Persian) folktales, and so in this case it is impossible to reasonably argue in favour of a specific tale.<sup>12</sup> When the same Ibrahim Efendi had narrated to him an aetiological legend about the origin of fleas and lice a few days before, Galland obviously found the tale so appealing that he wrote down an extensive summary:<sup>13</sup>

They say that when Noah's Ark was travelling on the surface of the waters that covered the whole earth, it had a hole through which a lot of water entered. As the holy patriarch was strongly concerned to remedy this inconvenience, the snake approached him and addressed him saying that it could find the means to plug that hole and stop the water from entering into the ark, if he would promise in return to grant the snake a living from the blood of human beings. The patriarch granted the request in order to stop the soonest possible what could have caused the submersion of the ark and the complete annihilation of the human race. The snake took his words and kept the promise it had made: it curled itself several times and skillfully plugged the hole through which the water entered. When the waters had retreated and all of the animals had left the ark, the snake presented itself to Noah demanding that he give it what he had promised. At that moment, the patriarch found himself in great distress and did not know how to satisfy the snake's request. But then the angel Gabriel helped him, appearing to him and ordering him to make a fire and throw the snake into the fire, and this is what Noah immediately did. After the snake had burned, the ashes divided themselves into two parts: one part was transformed to fleas, and the other to lice, both of which attacked the veins and started to nourish themselves with blood. They communicated this habit to their descendants, multiplied until today and do not stop to plague us.

Recorded by Galland without any further comment, the comparative data presently available document the legend to belong to a large body of narratives related to the deluge that has been discussed in detail in Oskar Dähnhardt's early-20th-century study of *Natursagen* (i.e. legends concerning nature).<sup>14</sup> Quoting closely similar versions from Romanian, Kurdish, and Turkish tradition, and positing those versions in a much larger web of international tradition, Dähnhardt suggests the legend to have arisen from an unspecified 'Islamic' context. Little did Dähnhardt—nor, for that matter, Galland—realize that the legend had already been reported in the famous mid-17th-century travel account compiled by the Ottoman author Evliya Çelebi who quoted it in relation to the Kurds living at the foot of the Sinjar mountains in northern Iraq.<sup>15</sup> Whether Galland's informant knew Evliya Çelebi's travel account or not must remain open to speculation, since both probably drew on the same sources. The subsequent dissemination of the tale in western scholarship is quite remarkable. It was Austrian Ottomanist scholar Joseph von Hammer who in a review article published in the Viennese *Jahrbücher der Literatur* in 1821 and again in a footnote to his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* in 1828 initiated a highly influential sequence of quotations of the tale from Evliya Çelebi.<sup>16</sup> At first resulting in a short hype of quotations in learned journals in England,<sup>17</sup> the tale's repercussions in contemporary scientific literature culminated in its inclusion in the second volume of James Rennie's *Natural History of Insects* in 1835 (where, sadly, Evliya Çelebi's name is distorted beyond recognition to 'Ewlin').<sup>18</sup> Although unpublished in his day, Galland's

text constitutes the first European rendering of a tale that subsequently enjoyed a considerable popularity in European learned and scientific literature, and the tale's quotation in Galland's diary may serve as an additional argument for acknowledging his remarkable instinct of recognizing the potential of specific narratives.

To some extent, Galland's fascination with narratives related to literary sources, although we do not know whether he would actually read all of the classical Middle Eastern compilations of historical or edifying narratives he bought or mentioned. On 8 January 1673, he bought a copy of the Arabic version of the collection of fables, *Kalila wa Dimna*.<sup>19</sup> On 14 December 1672, he referred to 'the fabulous history of Sandoval' popular with the Jews (*l'histoire fabuleuse de Sandoval que les Juifs tiennent*), obviously implying a version of the originally Persian *Sendbād-nāme*, as the name 'Sandoval' is a contortion of the Greek Sendebar.<sup>20</sup> Galland states that the Hebrew text to be 'more or less of the same genre' as the Ottoman *Kırk vezir* (Forty Viziers), itself a 14th- or 15th-century Ottoman adaptation of the originally Persian *Sendbād-nāme*.<sup>21</sup> The mention of this text furthermore prompts him to include a remark concerning what he conceives as a Turkish predilection for narratives<sup>22</sup> that somehow goes together well with an earlier remark (16 March 1672) for the phlegmatic nature of the Turks:<sup>23</sup>

The great quantity of tales and fables that the Turks have is an astonishing thing. One wonders about the length of our novels that have up to ten or twelve volumes. The Turks have romances of Alexander of 120 volumes; there are others of 50, of 60, etc., and in the Bezestein (i.e. the covered and closed bazaar area) there are certain bookstalls that do no other business but rent those books for reading for four or five *asper*. Above all, they have many customers in winter when the nights are long, because in those days the Turks have the habit of getting together to listen to somebody read those tales for which they have such an absolutely great liking.

On 9 January 1673, Galland bought a copy of the 15th-century Ottoman compilation *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde* (Relief after Hardship),<sup>24</sup> 'one of the earliest products of the Old Anatolian Turkish literature in prose'<sup>25</sup> that later served as the main source of inspiration for *The Thousand and One Days*, published 1710–1712 by Galland's colleague and competitor François Pétis de la Croix.<sup>26</sup> Andreas Tietze was convinced that the *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde* Galland had bought was one of those books that booksellers would lend to customers for reading or copying<sup>27</sup>—a practice that incidentally also supplied the earliest (i.e. mid-12th-century) documentary evidence for the common title of the book that later made Galland famous, *Alf layla wa layla* (A Thousand and One Nights).<sup>28</sup> Gustav Flügel labelled an incomplete copy of *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde* in Vienna a 'coffee-house copy' (*Kaffeehausexemplar*), as the introductory passage mentions a *meddāh* (i.e. a professional entertainer in the urban context).<sup>29</sup> Tietze furthermore argued that by being lent out numerous times and by being read in public to considerable audiences (that he called '*Vorlesekränzchen*'), even a single manuscript could become a veritable '*Volksbuch*'—a term that in the European context is usually applied to printed books which potentially reached a wide audience because they were produced in hundreds of copies.<sup>30</sup> At any rate, Galland was so fascinated by the contents of *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde* that he immediately started to read the book, summarizing two days later the story of the architect of the city of Bam who constructed a magnificent palace for the king of Kashmir, thereby arousing the envy and active intervention of the king's malevolent

viziers who tried to discredit him by aiming to seduce his virtuous wife.<sup>31</sup> Again, out of the manuscript's total of 42 tales, Galland instinctively chose a tale that deserves particular mention. Tietze, who studied the Ottoman manuscript collection in great detail, argued convincingly that many, if not most, of the tales it contained had been translated from a Persian predecessor.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, it is not easy to ascertain the sources the author of the Ottoman manuscript exploited. Obviously, he did not translate a single Persian book but rather compiled his collection from a variety of sources, most probably the anonymous compilations of tales known under the generic title *Ĵāme' al-ĥekāyāt* (Collection of Stories). Although the best-studied representative of this genre, the Mashhad manuscript containing 46 tales<sup>33</sup> includes a story whose basic plot of a woman preserving her chastity while her husband is away is identical to that of the tale under consideration here,<sup>34</sup> a closely corresponding version of the tale is included in another identically titled compilation that today is preserved in the Ganj-bakhsh Library in Pakistan.<sup>35</sup> The latter Persian manuscript apparently dates to the 18th century and thus is considerably younger than the Ottoman *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde*, but it draws on the repertoire of older predecessors. The collection of tales compiled toward the end of the 16th/beginning of the 17th century by a certain Moḥammad Kāzem b. Mirak Ḥosein Moẓaffari Sajāvandi, nicknamed Ḥobbi, which Tietze considered as a Persian analogy to *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde*, also contains the tale in question.<sup>36</sup> The earliest dated copy of *Ĵāme' al-ĥekāyāt* so far identified that contains the tale was completed in 1046/1636.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the Ottoman tale is matched by a closely corresponding and contemporary rhymed version in *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, authored around 1462 by Adam of Cobsam, an otherwise unknown poet whom the poem's editor has termed 'one of the Chaucer breed'.<sup>38</sup> The story of the architect of the city of Bam thus not only proves to be entertaining and amusing, but also links Ottoman literature to the wider context of its neighbouring and international literatures.

Even though Galland acquired many other books whose narratives he might have recounted, such as the works of the Persian poets Sa'di or Ferdousi,<sup>39</sup> he refrained from doing so. Instead, his note concerning the 16th-century historical work *Ĵavāme' al-tavāriḥ* (Collections of Historical Tales) indicates that at times he would privilege his official mission to acquire books of a more immediate use to his sponsor. On 17 January 1673 he makes the rather 'enlightened' remark:

I found this book excellent and very useful in order to understand the history of the Oriental people from their own point of view, without restricting ourselves to the reports of our own authors who have always been too far away to be perfectly informed.<sup>40</sup>

But even so, every now and then his vivid interest for entertaining tales from oral tradition would gain the upper hand, such as when on 28 September 1672 he notes having heard

the story of a king who had each of his newborn daughters put to death since the astrologers had predicted that each daughter he would have would be a slut, and what became of the one whom one of his sons saved from that cruel sentence.<sup>41</sup>

As Galland did not elaborate on the content of this tale, we do not know exactly to which tale he referred. But the misogynous motif of the king ordering to kill any newborn child

should it be a daughter is a stock motif in Persian folktales. Particularly, the initial set of motifs of the 19th-century Persian chapbook romance *Khosrou-e divzād* essentially a version of international tale-type 315, *The Faithless Sister*,<sup>42</sup> fits the description so closely that Galland might have heard a related tale.<sup>43</sup> Depending on his informant's range of access to literary sources (about which we do not have any information), it would also be tempting to relate the tale whose beginning Galland summarizes to the Arabic tale of *'Arūs al-'arā'is* (The Bride of Brides), the tale of a beautiful princess who was born under such a disastrous astrological constellation that she was fated 'to become more tricky, evil, false, and adulterous than any other human being'.<sup>44</sup> Remarkably, the sole 14th-century Arabic manuscript containing this tale has been preserved in an Istanbul library and might have been within reach for a learned reader in Galland's days.

One of the oral informants that Galland mentions several times was the native teacher of the French language students in Constantinople, generically referred to as Hogia or Cogia '*des enfants de langue*'. For instance, on 22 June 1672, Galland quotes him as an authority for the popular practice of preventing clippings of the reed pen from falling down to the ground, as even leftovers from an instrument used for writing the Koran should not be soiled.<sup>45</sup> On 1 January 1673, the Cogia brings him an anonymously compiled mirror for princes whose simple discourse Galland finds both elegant and convincing.<sup>46</sup> The Cogia's most important contribution, and certainly the most wide-reaching traditional narrative of Galland's Constantinople diary altogether, is the tale of the adventures of a certain Cogia Muzaffer that the language teacher performed orally on Friday, 3 March 1673.<sup>47</sup> This is Galland's summary of the tale:

[Cogia Muzaffer] being a great traveler, he arrived at the city of Alemabad and spent the night at the foot of its walls. In the morning, the nobles come out and having met him, took him and made him their king, following the custom they had to replace their dead king with the first person they met outside the gates.

They married him, and when his wife died after some time, they deposed him following another custom and obliged him to suffer being descended to an underground place where they brought him something to eat every day. Having found the wife of one of his predecessors who had experienced the same fate because her husband had died before her, he married her and had two male children with her. When they had been in that situation for four or five years, a serpent of marvelous size appeared at their place, and when they saw it retreat in the ground, they spontaneously decided that one of them should grab its tail, and the other one would hold on to the first one. This served them extremely well, since, when the serpent had pulled them up to the surface of the earth, they were saved and found their way until they reached a place that was not far away from the sea.

As the woman went to the shore to wash their clothes, a ship had come to pass there at the same time, and she was noticed by those aboard. They came to the shore, took her and carried her away, as Cogia Muzaffer was looking for her. Having waited for her quite long, a wolf carried away one of his sons whom he had left alone. Together with the one that was left with him, he came to the side of a river. As he found neither bridge nor boat, he took it upon himself to swim across with his child. But the strong current obliged him to

let him go, and he barely managed to save himself. The woman managed to buy her freedom by way of some jewels that she had with her, and disguising herself as a man she still had enough to establish a nice shop. She stayed like this for several years, until her husband, who had all the time lived in a state of poverty and misery, arrived in the city where she was. He was at first introduced to her as being a person who was very charitable towards the poor. She recognized him as her husband, and it turned out that the governor of the city and the *cadi* were the two children that had been lost. The first one had been saved from the mouth of the wolf by the king's shepherds, and the other one had been caught by a fisher who had his wife bring him up and nourish him.

This is the substance of the tale that he narrated considerably longer with all its details, and what I have just written serves only to help remind me of the rest.

The tale of Cogia Muzaffer from Galland's Constantinople diaries is a fairly close retelling of the 42nd and final story of *Ferec ba'd eṣ-ṣidde*.<sup>48</sup> In terms of content, it is remarkable in several respects. First, it is a specific combination of well-known motifs and episodes that are usually encountered in different contexts or that exist as separate tales. Second, the tale has experienced a peculiar fate in scholarly studies. Third, the final sentence of Galland's note adds a rare detail from his fieldwork practice that might well have bearings on the contextual interpretation of his other summaries of tales, such as those he put down from (or after) the oral performance of Ḥannā Diyāb in Paris many years later. At any rate, the tale deserves a detailed analysis. For the sake of consistency, I will discuss the tale's three different constituents as equally valid episodes, even though the first unit is little more than a single motif, and both the second and third units are fleshed out with the potential of existing as independent tales.

The tale of Cogia Muzaffer begins with the motif of a stranger being chosen as the dead king's successor through a procedure that, although it appears unusual, is commonly practiced in a particular kingdom.<sup>49</sup> In Middle Eastern folktales, the procedure is most often achieved as an ordeal in which a bird settles on the head or shoulders of the chosen person (Mot. H 171.2).<sup>50</sup> In this form, the motif happens to be a regular constituent of Persian versions of the tale's final episode.<sup>51</sup> Incidentally, the specific procedure mentioned here where the first person encountered outside the city gates in the morning is to replace the dead king also appears in the tale of Ghulnaz in Denis Dominique Cardonne's *Mélanges de littérature orientale*, a tale that treats the adventures of an unfortunate heroine who because of her beauty suffers multiple abuse by a series of dominant male characters.<sup>52</sup> Cardonne's book, first published in 1770, is a representative of the genre of 'Oriental Miscellany' that was popular in the French, English, and other European literatures in the 17th and early 18th centuries.<sup>53</sup> Given the entertaining nature of these books, the sources are mentioned summarily as 'translated from various Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Royal Library'.<sup>54</sup> The specific tale under consideration here has been translated from the work *'Ajā'ib al-ma'āthir* (The Marvels of Remarkable Deeds) compiled by the early-17th-century Ottoman author Ahmed Süheylî.<sup>55</sup> At any rate, the introductory motif of the tale of Cogia Muzaffer can be shown to have been used in different contexts, and the appearance of the related motif of the choice of king by way of a bird in the Persian folktale appears to foreshadow a particular relation to the Ottoman tale's final episode.

Andras Hamori and, following him, Maurice Pomerantz have quoted the second episode of the tale of Cogia Muzaffer in which the protagonist is buried together with his deceased wife as constituting a relatively modern version of an episode that is best known as part of Sindbad the seafaring merchant's fourth voyage.<sup>56</sup> While Hamori feels that the tale of Cogia Muzaffer reads like an inflated and unconvincing (*gonflé et branlant*) derivative of the tale of Sindbad,<sup>57</sup> Pomerantz argues that it seems to be an oral retelling of a specific *maqāma* written by the 16th-century Arabic author al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī (d. 1556). Like the *maqāma* and unlike the episode in Sindbad's travels, Pomerantz says, 'Muzaffer's beloved is a former royal, finds love, and gets married underground. Indeed [...] [both tales] have nearly identical plot structures'.<sup>58</sup> The identical structure of the two versions might also be explained by an as yet unidentified common source or an intermediary, because the motif of a husband being buried alive together with his recently deceased spouse was part and parcel of the narrative stock Middle Eastern storytellers adapted in various forms as early as the 10th century.

As a matter of fact, the oldest version of this motif occurs in 10th-century Arabic author al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī's *Al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Relief after Hardship). Here, the woman is only seemingly dead and regains her senses when the cord by which they have been lowered into the burial cave hits her face. Interestingly, when the woman is saved, she at first forgets about her husband and only remembers that he is still in the cave when she sees his portrait at her mother-in-law's place.<sup>59</sup> The early-12th-century Persian compilation *Mujmal al-tavārikh va-l-qeṣaṣ* (Compendium of History and Tales) includes the tale of a traveller who comes to the country of the horse-headed people and gets married. Realizing that he will be buried with his deceased wife, the man takes precautions by asking a friend to prepare and deliver to him bread, a lamp, and a knife. In the burial cavern, he later marries a widow who is lowered down, and together they escape by digging their way out with his knife.<sup>60</sup> In addition to versions of the international tale-type 612: *The Three Snake Leaves*<sup>61</sup> as documented in the Mashhad manuscript of *Jāme' al-ḥekāyāt*<sup>62</sup> and in modern Turkish folktales,<sup>63</sup> the motif also appears in the Persian *Ḥamza* romance. The oldest preserved version of this romance, best known as *Romuz-e Ḥamze*, dates at least from early in the 17th century.<sup>64</sup> It includes an episode in which the hero 'Omar Ma'di arrives at a foreign city where he is elected successor of the recently deceased king by way of an ordeal involving a kite. Celebrating his unexpected new position, he gets drunk and requests his vizier to get him a woman to marry. Although the vizier cautiously informs him about the country's custom that spouses are buried alive with their deceased partners, the hero accepts and is married. At the beginning of the night, he consummates the marriage, but at the end of the night his wife is dead. The next day, the country's nobles request him to conform with the country's custom to have himself buried alive with his dead wife, and because he refuses, they drug him unconscious so as to execute their plan. The following events deviate from the events in other versions, as now the romance's main protagonist arrives and saves him.<sup>65</sup> Nineteenth-century Persian storytellers probably felt the need to rationalize the young woman's sudden death, as they have her die from the hero's brute sexuality in the wedding night. This rationalization, moreover, allows them to introduce the custom of being buried alive in a different manner. In this version, the nobles reckon that, should they keep their new king, the country would soon be without women. Incidentally, this motif links to the frame-tale of the *Nights*, as King Shahriyār's habit of killing his wife after the wedding night also threatens



to eradicate the country's marriageable women. In order to solve the problem, the nobles suggest preparing two graves and pretending to the hero that their custom is to have the husband buried alive with his dead wife. Although the hero refuses to obey, they pull him down from his horse and are about to bury him alive, when suddenly the romance's main protagonist arrives and saves him.<sup>66</sup>

Returning to the main argument, what is important for the present context, then, is the fact that the Ottoman tale of Cogia Muzaffer undoubtedly was Galland's first encounter with an episode he later met again in the Sindbad tales—those tales that he chose to translate in full some 30 years later and those tales that eventually inspired him to translate *Thousand and One Nights*. Considering the historical circumstances, it is not unlikely that Galland's fascination with the Sindbad tales was triggered to some extent by a vague, and maybe even unconscious, memory of the acquaintance he had made in his younger days.

None of the Orientalist discussions of the tale of Cogia Muzaffer so far have seriously considered the tale's third constituent; at worst apparently regarding it as inconsequential and badly told, at best as irrelevant or superfluous. Yet this episode has received major attention in folklorist studies of a legend that in its Christian version is known as that of Eustachius (or Placidus), of which the episode in the tale of Cogia Muzaffer is a prototypical version.<sup>67</sup> Essentially, the plot is about a man who loses all his family, usually his wife and his two male children, only to regain them later. The Christian legend was widely spread in the European middle ages, with its dominant version being told in the *Legenda aurea* and the *Gesta romanorum*. To name but a few of its other prominent versions, it was also part of the 12th-century German *Kaiserchronik* and the 13th-century epics *Beuwe de Hampton* and *Libro del Cavallero Cifar*. Numerous versions of the tale, which in comparative folk narrative research has been classified as tale-type 938,<sup>68</sup> exist in both western and eastern literatures and oral tradition. Since one of the tale's constitutive motifs, the scene of recognition at the tale's end, is first documented in Indian Buddhist tradition,<sup>69</sup> research has variably argued for an eastern origin and a subsequent dissemination towards the West, or *vice versa*, without ultimately convincing arguments from either side. Without going into further detail here, it appears likely that a man of Galland's erudition and knowledge of classical languages might have read or otherwise known a version of the tale. Consequently, one of the reasons why—out of the many tales he must have listened to—Galland deemed the tale of Cogia Muzaffer worthy of being put down in writing might thus have been an uncanny and unconscious familiarity with this part of the tale's plot similar to the sensation he might have experienced when later encountering the Sindbad tales. Notably, the corpus of tales of *Thousand and One Nights* also contains a total of four different versions of tale-type 938, all of them, however, included in manuscripts that were not known to Galland.<sup>70</sup>

Having discussed the tale's constituents, a few words on the specific combination of tale-types the tale of Cogia Muzaffer documents are in order. Storytellers do not tell tale-types. They tell tales that folklorist research then assesses in analytical categories as narrative motifs and tale-types. If we define the analytical approach as our standard, many a tale risks appearing garbled, confused, contaminated, or simply badly told. Yet, from the storyteller's perspective, each tale makes sense, as the art of storytelling is to a certain extent the art of combining various narrative elements, episodes, and tales into new and unexpected units. Some of the results of such a process of combination might be unusual or even unique, while others might gain currency and even

become part of tradition. Folklorist method aims to analyse the tale's various components. But the perspective of comparative folk narrative research adds a new dimension with the potential of demonstrating to which extent a specific combination of motifs is part of a larger web of tradition in time and space. The tale of Cogia Muzaffer serves as a case in point to demonstrate this theory.<sup>71</sup> The earlier discussion of the Turkish *Ferec bā'd eṣ-ṣidde* and its proved or hypothetical connection with the Persian genre of *ḡāme' al-ḡekāyāt* is also relevant for this particular tale, as the Mashhad manuscript of *ḡāme' al-ḡekāyāt*, probably compiled at the beginning of the 11th/18th century, includes a tale that also combines the episode from Sindbad's fourth voyage with the tale of the man who lost and regained his family.<sup>72</sup> The tale in the Mashhad manuscript is embellished with various other elements, and integrates the episode of being buried alive after the man's first wife had been abducted and his second wife, a cannibal princess, had died. Even so, the occurrence of the tale in the Mashhad manuscript may here serve to argue that the specific combination of elements as occurring in the tale of Cogia Muzaffer is not unique but rather belongs to a larger tradition that includes at the very least a Persian early-17th-century and a Turkish mid-17th-century version. The differing sequence of the tale's analysed components as well as the different embellishments, on the one hand, make it unlikely that the Turkish version is a direct retelling of the slightly earlier Persian one. On the other, the differing sequence also shows that the elements encountered here must be older than any of the versions mentioned so far, as in the course of tradition they have been combined in various ways. At any rate, the fact that in terms of plot structure the tale belongs to the genre of *Ferec bā'd eṣ-ṣidde* and the fact that the Ottoman representative of this genre is linked to the Persian genre *ḡāme' al-ḡekāyāt* suggest some sort of connection. As a matter of fact, a closely similar version of the tale is also rendered as the final tale of the Ottoman *Ferec bā'd eṣ-ṣidde*.<sup>73</sup> This version begins with a traveller bragging about his experience and continues with the motif of the protagonist attaching himself to the claw of a giant bird (Mot. B 552,<sup>74</sup> best known from Sindbad's second voyage). It then continues with all of the three elements already analysed. Moreover, yet another version is given in the Turkish *Kırk vezir*.<sup>75</sup> That version also includes the protagonist's marriage to the cannibal princess and is thus closely similar to that in the Mashhad manuscript of *ḡāme' al-ḡekāyāt*. Given the tale's popularity in a variety of literary sources, it is little surprising that it has also been recorded in a considerable number of versions from mid-20th-century Turkish oral tradition.<sup>76</sup> In their totality, these versions demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that the combination of the three elements occurring in the tale of Cogia Muzaffer—the new king being elected by way of an ordeal, the husband being buried together with his deceased wife, and the man losing and regaining his wife and two sons—is not as haphazard a combination as it may seem at first sight. Of course, the combination must have been created under particular circumstances, and probably by a single individual author. But once it had been created, it lived on in a tradition, eventually constituting what folklorists label an 'oicotype' (i.e. a special version of an internationally distributed tale that is known in a limited and clearly defined regional context).<sup>77</sup> In this understanding, even the truncated version of the first two elements as given in the *Ḥamza* romance—where after the initial ordeal the dilemma of the husband being buried with his wife leads to an unusual outcome—reads like an echo of a traditionally accepted combination that appears to have been popular in the pre-modern Ottoman Turkish and Persian literatures.

The second point for which the tale of Cogia Muzaffer is remarkable is the perception with which it has been received by different disciplines. All of the Orientalist studies dealing with the tale are conscious of the original context of its documentation; that is, the fact that the tale was recorded by Galland in his diary following an oral performance in 17th-century Turkey. To the contrary, the folklorists, none of whom specializes in Eastern or Middle Eastern narratives, are negligent in their reference to the tale's original context. Whereas the Orientalist studies as a rule refer directly to Galland's diary or to an excerpt of the diary published in the French *Revue retrospective* in 1837, the folklorist studies came to know the tale from the summary of Galland's summary presented by Victor Chauvin in the sixth volume of his *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, the third one devoted to *Thousand and One Nights*, published in 1902.<sup>78</sup> Taking all of the tales discussed in that volume at their face value (i.e. as actually constituting tales of the *Nights*) and not recognizing the position of some of them as comparative material, most of the post-Galland folklorist studies regard the tale of Cogia Muzaffer as being part of the *Nights*. It is difficult to ascertain who started this fatal misunderstanding, but the series of quotations at least leads from Wilhelm Bousset (1916) via Alexander Haggerty Krappe (1926–1927) and Germain Lemieux (1970) to Elisabeth Schreiner's entry on 'Cifar' in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (1981).<sup>79</sup> It makes little difference whether these studies quote the tale of Cogia Muzaffer as being part of the *Nights* or simply as 'Arabic'. All of them practice an uncritical reading of Galland and Chauvin, both of whom were perceived as authorities of Arabic narrative literature, in attributing the Ottoman tale performed for the man who later gained fame as the translator of the *Nights* to the linguistic and cultural context of the famous collection.

Finally, let me ponder for a moment the sentence that concludes the tale's summary in Galland's diary. To remind us, this is what Galland says: 'This is the substance of the tale that he [i.e. Galland's informant] narrated considerably longer with all its details, and what I have just written serves only to help remind me of the rest'.<sup>80</sup> This sentence is particularly relevant to the origin of the most popular tales of *Thousand and One Nights*; that is, those tales that Galland took down from the oral performance of Ḥannā Diyāb in his Parisian diary. Although Ḥannā's involvement in the compilation of the final volumes of Galland's *Nights* has long been known, scholars have only recently started to wonder whether Galland wrote his summaries as field notes during Ḥannā's performance or whether he summarized the tales from memory several hours later. Features of the language, such as the frequent use of 'etc.' and other random abbreviations, or the hurried character of Galland's handwriting, are striking but do not lead to a convincing conclusion.<sup>81</sup> The Constantinople diaries are clear in that respect, as Galland evidently disciplined himself almost every single night to sum up the day's events. In addition, Galland's remark that the summary would 'help remind [him] of the rest' indicates an important aspect of his diary as an 'ego-document': his notes not only served the purpose of summing up the day's events in retrospective, but also, and maybe even more so, as a mnemonic device that could serve various purposes in the future such as recounting or justifying his actions. Considering the tale, his short summary might later have served to retell the tale in oral or written form or to compare it with other versions he already knew or would encounter later. In this respect, Galland's remark serves as a further contribution to the study of the working mechanisms of a diary in the context of his life, an aspect whose study is currently gaining additional momentum as the autobiographic travelogue of Ḥannā's journey from Aleppo to Paris has just been published in French translation.<sup>82</sup>

As fascinating as the many windows that an assessment of Galland's early travel diaries in the light of comparative folk narrative research opens, one has to admit that the relevant information they contain is certainly secondary to that of his later Parisian diaries. But then one should not forget that during his first stay in Constantinople Galland was not yet the prominent scholar and famed translator of the *Nights* he later came to be. On his first foreign mission in Constantinople, he was a young man of many talents but of little experience. But even though the scholar-to-be was still 'in the making', Galland's Constantinople diaries already document his avid interest for the narrative culture of Ottoman Turkey and the Middle East in general, foreshadowing his later prominence that would link his name immortally to the history of *Thousand and One Nights*.

### Notes

1. 'Tel est le monde: on a plus de penchant pour ce qui divertit que pour ce qui demande l'application, si peu que ce puisse être'. Antoine Galland in a letter to Gisbert Cuper, 10 July 1705; see Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, 501.
2. See, most recently, Marzolph, 'Les Contes de Hanna' and 'Hanna's Unpublished Tales'; and Bottigheimer, 'East Meets West' and 'The Case of the Ebony Horse'.
3. In Madsen, 'Antoine Galland's Taste for Tales'. I thank Peter Madsen for making his unpublished paper available to me.
4. For Galland's diary in the context of travel writing, see Longino, *French Travel Writing*.
5. Quotations from or references to the diaries follow Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*. For Galland's other travelogues and diaries, see Bauden, *Le Voyage à Smyrne*; and Bauden and Waller, *Le Journal d'Antoine Galland*.
6. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 29; see also Schefer's note and the appended 'Note sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi écrit en caractères inconnus', *ibid.*, vol. 1, 280–283. The manuscript's illustrations have been published by Séguay, *Mirāj Nāmeḥ*.
7. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 32–33.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 39. For Galland's 'clockwork precision' (*précision d'horloge*) in writing his diary, see Bauden, *Le Voyage à Smyrne*, 20, quoting from Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 50.
9. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 134.
10. See Richard, 'Antoine Galland'.
11. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 183.
12. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, 456, s.v. 'Holzhauer'; and Marzolph, *Typologie*, 270, s.v. 'Dornensammler'.
13. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 181–182.
14. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. 1, 279–283; see also Littmann, *Vom morgenländischen Floh*, 27 (Kurdish, Turkish); and Utley, *The Devil*, 342 (no. 10).
15. Turan, 'Türk Kültüründe Tufanla', 170 (Evliya Celebi 4, 1986, 465); and Dankoff and Kreiser, *Materialien*, 42.
16. *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 213–265, at 246; and Hammer, *Geschichte*, 617–618.
17. *The London Literary Gazette*, 684; *The Polar Star*, 124; and *The London Spy*, 496; see also *Entomological News*, 50 (63). All references have been located and verified by way of Google Books.
18. Rennie, *Natural History of Insects*, 311; see also Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, 754 (apud Hammer); and Cowan, *Curious Facts* (in the chapter on Pulicidae—Fleas; apud Rennie).
19. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 2, 6. Galland actually speaks of 'un livre turc', but Schefer corrects that the book must be in Arabic.
20. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 242.
21. Tezcan, 'Vierzig Wesire'.
22. Schefer, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 242.

23. Ibid., vol. 1, 80.
24. Ibid., vol. 2, 6–7. On the work, see Tietze, ‘Das türkische Ferec’; Baldauf, ‘Freude nach Bedrängnis?’; and Hazai and Tietze, *Ferec*, 11–27. Unfortunately, Tietze never managed to publish his translation of the work; the extensive commentary he had prepared is irretrievably lost.
25. Parlatir, ‘Review’.
26. Péti de la Croix, *Les Mille et un jours*.
27. Tietze, ‘Das türkische Ferec’, 416. On contemporary Turkish book culture, see Hitzel, ‘Manuscripts’.
28. Goitein, ‘Oldest Documentary Evidence’.
29. Flügel, *Die arabischen*, 31–32, no. 798; quoted by Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, 24.
30. Müller, ‘Volksbuch’.
31. Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, vol. 2, 7–8; for the complete text, see Hazai and Tietze, *Ferec*, 127–145. An edited version of Tietze’s German translation of the tale is in Hazai and Stein, ‘Proben’, 86–104. Tietze (in Hazai and Tietze, *Ferec*, 16) mentions that Galland references two tales of the work which he has read the Wednesday and Friday following the book’s acquisition. However, the diary does not have an entry for the following Friday, and the tale Tietze refers to (no. 13 of *Ferec ba’d eṣ-ṣidde*) and that he discussed (Tietze, ‘Das türkische Ferec’, 419–420) is nowhere mentioned by Galland.
32. Tietze, ‘Das türkische Ferec’, 417–418.
33. Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*; and Khadish and Ja’fari (Qanavāti), *Ḥāme’ al-ḥekāyāt*.
34. Khadish and Ja’fari (Qanavāti), *Ḥāme’ al-ḥekāyāt*, 436–441. This story, whose hero is not an architect but a soldier, ultimately derives from the early versions of the Persian *Ṭuti-nāme*; see Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, 73; and Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, 35.
35. Ja’fari (Qanavāti), *Ḥāme’ al-ḥekāyāt*, 55–94. For a list of corresponding tales between *Ferec* and Hobbī, see Marzolph, *Relief after Hardship*.
36. See Rieu, *Catalogue*, 759–760 (ms. Or. 237, fol. 140b ff.).
37. Ethé, *Catalogue*, 524–526, no. 797 (fol. 229b ff.); for other manuscript versions of the tale, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, 94, no. 42 (fol. 140a ff.); Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue*, 447–448, no. 477 (fol. 89a ff.); and Akimushkin, *Persidskie*, 137–138, no. 902 (fol. 24a ff.).
38. Adam of Cobsam, *The Wright’s Chaste Wife*. Comparative notes to this tale have been published by Köhler, ‘Zu der Erzählung’ and Clouston, ‘Additional Analogues’. Köhler’s explicit reference to *Ferec ba’d eṣ-ṣidde* has gone virtually unnoticed in studies of the tale by historians of late medieval English literature; see, for example, Niebrzydowski, *Bonoure and Buxum*, 188–193; Hanawalt, ‘Of Good and Ill Repute’, 88–103; and Cooper, *Artisans*, 88–93.
39. Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 224; vol. 2, 20; and vol. 1, 33 and 115.
40. Ibid., vol. 2, 10. In his preface to Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, iv, Galland makes a similar remark concerning the compiler’s efforts. Speaking of the necessity to learn all kinds of Near Eastern languages in order to understand ‘ce qui jusques alors avoit été caché aux Européens’, Galland argues that ‘les Auteurs Arabes parlant mieux des affaires de leur Nation, que les Persans & les Turcs, & ceux-ci des leurs propres avec plus de connoissance que les Arabes, il n’y avoit pas d’autres voies par où il pût arriver plus sûrement à la vérité de leur Histoire, & à la connoissance certaine qu’il cherchoit de tout ce qui le regardoit’.
41. Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 218–219.
42. Uther, *The Types*, vol. 1, 201–202.
43. Marzolph, *Typologie*, 264; and Marzolph, *Wenn der Esel singt*, 112–127.
44. Marzolph, ‘As Woman as Can Be’, 202.
45. Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 163.
46. Ibid., vol. 2, 2.
47. Ibid., vol. 2, 45–46. As Galland’s original sentences are quite long, the present translation gives a somewhat edited version.

48. Hazai and Tietze, *Ferec*, vol. 1, 637–641. This fact was not noticed neither by Galland nor by Tietze. I thank Helga Anetshofer-Karateke for pointing this out to me and for sending her unpublished translation of the tale. I am also grateful to György Hazai and his collaborator Heidi Stein for making available to me Tietze’s unpublished translation of *Ferec ba’d eṣ-ṣidde*.
49. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, 75.
50. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, vol. 3, 390; Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, 473, s.v. ‘Ordal’; and Marzolph, *Typologie*, 297, s.v. ‘Vogelflugordal’.
51. Marzolph, *Typologie*, 175, no. 938.
52. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, 91–92, no. (196); Cardonne, *Mélanges*, vol. 2, 36–57; and Ernst, *Erzählungen*, vol. 2, 345–355.
53. Marzolph, ‘The Literary Genre’ and ‘Jenseits’.
54. Cardonne, *Mélanges*, title page.
55. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 9, 57–58; see also Yalçınkaya, ‘Süheyli’.
56. Hamori, ‘La Maison’, 214; and Pomerantz, ‘Tales from the Crypt’.
57. Hamori, ‘La Maison’, 214.
58. Pomerantz, ‘Tales from the Crypt’.
59. Margoliouth, ‘Review’; and Canard, ‘Les Aventures’, 59–60. I owe these references to the kindness of Maurice Pomerantz. For the Arabic text, see Tanūkhī, *Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-shidda*, 191–205. For a recent discussion of the tale, see Ouyang, ‘Silenced Cultural Encounters’, 176–177.
60. Najmabadi and Weber, eds, *Mudjmal at-tawārikh*, 389–391. For a detailed analysis of this version, see Marzolph, ‘An Early Persian Precursor’.
61. Uther, *The Types*, vol. 1, 352–353.
62. Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, 105–106, no. 41; and Khadish and Ja’fari, *Jāme’ al-ḥekāyāt*, 610–612.
63. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, 137–138, Typ 120.
64. On the Ḥamza romance, see Marzolph, ‘Ḥamza-nāma’; and Sabri, *Der Volksroman Romuz-e Hamze*.
65. She’ār, *Qeṣṣe-ye Ḥamze*, 246–248.
66. *Romuz-e Hamze*, fol. 91b.
67. For the following, see Fischer, ‘Placidus’.
68. Uther, *The Types*, vol. 1, 580–581.
69. Schneider, ‘On the Buddhist Origin’.
70. Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 798.
71. For another recent case study demonstrating this point, see Marzolph, ‘Making Sense’.
72. Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, 25–27, no. 2; and Khadish and Ja’fari, *Jāme’ al-ḥekāyāt*, 31–42.
73. Hazai and Tietze, *Ferec*, vol. 1, 637–641, no. 42. According to Baldauf, ‘Freude nach Bedrängnis?’, 41, the 42nd tale of *Ferec ba’d eṣ-ṣidde* is also contained in a selective Tatar translation published in 1901.
74. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, vol. 1, 453.
75. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, 75–77, no. 121 B.
76. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, 151–153, Typ 136 (26 versions).
77. Hasan-Rokem, ‘Ökotyp’.
78. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, 165.
79. Bousset, ‘Die Geschichte’, 489; Krappe, ‘La leggenda’, 226; Lemieux, *Placide-Eustache*, 53 (‘Cagia Muzaffer’); and Schreiner, ‘Cifar’, 32; see also Walker, *Tradition and Technique*, 65, note 135.
80. Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, vol. 2, 46.
81. See, for example, Bottigheimer, ‘East Meets West’; and Marzolph, ‘Hanna’s Unpublished Tales’.
82. Dyab, *D’Alepe à Paris*.

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