

Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

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(1700-1800)

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Antoine Galland

DATE OF BIRTH 4 April 1646
PLACE OF BIRTH Rollot, Picardy
DATE OF DEATH 17 February 1715
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1646 to a poor family in the small village of Rollot in the Amiens diocese (though it has recently been established that his most likely place of birth was another village in the close vicinity of Rollot, Onvillers), Antoine Galland was lucky enough to attend school and was noticed for his intellectual capacities. Sent to Paris to complete his studies, he later frequented courses at the Collège royal, where he studied Oriental languages. Soon after, he was recommended to become the secretary of the newly appointed French ambassador to Istanbul, Charles Olier de Nointel (1635-85).

Thanks to his linguistic skills, Galland was the obvious person to examine in detail the Oriental Christian sources and deal with the Greek Orthodox representatives in order to get evidence that sustained the Jansenists' position in the Eucharistic controversy. Between August 1670 and early 1675, Galland spent his time in the Ottoman lands, towards the end of his stay accompanying the ambassador on a tour of the French trading posts in Anatolia, Syria and the Greek Archipelago. Between the autumn of 1677 and August 1678, he visited Smyrna as an antiquarian. His trip and his stay there were financed by two patrons, who specifically charged him with acquiring antique coins.

His return to Paris was brief: a year later he embarked for his third journey, the longest and last. His final homecoming was in 1688, after more than nine years in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire.

From the beginning of his career, Galland largely depended on the goodwill of patrons, who paid him a salary. This situation was to prevail almost until the very end of his life. Between 1688 and 1708, he served as collaborator, librarian and antiquarian for various individuals. In 1708, his last patron laid him off, and he decided that he would live on his own for the first time in his life without having to rely on someone else's benevolence. An annual pension arranged for him by one of his former

patrons permitted him to live without a salary, but a few months later he was nominated for one of the two chairs of Arabic at the Collège royal, which had become vacant on the death of its occupant. Through the last seven years of his life, Galland shared his time between his lessons at the Collège royal and his attendance at the sessions of the *Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, of which he had been a member since 1701. During all these years, he rented a room in an inn located near the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève. It is there that he died on 17 February 1715.

Galland is best remembered for his translation/adaptation of the *Thousand and one nights*, but his work included numerous translations from Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Greek, as well as several travel accounts and studies in the fields of numismatics and epigraphy.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- C. Gros de Boze, 'Éloge d'Antoine Galland', in C. Gros de Boze et al., *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres depuis son établissement, avec les éloges des académiciens morts depuis son renouvellement*, Paris, 1740, vol. 2, pp. 34-49
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La mort du sultan Osman 'The death of Sultan Osman'

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

On his arrival in Istanbul at the end of 1670, Galland had a quite limited knowledge of the main Oriental languages (Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish). In his correspondence (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CXLIX), he explains that what led him to translate a small book dealing with the assassination of Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-22) was his wish to practise his Ottoman Turkish. He chose *Musîbetnâme* by Hüseyin Tûgî (d. c. 1623), which was composed in the aftermath of the sultan's death, between 21 May and 9 August 1622. Galland expressed his admiration for the author's accuracy and for Ottoman historians in general, whose works his translation inspired him to read in the following years. His translation, 123 pages long (its full title is *La mort du sultan Osman ou le rétablissement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, 'The death of Sultan Osman or the restoration of Mustafa on the throne. Translated from a Turkish manuscript from the king's library'), was published in 1678 in Paris by the printer Claude Barbin, with two reprints in Cologne in the following years.

The work narrates the circumstances that led to the assassination of Osman II on 20 May 1622, when he was only 17, having ascended the throne in 1618, at the age of 14. His father, Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), was first succeeded by his brother Mustafa I (r. 1617-18, 1622-3), a rare event in

Ottoman history as a newly elected sultan usually ordered the killing of his brothers to prevent any coup and ensure that his descendants would rule instead. Mustafa was deposed but not killed in 1618, when Ahmed I's son, Osman was finally enthroned. Osman's rule was, however, doomed from the beginning. Less than four years later, he had to face a rebellion of the powerful Janissaries, who deposed and strangled him.

SIGNIFICANCE

For the first time in more than three centuries, an Ottoman sultan was the victim of regicide. The news of this rare event soon reached European courts, where it reminded rulers of the limits of their power. It also inspired various tragedies composed by French authors, such as Tristan L'Hermite's (1601-55) *Osman* (staged in 1646, published in 1656). Tûgî was a Christian convert to Islam and himself a former Janissary. His aim in composing his account was to criticise the sultan for his behaviour, which led his Janissaries to depose and kill him. Unlike all previous accounts, Galland's translation was the first historical testimony to present the event as narrated by one of the protagonists of the tragedy.

PUBLICATIONS

Antoine Galland, *La mort du sultan Osman ou le rétablissement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, Paris: C. Barbin, 1678

Antoine Galland, *La mort du sultan Osman ou le rétablissement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, Cologne: F. Dubois, 1681, 1689²

STUDIES

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Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Smyrne ancienne et moderne 'Ancient and modern Smyrna'

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

After his return to France from his first stay in the Ottoman Empire in early 1675, Galland spent the next two years in Paris, where he got to know the numismatist Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632-1706). Together with another collector, abbot Giraud, Vaillant financed Galland's trip to Smyrna (present-day Izmir), where he was to collect coins that would enhance the royal collections. Galland left France around October 1677, stopped over in Messina (Sicily) for at least one month and then sailed to Smyrna, which he reached on 8 March 1678. His stay there did not last more than four months, as he was back in France in July. During his time in Messina and Smyrna, he took great pains to record in his diary all the events that were worthy of mention and, on the basis of these notes, he wrote letters to his two patrons. On his return to France in the summer of 1678, he revised them and combined them together in a new work which he called *Smyrne ancienne et moderne*.

His intention was to see this text published in Paris with the help of his friend Jacob Spon (1647-85). However, various vicissitudes prevented Spon from keeping to his promise, while Galland himself was unable to do anything because he left France in early 1679 for his third and last trip to Istanbul, which would last until 1688. On his return to France, he recovered his manuscript, but by now he had abandoned the idea of publishing it.

The work is extant in a single autograph manuscript of 137 folios. He first details his trip from Messina to Smyrna, describing the islands where the ship halted (pp. 41-72; all references here are to Bauden's edition), and then he describes the city in ancient times (pp. 72-103), and modern times (pp. 103-87). In the latter part, Galland gives an account of the various groups who were living in the city, starting with the Europeans and continuing with the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Arabs and Turks. This part ends with an account of trade and the local authorities, with a conclusion in the form of a comparison between the customs of the Turks and those of the French in 166 aphorisms (pp. 187-211).

Galland's *Smyrne ancienne et moderne* is conceived as a history of the city of Smyrna from ancient times. The title reflects a trend that prevailed

in the late 17th century, when authors aimed at reconstructing the history of ancient Greek cities on the basis of geographies and histories from antiquity together with modern travel accounts. Travellers such as Spon and Galland, who knew the sources and visited these cities themselves, could immediately notice the numerous mistakes in these books. Galland's design here was to provide a perfect example of what should be done: to verify the data given by the ancient geographers and historians through examination of remains, coins and inscriptions, prefiguring later archaeological techniques.

SIGNIFICANCE

The most significant part of the work for Muslim-Christian relations is obviously the second, where Galland describes the inhabitants of present-day Smyrna and their customs. This contains disparaging comments on Islam and Muslims that were typical of the time, such as the idea that Smyrna could easily be conquered, or the offensive ways in which Turkish officials treated Europeans. However, Galland is no less critical of his fellow-countrymen, and he never misses an opportunity to comment whenever he feels Frenchmen should behave differently. Sometimes, he suggests that they could do worse than learn from the behaviour of Muslims, as in the aphorisms at the end of the work where, far from regarding French ways as superior, he underlines the positive aspects of some local customs and suggests that the French would be wise to take note of them.

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STUDIES

- Bauden, 'Nouveaux éclaircissements'
 Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Voyage fait en Levant 'Journey in the Levant'

DATE 1679-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

When Galland returned from Smyrna in 1678, it was not long before he received a new charge. The next year, he was given a mission from the commercial *Compagnie du Levant* to visit the Greek Archipelago in order to collect coins and manuscripts for the library of the Minister of Finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83). But after a little more than one year, the *Compagnie* was dissolved and Galland was again unemployed. The ambassador of France in Istanbul, with whom he had travelled when he left France the year before, invited him to stay at the embassy. In the meantime, Galland received a new assignment: appointed antiquarian of the king, he was commissioned to enhance the king's collections with coins, manuscripts and antiquities that he was to acquire in the Ottoman Empire. For this purpose he once again visited Smyrna and also Alexandria. In 1688, he was back in Smyrna when a huge earthquake devastated the city. He himself was saved from the rubble, but he lost all his belongings. By the end of the year, he had returned to France which he never left again.

Faithful to his manner of entertaining his patrons with letters in which he detailed his experiences or gave information about discoveries, Galland addressed three letters in the first two years of his third journey to abbé Pierre Cureau de la Chambre (1640-93), a protégé of Colbert who must have played a significant role in helping Galland to obtain his new appointment. Galland returned the favour with his entertaining correspondence.

The three letters were sent from Milos on 1 November 1679 and 16 March 1680, and from Istanbul on 1 November 1680, at roughly six-monthly intervals. The correspondence did not continue after 1680, because the *Compagnie du Levant* was dissolved and Galland's assignment changed. After his return to France in 1688, Galland nevertheless made a fair copy of his three letters, probably with the intention to publish them together with his *Smyrne ancienne et moderne* and his other travel accounts. The two holograph volumes now preserved in Munich bear corrections and additions by him, showing that he later revised his work.

In the first letter, Galland reports on his trip from Malta to Milos, and gives a very detailed description of some of the islands where the ship stopped. The second letter concentrates on the island of Milos and surrounding islets, and a visit to Chania (Crete). In the last letter, Galland narrates his journey from Milos to Smyrna, where he stayed for a while, visiting Chios, Mytilene, and Tenedos (now Bozcaada). His trip then brought him to Istanbul.

Galland pays attention to everything that could be of interest to his reader, including the climate, plants, antiquities, manuscripts and inscriptions he comes across, ancient and modern monuments, and customs. The presence of the Ottomans in the Archipelago is, of course, the subject of his analysis, and Galland never loses an opportunity to describe their treatment of local Christians and of Europeans, and also their customs, such as a Muslim marriage or the fast of Ramaḍān.

SIGNIFICANCE

His depictions are vivid and provide a testimony to the generally peaceful life of the population on the small islands of the Archipelago. Unfortunately, with the exception of some excerpts about Smyrna, the *Voyage en Levant* remains unpublished (an edition of the whole text was prepared as part of an MA thesis in Lyon in 1962, but no copy has been preserved).

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les
maximes des Orientaux
'Remarkable sayings, apothegms and maxims of the
Eastern nations'

DATE 1694

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

In a letter dated 24 June 1693 (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. LXVIII), Galland announced to his correspondent that the manuscript of his *Apologues arabes* was being considered for publication by a printer and that it should appear soon. In 1694, the book was eventually published. It was a substantial work of some 400 pages in small in-12 format. It is composed of a wide variety of proverbs, maxims, puns and apologues selected from numerous works in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish.

The vast majority of these deal with history, but Galland did not refrain from using works of entertainment as well as those of a moralistic nature. The sources on which he relied are given in his preface and he divided the text into two sections, the first devoted to puns and proverbs, and the second to maxims and apothegms. Galland did more than just select and translate: each extract is accompanied by his own commentary, which underlines the sometimes hidden meaning or provides the reader with cultural notes. The book was dedicated to Thierry Bignon (1632-97), who would become Galland's patron the following year. On his death in 1697, Bignon bequeathed Galland an annual pension of 600 *livres*, a source of income on which Galland would rely for the rest of his life, though it was not necessarily paid regularly by Bignon's heirs. In a way, Galland was well repaid for his offering.

With the publication of this book, Galland initiated a new literary genre: the Oriental miscellany. He situated his work in the dispute between the Ancients and the Moderns in most of Europe in the 17th century, in which he took the side of the Ancients. His aim was to show his readers that the Orientals, by whom he meant not only the Arabs, Persians and Turks, but Asian peoples as a whole, paying no attention to the issue of their religious beliefs, were no less clever and brilliant than Westerners.

SIGNIFICANCE

Given the nature of the book and the fact that the readership was mainly composed of the upper echelons of society, the book can be considered as a kind of mirror for princes. In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, the book is important for its impact on the reception of Oriental wisdom in Europe during the following centuries. The genre initiated by Galland was indeed prolific: it received numerous reprints and translations, while several authors followed his example. Similar collections were published throughout the 18th century in French, English and German. While the genre sank into oblivion with the societal changes that affected France in the late 18th century, it was still enjoying some success in Germany in the 19th century.

PUBLICATIONS

Antoine Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux. Traduction de leurs ouvrages en Arabe, en Persan, et en Turc. Avec des remarques*, Paris: Simon Bernard, 1694; Z-17811 (digitised version available through BNF)

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Antoine Galland, *Orientaliana ou les bons mots des Orientaux: traduction nouvelle de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan et en turc, avec des remarques*, Paris, 1702, 1707²

Antoine Galland, *Les bons mots, et maximes des Orientaux trad. de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan, & en turc; avec des remarques*, Paris, 1730², 1788³, 1999⁴

STUDIES

U. Marzolph, "The literary genre of "Oriental miscellany", in F. Bauden, A. Chraïbi and A. Ghersetti (eds), *Le répertoire narratif arabe médiéval. Transmission et ouverture. Actes du colloque international qui s'est tenu à l'Université de Liège (15-17 septembre 2005)*, Geneva, 2008, 309-19

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vol. 1, Liège, 1892, pp. 35-6

L'Alcoran de Mahomet 'The Qur'an of Muḥammad'

DATE 1709-12

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Galland had just been informed that he had obtained the chair of Arabic at the Collège royal when his patron, abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743), invited him to consider translating the Qur'an into French. At that time, the text was only available in translation (the first vernacular version of the entire text made from Arabic) in the translation by André du Ryer (c. 1580-1660) published in 1647. Galland received the formal request on 20 June 1709, and two weeks later he had already started enquiring about manuscripts and existing translations. He was able to consult Ludovico Marracci's (1612-1700) edition and Latin translation, which had appeared a decade earlier (Padua, 1698), and he began to collate it with the manuscripts. On 25 August, he set about translating the whole text, consulting manuscripts that included an interlinear translation into Ottoman Turkish and into Persian. He completed the translation in seven months (March 1710) and then set about adding historical and grammatical notes, and a biography of Muḥammad for which he relied both on what his predecessors had published and also on original Muslim sources.

In August 1711 he considered his work finished, though he was still revising it the following year. On his deathbed, he expressed the wish to bequeath the two handwritten volumes to Bignon, but even though Bignon had invited Galland to undertake the translation, he does not seem to have ever considered printing it. The two handwritten volumes remained in his library, which he sold in 1718. The last trace of it can be found in a sale-catalogue published in The Hague in 1728.

The text was accompanied by historical and grammatical notes and preliminaries which, in addition to the Prophet's biography, included a translation of al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) *Al-quḍsiyya* (found at the beginning of

his *Ihyā' ulūm al-dīn*), and al-Shahrastānī's (d. 1153) *Al-milal wa-l-nihal*. Its aim was to enlighten the reader interested not only in the Qur'an but also in Islam in general.

Galland's assessment of the Qur'an did not differ from opinions prevailing in Europe at the time. In his opening lecture at the Collège royal (19 July 1709), he stressed the importance of the study of Arabic for those who wished to engage in its refutation ('Harangue', p. 148): theologians could no longer rely only on the Bible in this respect and should consult the works composed by Muslim authors if they wanted to produce valid arguments. The context (a formal address in the presence of his new colleagues and various representatives of the highest level of Parisian society) might explain his critical tone, but his correspondence corroborates that this was his deep conviction (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CCXCIII).

SIGNIFICANCE

If Galland's translation had been published, it would have revolutionised the perception of the Qur'an in Europe. As he himself announced to a friend, his translation was meant to remain faithful to the text thanks to the Persian and Ottoman Turkish versions on which he relied. In this respect, he claimed that his translation was more accurate than Marracci's.

PUBLICATIONS

Galland's original manuscript is lost, and there are no known copies.

STUDIES

S. Larzul, 'Les premières traductions françaises du Coran (XVII^e-XIX^e siècles)', *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 147 (2009) 147-65

Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance d'Antoine Galland*

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

A. Galland, 'Harangue inaugurale', in Bauden and Waller, *Le journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 128-62

Journal 'Diary'

DATE About 1669-1715

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

It seems that Galland used to note the main, and sometimes minor, events of the day in a diary early on in his career. The first mention of such a diary refers to the year 1669, when he was 23 years old. He maintained this activity until the very end of his life, the last entry being two weeks before his death. Only six volumes have been preserved, two covering the years 1672-3, when he was in Istanbul, and four covering the years when he was settled in Paris, from the end of 1708 to early 1715. The preserved volumes make it clear that he regarded his diary as personal, with no other aim than to refresh his memory. Nevertheless, it can hardly be considered a private diary, because he generally refrained from recording his thoughts or feelings, which are much more in evidence in his letters.

During the period covered by the first two volumes, Galland was secretary to the French ambassador in Istanbul, and learned about numerous events concerning the Ottomans and also met official representatives of other nations in the city. His knowledge of ancient and modern Greek was instrumental in obtaining declarations from the Orthodox Church concerning the Eucharist; they were meant to support the views of the Jansenists against their opponents in France and elsewhere in Europe. In his daily notes, he also recorded instances of forced conversion to Islam.

Although the four volumes of his last years cover his life in Paris, they also provide some interesting details about Christian-Muslim relations. Besides recording his progress with his translation of the Qur'an, he also noted events both cultural and religious that were linked in some way to Islam. The matter of a banner with an embroidered Arabic inscription that was placed on a reliquary during religious processions is a case in point: the banner was burnt when it was revealed that the inscription consisted of the Muslim profession of faith. Another anecdote about two Muslims who had been invited for dinner in Istanbul by some Frenchmen is also worth mentioning: some wine had stained the clothes of one of them, so before he left he asked for some salt to rub into it. He justified this by saying that the salt would change the wine in the stain into vinegar and purify it. Galland's conclusion is that the Muslim did not

apparently consider that the wine he had just drunk had also soiled his body and soul.

The most intriguing passages in the diary are about a Maronite who visited France in 1708-9. Ḥannā Diyāb (1687-aft. 1766), who was from Aleppo, accompanied the French traveller Paul Lucas (1664-1737) at the latter's request on his way back to France. Galland met Ḥannā in Paris over a period of a few weeks starting in March, which gave him an opportunity to collect stories and other information about Syria. He would later use the summaries for the last volumes of the *Thousand and one nights*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The diary is an important witness to Galland's life as he recorded his daily activities and the events he took part in or heard about. It shows his continuing interest in the East, its history and culture.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – f.fr. 6088-9, 15277-80 (c. 1669-1715)

'Journal inédit de Galland, 1710-1715', *Nouvelle Revue Encyclopédique* 3 (1847) 307-20, 479-88 (partial edition)

A.D. Marsy, *Deux années de la vie d'Antoine Galland (1672-1673)*, Amiens, 1882 (partial edition)

H. Omont, *Journal parisien d'Antoine Galland (1708-1715), précédé de son autobiographie (1646-1715)*, Paris, 1920 (partial edition)

C. Schefer (ed.), *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1881; Frankfurt am Main, 1994; Cambridge, 2012

F. Bauden and R. Waller (eds), *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715) la période parisienne*, 4 vols, Louvain, 2011-15

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U. Marzolph, 'A scholar in the making. Antoine Galland's early travel diaries in the light of comparative folk narrative research', *Middle Eastern Literature* 18 (2015) 283-300

A. Hamilton, 'From East to West. Jansenists, Orientalists, and the Eucharistic controversy', in W. Otten et al. (eds), *How the West was won. Essays on the literary imagination, the canon, and the Christian Middle Ages for Burcht Pranger*, Leiden, 2010, 83-100

J. Miquel, 'Le *Journal* (1708-1715) d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715)', in A. Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits en partage*, Paris, 2004, 329-49
 Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Mille et une nuit. Contes arabes
 Mille et une nuits
 'Arabian nights' entertainment'
 'Thousand and one nights'

DATE 1704-17

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

It is to this work that Galland owes his continuing fame. In a letter dated 13 October 1701 (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CLXXI), he announced to a friend that he had just received three volumes of a work in Arabic entitled *Alf layla wa-layla* ('A thousand and one nights'), which he intended to translate in order to entertain himself during the long winter evenings. (This was not the beginning of his interest in this genre of literature as he had already translated the tales of Kalila and Dimna.) Less than a year later (1702), he received two additional volumes, thanks to which he now had some 400-500 'nights'. He had already started the adaptation of some 70 'nights' by this time. As he explained, his work did not consist in faithfully translating the original into French, but rather in adapting it to the taste of French readers. He had also already had an opportunity to test how his work would be received by reading it to a group of women in Caen, where he was staying at the time.

The first four volumes of the *Mille et une nuit* [singular]. *Contes arabes*, were published in 1704. At the end of the same year, the next two volumes were ready and were sent to the printer the following year, and the seventh was published in 1706. The success was immediate, and not only in France: the first reprint of the first four volumes is dated 1705, with the first translations appearing in following years all across Europe. In 1709, Galland submitted to his publisher the manuscript of the eighth volume, which contained only one tale. Unfortunately, he had reached the end of the material (the manuscripts) at his disposal. Even though he never despaired of receiving from Aleppo more volumes that would have helped him to publish more tales, his wish was never fulfilled.

Not wanting to publish a small volume, his printer decided, without consulting Galland, to include in the eighth volume two additional tales that had been translated by Galland's colleague at the Collège royal, François Pétis de La Croix (1653-1713). Encouraged by the success of Galland's *Thousand and one nights*, Pétis followed in his path and translated his *Thousand and one days*. The text was submitted to Galland's publisher in 1709, which explains how the printer was able to select from it the two additional tales that were to enlarge Galland's eighth volume. Pétis' work was eventually published between 1710 and 1712 in five volumes.

Outraged by the behaviour of his publisher, Galland stopped working on the project, though he was also short of material and still hoping to receive more manuscripts from the East. While he was waiting, he met in 1709 a Maronite from Aleppo called Ḥannā Diyāb, who had accompanied the French traveller Paul Lucas (1664-1737). He was a young man in his early twenties, and he knew several other tales, which he narrated to Galland. Galland recorded summaries of these in his diary – with the exception of one tale that was written down by Ḥannā and given to Galland – among which were some of the most famous tales that later came to be inserted into the collection, such as *Ali Baba and the forty thieves* and *Aladdin and the enchanted lamp*. It is on the basis of these summaries that Galland composed additional tales in the Oriental style, which were published in the next four volumes (the ninth and tenth in 1712 and the last two posthumously in 1717).

The only story in which a Christian (he presents himself as a Copt) plays a central role is the tale told by the Christian merchant (nights 129-40), which is part of the longer tale about the hunchback who was killed. The Copt is unjustly accused of his murder but he is saved at the last moment when the true killer reveals his identity. He is brought to the sultan with the killer and two others, who each tells a tale to save his life.

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of *Mille et une nuit* lies in its impact in Christian Europe on perceptions of the East. Under its influence, the East became transformed into an idealised and romanticised world of wonders, and there was a heavy demand for more stories like those in the adaptation.

A crucial part was played by the Maronite Ḥannā, a member of the important Christian community of Aleppo, from which key figures who worked in Italy and in France originated. The manuscripts of the tales owned by Galland came from Aleppo and from a Christian context, as is witnessed by the readers' notes found in them. It would appear that



Illustration 8. Frontispiece of *Les Mille et une nuit* showing Scheherazade telling one of her tales to the caliph

it was from this context and through Christian channels that some of the most popular and enjoyable tales among the *Alf layla wa-layla* came into Europe.

PUBLICATIONS

It is impossible to list all the reprints and the translations of the *Thousand and one nights*, so details of only the earliest editions and translations from the 18th century are given here. A comprehensive list is given by V. Chauvin in *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1901-3, vol. 4; see also N. Ellisseeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut, 1949:

extant manuscripts, pp. 55-64; 18th century translations, pp. 76-7; table of collections, showing divergences, pp. 185-205; for French editions, see S. Larzul, *Les traductions françaises des Mille et une nuits*, Paris, 1996.

MS Paris, BNF – arabe 3609-11 (15th century; three-volume Arabic MS used by Galland for the first part of his translation)

A. Galland, *Les mille et une nuit. Contes arabes. Traduits en François par M. Galland*, 12 vols, Paris: Veuve de Claude Barbin, 1704-17; Y2-2891 – Y2-8932 (digitised version available through BNF)

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Antoine Galland, *Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories told by the Sultanness of the Indies to divert the Sultan from the execution of a bloody vow he had made to marry a lady every day and have her cut off next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first sultanness, &c.*, London, 1706-17 (English trans.); Opie Microfiche 013:324 (digitised version available through Opie Collection of Children's Literature)

Antoine Galland, *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht: Worinnen Seltsame Arabische Historien und wunderbahre Begebenheiten, benebst artigen Liebes-Intriguen, auch Sitten und Gewonheiten der Morgenländer, auf sehr anmuthige Weise erzehlet warden*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1711 (German trans.)

Antoine Galland, *Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories*, 4 vols, London, 1712-15² (English trans.); ESTC To68137 (digitised version available through ECCO, vols 3 and 4 only)

Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 12 vols, Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1721-2 (Italian trans.); CF00585846-57 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuit*, 6 vols, Paris, 1726; Y2-8933 (digitised version available through BNF)

Antoine Galland, *Las mil y una noche. Cuentos árabes*, trans. F.M. Garziglas, [s.l.], early 18th century (Spanish trans.)

Antoine Galland, *De Duizend en ene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*, 12 vols, in 4 books, Amsterdam, 1755 (Dutch trans.); KW 804 G 5 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Antoine Galland, *Tusende og en Nat, hvorudi paa en fornøielig Maade fortælles allehaande selvsomme Arabiske Historier og forunderlige*

Hændelser, saa vel som behagelige Elskovs Begivenheder, tillige med de Østerlandske Folkes Ceremonier og Sædvane, 12 vols, in 3 books, Copenhagen, 1757-8 (Danish trans.); 58-433 (digitised version available through Det Kgl. Bibliotek)

Antoine Galland, *Awantury Arabskie lub tysic nocy y iedna*, Warsaw, 1772 (Polish trans.)

Antoine Galland, *Tysiacha i odna noch'. Skazki arabskiia*, Moscow, 1774 (Russian trans.)

Antoine Galland, *As mil e huma noites. Contos arabicos*, Lisbon, 1800-3 (Portuguese trans.)

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U. Marzolph, 'The man who made the Nights immortal. The tales of the Syrian Maronite storyteller Ḥannā Diyāb', *Marvels & Tales* 32 (2018) 114-29

U. Marzolph and A.E. Duggan, 'Ḥannā Diyāb's tales, Part I', *Marvels & Tales* 32 (2018) 133-54

U. Marzolph, art. 'Arabian nights', in *El3* (includes details of editions and trans. based on Galland)

C. Pellat, art. 'Alf layla wa layla', in *EIr*

P. Pelckmans, 'Un Orient proche. Les volontés du Ciel dans *Les mille et une nuits*', *Féeries* 10 (2013) 137-52

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V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vols 4-7, *Les Mille et une nuits*, Liège, 1901-3

H. Zotenberg, 'Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits et la traduction de Galland', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 28, Paris, 1887, 167-320

Frédéric Bauden