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Author(s)	Nakamichi, Shizuka
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Re-examination of Sources for the Second Calcutta Edition of the *Thousand and One Nights*

NAKAMICHI Shizuka*

『千夜一夜』カルカッタ第2版の典拠再考

『千夜一夜』カルカッタ第2版 (4巻本、1839–42) は、19世紀前半に相次いで出版されたアラビア語刊本の1つである。第1001夜をもって完結することから、完全版『千夜一夜』として多くの翻訳書の底本に用いられた。英国人 T・マカン少佐がインドにもちこんだエジプト写本 (通称「マカン写本」) をベンガル政庁の文官 W・H・マクナーテンが校訂した刊本といわれているが、そのマカン写本にあたる写本は特定されていない。また同版は写本だけでなく、他のアラビア語刊本のテキストを含んでいるとの指摘もある。いずれにせよ、カルカッタ第2版の典拠については諸説あり、不明な点も多い。このような研究状況をふまえ、本論はあらためてカルカッタ第2版の典拠の同定という課題に取り組む。同版のテキストに使用されているアラビア語の正書法や言語変種の調査、関連があると思われる写本・刊本との校合、出版に関わったベンガル・アジア協会の会議事録が示す歴史的事実との照合など、複数の調査結果を総合し、いかなる典拠に基づき誰がどのようにカルカッタ第2版を編纂したのか、その過程を明らかにする。現段階で得られた証拠から推測するカルカッタ第2版編纂の経緯は、以下のとおりである。

1836年にアジア協会に持ち込まれ、カルカッタ第2版出版の契機となったマカン写本は、大英図書館所蔵の MS Or. 1595–1598である可能性が高い。ただし実際の編纂作業の過程でマカン写本が主に使用されたのは、ごく初期の段階だったと考えられる。その範囲は、おそらく第1巻 (全910頁) のはじめから350頁あたり、「オマル王の物語」の冒頭部分までであろう。またこの範囲のテキストには、既刊のカルカッタ第1版とプレスラウ版から、マカン写本に含まれていない挿話や語句などが追加された。しかし、第46夜 (355頁) から第50夜 (378頁) を境に、マカン写本は徐々に使用されなくなり、代わりにカイロで出版されたブーラク版 (2巻本、1835年) が主な典拠となる。第2–4巻は、ブーラク版のテキストの丸写しに近い。「マカン写本の校訂」という本来の方針は、かなり早い段階で放棄されたとみられる。カルカッタ第2版の編者として名前の挙がっているマクナーテンが1837年10月にカルカッタを離れ、2名のインド人学者のみが実質的な編纂者として作業にあたったことも、その一因であろう。

* Part-time lecturer, Osaka University

1. Introduction

In the first half of the nineteenth century, four printed Arabic editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* or the *Arabian Nights* were successively published. They are called, after their places of publication, the first Calcutta edition (2 vols., 1814–18), the Breslau edition (12 vols., 1824–43), the Bulaq edition (2 vols., 1835), and the second Calcutta edition (4 vols., 1839–42) (hereafter referred to as Calcutta I, Breslau, Bulaq, and Calcutta II, respectively). Although they seem to be based on Arabic manuscripts, not all of their source manuscripts have been identified. We have no clear answer even for Calcutta II, from which a dozen translations of the *Nights*, including secondhand translations, are derived.¹⁾ Over the past century, philological and historical studies have attempted to clarify sources of Calcutta II. Scholars, however, have different opinions on this subject. Hence, the present paper re-examines how Calcutta II was compiled. More specifically, it asks which source texts, whether manuscript or printed edition, it relied on. While ‘the Macan manuscript’ is widely acknowledged as a source of Calcutta II, what kind of role did it play in the compiling of the edition? Regarding these questions, I will offer new evidence based on my philological investigations and propose an alternative view.

Two basic premises regarding Calcutta II have long been accepted. The first one is that Calcutta II was edited by William Hay Macnaghten (1793–1841), a British civil servant in the Bengal Civil Service. The second one is that its text is based on an Egyptian manuscript that Major Turner Macan (1792–1836) owned. This may be due to the English title page of its first volume, which says:

The Alif [*sic*] Layla or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, commonly known as ‘The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments,’ now, for the first time, published complete in the original Arabic, from an Egyptian manuscript brought to India by the late Major Turner Macan, editor of the Shah-Nameh. edited by W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. Bengal Civil Service. in four volumes. Vol.I. Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew’s Library. London: Wm. H. Allen and Co. 7, Leadenhall St. Booksellers to the East-India Company. 1839.

Although this description is apparently authoritative, a closer look at relevant information reveals inconsistency between the description and the facts. These premises will be revised drastically in the discussions below.

1) The most famous one would be an English translation by Richard F. Burton (1885–1886). There are other translations such as Payne (1882–1884) [English], Littman (1921–1928) [German], Sal’e (1929–1939) [Russian], Maejima and Ikeda (1966–1992) [Japanese], as well as recent translations such as Bencheikh et Miquel (2005–2006) [French], and Lyons, M. and U. Lyons (2008) [English].

2. Previous studies: Mahdi (1984a, 1984b, and 1994) and Grotzfeld (1985, 2004a, and 2005)

Undoubtedly, Muhsin Mahdi made significant contributions to philological and bibliographical studies of the *Nights*. One of his most important works is the Arabic text edition from the earliest manuscript of the *Nights* (Mahdi, 1984a). The manuscript he adopted as a base text was a memorable Syrian manuscript that Antoine Galland (1646–1715) had owned and used to make a pioneering French translation (Galland, 1704–1717). A number of manuscripts of the *Nights* are recognized as stemming from two branches: the Syrian branch, presumably dating back to the fifteenth century, and the (late) Egyptian branch, compiled in the late eighteenth century.²⁾ The latter is also called ‘Zotenberg’s Egyptian Recension (ZER)’.³⁾ Mahdi’s central concern was with the former branch, especially the Galland manuscript, because it was the earliest surviving manuscript, with the exception of a few fragments. Nevertheless, in his comprehensive study in 1994, Mahdi provided details about the four Arabic editions mentioned above.⁴⁾ Indeed, he shed new light on the facts concerning the compilation of Calcutta II. These facts were chiefly extracted from the proceedings of meetings held by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1836–1842. His explanation of the historical background to Calcutta II may be summarized as follows:⁵⁾

Calcutta II is based on a manuscript of the Egyptian recension called the Macan manuscript. This manuscript has a rather complicated story. Originally, Henry Salt (1792–1827), the British Consul-General in Egypt, obtained an Egyptian manuscript of the *Nights*. After Salt’s death, Major Turner Macan, the editor of *The Shah Nahmeh* as well as the Persian interpreter, bought a manuscript of the *Nights* from Salt’s heirs in London and brought it to Calcutta. This is the Macan manuscript. However, the second owner, Macan, also died. The person who then purchased it was Charles Brownlow. He, in September 1836, submitted it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and made a proposal to publish this ‘genuine’ and ‘complete’ text of the *Nights*. He apparently did this on behalf of the publishers W. Thacker & Co. and Wm. H. Allen & Co. The Committee of Paper of the Asiatic Society delegated five officers to examine the authenticity of the Macan manuscript by comparing it with Calcutta I, Breslau, and G. S. Trébutien’s French translation.⁶⁾ The members were W. H. Macnaghten, Henry Thoby Prinsep (1793–1878),

2) There is another intermediate group with a few manuscripts, dating back to the seventeenth century, which is called the early Egyptian branch. For classification of manuscripts of the *Nights*, see Zotenberg (1888: 44–49), Macdonald (1922), Mahdi (1984a: 25–36, 1984b: 236–303), and Grotzfeld (2004a).

3) Macdonald (1922: 304; 1924: 353).

4) Mahdi (1994: 87–126).

5) Mahdi (1994: 101–126).

6) Trébutien (1828). It is a translation of Zinserling’s German translation (Zinserling, 1823–1824) of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall’s (1774–1856) French abridged translation, now lost, from his own Arabic manuscript of the Egyptian recension. For the complicated background of this publication, see Trébutien (1828: i–v) and W. F. Kirby’s commentary (Burton, 1885: vol. 10, 437–438).

William Hodge Mill (1792–1853), John Russell Colvin (1807–1857) and Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–1886), the first three of whom were Arabists. After receiving reports of the members' deliberations, which basically upheld the manuscript's authenticity, the Society decided to sponsor the publication. Macnaghten and two Indian associates of the Persian office (department), Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad (Aḥmad Kabīr) and Ṣāhib 'Alī Khān, were charged with editing the manuscript. In October 1837, however, Macnaghten left Calcutta for Simla to prepare for, and participate in, the Afghan expedition, and was murdered in Afghanistan in 1841. He was involved in the editing only for a year or so.

So where is the Macan manuscript now? As Mahdi mentions, the British Library holds a manuscript of the *Nights* in four volumes which 'was once in the possession of Wm. Thacker and Co.', the publishers of Calcutta II, and 'may have been used for that edition'.⁷⁾ Although this manuscript (British Library, MS Or. 1595–1598, henceforth Or. 1595–1598) seems to be the Macan manuscript itself, Mahdi denied the possibility. The first reason is that it was dated 1245 A.H. / 1829 A.D., two years after Salt's death. The second reason is related to textual content. According to the description in the manuscript catalogue, there are 'considerable variations' between Or. 1595–1598 and Calcutta II, and 'the language of the former is more vulgar and ungrammatical'.⁸⁾ On the other hand, Henry Whitelock Torrens's (1806–1852) English translation (Torrens, 1838), which is a translation from the first fifty nights of the Macan manuscript, 'agrees in every major detail with second Calcutta'.⁹⁾ In Mahdi's view, Torrens's translation almost corresponds to Calcutta II because the former is a literal translation, and the latter is a printed version, of the Macan manuscript. Therefore, the manuscript Or. 1595–1598 is unlikely to be the Macan manuscript, given that its text is distinctly different from that of Calcutta II.¹⁰⁾ Mahdi states that 'we still do not know what Macan manuscript looked like' and also that it 'must have been discarded, having become unreadable after use by the printers of second Calcutta'.¹¹⁾

Mahdi's hypothesis on the production of the Macan manuscript goes like this:¹²⁾ The Macan manuscript is a copy prepared by a competent scribe (copyist) Henry Salt hired in Egypt. Before Salt's death in 1827, the scribe conflated three sources—a manuscript of the late Egyptian recension possessed by Salt, Calcutta I, and the first two volumes of Breslau—into one manuscript. This explains why Calcutta II includes several elements that are not from the late Egyptian recension, such as the tale of 'The Envier and the Envied' (night 13), an extended ending to 'The Two Viziers' (nights 20–24), and the Alexander-era date referred in 'The Hunchback and the King of China' (night 29). They are all found in either or both Calcutta I and Breslau. His theory contradicts the earlier

7) Mahdi (1994 : 103–104). See also Rieu's manuscript catalogue (1894: 737, No. 1161–4).

8) Rieu (1894: 737).

9) Mahdi (1994: 104).

10) Mahdi (1994: 102–105).

11) Mahdi (1994: 104; 242, fn. 56).

12) Mahdi (1994: 116–118; 123–126).

one, which Dancun B. Macdonald presented in 1922, that ‘the editors [of Calcutta II] have expanded it’ from Calcutta I and Breslau texts.¹³⁾ In any case, Mahdi assumes that the editors of Calcutta II knew nothing about Bulaq, published in 1835.¹⁴⁾

Next, I turn to Heinz Grotzfeld’s theory. Although he agrees with Mahdi that the Macan manuscript is lost,¹⁵⁾ he has a different view from Mahdi’s on the relationship between Bulaq and Calcutta II. In his article of 1985, Grotzfeld describes the linguistic and stylistic variations of these editions as follows: They ‘differ chiefly in the first quarter, Calcutta [Calcutta II] presenting its prose passages an unrevised “middle Arabic” like any other MS of ZER’. In the three remaining quarters, the texts of Bulaq and Calcutta II are ‘almost identical, characterized by “polished” Arabic’. Hence, he proposes an assumption that these parts of Calcutta II were brought directly or indirectly from Bulaq.¹⁶⁾ He explicitly states in a co-authored 2005 article that the text of the volumes 2–4 of Calcutta II almost matches up in wording with Bulaq, and that it must be assumed that the printed Bulaq text, not the manuscript, was largely used for printing Calcutta II.¹⁷⁾ This point of view is of great significance in identifying sources of Calcutta II. I will provide evidence to support this idea, and demonstrate in section 4 of this study that it applies to the other part of the edition.

3. Objection: The Macan manuscript is *not* lost.

As noted before, both Mahdi and Grotzfeld argue that the Macan manuscript is lost. Yet I have some doubts about whether such a precious manuscript has truly been lost. Was it ‘discarded’, as Mahdi assumes? If it is true that the Macan manuscript was an enlarged version of an Egyptian manuscript, where has the original manuscript gone? The important thing here is to explore all possibilities.

First, we should not underestimate the description of Or. 1595–1598 in the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the British Museum (now the British Library).¹⁸⁾ As far as we know, Or. 1595–1598 is the only manuscript that has ever been possessed by the publishers of Calcutta II. The remaining task is to convincingly explain considerable variations between the manuscript and Calcutta II as well as why the manuscript is dated 1829—two years after Salt’s death.

Several clues in the reports that Macnaghten, Prinsep, and Mill submitted to the Asiatic Society’s Committee of Papers in 1836 can help us identify the Macan manuscript. The three Arabists determined the ‘completeness’ of the Macan manuscript by comparing it with Trébutien’s French Translation, Calcutta I, and Breslau. Their reports on the results include valuable information, such as English translations of

13) Macdonald (1922: 305) and Mahdi (1994: 244, fn. 69).

14) Mahdi (1984a: 22; 1994, 117).

15) Grotzfeld (2004a: 21; 2005: 40).

16) Grotzfeld (1985: 73, fn. 1).

17) Grotzfeld (2005: 40–41).

18) Rieu (1894: 737).

passages from the Macan manuscript, and the numbers assigned to nights in certain tales. My collation of Or. 1595–1598 with this information revealed the following congruencies:¹⁹⁾

1. Macnaghten provides an English translation from the latter half of ‘Abdullah the Fisherman and Abdullah the Merman’ in the fourth volume of the Macan manuscript, although it is an abridged and not a literal translation. Or. 1598 contains Arabic text that largely corresponds to it.²⁰⁾
2. Macnaghten also translates into English the ‘elegy’ verses at the end of ‘Abu Kir the Dyer and Abu Sir the Barber’ in Macan’s fourth volume. The Arabic equivalent, composed of nine verses, is inserted at the same place in Or. 1598.²¹⁾
3. Prinsep mentions that the tale of ‘The Caliph Harun al-Rashid and Queen Zubaydah in the Bath’ occupies nights 382–383 in the Macan manuscript. This is the case with Or. 1596.²²⁾
4. Prinsep additionally mentions that the tale of ‘The Miller and His Wife’ in the Macan manuscript comes at the end of night 384. In Or. 1596, it runs from the end of night 384 to night 385.²³⁾
5. Mill presents English translations of two passages from the tale ‘Isaac of Mosul’ in the Macan manuscript. Their content is almost identical to the Arabic text of the corresponding parts of Or. 1596.²⁴⁾
6. In addition, Mill states that ‘Isaac of Mosul’ occupies nights 277–280 in the Macan manuscript. This is true with Or. 1596.²⁵⁾
7. Finally, Mill mentions that the tale ‘Sindbad the Seaman and Sindbad the Landsman’ in the Macan manuscript occupies nights 536–565. This is also true with Or. 1597.²⁶⁾

We unfortunately have no information about Macan’s first volume in the reports. As far as the findings above are concerned, however, there is no discrepancy between the Macan manuscript described in the reports in 1836 and the surviving manuscript Or. 1595–1598. It is to be noted that the features described above do not hold true for Trébutien’s translation.²⁷⁾ Hence we should not discount the possibility that the Macan manuscript can be identified with Or. 1595–1598. Concerning the puzzle of the 1829 date, I think it reasonable to assume that ‘the manuscript was commissioned by Salt before his death, reached his heirs after his death, and was sold as part of his estate’,

19) References to English titles of the *Nights* tales are to the translation by Burton (1885–1886).

20) *JASB* 5 (1836: 590–594); Or. 1598, fols. 259v–265r.

21) *JASB* 5 (1836: 594–595); Or. 1598, fols. 254r–254v.

22) *JASB* 5 (1836: 596); Or. 1596, fols. 196v–198r.

23) *JASB* 5 (1836: 596); Or. 1596, fols. 199r–200v.

24) *JASB* 5 (1836: 597–598); Or. 1596, fols. 75r, 77v.

25) *JASB* 5 (1836: 597); Or. 1596, fols. 75r–77v.

26) *JASB* 5 (1836: 598); Or. 1597, fols. 1v–43r.

27) *JASB* 5 (1836: 590–599).

although this possibility was presented as only a hypothetical story by Mahdi.²⁸⁾ Salt stayed in Cairo, away from his residence in Alexandria, at least twice in 1827. During his last visit to Cairo, from mid-August to 7 September 1827, he suffered from severe illness. He died on 30 October of that year.²⁹⁾ We can guess that Salt commissioned a manuscript of the *Nights* in Cairo, a centre of book production, in 1827, but we have no evidence so far.

Next, let us turn to the collation between the Macan manuscript and Calcutta II. If Calcutta II is truly a faithful edition of the Macan manuscript, even if the former incorporates some parts of Calcutta I and Breslau, both texts must show a close correspondence. Let us find out whether the above-mentioned characteristics of the Macan manuscript hold true for Calcutta II.

1. Calcutta II contains Arabic text from ‘Abdullah the Fisherman and Abdullah the Merman’³⁰⁾ which is broadly equivalent to Macnaghten’s English translation.
2. Calcutta II contains only eight verses at the end of ‘Abu Kir the Dyer and Abu Sir the Barber’. The verses in Calcutta II are shorter than those in Macnaghten’s translation. They also differ considerably in wording.³¹⁾
3. ‘The Caliph Harun al-Rashid and Queen Zubaydah in the Bath’ occupies nights 385–386 in Calcutta II,³²⁾ while it occupies nights 382–383 in the Macan manuscript.
4. ‘The Miller and His Wife’ occupies nights 387–388 in Calcutta II,³³⁾ while it begins at the end of night 384 in the Macan manuscript.
5. Calcutta II contains Arabic text which is almost identical to Mill’s English translation from ‘Isaac of Mosul’, derived from the Macan manuscript.³⁴⁾
6. ‘Isaaq of Mosul’ occupies nights 279–282 in Calcutta II,³⁵⁾ while it occupies nights 277–280 in the Macan manuscript.
7. ‘Sindbad the Seaman and Sindbad the Landsman’ occupies nights 536–566 in Calcutta II,³⁶⁾ while it occupies nights 536–565 in the Macan manuscript.

Surprisingly, Calcutta II lacks five out of the seven characteristics of the Macan manuscript. This indicates that the text of Calcutta II is not necessarily based on the Macan manuscript. That is, it is not a faithful edition of the Macan manuscript. We can no longer rely on the textual content of Calcutta II to identify the Macan manuscript. We

28) Mahdi (1994: 104).

29) Halls (1834: 268, 272–275) and Manley and Rée (2001: 259–266).

30) Calcutta II (vol. 4, 504–507, 515–516).

31) Calcutta II (vol. 4, 494).

32) Calcutta II (vol. 2, 387–388).

33) Calcutta II (vol. 2, 392).

34) Calcutta II (vol. 2, 147, 152).

35) Calcutta II (vol. 2, 147–152).

36) Calcutta II (vol. 3, 4–83).

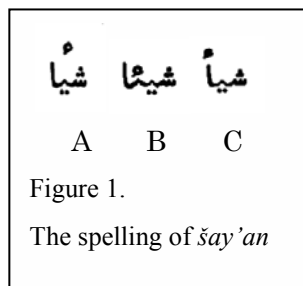
have to reconsider which sources were used for the compilation of Calcutta II. Along with the Macan manuscript, did Calcutta II incorporate passages from Calcutta I, Breslau, Bulaq, or all of the editions? If so, to what extent?

4. Evidence for the incorporation of Bulaq into Calcutta II

Now let us move on to the next issue: the correlation between Bulaq and Calcutta II. As Grotzfeld previously pointed out, volumes 2–4 of Calcutta II are almost identical in content to the corresponding parts of Bulaq. They are basically written in Standard Arabic (al-fuṣḥā). On the other hand, the first volume of Calcutta II is different from Bulaq in that the former contains vulgar and dialectal expressions regarded as characteristic of Middle Arabic. I therefore will focus on deviations from Standard Arabic such as instances of dialectal vocabulary and unusual or incorrect orthographical variants. In what follows, I demonstrate how such forms are distributed throughout Calcutta II. To count their frequency, I utilized the digital full text of Calcutta II.³⁷⁾

First, I tried to determine the frequency distribution of dialectal vocabulary items. I obtained data on the following six words: *'ēš* [interrogative 'what'], *lēš* [interrogative 'why'], *fēn* [interrogative 'where'], *bitā'* [word to express ownership 'belonging to'], *jāb* [verb 'bring'], and *'āwiz* [active participle 'want']. The first two words, *'ēš* and *lēš*, intensively occur in the first third of the first volume, which runs to 910 pages. While fifty-two out of fifty-seven occurrences of these terms occur within pages 17–336, only five occurrences are found within pages 626–826. The other four words occur twenty times altogether within pages 41–232 of the first volume.³⁸⁾ In volumes 2–4, such words are almost never found. The frequency of dialectal vocabulary is not high as a whole. It is probable that the editorial team of Macnaghten and two Indian associates intended to publish a version rewritten in Standard Arabic, instead of in Middle Arabic as was used in the Macan manuscript. We had better regard the above-mentioned words as remnants from the Macan manuscript. On the other hand, Bulaq essentially contains no dialectal vocabulary.

Secondly, Calcutta II shows a strange distribution of orthographical variations of an accusative noun *šay'an* 'thing'. See variants A, B, and C in Figure 1. The point is the difference in the spelling of the diacritic 'hamza' denoting a glottal stop. While A is orthographically incorrect, both B and C are correct. The distribution of these forms throughout Calcutta II is as follows: A is mainly used from the beginning to page 103 of the first volume; B is used in pages 109–429 of the first volume; although C as well as B are found in pages 205–429, C is exclusively used from



37) This corpus was produced under a series of projects on the *Arabian Nights* which were promoted by Prof. Nishio Tetsuo, the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. The text has two versions: ASCII format and Unicode Arabic format.

38) The occurrences of these six words were identified in Or. 1595.

page 430 of the first volume to the end of the fourth volume. It is clear that the spelling of *šay'an* changes from A to C via B as the book progresses. Since the diacritic hamzas in ZER manuscripts including Or. 1595–1598 are omitted, such an orthographic problem has nothing to do with manuscripts. In contrast, Bulaq consistently uses form C. A possible scenario is that after the typographical error, A was correctly changed to B, another correct form, C, was eventually adopted in accordance with Bulaq.

Thirdly, Calcutta II contains another orthographic deviation, namely a coordinate conjunction *wa* ‘and’ which is placed at the end of lines. As the conjunction *wa* must be necessarily connected with its next word, it is impossible to place it at the end of a line. My investigation, however, showed that the first volume has approximately three hundred occurrences of *wa* at the end of a line. More than eighty percent of these occurrences appear before page 200. Its occurrences abruptly and drastically decrease in the subsequent pages. Volumes 2–4 similarly show low frequency (approximately forty occurrences in each volume), although this structure does not vanish. Why do such errors happen? At least two reasons can be assumed. The first reason is the influence of the orthography of the Persian language. Its equivalent conjunction *va*, which is represented by the same letter as the Arabic conjunction *wa*, must be separately written, and thus can be placed at the end of a line. We may recall here that the practical editors of Calcutta II, the two Indian associates, served at the Persian department. The editors and printers, who most likely were affected by Persian orthography, might have overlooked this error. The second reason is the influence of Calcutta I and Breslau. Both editions contain examples of *wa* at the end of the line, and Breslau in particular is characterized by its high frequency. It is conceivable that the editors conformed to the incorrect orthography since they consulted these editions while compiling Calcutta II. In contrast to the editions published in non-Arabic-speaking countries, Bulaq has no such error at all. Bulaq is an edition that was published in 1835 by the Bulaq Press, the first official printing press of Egypt. We do not find any document to indicate that the editors of the Calcutta II knew Bulaq at the time of 1836, but the possibility remains that they possessed it and utilized it after they started their editing work. If so, Bulaq might have prompted the editors to correct this kind of error.

Finally, it should be added that there is another striking coincidence between Bulaq and Calcutta II. Both editions skip night number 261, as Grotzfeld points out.³⁹⁾

The discussions above imply a close connection between Calcutta II and Bulaq, not only in volumes 2–4 but also in the middle and latter part of the first volume. It seems reasonable to suppose that more than seven-eighths of Calcutta II was borrowed from the printed texts of Bulaq. It is difficult to determine an exact page where Calcutta II begins to use Bulaq’s text. At least until night 39, Calcutta II and Or. 1595 are the same in terms of night divisions and their opening sentences.⁴⁰⁾ Then the text of Calcutta II

39) Grotzfeld (2004b: 227).

40) Calcutta II (vol.1: 320); Or. 1595, fol. 154r.

gradually starts to coincide with Bulaq beginning at night 46 (in the early part of the tale of King Omar), although there are some differences.⁴¹⁾ We should notice that the text of night 50 in both editions is abnormally longer than that of night 49 and night 51.⁴²⁾ In several ZER manuscripts, the corresponding text is divided into four nights.⁴³⁾ The integration of four nights into night 50 is specific to Bulaq and Calcutta II. This is not a pure coincidence.

5. Conclusion

These results lead to the following conclusions: First, it is highly probable that Or. 1595-1598, held in the British Library, is the Macan manuscript. Secondly, Calcutta II is an edition that contains text from the Macan manuscript (Or. 1595-1598 in my opinion) and from all the previous editions: Calcutta I, Breslau, and Bulaq. It imported an enormous amount of text from Bulaq in particular. The first one-eighth of Calcutta II (from the beginning to nearly page 350 in the first volume) is mainly based on Or. 1595, and several phrases, sentences, and episodes from both Calcutta I and Breslau are incorporated in it. For the rest of the book (pages 350 to 910 of the first volume and the last three volumes), the text of Bulaq was exclusively used, even though the manuscript Or. 1595-1598 was also consulted by the editors. Above all, volumes 2–4 of Calcutta II are ‘nothing but a reprint of Bulaq’, in Grotzfeld’s words.⁴⁴⁾

It is certain that Macnaghten and the practical editors, Aḥmad Kabīr and Ṣāhib ‘Alī Khān, were convinced of the authenticity and completeness of the Macan manuscript, and originally intended to compile the complete edition mainly based on it. To make the text more complete, they were willing even to add passages from Calcutta I and Breslau to it.⁴⁵⁾ Yet Macnaghten’s leaving Calcutta in 1837 changed the circumstances. The Indian editors lost their responsible proofreader and good adviser. It is not strange that they depended on Bulaq instead of the Macan manuscript if they had this Egyptian edition and found it as authentic and complete as the Macan manuscript. Eventually, it was only in the first three or four hundred pages of the first volume that the Macan manuscript was used as the main source text of Calcutta II. Calcutta II is therefore a collection of all the texts that they were able to refer to. This edition, however, definitely made immeasurable contributions to the worldwide popularization of the *Thousand and One Nights*, since it was highly appreciated by a lot of translators. This popularity may be associated with the fact that the editors devoted themselves to adding helpful information for the reader’s convenience, such as detailed tables of contents, title headers, visible divisions of tales and nights, and diacritic marks on all verses.

41) Calcutta II (vol. 1: 355); Bulaq (vol. I: 141).

42) In Calcutta II, night 49 has 141 lines, night 50 has 271 lines, and night 51 has 192 lines. In Bulaq, they have 97 lines, 179 lines, and 122 lines respectively.

43) I confirmed this in five ZER manuscripts: British Library, Or. 1595, Or. 2916; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 3598, 3502, 3606.

44) Grotzfeld (2004b: 227).

45) The text Torrens used for his translation might have been not the Macan manuscript itself, but a manuscript or a press proof edited by them.

Abbreviations

- Calcutta I: Shirwanee, Shuekh Uhmud Bin Moohummud Ool Yumunee (Shaykh 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Shīrwānī al-Yamanī). 1814–1818. *The Arabian Nights Entertainments; In Original Arabic*. 2 vols. Calcutta, P. Pereira, The Hindoostanee Press.
- Breslau: Habicht, Maximilian and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer. 1824–1843. *Tausend und Eine Nacht. Arabische. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis*. 12 vols. Breslau.
- Bulaq: Al-Sharqāwī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣafatī. 1835. *'Alf layla wa-layla*. 2 vols. Bulaq.
- Calcutta II: William H. Macnaghten. 1839–1842. *The Alif Layla or the Book of the Thousand Nights and One Nights, Commonly Known as "The Arabian Nights" Entertainment*. 4 vols. Calcutta, W. Thacker and Co.; St. Andrew's Library.
- Or. 1595–1598: British Library, MS Or. 1595–1598.
- JASB: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

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