

Bibliographies of *A Thousand and One Nights* and the Formation of Modern Nationhood: A
Study in Comparative Print Culture

by

Rasoul Aliakbari

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Comparative Literature
University of Alberta

© Rasoul Aliakbari, 2017

ABSTRACT:

This doctoral dissertation examines the print cultures of the *Arabian Nights* (aka *A Thousand and One Nights*) in Britain, the US, Egypt, and Iran, variably from the late eighteenth to the twenty first centuries. This examination, by way of textual analysis, contextual and historical scrutiny, and digital bibliographic examination and compilation, demonstrates the various usages of the *Arabian Nights* in modern nation-formation projects in the above-said contexts, challenges Benedict Anderson's homogenous and solid notion of nation-building, and shows the occurrence of this phenomenon in a heterogeneous modality at the intersection of literary Orientalism, social classes, discourses, gender, and trans-regional dialectics. The chapter on the *Arabian Nights* in Britain demonstrates how this publication was aimed at non-elite readers to expand bourgeois readership and to bolster the notions of Englishness and Britishness across lower social strata during the nineteenth century. The chapter on US's history of the *Arabian Nights* documents and examines the re-mediation, trans-mediations, and uses of this story collection in printed materials in designating national American subjectivity while territorial expansionism, technological upsurge, consumerism, political reconfiguration were under way during the antebellum period. In the chapter on Egypt, the renewed significance of the *Arabian Nights* is explained by reference to female writers' repurposing of its tales in forging modern Arabian and Egyptian role models for their female readers on the emerging national landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Iran's chapter demonstrates the usage of the *Arabian Nights* by literary and cultural elites, starting from before the mid-nineteenth century to date, to perpetuate the nationalist discourse of Perso-centrism, and simultaneously shows the Ottoman and Indian grounds via which the *Arabian Nights* had been taken to Persia/Iran in the nineteenth century. The dissertation brings to light under-documented histories of the *Arabian Nights*, shows the utilizations of the story collection in nation-formation

projects in the selected cultures of modernity, challenges Anderson's unnuanced theorization of modernity, and ultimately suggests a new scholarly framework, namely *comparative print culture*, at the crossroads of print culture and comparative literatures studies for future investigations of print modernities.

PREFACE

An early version of Chapter Two has appeared as “*The Arabian Nights* in the English Popular Press and the Heterogenization of Nationhood: A Print Cultural Approach to Benedict Anderson’s Imagined Communities” in [*Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*](#), vol. 43, no. 3, 2016. An early version of Chapter Three is forthcoming as “American Aladdins and Sinbads: Critical Bibliographic Examination of the *Arabian Nights* for Antebellum Nationhood” in [*Marvels & Tales: Journal of Fairy-tale Studies*](#), vol. 31, no. 2 (Fall 2017). A very early version of Chapter Five was published as a book chapter: “Iranian Literary Modernity, Critical Regionalism, and the Print Culture of *A Thousand and One Nights*” in *Unsettling Colonial Modernity: Islamicate Contexts in Focus*, edited by Siavash Saffari, et al. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

DEDICATIONS:

To my mom, Robabeh Gholami-Mendi

ACKNOWLEDGMENT:

I feel very fortunate for receiving mentorship, advice, criticism, assistance, resource, encouragement, and/or love from many people and places while composing this dissertation. They include, but are not limited to, my supervisor Gary Kelly; my committee members Mojtaba Mahdavi and Jerry Varsava; my examiners Manijeh Mannani, Carrie Smith-Prei, Ted Bishop, and Ulrich Marzolph; my RA/TA supervisor Irene Sywenky; U of A Libraries including Interlibrary Loan, Denis Lacroix, and Amy Southgate; U of A's Faculty of Graduate Studies as well as the Graduate Students Association; my family especially my mom Robabeh and my brother Kazem; my friends Hawre Hosseini and Nicola DiNicola, and last but not least, my partner Eden McDonald-Yale. I owe tremendously to all of them.

Table of Contents

Chapter I: Bibliographies of <i>A Thousand and One Nights</i>/Arabian Nights and Heterogeneous Nation-Building	1
I. Thesis.....	2
II. Designation of Corpus: The <i>Nights</i>	2
III. The Use of Theory: Anderson’s <i>Imagined Communities</i>	6
IV. Frame, Methods, and Research Questions.....	13
V. Structuring.....	15
VI. Images	17
Chapter II: English Popular Press of the <i>Nights</i> and the Heterogenization of Nationhood	22
I. Aims and Scope.....	23
II. The <i>Nights</i> and an Evaluation of Anderson’s Homogeneous and Empty Nationhood.....	24
A. Circumstances of the Appearance of Lane’s Translation in Print.....	26
III. Official Nationalism and the <i>Nights</i>	39
IV. Conclusions.....	52
V. Appendix.....	55
Chapter III: Heterogenizing Antebellum American Nation-Building through the Print Culture of the <i>Nights</i>	68
I. Aims and Scope.....	69
II. The <i>Nights</i> and its Tales in US Print: An Overview.....	75
III. American Aladdins and Sinbads in Popular Print Media.....	78
IV. The <i>Nights</i> and Socioeconomic Elitism.....	86
V. The <i>Nights</i> and the Discourse of Transformation.....	92
VI. Antebellum Popularity of the <i>Nights</i> , Conclusions, and Future Directions.....	99
VII. Appendix.....	101

Chapter IV: Re-Publications and Re-formations of the <i>Nights</i> in Egypt and Gendered Heterogeneous Nationhood	124
I. Aims and Scope.....	125
II. Treatment of the <i>Nights</i> in <i>al-Nahḍa</i> Periodicals.....	126
III. Review of Selected Scholarly Studies.....	130
IV. Reworkings of the <i>Nights</i> by Female Writers.....	131
V. The <i>Nights</i> for Women.....	162
VI. Conclusions.....	176
VII. Appendix.....	178
Chapter V: The Print Culture of the Iranian <i>Nights</i> and its Trans-Regional Circumstances: Towards Heterogenizing Modern Iranian Nationhood.....	186
I. Aims and Scope.....	187
II. An Overview of Aryanism.....	188
III. Aryanism in the Iranian Print-Cultural Treatment of the <i>Nights</i>	190
IV. The <i>Nights</i> across the Region and in Iran.....	200
V. Concluding Remarks.....	223
VI. Appendix.....	215
Chapter VI: Conclusions.....	252
I. Summaries.....	253
II. Further Research Questions.....	255
III. Vision.....	255
IV. Further Images.....	257
Works Cited.....	265

LIST OF FIGURES/ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter I

Image I: From cover of Edward William Lane's translation of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* published by J. Murray in London, 1850.

Image II: Illustration of Sinbad on the back of a whale in *Stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments* published by Phinny & Co. in Buffalo, NY, 1858.

Image III: The opening page of the first publication of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Egypt, 1835.

Image IV: Illustrations from *A Thousand and One Nights* published in Iran, 1855.

Chapter II

Image I: Inside cover of the first volume of the first edition of Edward William Lane's *Arabian Nights* published by C. Knight and Co., 1839.

Image II: Illustration and extraction from Edward William Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 1836.

Image III: An extraction from *A Manual for Mechanics and Their Institutions* published by the *Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 1846.

Image IV: Opening of the third volume of Edward William Lane's first edition of the *Arabian Nights* published by C. Knight and Co., 1839.

Image V: Illustration from the third volume of Edward William Lane's edition of the *Arabian Nights* published by C. Charles Knight and Co., 1839.

Image VI: Illustration and extraction from the first volume of Edward William Lane's edition of the *Arabian Nights* published by C. Charles Knight and Co., 1839.

Chapter III:

Image I: The front cover of the first publication of the Aladdin and Sinbad stories in the US in Philadelphia, 1794.

Image II: An Ohio bank advertisement, 1838.

Image III: The Front Parlor at the Richard H. Driehaus Museum in Chicago, circa 1883.

Image IV: An advertisement of the theatrical performance of Aladdin in the *National Advocate* periodical, 1817.

Chapter IV:

Image I: Illustration of the union between °Anīs al-jalīs and ‘Alī Nūr al-Dīn from al-Hilāl's edition of *A Thousand and One Nights* published in Cairo, 1903.

Image II: Cover of Egyptian periodical °*Anīs al-jalīs*, 1899.

Image III: Illustration of the union of the porter with the three girls in al-Hilāl's edition of *A Thousand and One Nights*, 1903.

Chapter V:

Image I: Chapter headings of the opening of Volume II of *A Thousand and One Nights* published in Iran, 1855.

Image II: Illustration of Sinbad and the old man of the sea in *A thousand and One Nights* published in Iran, 1855.

Image III: Illustration of As'ad and Amjad in *A Thousand and One Nights* published in Iran, 1858.

Image IV: Illustration of the Tale of Wardan the Butcher in *A Thousand and One Nights* published in Iran, 1899.

Chapter VI:

Image I: Illustration and extraction from the third volume of Edward William Lane's *Arabian Nights* published by C. Knight and Co., 1839.

Image II: Illustration of the ending of Edward William Lane's edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co., 1839.

Image III: Illustration from the frame tale of the *Arabian Nights*, published by L. Johnson in Philadelphia, 1832.

Image IV: Illustration in the inside cover of Forster's edition of the *Arabian Nights*, published by W. P. Hazard in Philadelphia, 1856.

Image V: Illustration from the frame tale of *A Thousand and One Nights*, published in Egypt.

Image VI: Illustration from the story of the porter and the three ladies of Baghdad in *A Thousand and One Nights*, published in Egypt.

Image VII: Color illustration in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār's manuscript of *A Thousand and One Nights*, developed in Iran, 1859.

Image VIII: Color illustration in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār's manuscript of *A Thousand and One Nights*, developed in Iran, 1859.

Chapter I

Introduction:

Bibliographies of *A Thousand and One Nights/Arabian Nights* and Heterogeneous Nation-
Building

I. Thesis

My dissertation investigates select aspects of the print culture of the *Arabian Nights* / *One Thousand and One Nights* (hereafter called the *Nights*) in England, the United States, Egypt, and Iran from the late eighteenth to the twenty first centuries to explore its uses in nation-building projects in these countries. In contrast to Benedict Anderson's concept of nationality as homogeneous and empty, my study demonstrates that this phenomenon occurred in a heterogeneous modality at the intersection of literary Orientalism, social classes, discourses, gender, and trans-regional interactions. There is a growing body of research on the *Nights*, its sources, its literary character, its cultural significance, its translations, its adaptations, and its continuing popularity in contemporary cultures around the world. This project focuses on an aspect that has not yet been examined in detail: the uses of the *Nights* in the formation of modern nation-states. This study documents, analyzes, and compares publication histories of the *Nights* and their uses in nation-building roughly from the late eighteenth to the twenty first century in England, the United States, Egypt, and Iran, and shows the formation of their nationhood as heterogeneous rather than homogeneous.

II. Designation of Corpus: The *Nights*

The corpus under investigation, the *Nights*, has been recognized as a major text of world literature. Over the centuries, the *Nights* circulated through much of the Eastern parts of the Islamic world, including Iraq, Syria, and Egypt.¹ Since its 1704 French translation by Antoine Galland, the *Nights* has travelled across cultural, linguistic, and political borders, in versions in

¹ It is also notable that the *Hundred and One Tales*, a sibling text to the *Nights*, circulated in the Western periphery of the Islamic world, including Muslim Spain and the Western regions of North Africa (Marzolph and Chraïbi, "The *Hundred and One Nights*: A Recently Discovered Old Manuscript" 302-03).

English, German, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Arabic, Persian, Indian, Japanese, and Chinese, among other languages. It has also been adapted into film, television, operas, popular songs, comics, street theatre, video games, and children's literature, to name but some examples.

The *Nights* has also been subject to extensive scholarly examination. Ulrich Marzolph provides a comprehensive list of major scholarship on various aspects of the *Nights* in its pre-modern, modern, and contemporary contexts in "The Arabian Nights International Bibliography." The last decade alone has seen several investigations of various layers, moments, instances, and dimensions of the *Nights*, and its history and circulation, in both pre-modern and modern contexts. For instance, in *A Motif Index of The Thousand and One Nights*, Hasan El-Shamy discusses the status of the *Nights* in Arab-Islamic literature and culture, basing his indexing on a modern Egyptian edition and presenting an inventory of folklore motifs, adapted from the systems of Aarne and Thompson, such as "Animals," "Taboos," or "Marvels." Marzolph's *The Arabian Nights Reader* collects selected examples of twentieth-century scholarship on the manuscript history of the *Nights* as well as psychological, mythological, and structural analyses. Marzolph also edited the collection *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*, featuring articles from a 2004 symposium on the tercentennial anniversary of Galland's translation. These essays discuss, among other topics, the sources, translations, and adaptations of the *Nights* in print, visual arts, and oral culture in various global contexts. In *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*, Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio complicate the conventional notion of (literary) Orientalism by tracing the reception of this tale collection in Japan. Yamanaka's and Nishio's collection includes discussions of the *Nights* in relation to folklore, oral literature, and poststructuralism, the sources

of and influences on the tales, and the arrival of the *Nights* in Japan from Europe. Saree Makdisi's and Felicity Nussbaum's *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West* features essays that place the translation of the *Nights* in the contact zone of languages, cultures, and traditions; they recognize, as do Yamanaka and Nishio, that the *Nights* challenges conventional perspectives of literary Orientalism. Makdisi and Nussbaum treat confluences and comparative readings of the tales within feminist, literary, theatrical, and musicological contexts in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

Focusing on the Medieval Arabic context of the *Nights*, Muhsin Musawi's *The Islamic Context of The Thousand and One Nights* highlights the *Nights* as a work that was developed within and that reflects the cosmopolitan and multifaceted Islamic culture. In *Visions of the Jinn: Illustrators of the Arabian Nights*, a follow-up to his well-known 1994 work *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*, Robert Irwin treats the *Nights* in a modern European context, focusing on the development of illustrations for various editions of the *Nights* between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. In *Eastern Dreams: How the Arabian Nights Came to the World*, Paul McMichael Nurse revisits various studies of the *Nights* in relatively accessible language to present the multilayered history of the *Nights* to general readers. In *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights*, Marina Warner explores the influence of selected stories from the *Nights* on fantasy, enchantment, and mythology in Western Culture; her collaboration with Philip F. Kennedy, *Scheherazade's Children: Global Encounters with the Arabian Nights* further demonstrates the growing status of the *Nights* as a formative set of texts in world literature and culture.

Within the extensive and growing body of the scholarship on the *Nights*, no full-length volume to date has been dedicated to the investigation of the print cultures of this collection of

stories. Nonetheless, this topic has been approached in varying degrees in several recent articles and book chapters. For instance, Srinivas Aravamudan examines the arrival of literary Orientalism alongside the national realist novel in nineteenth-century Europe, ultimately demonstrating the interconnections between Oriental tales and modern European fiction. Kamran Rastegar devotes two chapters of *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* to English, Arabic, and Persian versions of the *Nights*, exploring the historical circumstances in which these editions appeared in these languages, and demonstrating the development of autonomous literary fields of legitimization in English, Arabic, and Persian. In his essay “The Persian *Nights*: Links between the *Arabian Nights* and Iranian Culture,” Ulrich Marzolph traces the translation, illustrations, and publications of the *Nights* in Iran in the mid-nineteenth century and afterward. The work that is most relevant of all to this study is the first chapter of Susan Nance’s *How the Arabian Nights Inspired the American Dream, 1790-1935*, which notes that the consumption of Orientalia in general and the *Nights* in particular was occurring at a formative stage in the history of the US as a consumer economy. That said, the implications of these studies for the examination of the print culture of the *Nights* in relation to nationhood have been largely unexplored, and this topic has not yet been treated in a comparative frame, as my study seeks to do.² Although the aforementioned works have been useful to my research, the lacunae regarding the print culture of the *Nights* and its use in nation-building provide the inspiration for this project.

² It should be noted here that this study’s focus on England, the US, Egypt, and Iran was determined by my knowledge of the languages, the existence and/or accessibility of data (which necessitated the exclusion of Afghanistan from this discussion), and the relevance of the *Nights* as a nation-building text in these areas.

III. The Use of Theory: Anderson's *Imagined Communities*

Benedict Anderson's 1983 text *Imagined Communities* is one of the key works in the study of nationalism and vernacular print capitalism. It discusses the nation as an imagined frame of reference that gained legitimacy as older models such as ancient monarchies, sacred scripts, and non-historical and circular notions of time faded with the advent of the modern era, eventually leading to the development of imagined, rather than face-to-face, communities. These imagined communities particularly thrived as examples of print capitalism, such as novels and newspapers, proliferated and were consumed, anonymously and simultaneously, across the secularized imagined community. As ancient and sacred identity factors gradually declined, vernacular national consciousnesses developed, beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, catering to reading communities with no knowledge of Latin. Print capitalism encouraged communal self-identifications through the vernacular in print in English, French, German, and many other languages. These changes were coupled with inspiration from Northern and Southern American creoles, who had experimented with print-making between 1760 and 1830 as a way of promoting national consciousnesses.³ Altogether, these changes and inspirations contributed to the development of European vernacular and populist nationalisms of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Anderson also discusses official nationalism and fin-de-siècle imperialism in Britain, Russia, Germany, and Japan, and their multilingual colonial territories. He ultimately views Asian and African anti-colonial nationalist movements as examples of Occidental instances facilitated by print technology and by multilingual intelligentsias.

³ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities* 47-65 for a further discussion of creole printmaking and its role in the formation of national communities. This topic is also discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of this study.

Imagined Communities explores links among print, narrative, and the nation; specifically, the movement of the modern nation through “homogeneous, empty time” (24) – a phrase Anderson borrows from Walter Benjamin – in which time moves calendrically rather than a-historically, and various agents are aware of their communal existence despite a lack of familiarity with one another. The homogeneous and neutral notion of time, according to Anderson, is evident in the linear, temporal, and cultural/linguistic structures present in the narratives of novels and newspapers. Vernacular print capitalism popularized these new categories of reading materials, eventually leading to the creation of new imagined solidarities that were characterized by anonymity, simultaneity, homogeneity, and a collective sense of nationhood within the bounds of the print vernacular.

The rise of printed books, which are considered to be “the first modern-style mass-produced industrial commodity” (*Imagined Communities* 34, 36), facilitated the decline of the old ethos and inspired fundamentally new ways in which the literate population regarded themselves and related to one another. Particularly, as the market for the European elite community of Latin readers was saturated, print capitalism had to target the potentially extensive community of monoglot readers (*Imagined Communities* 38). Moreover, unlike the old, manuscript culture, in which knowledge circulated in arcane languages and in vertical, hierarchical, and esoteric molds, print-as-commodity culture encouraged the massive, horizontal dissemination of knowledge in vernacular languages, aided by “peddling cheap editions in the vernaculars” (*Imagined Communities* 38). In this sense, Anderson continues, “the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined

community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation” (*Imagined Communities* 46).

Anderson further notes that vernacularism (as in French and English) worked alongside print capitalism to centralize states and establish the foundations of national consciousness by creating “unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars” (*Imagined Communities* 44). As such, English speakers who previously had difficulty mutually understanding one another now shared the medium of print. The community of public readers gradually became aware of their fellow readers within their linguistic field, while that field also distinguishes them from other linguistic collectives, such as speakers of Spanish, German, or other languages. These shared and distinct experiences helped to germinate the nation as an imagined community. Anderson further explains, “the nineteenth century was, in Europe and its immediate peripheries, a golden age of vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs. The energetic activities of these professional intellectuals were central to the shaping of nineteenth-century European nationalisms” (*Imagined Communities* 71).

Specifically, according to Anderson, the nation “is an imagined political community” that resembles “a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time [...], a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history” (*Imagined Communities* 6, 26). The modern nation is marked by a fundamental change in the conception of time. The old perception of simultaneity, involving a Messianic and apocalyptic notion of time, has been replaced with “an idea of ‘homogeneous, empty time,’ in which simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and

fulfilment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar” (*Imagined Communities* 24).

As Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* moved beyond its original Southeast Asian focus and became influential in various fields, it has been applied critically within many different disciplines, including (comparative) literary studies. For instance, in her account of the historical emergence of the world republic of letters, Pascale Casanova refers to Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* as she discusses the national and language-specific formation of literary capital, and demonstrates a link between the national state, the vernacular, and literature in the early stages of their development (330). Lawrence Venuti discusses how translation develops a site of intercultural linkage and, referring to Anderson’s conceptualisation of imagined communities, shows how an imagined domestic community of readers, sometimes on a national scale, is fostered by translations of literary works from foreign cultures (“From *Translation, Community, Utopia*” 369-70). Coleman Hutchison uses Anderson’s theory of imagined communities to examine the production and circulation of literary materials in the South during the American Civil War, demonstrating the case for print culture as a vehicle for the development of a vigorous literary nationalism.

In her discussion of the importance of the concept of the nation in critical transatlantic Romantic studies, Colleen Glenney Boggs notes that Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* has triggered an ongoing re-evaluation of the relationship between literature and nationhood (228). She particularly points to the implications of Anderson’s theory of the novel, as conducive to simultaneous and anonymous national identification, for the study of early American novels as allegories and narratives of the development of American subjectivity as national polity (228-29). Furthermore, in her account of the relationship between studies of nationalism and

postcolonial literary criticism, Laura Chrisman states that Anderson's characterization of nationalism has prompted analyses of the relationship between nationality and narrative. In particular, she points to the skepticism in postcolonial literary studies regarding Anderson's notion of an all-encompassing community imagined through the novel and synchronized via newspaper readership. She further explains that narrative is viewed, alternatively, as "imposing unity over heterogeneity" (193), subsuming multifarious contemporaneous discourses in favour of the development of a cohesive entity. In other words, narrative tends to erode variances and heterogeneities and promote a national and coherent collective subjectivity.

As a representative example of these re-appraisals of Anderson's work, Shan-Yun Huang's postcolonial re-reading of Anderson's characterization of the nation is based on an argument of heterogeneity. He uses James Joyce's fiction to critique Anderson's theory that the nation dwells in homogeneous, empty time. Huang shows that Anderson's correlation of narrative and nationhood cannot address the layered, fragmentary, and heterogeneous conceptions of temporality, in Joyce's *Ulysses*, and this reflects the lack of a cohesive and regulated national narrative within Irish colonial history. Eventually, he demonstrates that this fiction represents nationhood as existing, rather than in homogeneous and empty time, in un-homogenised, heterogeneous, and dense time (589, 606), a description he borrows from Partha Chatterjee. Chatterjee directly critiques the centerpiece of Anderson's notion that extensive anonymized socialities of modernity, such as the nation, operate in homogeneous and blank temporality. He discloses the one-sided, utopian aspect of Anderson's argument by demonstrating, through examinations of selected forms of Indian governmentality and Bengali fiction in the twentieth century, that the real time-space of the modern political life of the nation is heterogeneous.

Because this study does not necessarily ‘apply’ Anderson’s concept of modern nationality to the contexts in question, it is reasonable to further flesh out my adaptation and re-workings of his theory by describing some of the similarities and differences between our standpoints. To begin with, my dissertation does not challenge Anderson’s notion of simultaneity. Anderson himself responds to Chatterjee’s reading of his theories as follows:

If one wished to see the most utopian instantiation of “homogeneous, empty time,” one could not do better than glance at China. In the era of the Old Republic, dominated by native and foreign capitalists, feudal landlords, and thuggish militarists, China had several time zones, following GMT rules, as well as local habits of the sun. However, when CCP came to power in 1949 and began the dismantling of capitalism and feudalism, it also broke temporally with the immediate past. From that time, through the radical experiments of the 1960s, until today, all of China has been governed by one man-made time: that of Peking. When dawn appears over the Forbidden City, it is still the dead of the night in Urumchi, but it is 6 pm in both places. In practice, of course, Peking bureaucrats have learned not to telephone offices in Urumchi before their own lunch time and officials in Urumchi do not bother to call Peking after 2 pm. There is thus a weird, organized dy-simultaneity below the unified surface. (“Responses” 240)

Not only does this dissertation not discuss China, but it also does not critique Anderson’s notion of simultaneity as a characteristic of nation formation. In this study, I regard simultaneity as the time-frame in which a community of readers is formed. In other words, my project recognizes the differences between manuscript and print cultures, and understands the modern imagined community of the nation as an expanding horizontal fellowship of readers consuming the *Orientalia* of the *Nights*, among a host of other texts.

While I am not directly concerned with non-simultaneous readership, my project does seek to delineate the composite and heterogeneous composition of printed matter and other reading material produced, circulated, and read in the simultaneous time of the nation. Anderson projects a coherent and cohesive portrayal of the modern nation based on the growth of print technology and expansion of readership:

The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving calendrically down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000-odd fellow-Americans [*sic* 240,000,000]. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity. (*Imagined Communities* 26)

Anderson regards nationhood as a cohesive and solid unity, whereas I approach it as a heterogeneous phenomenon. My main argument here is that, based on an examination of the print culture of the *Nights*, the modality that primarily characterizes the constitution of modern nationhood is heterogeneity. In other words, I explore the publication history of the *Nights* and demonstrate its application in the formation of modern nationality, showing that this phenomenon occurs in a heterogeneous modality at the intersection of literary Orientalism and social classes, discourses, gender, and trans-regional influences in British, American, Egyptian, and Iranian contexts, respectively.

IV. Frame, Methods, and Research Questions

As indicated above, this project investigates the print culture of the *Nights* in order to challenge centerpieces of Benedict Anderson's standpoints on modern nation-building in his *Imagined Communities*. There is a growing body of research on the *Nights*, its sources, its literary character, its cultural significance, its translations, its adaptations, and its continuing popularity in contemporary cultures throughout the world. However, reviewing the literature of the *Nights* suggests that its treatment in print culture has not been thoroughly investigated. In particular, there seems to be a relative lack of scholarship on the uses of print editions of the *Nights* to converse with theories of print capitalism and modern nation-building.

This said, Anderson's theoretical scope is extensive, treating elements of ancient Buddhism, the American Revolution, and Southeast Asian anti-colonialism, among others, in addition to the modernization of Europe. My aim in this study is not to assess all the areas that Anderson addresses or evaluate his theories in light of contesting modernist conceptions of nationality, such as those of Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, or Anthony D. Smith; rather, my dissertation seeks to challenge Anderson's notion of the homogeneity of modern nationhood by exploring the deployment of the *Nights* in nation-building projects in different cultures, thus demonstrating these enterprises as heterogeneous, and complicating Anderson's modernist account of the nation.

To achieve this goal, I examine selected aspects of the bibliographic history of the *Nights* in English, Arabic, and Persian, published in Britain, the United States, Egypt, and Iran, from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. These aspects include translations, publications, reproductions, commercializations, trans-mediations, transmissions, and readerships. I also examine responses to the publication and popularity of the *Nights* that

appeared in contemporary periodicals, ranging from high-brow to popular. Additionally, this dissertation includes inventories of the bibliographical history of these publications. I contextualize the bibliographical historical investigations of the *Nights* in the specific literary, political, and economic circumstances of the contexts examined here, showing the varying but interrelated employments of the *Nights* in the build-up of national subjectivities at the onsets of modernity in the countries under discussion.

As such, my study aims to provide answers, though by no means exhaustive ones, to these questions: who (mainly in term of social and economic standing) read the *Nights*? How did those readers access the *Nights*? What shaped those readers' interpretations of the *Nights*? What is the relationship between the *Nights* and nation-building? What are some of the major *uses* of the *Nights* in the development of modern nationality at the onset of global modernities? How can modernist accounts of nation-formation be critically revisited using the bibliographical history of the *Nights*? What are some of the major similarities and differences of nation-building enterprises across the cultures of modernity in England, the US, Egypt, and Iran, based on the examination of the bibliographies of the *Nights*? What are some of the chief uses of literary Orientalism in (literary) modernization projects across the globe?⁴

⁴ This study is not strictly a work of textual postcolonial criticism, even though it does discuss the *Nights* and its component tales. Therefore, my argument here is not necessarily based on Edward Said's theory of representation and textual attitude (92-93), but rather investigates the literary Orientalism of the *Nights* and the various uses of the work in modernization projects in various sociopolitical contexts. Similarly, rather than ascribing textual impact or autonomy to the *Nights*, my project, partly informed by Alec McHoul's critical ethnomethodology (55-64), traces, documents, and explains various productions and historical uses of the *Nights* by translators, publishers, authors, periodicalists, readers, and various literary and cultural elites, all in the context of modern nation formation.

V. Structuring

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapters Two through Five explore the publication histories of the *Nights* in England, the US, Egypt, and Iran, respectively, followed by some concluding remarks in Chapter Six. Chapter Two, “English Popular Press of the *Nights* and Heterogenization of Nationhood,” discusses the publication, Anglicization, and domestication of the *Nights* for the English popular reading communities in the nineteenth century, beginning with Edward Lane’s translation. This chapter demonstrates how the publication of the *Nights*, a formative work of literary Orientalism aimed at non-elite readers, helped to expand bourgeois readership in England and to bolster the notions of Englishness and Britishness across social groups, thanks in part to rapid advances in printing. The uses of the *Nights* print culture in the development of Englishness are discussed, challenging Anderson’s conception of the nation as solid and homogeneous and demonstrating its manifestations across different social classes via the domesticated foreign literary Orientalism of the *Nights*.

Continuing my exploration of heterogeneous modern nationhood, Chapter Three, “Heterogenizing Antebellum American Nation-Building through the Print Culture of the *Nights*,” presents an account of the print culture of the *Nights* in the antebellum US and the use of such tales as “Aladdin” and “Sinbad” in the construction of, not exclusively an Oriental Other, but a modern American collective subjectivity whose features include both elitist and mass consumerism, as well as technological modernization. This chapter focuses on the perceived chronotopes of transformation in the *Nights* and documents their occurrences in print and elsewhere within the particular political and economic circumstances in the early American republic, when notions of American selfhood were taking form alongside entrepreneurialism, the pursuit of capital, and acquisition as universal objectives.

Chapter Four, “Re-Publications and Re-formations of the *Nights* in Egypt and Gendered Heterogeneous Nationhood,” documents the renaissance of the *Nights* in modern Egypt following its popularity in Europe and the US. This chapter further discusses the heterogeneity of modern nationalism by looking at the importance of gender, which Anderson tends to overlook. The chapter explores the use of the *Nights* during the *al-Nahda* period in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Egypt to shape female subjectivities as readers and writers, as analogues to the national modernization process.

Chapter Five, “The Print Culture of the Iranian *Nights* and its Trans-Regional Circumstances: Towards Heterogenizing Modern Iranian Nationhood,” argues that the modern appearance of the *Nights* in Iran was prompted by a heterogeneous trans-regional book and periodical culture. I document selected nineteenth-century publications of the *Nights* in the Indian, Ottoman, and Egyptian arenas in order to demonstrate their influences on the appearance of the *Nights* in Iran, thus challenging Iranocentric nationalistic discourse surrounding the text. This chapter also highlights the importance of trans-regional vernacular bilingualism such as in Persian and Arabic, in contrast to Anderson’s emphasis on bilingualism of European components.

Chapters Two, Three, Four, and Five are each supplemented by appendices containing bibliographies of the *Nights*’ publication histories in each respective country. For example, the appendix to Chapter Two lists numerous publications of Edward Lane’s English translation in the nineteenth century, while Chapter Three contains an even longer list of publications of the *Nights* in the antebellum US between 1789 and the beginning of the Civil War. These lists are mostly extracted from *OCLC WorldCat*, which is connected to libraries, archives, and museums across the globe and is currently the most inclusive bibliographic database world-wide. These

bibliographic appendices of the *Nights* are meant to outline the various trends of the popularization of the *Nights* in print. Moreover, the appendices also provide data and directions for future research on the modern global histories of the *Nights* regardless of researchers' access to *OCLC WorldCat* services. Due to the limitations of *OCLC WorldCat*, especially with regard to Arabic and Persian materials, all the appendices are further complemented and verified with data from national databases and specialized bibliographies of the *Nights*.⁵ Nonetheless, it should be noted that none of these annexed bibliographies is an exhaustive list of the publication histories of the *Nights*. In addition, each chapter contains illustrations of the *Nights*, which help further elucidate the central argument of the chapter.

Chapter Six summarizes my examination of the bibliographic histories of the *Nights* and confirms the heterogeneous modality of modern nationhood at the intersection of Oriental literariness, social classes, discourses, genders, and trans-regional vernacularism in the contexts discussed in this project. Considering these variances, I posit that characterizing the nation as dwelling in homogeneous, empty time, as Anderson does, denies the ever-present heterogeneity in the selected cultures of modernity and ignores the various uses of literary Orientalism in their configurations. This concluding chapter presents the *Nights* as a significant text of world literature that, without bearing an essence, has been re-appropriated and employed in different contexts for nation-building purposes, hence its constant and diverse deployments in those projects. The chapter ends with some directions for future studies.

VI. Images

⁵ Among these databases are the *National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran* and *Tehran International Book Fair*, and bibliographies such as those of Chauvin (vols. 4-7), Nishio, Akel, and Boozari ("Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*").

This project contains several illustrations taken from various editions of the *Nights*. They are intended as visual supplements to the main arguments and sub-arguments of this dissertation. Information on the source texts of these images can be found under Primary Sources and Appendices.



Image I: Front cover of Edward William Lane's translation of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* published by J. Murray in London in 1850. For more information on this edition, see 1850 in the Appendix in Chapter Two.



Sinbad on the Whales back.—p. 174.

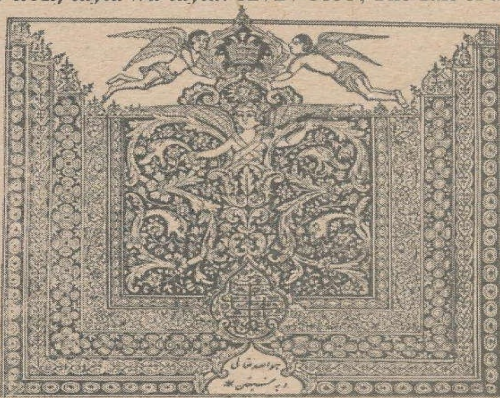
Image II: Illustration of Sinbad on the back of a whale in *Stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments* published by Phinney & Co in Buffalo, NY in 1858. For more information, see this edition in the Appendix in Chapter Three.



Image III: The opening page of the first publication of the *Nights* in Egypt (1835) (*Alf layla wa laylah/A Thousand and One Nights*). For more information, see this edition listed in the Appendix in Chapter Four.



III 4. *Alf layla wa-layla*. 1272 / 1855, The Tale of the Rokh / Rokh throws a stone at a ship. "Mirzā Rezā".



III 5. *Alf layla wa-layla*. 1272 / 1855, The head-chapter of the second volume / "Amal-e Mirzā 'Ali Qoli Khoyee".



III 6. *Alf layla wa-layla*. 1272 / 1855, The Tale of Ajib and Gharib / The battle of Ra'd Shāh and Malek Gharib. "Amal-e Mirzā Hassan".

Image IV: Illustrations from the Iranian edition of the *Nights* published in 1855 (Boozari, "Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of *The Arabian Nights*" 42-43). See this edition listed in the Appendix in Chapter 5.

Chapter II

English Popular Press of the *Nights* and the Heterogenization of Nationhood

“By no means, Madam,” replied Mr. Stanley; “but I will venture to assert that even story books should not be founded on a principle directly *contradictory* to them, nay totally *subversive* of them. The Arabian Nights, and other oriental books of fable, though loose and faulty in many respects, yet have always a reference to the religion of the country. Nothing is introduced against the law of Mahomet; nothing subversive of the opinions of a Mussulman. I do not quarrel with books for having *no* religion, but for having a *false* religion. A book which in nothing opposes the principles of the Bible I would be far from calling a bad book, though the Bible was never named in it.”

— Hannah More (1745-1833), English Evangelical writer).

I. Aims and Scope

Following the goal set out in my Introduction, this chapter mainly aims to investigate publications of the *Nights* for lower-class and lower-literacy readers in nineteenth-century England, in order to offer a heterogeneous picture of the formation of modern English nationhood.⁶ Particularly, I will explore the print circumstances of Edward Lane's translation of the *Nights* as well as some reproductions of, and responses to, the *Nights* in nineteenth-century British 'cheap,' popular periodicals to develop a critical dialogue with Anderson. This dialogue includes revisiting, challenging, and complicating some dimensions of Anderson's discourses on print capitalism, the formation of the modern nation as imagined community, and official nationalism. By examining the uses of the *Nights* for and among British lower classes and the expanding bourgeois readership of the time, I will demonstrate that, unlike Anderson's conception of nationhood as homogeneous, steady, and solid, the formation of modern English nationhood is heterogeneous, porous, borderly, and conditioned at the intersection of social classes and the oriental literariness of the *Nights*. In other words, and rather than arguing for the *impact* of the *Nights* on European literary modernity or nation-building, this study seeks to demonstrate some of the *uses* of the collection in the English enterprise of nation-building,⁷ including the dissemination of 'wholesome' reading matter and the establishment of British

⁶ In this project, I am working from an economic understanding of class. According to *OED*, class is "A division or stratum of society consisting of people at the same economic level or having the same social status" ("class" 4. a.).

⁷ This objective largely differentiates my examination from Musawi's *Scheherazade in England*, which discusses the history of English literary criticism of the *Nights* and its influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English culture (6) and postulates intrinsic values for the work and its component tales.

sovereignty over lower-class and mass readership in England during the nineteenth century.

II. The *Nights* and an Evaluation of Anderson's Homogeneous and Empty Nationhood

Anderson's theories have been discussed extensively.⁸ For example, Chatterjee has argued that Anderson's notion of the nation as living in homogeneous, empty time is limited, one-dimensional, linear, and utopian (927-28); rather, modern nationhood is characterized by "heterogeneous and unevenly dense time" (928). He criticizes Anderson's conceptions based on a political approach that scrutinizes selected moments of nation-building in post-colonial India. In agreement with Chatterjee's argument for heterogeneous nationhood, I examine select cheap popularizations and reinterpretations of the *Nights* in nineteenth-century England that were intended to bolster English national sovereignty by bridging social and political divisions across a heterogeneous nationhood.

As a work that seems to abound in such pre-modern notions as "submission to God, submission to Fate, and submission to the ruler" (Irwin, "Political Thought" 108), the *Nights* seems to be fundamentally alien to the political revolutionary climate of post-Enlightenment Europe, in which the concepts of the nation and citizens' rights were appearing as epistemological and political indicators of modernity. Slightly before gaining fame in England, the *Nights* was popularized in France. In the volatile context of the expansion of vernacular print capitalism, the French Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646-

⁸ See, for example, Roland Robertson, "Global Connectivity and Global Consciousness;" Castro-Klarén and Chasteen, *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-century Latin America*; Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism*. Other scholarship on Anderson is discussed in the introduction to this project.

1715) introduced the *Nights* to modern Europe with his 1704 French translation. For a century afterward, the translation remained popular, inspiring translations of the *Nights* into English during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nonetheless, this should not lead one to maintain that the *Nights* was an isolated or orphan text in medieval Arabic letters prior to its modern European phase. As Chraïbi shows, the *Nights* belonged to a domain between high and low literatures; it was an example of *middle* literature that enjoyed critical and popular acclaim and numerous imitations and adaptations in its Arabic context (223). As such, the history of the *Nights* is complicated; yet, this chapter focuses on only a certain few versions of this collection, assessing the popularity of the *Nights* among modern English readers in light of those readers' increasing engagements with the Orient, the expansion of print culture, and the rise of public literacy, all of which helped make the *Nights* accessible to different social classes and increasingly modernized thanks to advances in print technology. Comparing the pre-modern circumstances of the *Nights* to the reception of Galland's French translation, Marzolph states that we know of less than a dozen manuscripts compiled before the end of the seventeenth century, and that "[n]one of these early manuscripts is complete, and even the totality of fragments does not allow a clear and unambiguous reconstruction of a standard set of narratives that might have been included in the 'complete' Arabic manuscripts before the beginning of the 18th century" ("In the Studio of the *Nights*" 43-44).⁹ While the pre-modern Oriental manuscript-based trajectory of the *Nights* might display some fragmentariness and scarcity, the modern European phase of its reception history is marked by attempts at producing 'cohesive' and

⁹ Marzolph and Chraïbi's "*The Hundred and One Nights: A Recently Discovered Old Manuscript*" reports on the relative dispersal that characterizes the manuscript culture of the *Nights* in comparison to its print reception.

‘complete’ texts for mass consumption. Edward Lane’s translation of the *Nights* is a case in point, and an examination of its print circumstances sheds light on some less explored aspects of production and consumption of the *Nights* within the nineteenth-century enterprise of British nation-building, particularly as compared to John Payne’s and Richard Burton’s subsequent renditions of the *Nights*, as neither was intended for mass release in the scale of Lane’s.¹⁰

II. A. Circumstances of the Appearance of Lane’s Translation in Print

Lane’s translation of the *Nights* was initially published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.¹¹ Founded in 1826 by Lord Brougham, a Whig MP and a Benthamite utilitarian, the SDUK was composed of “statesmen, lawyers, and philanthropists” who were interested in expanding popular education to serve skilled working-class men and their families (Curwen 258). Brougham characterized the SDUK as “a channel through which, amongst with political intelligence and the occurrences of the day, the friends of human improvement, the judicious promoters of general education, may diffuse the best information, and may easily allure all classes, even the humblest, into the paths of general knowledge” (“ART. X-Petition from the Inhabitants of the City of London against the Newspaper Stamps” 184). In fact, the SDUK was one of the early (upper) middle-class institutions that targeted the working classes, aiming to popularize education amongst them in hopes of easing contemporary class tensions.

¹⁰ See the Appendix for a listing of major editions of the *Nights* in nineteenth-century England. Editions of Lane’s translation outnumber Payne’s (in 1882 and 1897) and Burton’s (in 1885, 1886, and the 1890s).

¹¹ Hereafter cited as SDUK or the Society.



Image I: Inside cover of the first volume of the first edition of Lane's *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

While the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were characterized by Evangelicals' and Utilitarians' antipathy against imaginative literature (each group for different reasons), by the 1830s, the Benthamites came to regard literature as serving didactic and moral purposes (Altick 136). Even prior to this, as early as the 1790s, elementary schooling for the working classes was being considered in order to reduce the risks of Jacobinist discontent. Indeed, Evangelical works such as Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts* aimed to 'immunize' the lower classes against Jacobinism by upholding Christian values and English national security, encompassing the English reading public as a whole and inspiring similar future publishing endeavours to uphold the English "nation" (Altick 76-77). Given the pressing political demands by the English working class in the wake of the turbulence of the French Revolution, English elites felt the need to uphold the existing social order. Realizing that it was impossible to avert workers from reading, "they embarked on long campaigns to insure that through the press the masses of people would be induced to help preserve the status quo and bulwark the security and prosperity of the particular sort of national life that they, its upper- and middle-class rulers, cherished" (Altick 85). The SDUK was a product of this campaign. In 1825, Brougham had stated that "the peace of the country and the suitability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge" (*Practical Observations upon the Education of People* 5). Thus, the SDUK sought to advance political stability and ease social unrest by producing and disseminating inexpensive works of utilitarian instructional material and amusing yet edifying imaginative literature.

In the spring of 1827, the SDUK began to produce its *Library of Useful Knowledge* (1827-46), which featured mainly utilitarian and scientific subjects. Realizing their limited

the town, near a point of the mountain. The streets are unpaved, and most of them are narrow and irregular; they might more properly be called lanes.



[Shops in a Street of Cairo.]

occupy a considerable space. Of the inhabitants of the metropolis, about 190,000 are Egyptian Moos'lims; about 10,000 Copts; 3000 or 4000 Jews; and the rest strangers from various countries †."

The following are extracts from the first chapter—"Personal Characteristics and Dress of the Moos'lim Egyptians:"—

"Moos'lims of Arabian origin have, for many centuries, mainly composed the population of Egypt; they have changed its language, laws, and general manners, and its metropolis they have made the principal seat of Arabian learning and arts. In every point of view, Musr (or Cairo) must be regarded as the first Arab city of our age; and the manners and customs of its inhabitants are particularly interesting, as they are a combination of those which prevail most generally in the towns of Arabia, Syria, and the whole of Northern Africa, and in a great degree in Turkey. There is no other place in which we can obtain so complete a knowledge of the most civilized classes of the Arabs.

"The Moos'lim Egyptians are descended from various Arab tribes and families which have settled in Egypt at different periods; mostly soon after the conquest of this country by 'Amr, its first Arab governor; but by intermarriages with the Copts and others who have become proselytes to the faith of El-Isa'm, as well as by the change from a life of wandering to that of citizens or of agriculturists, their personal characteristics have, by degrees, become so much altered, that there is a strongly-marked difference between them and the natives of Arabia. Yet they are to be regarded as not less genuine Arabs than the townspeople of Arabia itself, among whom has long and very generally prevailed a custom of keeping Abyssinian female slaves, either instead of marrying their own countrywomen, or (as is commonly the case with the opulent) in addition to their Arab wives; so that they bear almost as strong a resemblance to the Abyssinians as to the Bed'awees, or Arabs of the Desert.

* "The population of Cairo has increased to this amount, from about 200,000, within the last three or four years. Since the population has stated was made, the plague of this year (1825)

Image II: An illustration and extraction from Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, his other publication under the supervision of SDUK advertised in *Penny Magazine* ("Modern Egypt." 428).

FICTION AND MISCELLANEOUS. 193

FICTION.

- Anastasius, Hope's; 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Murray
 Arabian Nights' Entertainments, Lane's translation
 Austin's (Miss) Novels; 4 vols. 12mo. 7*s.* 1818
 Belisarius, and Numa Pompilius; 1830
 Baillie's (Joanna) Plays on the Passions; 2 vols. 8vo.
 9*s.* Longman
 Cottagers of Glenhurst, by Miss Hamilton; 4*s.*
 Duncan
 Don Quixote, translation by Sharpe; 4 vols. 1*l.* 1809
 Edward, by Dr. Moore
 Hajji Baba in England; 2 vols. 12mo. 15*s.* Murray
 Miss Edgeworth's Tales and Miscellaneous Pieces;
 18 vols. 4*l.* 10*s.* Baldwin
 Novels by Sir Walter Scott, including Tales of My
 Grandfather
 Peruvian Letters; 1774
 Robinson Crusoe; 2 vols. 9*s.* 1831
 Simple Story, Mrs. Inchbald; 12mo. 1835
 Vicar of Wakefield
 Washington Irving's Works
 Zeluco, by Dr. Moore

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Bacon's (Lord) Works; 10 vols. 8vo. 5*l.* 10*s.* 1826
 Bligh's (Lieut.) Narrative of the Mutiny of the Bounty,
 4to. 6*s.* 6*d.* 1790
 Burke's Works; 2 vols. imperial 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.* Holdsworth

K

Image III: *A Manual for Mechanics and Their Institutions*, a SDUK publication, promotes Lane's *Nights*, among a host of other works, as suitable fictional reading matter for mechanics (193).

readership, the SDUK produced a companion series, the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*. Under Charles Knight's supervision, the Society also published the *British Almanac*, *Penny Magazine* (1832-45), and *Penny Cyclopaedia* (1833-46). These publication ventures led to financial trouble for Knight and the Society. Knight's other projects included the *Pictorial Shakespeare*, *Pictorial History of England*, and *Pictorial Bible*, as well as Lane's *Manners of Modern Egyptians* and the *Nights* (Altick 269-85).

The publication of *Penny Magazine*, beginning in 1832, was a landmark for Knight and the SDUK. *Penny Magazine* became a success, and its early issues sold more than 200,000 copies. One factor in its popularity was its use of numerous woodcut illustrations, "a feature which even allowed the semi-literate to derive substantial enjoyment from its pages" (Cox and Mowatt 5). The low-priced *Penny Magazine* was intended to both educate and entertain urban industrial workers. Employing such innovations as Fourdrinier in producing paper reels, steam-driven impression cylinders, and an effective use of stereotype printing, Knight managed to integrate text and image efficiently and print the issues rapidly (Cox and Mowatt 6); even so, Knight and the SDUK ended up running into financial difficulties in sustaining the publication of *Penny Magazine*, the first of England's cheap mass-produced magazines.

Knight used similar print strategies in the publication of Lane's *Nights*. Published in 32 monthly parts between May 1, 1838 and January 1, 1841, the serial included numerous illustrations and notes and was priced at 2s.6d per issue.¹² He also published the

¹² For a more tangible sense of this price, one should note that in the 1840s, a craftsman in the building trade could earn £9 per day. See "Currency convertor."



Image IV: Opening of the third volume of Lane's first edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

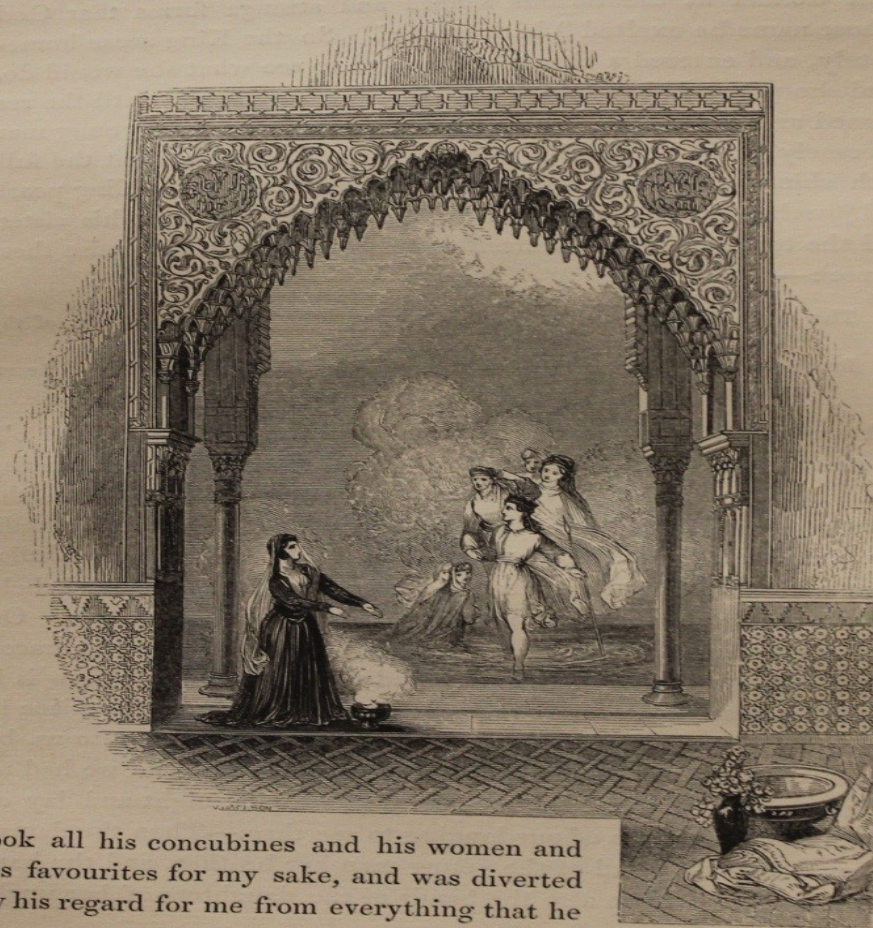
translation in three royal octavo volumes in 1840. It is probable that the installment nature of the former publication prompted Lane to drop the recurring night breaks from his edition of the *Nights* (Thompson 412). Lane's approach to the *Nights* was selective, as he chose to omit stories that contained sexually or morally objectionable material. This was in line with the SDUK's agenda to produce light and appropriate imaginative literature for educational purposes. Lane's translation style has been the subject of extensive scholarly debates, especially in comparison to Burton's;¹³ however, his adoption of an urbane style may well have been influenced by the medium of his translation, as the SDUK's mission was to popularize knowledge amongst less literate and less privileged sectors of the English public. Lucid language and vivid illustrations were attractive characteristics to the SDUK's everyday, and often semi-literate, readers. In collaboration with illustrator William Harvey, Knight managed to produce an edition that contained detailed and appealing illustrations and was relatively cheap (priced at £ 4.4s) for consumers; the cost was kept reasonable thanks in part to the use of wood, rather than metal, engravings.

Moreover, the mission of the Society was to act as a “vendor for wholesome reading matter [...] [for] skilled workingmen and their families” (Altick 269). With such previous examples as the Cheap Repository Tracts as inspiration, Brougham intended the Society to be “eminently conducive to allaying the reckless spirit, which, in 1830, was leading multitudes to destroy property and break up machines” (Knight 310). As early as 1825, Brougham had encouraged production of inexpensive and mass printing for low-earning laborers and mentioned the promise of reading, among others, such works as the

¹³ See Musawi, *Scheherazade in England*; Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*; and Schacker, “Otherness and Otherworldliness.”

and they sat with her a while, asking her respecting her state, and the things that had happened to her, and her present condition.

So she said to them, Know ye, that when I quitted you, and came forth from the sea, I sat upon the shore of an island, and a man took me, and sold me to a merchant, and the merchant brought me to this city, and sold me to its King for ten thousand pieces of gold. Then he treated me with attention, and for-



sook all his concubines and his women and his favourites for my sake, and was diverted by his regard for me from everything that he

Image V: Illustration from the third volume of Lane's edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

Nights as a “matter of harmless and even improving amusement” (*Practical Observations upon the Education of People* 3). Anderson has highlighted the role of literacy in the formation of bourgeoisie solidarity, arguing that the “bourgeoisie were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis. But in a nineteenth-century Europe in which Latin had been defeated by vernacular print-capitalism for something like two centuries, these solidarities had an outermost stretch limited by vernacular legibilities” (*Imagined Communities* 77). English vernacular readership expanded in early to mid-nineteenth-century England as the SDUK made efforts, successfully rather than not, to increase literacy and popularize ‘wholesome’ reading matter. A sense of imagined English solidarity was taking form as working, semi-literate classes were encouraged to see themselves as part of the bourgeoisie and the English nation as a whole, diverting potential revolutionary energies into the maintenance of the nation. The SDUK had thus launched its first extensive and successful mission to expand reading across all social classes in England. Despite some shortcomings, the Society managed to produce hundreds of thousands of copies of British almanacs, encyclopedias, and dictionaries, as well as serials for farmers and working men and their families. Particularly, as part of their enterprise, the *Nights* became a popular text among English semi-literate and working classes.

In addition, it should be noted that Knight (and, through him, the SDUK) capitalized on several already-existing arguments for the cheap, popular re-production of the *Nights* as an amusing and instructional text, hence its usefulness.¹⁴ In 1834 and before the mass popularization of the *Nights* via the SDUK, *Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, whose

¹⁴ See Musawi, *Scheherazade in England*, for a passing note on Knight’s objective (81). On earlier publications of the *Nights* reflecting this utility in their titles, see 1825 and 1829 in the Appendix.

mission was “To assist the Enquiring, Animate the Struggling, and Sympathize with All,” featured an account of Arabic folklore, discussing afreets, peris, divs, and other characters, with numerous references to the *Nights*. According to the journal, “the utility of a work of imagination indeed must outweigh the drawbacks upon it in any country” (“Genii and Fairies of the East, the Arabian Nights, & C.”). Pursuing such a path, the SDUK both popularized the *Nights* on a mass scale thanks to its cheap prints of three-volume editions, and commercialized these publications through responses and references to it addressing lower-class readers. For instance, *The Penny Magazine* issued installments of *The Lost Senses*, an autobiographical account by John Kitto (1804-54), a self-educated British missionary. During his recovery from a hearing impairment, he had access to various reading materials, which he considered “a source of interest and a means of information” (“Deafness” 155), including *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pamela*, *Henry, Earl of Mooreland*, and *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*. As such, the popularity of SDUK’s *Nights* as reading matter for the expanding bourgeois and lower classes was due not only to its lucid language, but also to its combination of edification and entertainment, an effective integration that was reinforced by Harvey’s illustrations and Lane’s annotations. As Knight himself stated of the publication, “its instant popularity, as well as its permanent utility, was commanded by the designs of William Harvey – the most faithful as well as the most beautiful interpreters of the scenery and costume of the stories” (*Passages of a Working Life* 258).

The combination of utility and mass appeal in the *Nights* was also noticed and perpetuated by other periodicals that aimed to popularize reading matter among the lower classes. For example, *New Sporting Magazine* (1831-70), which mainly covered hunting

and field sports, but occasionally discussed the arts, presented a review of the SDUK edition of the *Nights* (“A New Translation of the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights”). Although the review did not appreciate the copiousness of Lane’s notes (437) or his unusual spelling of some Oriental words (such as *jinnee* for *Genie*) (438), it considered Lane a qualified English translator of the *Nights* (437). Also, the review emphasized the appeal of Harvey’s illustrations, and Lane’s personal familiarity with the East (437-38). Similarly, the London-based *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (1822-86), a popular sports newspaper intended for the lower classes but also read by middle and upper classes, referred to the *Nights* in its discussion of the corn-law debate as featuring “Sultana’s romances [which] were amusing and instructive” (“The Westminster Election” 2). As late as 1880, *Young Folks* (1871-97), an inexpensive children’s weekly (initially priced at a halfpenny) whose motto was “To Inform, To Instruct, To Amuse,” compared the suspenseful breaks in the *Nights* to those of *Oliver Twist*, and called SDUK’s publication “the largest, the best, and the most popular collection of stories” (“Arabian Nights” 115). In addition, in 1882, an advertisement for Knight’s *Nights* appeared in *The Fishing Gazette* (1865-1966) (“Multiple Display Advertisements”), a publication that was devoted to angling and sea fishing and which tried to appeal to all classes. Therefore, it seems that the SDUK’s re-appropriation of the *Nights* was perceived and promoted as ‘wholesome’ reading matter for lower-class readers thanks to its blend of edification and amusement.¹⁵

Regarding the English reception of the *Nights*, Rastegar has found “the transformation in this group of tales into a coherent text, organized, printed, and consumed

¹⁵ For a discussion of the integration of edification and entertainment in the *Nights* during the eighteenth century, see Musawi, *Scheherazade in England* 26.

in an expanding market for books, remarkable” (37). Rastegar has called the English publication history of the *Nights* a *transformation*; however, given the popularity of the book in Medieval Arabic letters, this might imply an Anglocentric reading of the *Nights*’ trajectory and create an inconsistency between pre-modern Oriental and post-Enlightenment European phases of the work’s history. Moreover, far from a coherent body, the *Nights* appeared in the form of chapbooks, collections of children’s stories, installments, and Oriental tales in periodicals. As such, and to be specific, one might describe Lane’s translation as an Anglicization, domestication, re-appropriation, or modernization of the *Nights* intended for the commercialization of literary interests and the incorporation of the English working classes into the bourgeois framework of the modern English nation.

The proliferation and commercialization of the *Nights* for working-class readership, as suggested by the intentions of SDUK and references in popular periodicals, render the conception of Englishness in the years after the Napoleonic War far from constant, ‘solid,’ or ‘steady’ among all social classes. In this changing site of forces and counterforces, the low-priced, educational, and amusing editions of the *Nights* were intended to help the lower classes assimilate into the collective bourgeois framework of the nation. The mass publication of the *Nights* was part of the rise of English literary print capitalism, which capitalized on the rise of vernacularism, exploited cheap popular editions, and contributed to the formation of a reading public that strived to engender a collective national imagination (*Imagined Communities* 40). In this agitated climate of nation-building, in which English literary capitalism aspired to incorporate more consumers within the expanding ideology of nationhood, the *Nights* was cleansed of ‘inappropriate’ content,

modernized in printed installments and books, illustrated, commercialized, and advertised to the lower social classes in order to participate in negotiating and expanding the formation of the English national bourgeois identity.

As such, while Anderson highlights the simultaneity of reading experiences and the solidity of the imagined community as integral to the formation of the modern nation, this examination regards English subjectivity in the nineteenth century as a juncture of class struggle with social and political interests, mediated by, amongst a host of other materials, easily-accessible publications such as the SDUK editions of the *Nights*. The role of the *Nights* in the formative nationalist enterprise of nineteenth-century England is particularly important, since cheap editions of the work for lower-class readers both preceded and followed upon the SDUK's popularization of Lane's *Nights*.

III. Official Nationalism and the *Nights*

According to Anderson, the solidification of a national bourgeois identity through vernacular print capitalism in the first few decades of the nineteenth century was a precursor to the emergence of official nationalism in the latter half of that century. Official nationalism “willed merger of nation and dynastic empire [...] developed *after*, and *in reaction to*, the popular national movements proliferating in Europe since the 1820s” (*Imagined Communities* 86). Combining naturalization with the maintenance of dynastic power, official nationalism operated by “stretching the short, tight, skin of the nation over the gigantic body of the empire” (*Imagined Communities* 86). Anderson discusses the emergence of nationalism in Britain as well as Russia and Japan, among others; in particular, “Victoria von Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Queen of England *and*, late in life, Empress

of India,” is a particularly striking example, as her title “represents emblematically the thickened metal of a weld between nation and empire” (*Imagined Communities* 88).

Official nationalism was mainly an aristocratic and dynastic reaction against marginalization and exclusion at the hands of, and in response to, the bourgeois vernacular print nationalism of the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Though Anderson emphasizes the aristocratic aspect of official nationalism, one should also take account of the reproduction and marketing of otherness toward the lower classes as they were being incorporated into the national framework. Barrow has showed how SDUK publications helped create conceivable and consumable images of India for the British working-class public (“India for the Working Classes: The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge”). SDUK’s detailed and well-drawn maps of India were the first multi-sheet maps intended for and sold to non-elite British audiences (Barrow 677). The British proprietorial claims were marked by number-coding and red ink, respectively, on black-and-white and color maps, transforming India into an extension of British national territories at a time when the East India Company was still in charge (Barrow 689). Similarly, re-productions and re-appropriations of the *Nights* by the SDUK as well as in previous and later popular editions show the employment of this work, its imagery, its metaphors, and its tales in forging British official national subjectivity amongst lower-class and mass readership. Promoting the image of Britain as empire would encourage working classes to view themselves as, rather than a distinct social and political class, a part of the larger *national* and *imperial* communities, in opposition to cultural and territorial Others.

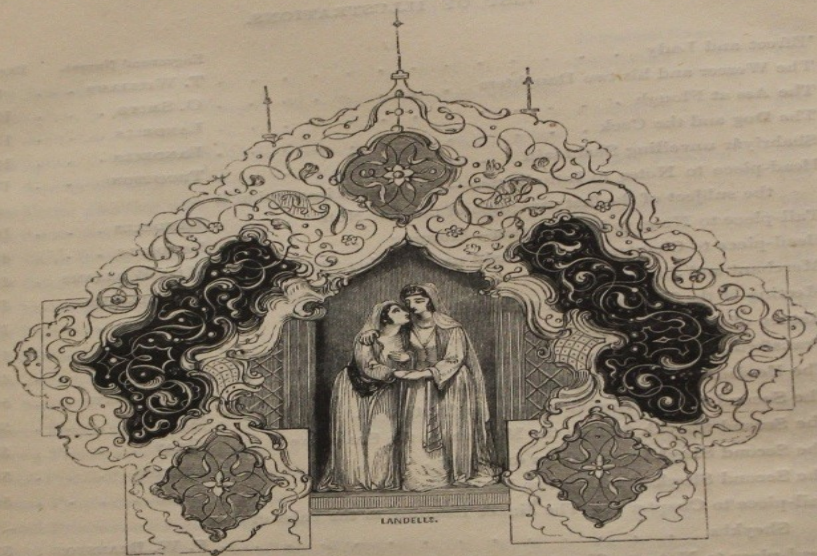
This image of Britain as an empire positioned against cultural Others was popularized through inexpensive reading material, including the *Nights*, even before the

appearance of the SDUK's editions. In 1826, *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review* (1819-28) released "Story of Ali, the Son of the Jeweler, Hassan - 423-433rd night," prefaced with an account of translations of the *Nights* by various European Orientalists, including Galland ("Arabian Nights Entertainments"). The periodical was offered at the low price of six pence, making it accessible by all classes of society, but it was contemptuously regarded by, and considered inferior to, more established periodicals, particularly the *Literary Gazette* (1817-62) (Sullivan 230-31). In 1824, the *Literary Chronicle* issued a review of a recently published and engraved *Nights* consisting of 1001 stories and priced at 6s.6d ("The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories"). Though this edition of the *Nights* was priced higher than the SDUK edition, it received a positive review that particularly approved of its low price and use of engravings. The review ends by declaring the work a "new era and a new feature in literature, which must be of incalculable benefit to society, and we hope that the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which even without its 150 engravings would be the cheapest work ever published, will be followed by a reprint of standard works in every department of literature" (555). The "incalculable benefit" of the cheap edition of the *Nights*, as later reproductions of and responses to the collection showed, was to edify and to entertain its readers in order to alleviate sociopolitical unrest and encourage nationalistic feelings among the readers. More importantly, the review explicitly notes that both polished European society and "the Arab in the Desert" admired the *Nights*, thus developing a binary model of the communal European self as opposed to the exotic other. Through the commercialization of the *Nights*, producers and distributors of inexpensive books tended to project and ultimately naturalize a communal *us-versus-them* binary, creating possibilities

for the incorporation of lower-class readers into the collective national image of Britishness.

Projecting a communal imagination of the English self, *The Eclectic Review* (1805-68) published a lengthy review of the SDUK's *Nights*. Some "public-spirited gentlemen," a group of evangelical leaders, started *The Eclectic Review* with the main objective of bringing literature to the public (Hiller 179). The magazine covered science, art, and historical writing as well as literature. While aimed at educated readers and priced at two shillings sixpence (Hiller 181), the monthly gradually broadened its range to include self-educated lower-middle classes, and managed to secure both urban and rural subscribers. *The Eclectic Review's* article on Lane's *Nights* appeared in 1840, before the SDUK had completed the publication ("Art. II. The Thousand and One Nights"). The review inserts Lane's translation of "The Merchant, the Ass, the Bull, and the Cock," which "deserves to be called the prince of all 'Cock and Bull' stories," along with a few anecdotes from Lane's notes (651-56). *The Eclectic Review's* report highlights Lane's *Nights* as a source of amusement and instruction. Where other notes in the popular press of the time referred to these benefits merely in passing, this review describes the various educational merits of the SDUK edition, including information about Oriental cultures, a better understanding of the peculiarities of the Bible, and its literary style (650).

Moreover, the *Eclectic Review* speaks especially highly of Harvey's engravings. The review not only prefers Lane's translation over Galland's, but also praises Harvey's illustrations for their "sedate gravity" and greater aesthetic appeal than the French designs ("Art. II. The Thousand and One Nights" 660). The review notes, "in the purely dramatic



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME I.

	Engravers' Names.	Page
Ornamental Title—At the foot is the Title in Arabic . . .	JACKSON . . .	i
Head-piece to Preface—The Vase is formed of the Arabic words signifying "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (always placed at the head of a Muslim work), written doubly, and contrarily	MARY CLINT . . .	vii
Tail-piece to Preface	LANDELLS . . .	xxiii
Head-piece to Table of Contents	LANDELLS . . .	xxv
Head-piece to List of Illustrations	LANDELLS . . .	xxvii
Shahriyár going out to hunt, and Ornamental Border	JACKSON . . .	1
The Wezeer presenting the letter to Sháh Zemán	O. SMITH . . .	3
Sháh Zemán, after having killed his Wife	O. SMITH . . .	4
Meeting of Shahriyár and Sháh Zemán	O. SMITH . . .	5
Shahriyár's return from the Chase	GRAY . . .	6
Garden of Shahriyár's Palace	THOMPSON . . .	7

Image VI: Illustration and extract - listing illustrators working under Harvey - in the first volume of Lane's edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

part of this task nothing is more worthy of praise than the absence of the exaggerated and theatrical in attitude and expression, which marks these designs, and contrasts them very

favorably from the kindred efforts of French illustrators” (659-60). The review further contrasts the realistic engravings in the English text to the exaggerated, even grotesque, illustrations of the French edition. In fact, *Eclectic Review* includes the SDUK *Nights* in the contemporary ethos of English nation-building, especially its valuing of realism. A critical generic coding of French literariness as “foreign,” “uncontrolled,” “uncontrollable,” and “romance” was already part of the discourse of English literary subjectivity (Siskin 431-32). Though on the surface a debate over translation and re-creation, the preference of SDUK’s edition over Galland’s reinforced the association of French culture with pre-modernity and romanticism, and bolstered the perceived superiority of English culture and nationhood. Most importantly, the review opens with a delineation of the national character of the *Nights* as different from the English. As the *Eclectic Review* informs its readers, “the further we go from home – the more distant the nations whose literature is submitted to us, the more striking do the diversities of national taste appear” (644). Although the review speaks of “a nature [...] common to *all* men, which obeys the laws of general criticism” (642), it further observes that the “literature of different nations [...] are marked by endless diversities” (641). As such, the *Eclectic Review* projects national differences through the discourse formed around the *Nights* and employs the SDUK edition as part of the definition of English national subjectivity in contrast to both the Oriental and the French.

Regarding the formation of a national consciousness, Anderson highlights the emergence of the novel and newspaper as modes associated with modern nationhood.¹⁶

¹⁶ While Anderson associates the rise of the modern nation with the emergence of both the novel and the newspaper, explications of this theory have highlighted Anderson’s views of the novel to the exclusion of the equally important form of the newspaper. On Anderson’s theory of the

Bringing together news from different parts of the globe on an ongoing basis, the newspaper helped to solidify the collective imagination of nationhood amongst community members, since, among other reasons, all participants read the same material simultaneously. The newspaper as “an ‘extreme form’ of the book, [...] sold on a colossal scale but of ephemeral popularity, [...] creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption (‘imagining’) of the newspaper as fiction” (*Imagined Communities* 35). Anderson further notes, “The newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighborhood, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life” (*Imagined Communities* 35-36). Anderson’s notion of simultaneous and communal experience can be safely extended to monthlies, weeklies, and magazines; however, in order for these media to provide a simultaneous nationwide experience, legal and technical difficulties had to be resolved. These changes gradually materialized as the government reduced and ultimately removed its expensive newspaper stamp tax in 1836 and 1855, respectively, as the Hoe rotary press was introduced in 1843, and as railway newspaper trains began to operate.¹⁷ These changes led to the extensive growth of the popular press aimed at large readerships. *Reynolds’s Newspaper* (1850-1900) and *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* (1842-1902) were amongst the commercial offshoots of these changes.

novel, see, for example, Culler, “Anderson and the Novel.” Moreover, the influence of the *Nights* on the European novel has been explored at length. For instance, see Musawi, *Scheherazade in England*; Caracciolo, “The House of Fiction”; and Irwin, “The Arabian Nights and the Origins of the Western Novel.” Rather than pursuing this well-trodden path, I am demonstrating the re-appropriations of the *Nights* in popular periodicals and its participation in the enterprise of the imperial construction of Britain for and among lower-class readers.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of these changes, see Berridge, “Popular Sunday Newspapers and Mid-Victorian Society.”

These new publication circumstances also affected the publication of the *Nights* and responses and references to it in popular outlets targeting mass and lower-class readers.

Reynolds's Newspaper, a popular Sunday newspaper, is a case in point thanks to its numerous notices of publications of the *Nights*. For example, in 1868, *Reynolds's Newspaper* announces J. Dick's production of *Dick's Arabian Nights: A New Translation with Illustrations by F. Gillbert*, priced at 6d.¹⁸ The notice claims that this new edition is the cheapest one ever issued globally and, as a "perfect marvel of Cheap Literature," makes the tales available to "the very humblest reader" (*Reynolds's* "Advertisements and Notices").¹⁹ The uses of the publication are further described in relation to its editorship and its readership. According to the notice, this collection of tales, cleansed of "everything at all offensive or indocile," is meant to provide families, schools, and male and female youths as well as "the very poorest classes [...] with enjoyment of a delightful, innocent, and instructive course of reading." Particularly, the notice recommends this edition as an example of "the *cheapest* of CHEAP LITERATURE [...] as such reprints may possess a national interest or a world-wide celebrity." The notice points to both the European popular readership ("world-wide celebrity") and the development of an English "national" interest in relation to the *Nights*. This national interest was not feasible without legal modification, advancements in print technology, and the wide scope of public readers that had been established over the course of the past few decades. The new circumstances would render the *Nights* more accessible across the various social classes of England.

¹⁸ Coincidentally, the same issue of *Reynolds's* announced the publication of Brougham's one-penny biography.

¹⁹ See 1870s in the Appendix for a later republication of this volume.

The re-publication of the *Nights* in accessible editions continued in the 1840s, as exemplified by *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*. In 1846, *Lloyd's* Christmas cheap penny weeklies, "Lloyd's Pictorial Library of Standard Works," began with the *Nights* and continued with installments of William Shakespeare's works and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (*Lloyd's* "Advertisement and Notices"). The proliferation of the *Nights* in cheap print coincided with the popularization of knowledge concerning its history. In 1863, in a lucid piece on this topic, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* presented a brief report on French and German translations of the *Nights* as well as editions produced in Calcutta and Bulaq ("The History of Arabian Nights in England"). The report notes that while "Aladdin," "Ali Baba," and several others are excellent stories, "they form no part of the genuine 'Arabian Nights;'" thus, the article expressed "serious objections" to Galland's translation. The report ultimately praises the SDUK's publication of Lane's translation as "the only faithful representation of the original," dismisses criticism against Lane's edition, and praises Harvey's engravings. In fact, *Lloyd's* promotes the superiority of the English translation, and Englishness in general, over the French.

Cheap popular periodicals, as a whole, reinforced a distinction between *us*, the English reading community, and *them*, the cultural and geographical other. This distinction was further perpetuated in media such as *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper's* news column "Epitome of Foreign and General News," which used the imagery of the *Nights* as part of its characterization of the foreign as opposed to the general and national in its enterprise of nation-making and imagination-making among lower-class readers. As late as 1890, one issue of "Epitome of Foreign and General News" juxtaposes short news pieces about England, France, India, Japan, United States, Canada, Russia, and Iran. The column

describes the Iranian Qajar Shah's festival to commemorate a recent court appointment, which "in its splendor [has] surpassed even those mentioned in the 'Arabian Nights.'" As such, the by-then-familiar imagery of the *Nights* sets up a picture of cultural otherness for the newspaper's reading community, a point of emphasis in Anderson's view. Referring to the *Nights* in relation to Persia may seem straightforward; nonetheless, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* also used the collection of tales to report on the British monarchy. For example, "The Queen's Visit" is an 1855 commentary on Queen Victoria's upcoming visit to Paris. The report inquires whether "the visit of the constitutional Queen to the absolute emperor may have some political result in France," Queen Victoria is hailed as "a sovereign of a free people-of a people able to impose their will upon their government," and France's sovereignty is described as "a potentate who holds the strings of the press tightly between the imperial fingers." The significance of the visit, as reported in the article, is such that the festivities will "bring the imagination of the 'Arabian Nights' to the level of reporting." In this case, the *Nights* is not exclusively used to construct an image of non-European otherness, but is also invoked to foster an impression of British sovereignty as 'grandiose' and 'liberal' vis-à-vis its European counterparts. This portrayal of British sovereignty also helped to reinforce the necessity of accepting and upholding the British power structure, especially among lower- and middle-class readers.

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper also used the *Nights* to recommend a "national policy" concerning the conflict between Britain and Russia after the Crimean War (1853-56) ("The War of the Peace-Makers"). The article claims that "the political horizon is dark" and considers the Liberals' peace-seeking a "mischievous policy" at a time when England should demonstrate "cool courage" and "resolute strength" and protect Constantinople

against Russia. Although the English are “peace-loving, [...] law-abiding and a loyal people [...] the dogs of war, indeed, are chafing at their chains in every part of the Continent,” which made active opposition against Russia and its European allies all the more important. This pro-war argument is made with a reference to the *Nights*, as the author accuses peace campaigners of portraying Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli as a “political wizard, a figure whisked by Fortune, in one of her jocund moods, from the pages of the ‘Arabian Nights’ to the official residence in Downing-street.” This statement refers to pro-peace campaigners’ attempts to foreground the Prime Minister as a mysterious and devilish figure “with a guilty desire to plunge us into the horrors of the war.” In fact, at the centre of its pro-war argument, the article capitalizes on some of the popular associations of the *Nights* as a world run by wizards (such as the Moroccan magician in “Aladdin”), whose superhuman power and haphazard appearances (“whisked by Fortune”) could disrupt everyday life and lead to the loss of sovereignty. The *Lloyd’s* article incorporates popular-cultural references to the *Nights* to counter the peace advocates’ image of England’s Prime Minister as a devilish war-hungry wizard ‘whisked’ into high political office, and in contrast, to show him as politically qualified as well as straightforward and clear-minded on the necessity of the British imperial presence in the Ottoman territories. The rhetoric developed by and around the *Nights* in the article is intended to consolidate lower-class readers’ perception of both the fact and the necessity of British nationalist expression in order to deter Russian imperialist activity that could further the war. The reference to the *Nights* is very brief, but it is still integral to the argument in the *Lloyd’s* article. It thus appears that the English popular-cultural knowledge of the *Nights* and its major tales, such as “Aladdin,” had developed, thanks to the many readily-available print

editions, over the preceding decades, to the point that “[w]hen Leigh Hunt, Dickens, or Morris, for instance, used to draw upon Scheherazade’s mine of allusions and anecdotes, they felt sure that their readers were so familiar with the tales that they had no need to check a ‘scholarly companion’ to the *Arabian Nights*” (Musawi, *Scheherazade in England* 3).

Comparing the translations/publications of the *Nights* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Irwin has stated that the latter demonstrate the visualization of British imperialism. He points to the frontispieces and illustrations of the *Nights*, and maintains that in the eighteenth century, there was little sense of the otherness of the Arab world, and “until the publication of the *Description de l’Egypt* and then of Edward William Lane’s *Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians*, there were very few sources to fuel the Western visual imagination” (Irwin, “The Arabian Nights and the Origins of the Western Novel” 149). Building on this observation, an examination of the popular press and their various re-appropriations of the *Nights* indicates that British imperialism was not necessarily constituted vis-à-vis non-European otherness; rather, it included European powers. Moreover, the *Nights* was not merely used to project an Other in order to rationalize British colonial missions, a conventional postcolonial scholarly approach. Rather, the *Nights* was also employed to promote British official nationalism across the lower social classes in order to affirm British sovereign subjectivity and incorporate these classes within the expanding frame of the nation, sometimes against their class loyalties. The possibility of social revolution was still considered a threat, and although the 1867 Parliamentary Reform Act had extended the franchise to some sectors of working men, the lurking potential for revolution required a counteragent in the form of imperialism

(Gilligan 37). Imperialism, it was believed, had the benefit of tackling “the twin perils of socialism and foreign competition” (37). The justification was that through “imperialism the working class would benefit from advancing prosperity and the colonial peoples would be ‘civilized’ by the white man” (37).²⁰ Examining the re-appropriations of the *Nights* in the popular press for the working classes indicates its use, not to develop a distinct class consciousness, but to foster among the lower classes a consciousness of Britain as an empire, thus affirming English national subjectivity and encouraging acceptance of the status quo.

Describing the operations of official nationalism, Anderson has delineated the process by which British colonial otherness is simultaneously domesticated and estranged within British imperial projects: “No matter how Anglicized a Pal [i.e., an Indian subject disciplined in British schools] became, he was always barred from the uppermost peaks of the Raj” (*Imagined Communities* 93). As such, Anderson shows that official nationalism marks otherness as inherent, essential, and permanent. Nonetheless, as far as the re-workings of the *Nights* in the popular press of England are concerned, cultural otherness is also re-appropriated and domesticated for internal consumption and affirmation of the native British national order. The national enterprise became feasible through, among other things, the cheap reprinting of ‘useful’ material for the lower classes. Additionally, a nationwide collective and simultaneous imagining of otherness seems to be as integral to the construction of modern English nationhood as is the collective simultaneous imagining of the self. To deliver the former, the *Nights* was constantly re-created, popularized, re-

²⁰ This is not to ignore working classes’ resistance against narratives of British imperialism. For an account of forging nationalistic and imperialistic sentiments among the working classes, see Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*.

appropriated, and extensively distributed across the expanding English nation. The proliferation and incorporation of the *Nights* marked the English popular press, and through that the British project of official nationalism – far from solidly English, as Anderson theorizes it – as heterogeneously comprised of cultural and national otherness.

IV. Conclusions

This examination does not deny Anderson's notion of a simultaneously-oriented community of readers. Rather, my purpose has been to examine some of the circumstances of the English popular publications of the *Nights* to demonstrate how the *Nights* produced a heterogeneous reading experience, both through the appropriation of Orientalia and through its appearances at the juncture of divergent class affiliations. My study demonstrates some of the significant aspects of the commercialization and reprinting of the *Nights* to encourage working-class readers to become part of the bourgeois framework of the English reading community. In contrast to Anderson's notion of a regulated and solid nation of readers, Englishness in the nineteenth century seems to be characterized by heterogeneity on a number of levels. First, Englishness was not monolithic or unified across social classes; second, it involved incorporation and domestication of the literary and cultural otherness of the *Nights*; third, the popularization of the *Nights* helped to mark British official nationalism by ultimately re-affirming the domestic status quo among the lower classes, diverting possible inclinations toward revolutionary socialism, and encouraging assimilation into the bourgeois platform of English citizenship.

Furthermore, this study does not suggest that the *Nights* was not considered apt reading material for higher-class, or elite, readers. Readership of the *Nights* among the latter groups and literary elites is evident from references to the book and its tales in *The*

Academy, *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Athenaeum*, *The New Quarterly Magazine*, *The Dublin Review*, and several other higher-class periodicals of the time.²¹ Reproductions of, and reactions to, the *Nights* for higher classes are outside the immediate scope of this chapter. Moreover, such tales as “Ali Baba and Forty Thieves,” “Aladdin,” and “Sinbad,” etc. were also printed outside *Nights* editions and recurrently appeared in the popular press of the time.²² For example, *Sharpe’s London Magazine*, which was devoted to supplying entertainment and instructional materials for a general readership, published “A Stray Leaf from One Thousand and One Nights: Abou Hasan of Khorassan” in 1863. While one might be able to extend the results of this study to the circumstances of those tales, I will take up this particular topic in my next chapter: the nationalistic assimilations of the *Nights* and its major tales in US print culture. Nonetheless, the discussions in this study should also open new avenues of research into reproductions and re-formations of the *Nights* for juvenile audiences in nineteenth-century England,²³ as well as the theatrical adaptations of the *Nights* and its tales for mass audiences of the time.²⁴ In 1849, for example, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* published a positive review of H.S. Edwards’ *Noureddin and the Fair Persian*, a re-working of “Anis al-Jalis” from the *Nights* (“Eastern Amusements”). An investigation of the consumption of this type of theatre would illuminate more of the public re-workings and utilizations of the *Nights* in the time under discussion.

Ultimately, this chapter has scrutinized some important aspects of the popular print culture of the *Nights* in nineteenth-century England and demonstrated some of the uses of

²¹ See Musawi, *Scheherazade in England* for reflections on and mentions of the *Nights* in these periodicals (174-75).

²² See the Appendix for these separate printings.

²³ See the Appendix for several publications of the *Nights* and its tales for younger readers.

²⁴ See 1808, 1813, 1850, and 1861 in the Appendix for theatrical productions based on the *Nights*.

the *Nights* for the English nation-building enterprise, including its ‘usefulness,’ a perceived and amplified blend of entertainment and instruction, in order to ‘unthink,’ challenge, and complicate Anderson’s modernist account of nation-formation as solid and homogeneous. I will continue to build up on these arguments in the next chapter by exploring the American print history of the *Nights* for its insights into the formation of modern nationhood as a heterogeneous phenomenon across national and discursive boundaries.

V. Appendix

The Appendix lists, in chronological order, major editions of the *Nights* and its tales published in England during the nineteenth century, as extracted from *OCLC WorldCat* and complemented and verified through specialized bibliographies of the *Nights*. The bibliographical items are taken from *OCLC WorldCat* unless specified in parentheses with the entry. Also, *OCLC WorldCat* recording format has been mostly kept in presenting the entries.

Tales, anecdotes, and letters Translated from the Arabic and Persian. By Jonathan Scott.

Shrewsbury [England]: Printed by J. and W. Eddowes for T. Cadell, jun., and W. Davies, 1800.

Ali Baba, or, the fourty thieves. Juvenile audience. London, 1800, 1899.

Aladdin; or the wonderful lamp. By Edward Hailstone. London: T.H. Roberts & Co.; Manchester: John Heywood; Manchester: W.H. Smith & Son; Leeds, C.H. Johnson, 1800s.

The history of Ali Baba and the forty thieves, destroyed by a slave: part second. Juvenile audience. Gateshead [England]: Printed by J. Marshall, 1800.

The Arabian nights: in five volumes. By Edward Forster and Antoine Galland, and others. London: Printed for Wiliam Miller by W. Bulmer and Co., 1802.

The Seven voyages of Sindbad, the sailor. Juvenile audience. London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, no. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by all the booksellers in the United Kingdoms, 1803.

Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp. By Daniel Nathan Shury. Juvenile audience. London: Printed for Tabart and Co., at the Juvenile and School Library, no. 157, New Bond-Street; and to be had of all dealers in Books, 1805.

Arabian nights entertainments. Vol. 2. By Henry Wilkins. London: Published by W. Suttaby, B. Crosby & Co., & Scatcherd & Letterman, 1807.

The History of Aladdin, or The wonderful lamp: as relating in the Arabian Nights' entertainments: from which is founded the new popular divertisement of that name, now performing, with great applause, at Covent Garden Theatre. By John Bailey. London: Printed and sold by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery-Lane; and may be had of most booksellers., 1808-1824?.

Arabian nights entertainments. London: Published by W. Suttaby, B. Crosby & Co. & Scatcherd & Letterman, 1808.

The Arabian Nights [...]. 4 vols. Translated by E. Forster. London, 1810 (Chauvin 4: 92).

The Arabian Nights Entertainments [...]. 6 vols. By Jonathan Scott. Vol. 1: London: (imp. Davidson). Printed for Longman, 1811 (Chauvin 4: 113).

The Arabian Nights Entertainment [...]. 4 vols. Translated from the French of M. Galland by G. S. Beaumont. London: Printed for Mathews and Leigh..., 1811 (Chauvin 4: 70).

Tales of the East [...]. 3 vols. Prepared by H. Weber, Edinburgh, 1812 (Chauvin 4: 71).

Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp: a romantic drama, in two acts, written expressly for, and adapted only to Webb's characters & scenes in the same. London: Printed and published by W. Webb, 1813.

The Arabian Nights Entertainment [...]. 2 vols. Liverpool: Printed by Nuttall and Dixon, 1813 (Chauvin 4: 71-72).

The Arabian tales: consisting of the entertaining story of the lady in the glass cage. Also the wonderful tale of the merchant, who was doomed to die by the hands of a fierce Genii, for casting the stones of some dates from him. And the history of The first old man and the hind, told to induce the Genii to spare the life of the merchant. By Robert Smirke. London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, no. 111, Cheapside, 1813.

Little Hunchback: from the Arabian nights entertainments. In three cantos. By Elisabeth Ball, Charles Todd Owen, and others. London: Printed for J. Harris, 1817.

Illustrations to the Arabian nights. By Richard Westall, Thomas Davison, and Charles Heath. Publication: London: Printed for Rodwell and Martin, 1819.

The seven voyages of Sinbad the Sailor. Juvenile audience. London, 1822.

A Collection of Tales, extracted from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Carlsruhe. Braun, 1823 (Chauvin 4: 73).

Oriental tales: being moral selections from the Arabian nights' entertainments; calculated both to amuse and improve the minds of youth. Vol. I. By George Davidson. London: Printed for W. Cole, Newgate Street, 1825.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. 3 vols. London: printed by J. F. Dove, 1826 (Chauvin 4: 72).

Ali Baba, or, the forty thieves. Juvenile audience. London, 1826.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments [...]. 1 vol. illustrated with 150 engravings, London: Limbird, 1827 (Chauvin 4: 72).

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. Glasgow, 1828 (Chauvin 4: 73).

Oriental tales: being moral selections from the Arabian nights' entertainments; calculated both to amuse and improve the minds of youth. Vol. II. By George Davidson.

London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 73, Cheapside, 1829.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. 1 vol. Illustrated with nearly 150 engravings.

London: Printed and published by J. Limbird, 1832 (Chauvin 4: 73).

The book of the thousand nights and one night: from the Arabic of the Aegyptian m.s. By

W.H. Macnaghten, and Henry Whitelock Torrens. Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co.;

London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1838.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. 4 vols. Vol. 1 printed in London: Cowie, Jolland and C, 1838.

The thousand and one nights, commonly called in England, the Arabian nights'

entertainments: a new translation from the Arabic, with copious notes. By Edward

William Lane; William Harvey; F.C. Loring; Gordon Norton Ray; Charles Knight

& Co. London: Charles Knight & Co. Ludgate Street, 1838-41.

Grimm's Five Tales from the Arabian Nights. [In German]. London (?) 1842 (Chauvin 4: 73).

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. Forster and Bussey new edition. Illustrated.

London, 1842 (Chauvin 4: 92).

Pictorial Penny Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Part I in London: J. C. Moore, 1845

(Chauvin 4: 73).

Tales of the genii: or stories of amusement and delight: a sequel to the Arabian nights

entertainmanet. Juvenile audience. By Sir Charles Morell. London: Published by

J.S. Pratt, 1845.

Arabian tales and anecdotes [“being a selection from the notes to the new translation of ‘The thousand and one nights,’ by E.W. Lane.”]. By Edward William Lane.

London, C. Knight & Co., 1845.

Arabian Nights’ Entertainments [...]. London: James Burns, 1847 (Chauvin 4: 74).

The thousand and one nights, or, The Arabian nights’ entertainments: translated and arranged for family reading, with explanatory notes. By Edward William Lane; William Ford. 2nd edition. London: John Murray, William Clowes and Sons, 1847.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments [...]. London: Printed and published by E. Lloyd, 1848 (Chauvin 4: 74).

Aladdin and the wonderful lamp: or, New lamps for old ones. In two acts. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Lyceum. Juvenile audience. By Albert Smith, James Kenney, and Pallister Barkas. London: W.S. Johnson, “Nassau Steam Press,” 60, St. Martin’s Lane, Charing Cross, 1850.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. By Edward William Lane. London: J. Murray, 1850.

<http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10249701-2>

Tales of the genii. By Sir Charles Morell. Juvenile audience. London: Darton & Co., 58 Holborn-hill; Otley [England]: William Walker and Son, 1850s.

Far-famed tales from the Arabian night’s entertainments. Juvenile audience. London: Addey and Co., 1852.

The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments. Translated by Edward Forster. With engravings.

London: Willoughby and Co., 1852-54 (Chauvin 4: 93).

Ali Baba and the forty thieves, Alla ad Deen, or, the wonderful lamp and other tales and stories. By William Harvey. Juvenile audience. London: Geo. Routledge & Co., 1853.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Edward Forster, Edward, George Moir Bussey, and others. London: Printed for H. Washbourne & Co., 25, Ivy Lane. Paternoster Row, 1853.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. ["translated by Edward William Lane, esq., with six hundred woodcuts by William Harvey"]. New edition. London: J. Murray, 1853.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. A new edition in one volume. With illustrations of William Harvey. London: George Routledge and Co., 1854 (Chauvin 4: 75).

The Arabian nights entertainments. The second edition. In one volume. With illustrations by William Harvey. London: G. Routledge & Co.; New York, 1855.

Aladdin. Juvenile audience. London; New York: George Routledge and Co., 1856.

The Arabian nights entertainments. By William Harvey, Maggie Dodd, and others. London: G. Routledge & Co., 1857.

Arabian nights entertainments: the thousand and one nights. ["new tr. from the Arabic ... by E.W. Lane ... ed. by E.S. Poole"]. London: Murray, 1859.

The Nights' Entertainments. London, Routledge, 1859.

Aladdin. Juvenile audience. London: Routledge, 1860.

Aladdin and the wonderful lamp; or, New lamps for old ones: In two acts. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Lyceum. London: W.S. Johnson, "Nassau Steam Press," 60, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, 1861.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. For juvenile audiences. By Mrs. Sugden, with illustrations. London: Whittaker and Co., 1863 (Chauvin 4: 79).

Dalziels' illustrated Goldsmith. The vicar of Wakefield. Uniform with Dalziels' illustrated Arabian nights. Prepared by George John Pinwell and John Everett Millais. London: Ward & Lock, 1863-65.

The Arabian nights entertainments. By William Harvey. Juvenile audience. London; New York: Routledge, Warne, & Routledge, 1864.

The thousand and one nights: commonly called in England, the Arabian nights' entertainments: a new translation from the Arabic, with copious notes. By Edward William Lane; Edward Stanley Poole; William Harvey; W.H. Lewis; C.S. Lewis. A new edition. Edited by Edward Stanley Poole. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1865.

Sinbad the sailor. Juvenile audience. Otley: Yorkshire Joint Stock Publishing and Stationery Company Limited, 1865.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. With illustrations by S.J. Groves. 2 vols. Edinburgh: William ... Nimmo, 1865 (Chauvin 4: 76).

The Arabian nights' entertainments. ["A new ed. in one volume"]. By Edward William Lane. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments [...]. By Geo. Fyler Townsend. With 16 illustrations. London, Fredrick Warne and Co., 1866. (Chauvin 4: 114).

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. With illustrations by S.J. Groves. London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1866 (Chauvin 4: 76).

- The Arabian nights' entertainments*. By George Fyler Townsend, and George Henry Boughton. Juvenile audience. London: Frederick Warne & Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, 1866 (Chauvin 4: 114).
- Readings from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments* [...]. Glasgow: A.K. Murray and Co., 1867 (one of Murray's railway readings) (Chauvin 4: 76).
- The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Edinburgh, Gall and Inglis, 1867 (Chauvin 4: 77).
- The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Illustrated by by Fredrick Gillbert. London: John Dicks, 1868 (Chauvin 4: 77).
- Caliphs and Sultans, being Tales omitted in the usual editions of the Arabian Nights Entertainments* [...]. Prepared by Sylvanus Hanley. London: (imp. Taylor) L. Reeve and Co., 1868 (Chauvin 4: 99).
- The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Illustrated. London: William Tegg, 1869 (Chauvin 4: 77).
- The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. London: Fredric Warne and Co., 1869 (The Chandos Classics) (Chauvin 4: 114).
- The Arabian nights' entertainments; consisting of one thousand and one stories*. London, (Halifax): Milner & Sowerby, 1870.
- The Arabian nights entertainments*. By Frederick Gilbert. Juvenile audience. London (313, Strand): J. Dicks, 1870s.
- Dalziel's illustrated Arabian nights' entertainments*. By H.W. Dulcken, Arthur Boyd Houghton, and others. Juvenile audience. London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1870s.
- Five Favorite Tales from the Arabian Nights in words of one syllable*. By A. and A.E. Warner. London: H.K. Lewis, 1871 (Chauvin 4: 77).

The boys' own story-book. By William Harvey. Juvenile audience. London; New York: George Routledge & Co., 1871.

Abou-Hassan: or, Caliph for a day. An eastern story. Juvenile audience. London; Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1873.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. By G. Fyler Townsend. London: Warner, 1874 (1875?) (Chauvin 4: 115).

The Arabian nights' entertainments: arranged for the perusal of youthful readers. By Sugden. Juvenile audience. London; New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1875.

Arabian Nights' Entertainments revised and annotated. By James Mason. Illustrated. London: Cassel, Petter and Galpin, 1875 (Chauvin 4: 77).

The Arabian Nights Entertainments [...]. With 150 illustrations by Thomas B. Dalziel. London: George Routledge and sons, 1877 (Chauvin 4: 75).

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Illustrated. London: James Blackwood and Co., 1877 (Chauvin 4: 77).

The thousand and one nights: commonly called, in England, the Arabian nights' entertainments. ["a new translation from the Arabic, with copious notes by Edward William Lane. Illus. by many hundred engravings on wood, from original designs by William Harvey ... A new ed., from a copy annotated by the translator; ed. by his nephew, Edward Stanley Poole]. London: Bickers, 1877.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. Juvenile audience. New York; London; Manchester: George Routledge and Sons, 1880s.

Some Unedited tales from the "Arabian Nights." By James Mew. *Tinsley's Magazine*, March 1882, no. 176 (Chauvin 4: 110).

The new Arabian nights: select tales not included by Galland or Lane. Juvenile audience.

By W.F. Kirby and Gustav Weil. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1882.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. London, Ward, Lock and Co., 1882 (Chauvin 4: 78).

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. Illustrated by J.E. Millais, J Tenniel, J.D. Watson, etc.
London, Ward, Lock and Co. (People's Edition), 1882 (Chauvin 4: 78).

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, with 44 illustrations by Dalziel Brothers. London,
George Routledge and Sons, 1882 (Routledge's sixpenny series) (Chauvin 4: 75).

Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Revised and annotated by James Mason. Illustrated. Lon,
Cassel, Petter and Galpin, 1882-83 (Chauvin 4: 77).

The book of the thousand nights and one night. By John Payne. London: Printed for the
Villon Society for private subscription and for private circulation, 1882-84.

<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/api/volumes/oclc/221058369.html>

Arabian society in the middle ages; studies from the Thousand and one nights. By Edward
William Lane. Edited by his grandnephew Stanley Lane-Poole. London: Chatto &
Windus, 1883. <https://archive.org/details/arabiansocietyin00laneuoft>

The Thousand and One Nights [...]. 4 vols. By Jonathan Scott. London: J.C. Nimmo and
Bain, 1883 (Chauvin 4: 114).

Far-famed Tales, from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, with 78 wood engravings.

London: John Hogg, 1883 (Chauvin 4: 78).

Villon's Society's Tales from the Arabic of the Breslau and Calcutta (1814-1818) [...]. 3
vols. By John Payne. London, 1884 (Chauvin 4: 111).

A plain and literal translation of the Arabian nights' entertainments, now entitled The book of the thousand nights and a night: with introduction, explanatory notes on the manners and customs of Moslem men and a terminal essay upon the history of The nights. By Sir Richard Burton. Printed by the Burton Ethnological Society for members only. 1885.

Bell's Reading Books. Selections from "the Arabian Nights." By George C. Baskett. London, 1885 (Chauvin 4: 115).

Supplemental nights, to the book of the Thousand and one nights with notes, anthropological and explanatory. By Sir Richard Burton. [England?]: publisher not identified, 1886.

Lady Burton's Edition of her husband's Arabian Nights [...]. 6 vols. Prepared by Justin Huntly Mc Carthy, M.P. London: Waterlow and Sons. 1886 (Chauvin 4: 85).

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Thomas Bolton Gilchrist Septimus Dalziel and Maud Gwendolen King. London; Glasgow; New York: George Routledge, 1889.

The thousand and one nights: commonly called, in England, the Arabian nights' entertainments. By Edward William Lane; Edward Stanley Poole. A new edition. London: Chatto and Windus, 1889.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. London & Wakefield: W. Nicholson & Sons, 1890.

One hundred illustrations to Captain Sir Richard Burton's translation of the Arabian Nights from original paintings by Stanley L. Wood. By Stanley L. Wood. London: Pickering and Chatto, 1890s.

The Arabian nights. Vol. 1. By Helen Marion Burnside, Will Brundage, and others. Juvenile audience. London; Paris; New York: Raphael Tuck & Sons, 1890.

Tales from the Arabian nights' entertainments. Juvenile audience. London; Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis, 1891.

Fairy tales from the Arabian nights. By John D. Batten. Juvenile audience. London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1893.

The Arabian nights' entertainments: revised for young readers. By George Fyler Townsend. Juvenile audience. London; New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1894.

The Arabian nights. Vol. 1. By Helen Marion Burnside, Will Brundage, and others. Juvenile audience. London; Paris; New York: Raphael Tuck & Sons, 1894.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Thomas Bolton Gilchrist Septimus Dalziel and Albert W. Cooper. Juvenile audience. London; Glasgow; New York: George Routledge, 1895.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Sugden, and Alfred W. Cooper. London; Manchester; New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1896.

The Thousand and One Nights commonly called in England; The Arabian Nights' Entertainments Translated from the Arabic by Edward William Lane. By Edward William Lane; James Donaldson. ["Reprint of the first edition of Lane's Translation from the Arabic"]. London: Bliss, Sands, and Foster 15, Craven Street, Strand, W.C., 1896.

The thousand and one nights: or Arabian nights entertainment. ["translated by Edward William Lane"]. London: Gibbings and Co., 1896.

Oriental tales. By John Payne, Leonard C. Smithers, and others. London: Printed for subscribers only [by Athenæum], 1897-1901.

The Arabian nights. Vol. 2. By Helen Marion Burnside, Will Brundage, and others.

Juvenile audience. London; Paris; New York: Raphael Tuck & Sons, 1898.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By H.J. Ford and Andrew Lang. Juvenile audience.

London; New York; Bombay: Longmans Green and Co., 1898.

Fairy tales from the Arabian nights. By T.H. Robinson. Juvenile audience. London (Aldine

House, Bedford Street, Covent Garden): J.M. Dent & Co., 1899.

Chapter III
 Heterogenizing Antebellum American Nation-Building through the Print Culture of
 the *Nights*

All day the darkness and the cold
 Upon my heart have lain,
 Like shadows in the winter sky,
 Like frost upon the pane!

But now my torpid Fancy wakes,
 And, on thy Eagle's plume,
 Rides forth, like Sinbad on his bird,
 Or witch upon her broom!

("From the National Eagle Era: Impromptu on Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior"
 [1849])

"Nothing more need be said of the best tales of the Arabian Nights, in which number we include all of the former translations, except that we regard them as we believe they are viewed by everyone. We consider them as powerful delineations of national character, seen through a veil of delicately wrought fiction." ("The Arabian Nights Entertainments," *American Quarterly Review* 302-03 [1829])

"[It] is well known that many of our modern novelists have culled their ideas from the *Arabian Nights*." ("The Tales of the Genii," *The New York Mirror* 396 [1825])

I. Aims and Scope

The previous chapter outlined the uses of the *Nights* in the nineteenth-century English popular press as the promotion of Englishness as a collective, national, and bourgeois selfhood. Particularly, I argued for the formation of nationhood, unlike Anderson's formulation as homogeneous and empty, as a heterogeneous phenomenon at the juncture of the literary Orientalism of the *Nights* and its social classes of readership. Continuing my heterogeneous view of nationhood in the present chapter, I describe and explain the various printings and uses of the *Nights* during the American antebellum period (1789-1861) ultimately presenting the American nation-building enterprise of the time, far from Anderson's monolithic theorization, as a heterogeneous composition involving the literary Orientalia of the *Nights*.

American nationalisms of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are significant in Anderson's theory of nationality since, for instance, New Englanders' nationalist aspiration was grounded in the print language they shared with their Western European counterparts and, as such, inspired European models of vernacular nationality (*Imagined Communities* 47-51). On this note, Anderson highlights the newspaper for developing and spreading an American national subjectivity and regards the printer-journalist as "initially an essentially North American phenomenon" (*Imagined Communities* 61). He further states that with the consolidation of the US as a national entity, printers' offices became central to the exchange of reading materials and ideas pertaining to the emerging collective American vision (*Imagined Communities* 61). Particularly, newspapers covered commercial news as well as political circumstances and thus, Anderson adds, the print media "brought together, on the same page, *this* marriage with *that* ship, *this* price with *that* bishop [and became] the very structure of colonial administration and

market-system itself” (*Imagined Communities* 62, italics original), hence encouraging a communal American vision and a ‘homogeneous’ imagined solidarity in the early US history.

Furthermore, Anderson compares Northern and Southern American nationalisms and contends that the Thirteen Colonies’ extensive success in consolidation and their appropriation of the title of ‘Americans’ was due to their production and exchange of print media: “Bunched geographically together, their market centres in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were readily accessible to one another, and their populations were relatively tightly linked by print as well as commerce” (*Imagined Communities* 64). Anderson thus shows that the framework for the emergent nationalistic American consciousness was based on the operations of commerce and delivered through periodicals of various sorts. Nonetheless, this chapter demonstrates that not only the commercialization of the US, but also its territorial expansion and technological upsurge during the antebellum period were delivered via discourses that recurrently incorporated the chronotope of the *Nights* and its tales, among others, into the popular print of the time, hence the heterogenization of American antebellum nationhood at the crossroads of multifarious adoptions and adaptations of the literary Orientalia of the *Nights*.

On the other hand, a survey of scholarship on the Western reception of the *Nights* suggests that its presence in Europe, particularly in France and England, has often been highlighted, to the neglect of its publication and circulation in US history. Also, while much has been written about American literary Orientalism,²⁵ the *Nights* has been under-examined, particularly in the studies of print culture. Aiming to fill part of this lacuna, this chapter demonstrates the importance of the

²⁵ For discussions of American (literary) Orientalism, see Diouf, *Servants of Allah*; Weir, *American Orient*; Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*; Little, *American Orientalism*; Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*; Gomez, *Black Crescent*; Lee, *East Asia and America*; Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms*; Shaban, *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought*; and Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*.

literary Orientalism of the *Nights* during the American antebellum era by documenting and analyzing some of the major uses of the *Nights* and its tales in the formation of the modern national American ethos during territorial expansionism, elite and mass consumerism, and technological modernization ultimately portraying a heterogenized antebellum nationalization.

Susan Nance has discussed the *Nights* in relation to the growth of American capitalism. Extending from the US's post-Revolutionary era to the Great Depression, Nance explores American poetry and travelogues written in imitation of the *Nights* (1), as well as the thriving entertainment industry (such as circuses, dancing, and acrobatics), “whose comedic and dramatic logic was premised upon the performances of cultural difference” (2). Broadly speaking, Nance discusses Americans' interest in the stories of hedonism that tapped into consumption in the US as manifest in the growing popular entertainment industry. Her study portrays the agency that various individuals – including performers, artists, and travelogue writers – exerted by choosing “to play Eastern” (15), and shows the reproduction of Eastern elements as a means of their economic survival and cultural self-designation in the US (9). In a way, Nance demonstrates the “‘Easternization’ of American artistic practices by contact with foreign cultures” (11), and thus makes a case against reductive postcolonial assessments of US literary Orientalism prior to the Great Depression.

Nonetheless, the assimilations of the *Nights* in American nation-formation are still largely unexplored. This chapter mostly demonstrates the heterogeneity of antebellum nationhood based on an examination of the *Nights* press history in the US. Moreover, this chapter validates Nance's stand against ahistorical, postcolonial readings of the *Nights* as much as it complicates and sophisticates her offerings on the *Nights* in the US by demonstrating the usages of this tale collection as part of the American nation-building process in the context of antebellum print

culture. Specifically, this study historicizes major publications of the *Nights* and its tales and explains their various appearances and uses in popular print media, alongside the suggestions of luxury and commodity hedonism, in the development of the discourses of settlement and modernization as the US was expanding territorially and transforming technologically, all as particles of the rising ethos of modern American nationhood in the antebellum period. Where Nance ascribes an essence to the *Nights* for its *imprint* on American society, I show how the specific readings, interpretations, amplifications, recastings, and editions of the *Nights* – within the larger corpus of literary Orientalism – developed due to the particular material circumstances in the antebellum era, a significant period of American nation-state formation. As such, this examination focuses not on the Easternization of American popular culture but on the Americanization of Eastern literary and cultural products in the antebellum period. Also, without ascribing agency to individuals, which is another major element in Nance’s study, and by examining references and responses to and reworkings of the *Nights* within various antebellum periodicals, I demonstrate some of the major ways in which this literary Orientalism was employed in antebellum nation-building. As such, by examining appearances of the *Nights* in popular print, and rather than the “modes of personation” (Nance 7) of Easternness, this chapter contextualizes this collection of tales in the changing socioeconomic circumstances that informed readers’ choices concerning production and consumption of cultural items, ultimately showing how Eastern(ized) cultural products served the urgent need for modern American nation-formation.

American publishers and readers brought over the already-international *Nights* and took the imagery, settings, and characters that they required in order to imagine the American entrepreneurial character and its promise of affluence. The circulation of the *Nights* in New

England began at least in 1794, when its first American edition appeared in Philadelphia. The recurrent motifs of voyaging and adventure in the *Nights* and its associated tales served the formation of a distinct American trans-Atlantic identity, and nourished the new nation's aspirations and growing subjectivity. Specifically, in this period, the *Nights* was read as envisioning wealth, abundance, and supernatural transmutations, circumstances that were familiar to New Englanders as the American model of consumer capitalism developed. These motifs of the *Nights* served to shape the early American self-identity with such values as entrepreneurialism, pursuit of capital, and acquisition as universal goods in the period of rapid territorial expansion and technological transformation.

The *Nights* was a major text with which pre-Civil War American fiction and literary print culture addressed the country's rapid socioeconomic transformation and emerging subjectivity. The motifs of adventure, accomplishment, and transformation present in the tales served as metaphors for the trans-Atlantic diasporic experience as well as the entrepreneurialism displayed by New Englanders of the time in pursuit of the American dream. The nineteenth-century US experienced a period of rapid territorial, industrial, and socioeconomic transformation, as railroads, factories, financial units, retailing, and the press expanded.²⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century, improvements in transportation, expansions in industrialized production and foreign trade, and relative growth in wealth and literacy rates brought about new opportunities for consumption that included not only literary print products, but also newspapers, theatres, museums, clothing, chain stores, and circuses.²⁷ In this vibrant climate of rapid transformations, the *Nights*, with its rich topoi of adventure, transformation, and material abundance, caught the

²⁶ Technology was integral to the development of print culture during this time. Zboray has particularly noted how the railroad improved distribution of literary matter and "helped to transform the nature of the reader's community life" (*A Fictive People* 4).

²⁷ See Zakim and Kornblith, *Capitalism Takes Command*.

attention of American readers as it paralleled their contemporary experiences of socioeconomic transformation (Nance 32).

THE
SEVEN VOYAGES
OF
SINBAD THE SAILOR.
AND THE
STORY OF ALADDIN;
OR, THE
WONDERFUL LAMP.



PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY H. AND P. RICE, N^o. 5^o
HIGH-STREET.

1794.

Image I: The front cover of the first publication of the Aladdin and Sinbad stories in the US (*The Seven Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor. And The story of Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp*).

II. The *Nights* and its Tales in US Print: An Overview

After its first printing by H. & P. Rice in Philadelphia in 1794, the *Nights* – both as a whole and selected major tales – were recurrently published and became significant pieces of Orientalist literature in the antebellum period. Prior to the Civil War, “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” and “Sinbad” seem to have appeared in print 25 times and 18 times, respectively, while “Aladdin” went through 22 printings. These tales were also published as part of the editions of the *Nights*, which added up to, at least, 60 in the antebellum era.

The *Nights* was first published in US in 1794 in Philadelphia as “The First American Edition” in two volumes containing, among others, “Sinbad,” “Aladdin,” and “Ali Baba.” While the front cover describes the book as “freely transcribed from its original translation,” no mention of the source text is made (*The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories*). However, the second American publication of the *Nights*, in 1796 in Norwich, CT, by Thomas Hubbard, acknowledges the translator as Antoine Galland and describes the book as “done in English from Paris edition” (*Arabian Nights Entertainments: Being a Collection of Stories*). Additionally, in 1797, Cooper’s apology for the *Nights* was published by Samuel Bragg in Dover, New Hampshire (*The Oriental Moralist*). The publication contained a selection of *Nights* stories, including the Aladdin and Sinbad tales, but not Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. In the same year, “The Second American Edition” of the *Nights* was published by Henry Ranlet in Exeter, New Hampshire (*The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories*). Galland’s *Nights*, as translated by Edwards Forster (1769-1828), seems to have appeared in the American press for the first time in 1812 (*The Arabian Nights: In Four Volumes*). Also, a Galland-based English translation aimed at a juvenile audience appeared in 1815 (*The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of a*

Collection of Stories Told by the Sultanness of the Indies). Moreover, an early instance of the publication of Edward William Lane's translation, much-favored across the Atlantic by readers in England, was produced by Harper & Brothers in New York in 1847 (*The Thousand and One Nights, or The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*). This edition, in two volumes, was illustrated with 600 woodcuts by William Harvey. All in all, after the *annus mirabilis* of 1794, publications of the *Nights*, as abridged, selected, or complete editions often containing illustrations, continued to be produced by US publishers.²⁸

While the *Nights* editions of various sorts contained major tales such as "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," "Sinbad," and "Aladdin," these stories were also printed in separate volumes. These tales were published autonomously as individual texts as in *Ali Baba, or, The Forty Thieves: A Tale for the Nursery* in 1818, or as combined together with other selected tales of the *Nights* such as *The Seven Voyages of Sindbad the Sailor: And The Story of Ali Baba, and the Forty Robbers* in 1848, or as separate from one another but part of another anthology of tales. As an instance of the last form, in 1860 "Sinbad" and "Aladdin" were featured in a fiction anthology, *The Child's Own Book of Standard Fairy Tales*, which included "Cinderella," "Beauty and the Beast," and "Little Riding Hood." The appearance of these tales in Galland's translation suggests that the American antebellum texts of the *Nights* are derived from his version.

²⁸ Chauvin cites a 1793 edition published in Montreal: "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments consisting of one thousand and one stories. Montreal. 1793. In-8. 4 vol. (18e edition?)" (4: 79), to which Nishio also refers (568). This edition does not seem to be listed in Canadian book catalogues (for instance, see *Books and Pamphlets Published in Canada* and *Canadian Catalogue of Books*). Additionally, the Montreal Library catalog of 1833 seems to contain a 5-volume edition of the *Nights*, rather than the one listed by Chauvin (*Catalogue of the Books in the Montreal Library* 67). On the other hand, *OCLC WorldCat* lists "Arabian nights entertainments; consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the sultanness of the Indies. Translated by Antoine Galland. 4 vols. Publication: Montrose, 18th edition, 1793." This entry suggests that Chauvin may have misidentified the place of publication.

“Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” in particular seems to have been first published in the US as a dramatic adaptation. The story was not issued separately until 1808 and only then as a printing of a dramatic performance (*The Forty Thieves: A Grand Romantic Drama, in Two Acts*). Two other editions, *The Forty Thieves: A Grand Operatical Romance, in Two Acts* and *The Forty Thieves: A Grand Operatical Romance, and Brilliant Spectacle, in Two Acts*, appeared in 1809 and 1810. After the publication of *The Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* as a separate text from the *Nights* by H. & E. Phinney in Otsego, New York in 1809, all the subsequent independent publications of the Ali Baba story in the antebellum era were aimed at children. Some of these printings contained engravings; one example is *The Forty Thieves; or, The Banditti of the Forest: Embellished with Nine Engravings*.

The first printing of “Sinbad” as a separate text, *The History of Sinbad the Sailor: Containing, an Account of His Several Surprising Voyages, and Miraculous Escapes*, was produced in New York in 1804. Prior to that, its first American publication was in *The Seven Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor: And the Story of Aladdin; or, The wonderful Lamp* in 1794 (see Image 1). In 1817, the story of Sinbad was published alongside that of Baron Munchausen, partly based on the life of a real German nobleman involved in the Russo-Turkish War of 1735-39 (*The History of Sinbad the Sailor. Also, the Celebrated Travels and Adventures, by Sea and Land, of the Renowned Baron Munchausen*). Furthermore, some printings of “Sinbad,” which were aimed at children, tended to identify Sinbad as a historical figure by relating the ‘history’ of voyages and adventures. One such example is *The History of Sinbad the Sailor*, published by Theodore Abbot in Boston in 1841.

Furthermore, the Aladdin story was frequently published either independently or as part of larger collections of tales, most of them intended for juvenile audiences. In addition, the story

was adapted into plays, including *Aladdin: A Fairy Opera in Three Acts*, *Alexander's Modern Acting Drama*, and *Aladdin, or, the Wonderful Lamp: A Drama in Three Acts*, respectively, in 1826, 1835, and 1856. Moreover, this tale seems to have been increasingly anthologized towards the end of the antebellum period. Instances from 1860 include, in addition to the previously mentioned anthology, i.e., *The Child's Own Book of Standard Fairy Tales*, *Famous Fairy Tales for Little Folks* and *The Child's own Book and Treasury of Interesting Stories*. The tale of Aladdin also appeared in print individually several times. After its first separate printing as *History of Aladdin* in Northampton, MA in 1804, the story was republished many times throughout this period.

III. American Aladdins and Sinbads in Popular Print Media

While “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” was not frequently cited in antebellum popular print, digital archival evidence indicates that Sinbad and Aladdin appeared frequently in popular media of the time, many of them featuring themes of adventure, attainment of material wealth, and economic and territorial advancements.

This is evident, for instance, from references in antebellum periodicals to the contemporary climate of economic change and boom, particularly during the California Gold Rush (1848-1855). After the discovery of gold in California, this region was portrayed as a place promoting material gain. The discovery proved an important socioeconomic factor attracting American and trans-Atlantic immigrants in pursuit of what they perceived as easily-obtained affluence. US periodicals of the time feature the topoi of the *Nights* producing persuasive discourses on the discovery of gold and other precious materials in the western deserts. One figure in the *Nights* serving this purpose was Aladdin, a character of poor background who was lucky enough to attain phenomenal wealth by travelling to unknown, remote, and abundant lands. Aladdin proved

a fitting metaphor for the fortune-seeker in the discourse of western American mining in the mid-nineteenth century and afterwards (Francaviglia 88). For instance, the *New York Times* described the gathering of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds in San Francisco as follows: “[i]t is realizing the stories of Aladdin, and the oriental tales where genies take wonderful fancies to disconsolate and poverty-struck vagabond princes, and show them a bushel or two of diamonds some morning before breakfast” (“The Way the Company Managed the Affair”).

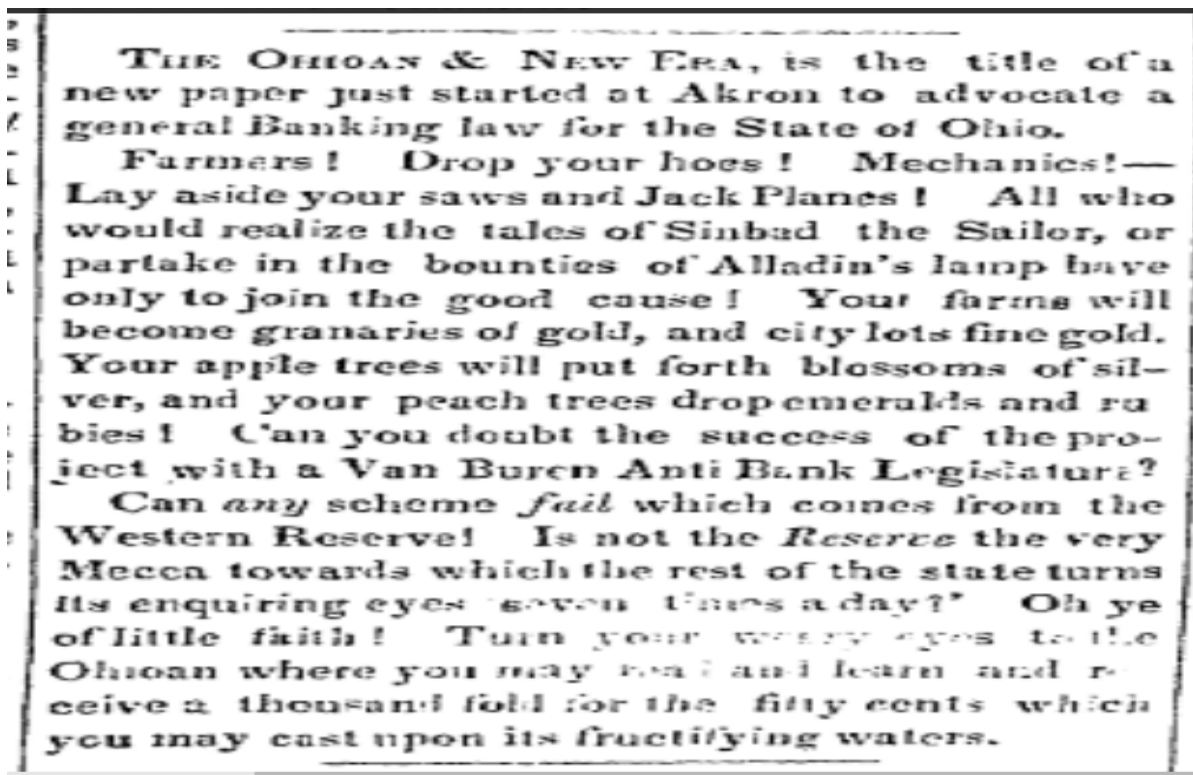


Image II. An Ohio bank advertisement in 1838 features Aladdin and Sinbad, aiming to capitalize on their associations of wealth and prosperity, and eventually compares the prospective investment with a prayer to Mecca, claiming Americans’ steadfast look toward the project and its promise in the new economic era of ‘Orientalist’ affluence (“THE OHIOAN & NEW ERA [...]”).

Nance has pointed to the story of Aladdin for its metaphorical function in nineteenth-century American capitalistic culture (15). American children’s literature, which emerged as a popular print genre in the early nineteenth century, incorporated some of the major

stories in the *Nights*, particularly that of Aladdin. Indicating the popularity of this tale in the form of children's literature as well as in theatre, in 1857 *The Daily Cleveland Herald* advertised a play based on the story of Aladdin: "What youngster has not read the fine story of Aladdin's wonderful lamp, so well told in the '*Thousand and One Nights*?'"

("What Youngster Has Not Read the Fine Story of Aladdin's Wonderful Lamp, So Well Told in the '*Thousand and One Nights*?'") n.p.). Nonetheless, fortune-seeking was not the only way the trope of Aladdin was employed in various discourses of the time. *The Daily Scioto Gazette* of Ohio features the use of Aladdin to criticize rampant acquisitive materialism ("The American Aladdin"). This essay, a printing of a lecture by George William Curtis (1824-92), American writer and public speaker, introduces Aladdin as a smart rural child with trade talents. The satirical piece states that "the American Aladdin" was predicted to be rich and successful in the event of his departure from his village, since "to Aladdin the world was but a market in which to buy cheap and sell dear" (n.p.), and compares him to "Columbus [who sailed] to find a new world, now sails Aladdin to find fortune." The article further intertwines Aladdin in a web of Greek mythological and heroic references and satirizes Aladdin's self-interest: "To him all the lands were alike, No Homer sang for him in the Aegean; he only curses the wind that will not blow him to Odessa," and eventually recounts – in what seems to be a merging of Aladdin and Sinbad – Aladdin's trans-continental trips to places in Africa, India, Europe, Asia, China, and India, where he visits signatories and gains wealth and status. On his return to the village, the American Aladdin becomes an exemplar for village youngsters with his defiance of social orders and acquisition of immense wealth: "'My son, look at him; he began with nothing, and now see.' 'my son' does see, and beholds him owning a million of dollars - of all

societies of which he is not a president [or] a director” (n.p.). Having described his luxurious lifestyle, the piece concludes with his eventual death. Aladdin, “the precocious swapper of jack knives and the model set up to the young generation” is buried while papers “regret [...] the loss of a reverend parent, generous friend, public-spirited citizen, and pious man.” The piece ends with a criticism of worldliness and materialism, as embodied by the American Aladdin as a model for youths: “and we, who are to be formed upon this model, carelessly remark, as we stir our toddies: ‘So, old Aladdin has gone at last, and, by-the-by, how much did he leave?’” (n.p.). The article was reprinted later that year in several other periodicals, including the *Daily National Intelligencer* of Washington, *Frederick Douglass’ Paper* in New York, and *The Hinds County Gazette* in Mississippi.

Moreover, while Nance has highlighted Aladdin’s story, the Sinbad story also deserves mention for its popularity and its various appearances in popular media of the time. Where “Aladdin” is an account of a person of poor background whose fortunes and schemes lead to upward socioeconomic mobility, “Sinbad” describes voyages for the purposes of adventure and trade. Many personal accounts illustrate the appeal of the Sinbad story to American readers of the time; for example, *The Operatives Magazine* features mention of *Sinbad the Sailor* along with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver’s Travels* in relation to boosting their readers’ self-esteem (“Self-Esteem: A Dialogue”). The risk-taking Sinbad, who employed ingenious ways to survive hazards as he experienced the unknown and satisfied his desire for trade and adventure, was becoming a familiar prototype for some New Englanders, not necessarily as an Oriental foreigner, but as a domestic American citizen. Sinbad was especially popular as a survivor of sea adventures. For example, in 1843, *The North American and Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia released

“Sinbad Outdone,” an account of the preservation of a boat’s crew from Dartmouth after three days adrift in the ocean following the destruction of their ship by a harpooned whale. In addition, in 1853, the *Pensacola Gazette* of North Carolina reports of the voluntary adventures – including imprisonment and escape with the assistance of a local young damsel – of one Captain Gibson, “A Modern Sinbad,” with his schooner Flirt across the Atlantic (“A Modern Sinbad” n.p.).

Beside sea ventures, Sinbad also characterized adventure and trade in US deserts. While the *Nights* contained various accounts of Eastern cultures, antebellum periodicals applied the *Nights* to American discourse on frontier settlement. For instance, in 1849, the *Arkansas State Democrat* observed that the stories of wild adventures in the Far West, “to the people of the East, seem like tales from the Arabian Nights” (“Prairie Life - A Tale of Revenge” n.p.). The article, which recounts a bloody revenge amongst frontiersmen, makes the comparison on the grounds that “there is so much originality about the manner and habits of the trapper and frontiersman, that one is struck with their peculiar language or mode of expressing themselves, as well as their singular costume. They are, in fact, as distinct and marked a class as sailors, and have as many odd and quaint sayings.” Interestingly, the *Nights* is not used here as an emblem of Oriental otherness, but rather as an analogy to the contemporary western frontier, pitting the ‘civilized’ East against the ‘undercivilized’ West both within the US.²⁹ In this rendition, frontier settlement is

²⁹ An ahistorical postcolonial reading would find that the *Nights* tends to depict the Orient as exotic, inferior, and uncivil; or, for that matter, as elegant, elaborate, and fantastic, and point to the textual attitude that objectifies Africa and Asia. However, my reading bypasses decontextualized hermeneutics by historicizing the various appearances of the *Nights* – here with the example of Sinbad – in the US domestic discourses that pertain to modernization and nation expansion.

narrativized as an Oriental setting with such attributes as peculiarity, exoticness, criminality, and above all, as the reference to sailors suggests, the desire to explore and exploit new lands in the example of Sinbad.³⁰

During the antebellum era, Sinbad was used even more directly in the development of the narratives pertaining to the annexation of land, such as the US-Mexican War (1846-48) that led to the expansion of California and Nevada (“New York Correspondence”). The *National Intelligencer* of Washington casts the war correspondence in the fictitious mold of the Sinbad story and reports the American Sinbad’s adventures in Mexico, including fighting fierce guerrilla bands and finding his way through despite unreliable locals: “Having no fear of these thirty thousand Mexicans, the brave Sinbad stopped at Pinon Pass long enough to draw a nice little map of the place, fortifications, mountains, and all - including the convenient little *private park* by which Santa Anna [(1794-1876), Mexican politician and general] is to retreat to Mexico city after his defeat” (n.p.). His adventures take him to Mexico City, Vera Cruz, and Havana, and include visits to Winfield Scott (1786-1866), a US army general. After a drift into English grammar books, the article praises the vibrant publishing industry in Philadelphia and predicts that many books will be shipped to the Mexican territories “when Mr. [James K.] Polk gets possession of the whole of Mexico,” referring to the then-US president conducting the war. On this note, the report, despite its mixture of history and fiction, confirms the thriving contemporary publishing

³⁰ Aboubakr Chraïbi has described the *Nights*, in its medieval Arabic context, as a manual for young merchants (6). Also, Robert Irwin aptly regards Sinbad as a capitalist, like Robinson Crusoe, and estimates that the element of trade in the *Nights* must have appealed to European readers (148). Based on my discussions in this chapter, these inferences can be extended to the antebellum reworkings and reception of the *Nights*.

industry in Philadelphia, where, among a plethora of other titles, 32 printings of the *Nights* and its tales were produced before the Civil War (see the Appendix).

Sinbad, as an archetypal figure from the *Nights*, becomes an even more prominent symbol in antebellum US politics, particularly in national political debates, thanks to periodicals of the time. In 1858, *The Ripley Bee* of Ohio gives a thorough account of “The Old Man of the Sea,” who would never get off Sinbad once he mounted his shoulders, on the grounds of need for assistance in the unknown island (“The Old Man of the Sea” n.p.). Sinbad, whose amiable disposition is abused, ends up tricking the Old Man into drinking wine before he can put him down. The paper further uses the story to critique the burden James Buchanan, Jr. (1791-1868), the US president at the time, had placed on the Democratic Party and the larger nation on the verge of the Civil War. In particular, the *Bee* advises that “people take the warnings, and not allow the degenerate Democracy [party] to impose on them another ‘Old Man of the Sea’” (“The Old Man of the Sea” n.p.). The imagery from the story serves as a metaphor for the troubled American nation under Buchanan’s presidency, as the divisions between North and South were furthered to the brink of war. The story of Sinbad serves to project the dwindling of a national solidarity in the volatile political circumstances of the time. Based on this and previous examples, in reading and writing about Sinbad’s voyages, Americans of the time sought to find and narrate their own communal political selves through these stories.

Furthermore, Anderson has posited that the novel, as a community-bound narrative, is the best representative of the imagined community of the nation. The novel, for Anderson, represents “the ‘national imaginations’ at work in the movement of a solitary hero through a sociological landscape of a fixity that fuses the world inside the novel with

the world outside” (*Imagined Communities* 30). Although the *Nights*, its tales, or its print-cultural adaptations do not qualify as novels, they do confirm Anderson’s conception of the operations of fiction in national settings. Although the narratives are brief, they do contain solitary heroes who are involved in the same sociopolitical landscape as their readers, and as such interfuse the world of fictionality and contemporary time-space of the antebellum culture.

However, these antebellum reimaginings of the *Nights* defy Anderson’s conception of nationalizing fiction. All of the examples Anderson cites feature heroes who come from within their national contexts. They include the Phillipine Ibarra in *Noli Me Tángere / Touch Me Not* (1887), the Mexican Pedro in *El Periquillo Sarniento / The Mangy Parrot* (1816), and the Indonesian youth in *Semarang Hitam / Black Semarang* (1924). By contrast, the *Nights* and its adaptations are rooted in cultural otherness. In other words, Anderson’s theory of the novel as analogous to the nation does not account for the category of narratives that, despite being predicated on otherness, are meant as sources of American national self-definition. As such, both Anderson’s examples and the examples of antebellum print culture of the *Nights* discussed here “immediately conjure up the imagined community” and show “progression [...] from the ‘interior’ time of the novel to the ‘exterior’ time of the [...] reader’s everyday life” (*Imagined Communities* 27); however, unlike Anderson’s native-born protagonists, antebellum print-cultural heroes of the *Nights* are foreign to the American context in which they are produced, hence their use in the antebellum cultural setting as examples of trans-culturalization and heterogenization rather than of solidness and homegenity through Americanization.

IV. The *Nights* and Socioeconomic Elitism



Image III: The Front Parlor at the Richard H. Driehaus Museum in Chicago (circa 1883). During the nineteenth century and with the expansion of trade with the East, interior decors in middle- and upper-class American houses came to feature numerous exquisite Oriental objects (such as pottery), suggesting luxury and magnificence for their owners (*The Front Parlor: Past*).

In the nineteenth-century US, consumerism rose among the bourgeois class, who aspired to emulate the European aristocracy. Anderson has rightly shown how American nationalism brought about “the liquidation of [its] conceptual opposites: dynastic empires, monarchical institutions, absolutisms, subjecthoods, inherited nobilities, serfdoms, ghettos, and so forth” (*Imagined Communities* 81). With the gradual dissolution of the hereditary aristocracy, the rising middle class strove to symbolically take their place, mainly by acquiring goods. As Peter N. Stearns has noted, “[u]pper-class consumer habits may have sparked some interest, if not in specific forms of consumerism, at least in using consumer acquisition to make one’s own mark in a hierarchical society” (30). Moreover, Americans had begun establishing trade connections

with China, India, North Africa, and the Middle East in the eighteenth century. The American consumer ethos emerged mainly during the nineteenth century, as the country expanded its international commerce, and such global/colonial products as clothing, coffee, tea, and home décor were introduced to the American market (Stearns 28-29, 33). During this period, a new appetite emerged for exotic materials such as teas, coffees, silk, or porcelain from Oriental lands. In his study of early American republican periodicals, Mark Kamrath notes, “After the American Revolution, for example, people’s appetites for material pleasures – for exotic teas and coffees, silk from India, and porcelain and furniture from China – continued to grow” (7). For instance, in her geography textbook for school children in 1855, Harriet Beecher Stowe describes Asia as the land of splendid houses, perfumes, rich dresses, golden dishes, napkins with gold fringes, coffee-drinking in gold cups, cushions embroidered with gold and diamond, and of excessive interior ornamentation (131-39). Particularly, she describes the Oriental parlor as a living room equipped with carpets and comfort cushions (136). The Oriental parlor, along with other examples of Oriental goods, was gradually adapted to US house architecture, projecting luxuriousness and magnificence, and thus suggesting higher social and economic class (see Image III).

Consumption of Orientalia and other colonial goods was carried out as a socially symbolic act to define and/or promote one’s elite identity and communal status. Oriental objects served in this context to project a high-culture, elitist selfhood, since the leisure, wealth, and material satisfaction associated with the East were similar to the prospects of the American consumer capitalist ideology. New Englanders mostly associated literary Orientalia with verbosity and prolixity, and the East with extravagance and sumptuousness (Nance 45). Also, the “Oriental style” in American literary Orientalism has been characterized as a metaphorical, elaborate, and excessive usage of language (Isani 42-44). Interestingly, this style was common in translations

and dramatizations of, and pop-cultural references to, the Orientalia of the *Nights*. *The American Whig Review* described Edward Forster's 1847 New York edition of the *Nights* (also mentioned in the Appendix) as an extraordinary and rich world in which, "as the volumes dwindle to the end, there only remains an indefinite impression of Oriental magnificence and loveliness" ("The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; or The Thousand and One Nights" 603).

THEATRE.

Last night of Mr. Cooper's engagement,

On Saturday Evening, Jan. 11. will be presented,
the tragedy of **THE ROBBERS.**

Charles de Moor	Mr. Cooper
Francis de Moor	Pritchard
Amelia	Mrs. Darley

To which will be added, the grand melo drama of
Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp.

Aladdin	Mrs. Barnes
Abenezack	Mr. Pritchard

* * * *Performance to commence at a quarter
past 6 o'clock precisely.*

On Monday evening Mr. Cooper's Benefit.

Image IV: The *National Advocate* of New York advertises a dramatic performance of *Aladdin* in 1817 ("Theatre").

Representation of the *Nights* as excessive, fantastic, and profligate is further evident in periodical articles on dramatic re-creations of tales from the *Nights*, eventually forging a pop-culture image of the East. For instance, in 1851, *The Daily Cleveland Herald* describes a

successful performance of *Aladdin* at which a full theatre enthusiastically applauded the “gorgeousness of scenery, and dress, and number of performers on the stage [which] surpass[e]d any spectacle drama ever produced here” (“Aladdin’s Lamp” n.p.). An 1857 article in the same periodical describes “the beautiful spectacle-drama” of “Aladdin’s Lamp” as even further improved in “scenery, dress &c,” outlining the play’s fantasy aspects and noting that “it is in reality one of the most brilliant plays of the kind ever put upon the stage” (“The Theatre Was Well Filled Last Night [...]” n.p.) The *Nights*’ attributes of fantasy even ran beyond theatre into public lectures and performances. *The New York Dissector* once characterized one Mr. Sunderland’s inducement of somnambulism for his impressed audience as “so very extraordinary, so very unlike any thing we ever heard of before, and so very like the tales of the fairies, or the wonders of the Arabian Nights” (“Mr. Sunderland” 50). As such, the *Nights* is trans-mediated in theatre, invoked in lectures and performances, and eventually reproduced and promoted by the periodicals of the time, shaping the pop-cultural images of the tales as elaborate and excessive fantasies.

The association of the *Nights* with fantasy and profligacy came to signify social standing and elitism in the rapidly-changing economic context of the nineteenth-century US. The cultural capital associated with the acquisition of Orientalia in general and the *Nights* in particular helped American consumers to assume a superior social status. Thus, the Oriental aesthetics and iconography found in the *Nights* became symbols of high culture and superior social standing. This is especially evident as the iconography of elaborateness and luxury is re-produced in the book as commodity. The handling of costly and illustrated copies of the *Nights* as a symbol of a luxurious lifestyle for contemporary American readers is suggested in an 1858 article on a Persian copy of the *Nights* illustrated at the order of Naser-al Din Shah (1831-96), the king of

Persia. As the account of this “costly painting” reads, “During the last seven years the most celebrated Persian painters have been engaged in the illustration of this work, which has already cost 300,000f, and will be a production unique of its kind” (“A Costly Painting” n.p.).³¹ While this notice pertains to the production of the *Nights* overseas, periodicals of the time carried notices of publications of the *Nights* in the US with suggestions of the luxury culture of the superior economic strata of the society. For instance, as early as 1828, the *Nights* was circulating in extra Morocco and calf gilt and advertised under the category of “Splendid Books” for its bindings, along with other popular works such as those of Walter Scott (“Multiple Classified Advertisements” n.p.). It appears that fine illustrated copies of the *Nights* were in circulation around the time and afterwards, suggesting high culture for their owners. In 1848, a notice of sale in the *National Intelligencer* refers to two works, one of which is Harper’s illustrated edition of the *Nights* (“Multiple Classified Advertisements”). This appears to refer to the first American publication of Lane’s translation by Harper & Brothers in New York.³² The notice appears in a list of advertisements of public auctioneering containing expensive house furniture (n.p.). As another instance, in 1859, the *New York Herald* released a list of new publications that includes D. Appleton and Co.’s illustrated *Nights* translated by Forster (“Notices of New Publications”).³³ The book is described as containing 600 engravings, and the advertisement further notes that “this favorite work has been splendidly cut, and will make a handsome present for the holidays. Dr. Forster’s translation is the only really good and elegant one existing in the English language” (4). As these examples show, the *Nights* was associated with elegance, elaborateness, and

³¹ The history of the Iranian *Nights* is further discussed in Chapter Five. Also, Images VII and VIII in Chapter Six are extracted from this manuscript.

³² See the Appendix for this edition.

³³ *WorldCat* has recorded an edition of this book published in 1860. See the Appendix under the *Nights*.

splendidness, motifs that fit the materialistic consumer culture of affluence and leisure that was in the making in the nineteenth-century US. Most likely, such copies of the *Nights* would only be sought after by the economically more privileged sectors of society. Owning these editions of the *Nights* would be seen as a marker of not only a cosmopolitan high-culture consciousness, but a relatively higher socioeconomic status. In this sense, Orientalia as depicted in the *Nights* was used, not merely to figure Oriental otherness, but, equally importantly, to conceive of the emerging modern subjectivity of consumption-based elitism. This selfhood could project its supposedly cosmopolitan aesthetic appreciation and superior socioeconomic status by, for example, using the Orientalia suggestive of the cosmology of elaborateness and luxury in the *Nights*. It is not then surprising if elaborate illustrated editions of the *Nights* found their way into Oriental parlors.³⁴ This accounts in part for the prominence of the *Nights* in the discourse surrounding the emergence of elite consumerism, itself an integral component in the American nation-building enterprise.

The consolidation of the elite class of American consumers within antebellum national subjectivity requires a nuanced approach to Anderson's concept of modern nationhood, which he describes as follows:

³⁴ One of the objects sought by American travellers to Egypt was the *Nights* itself. In 1856, *The North American Review* noted, "The old Arabian tales are learned chiefly by oral repetition, and by frequent hearing; [and] it is not easy to find in Damascus Arabic copies of the 'Thousand and One Nights'" ("Five Years in Damascus" 42). The *Nights* was pursued as an Oriental item whose value rested not only in its perceived ethnographic value, but also in its materiality as an antique Oriental icon whose possession would signify high cultural taste and status. The pursuit of the *Nights* manuscripts and editions, on the other hand, led the Egyptian government to print the tales anew (Moussa-Mahmoud 102). The renewed interest of Egyptian readers in the *Nights* after its Western popularity is discussed further in the next chapter.

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was impossible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet. (*Imagined Communities* 7, italics original)

This passage suggests Anderson's disbelief in Christianity or its various sectors as sufficient for modern nation-building. However, he seems to overstate the nation as finite and limited.

Although the American higher class was struggling to project its class consciousness within a dynamic social landscape, it should be noted that this class actively borrowed, adopted, and cultivated ideas and models of leisurely practice from across the Atlantic – Europe, the Middle East, and Asia – ultimately aiming to develop a cosmopolitan consciousness that promoted a specific social status. Equally important, antebellum American upper-class consumers sought and encouraged the material embodiments of a worldly and profligate lifestyle, which included not only colonial goods such as sugar, coffee, or rugs, but also the book culture of the *Nights* and other Oriental literary texts. Trans-cultural adoptions of models of social conduct, along with global trafficking of materials of the *Nights*, suggest the formation of the American elite, which was not distinctly American, but was more of a heterogeneous phenomenon developed from reworkings of ideas and materials of the *Nights* as representative texts of the profligate Oriental Other.

V. The *Nights* and the Discourse of Transformation

The nineteenth-century US was marked by rapid industrialization. As a result, the US, albeit still largely rural, witnessed growth of consumption as a cultural mode across urban and

rural populations. These developments occurred as railway transportation expanded into the west and the south, and advertising was more widely distributed. Periodicals, carrying reports of transformation, were particularly responsible for forging the myth of modernization in the mid-nineteenth-century US. Numerous successful industrial enterprises, increases in manufactured output, improvements in transportation, and the growth of advertisement made modernization a nation-wide phenomenon. As a consequence of this technological upsurge, commodities were produced and advertised in abundance, promoting consumer culture as part of the developing American national character. In this way and sense, industrialization played an important role in building a relatively homogeneous national community (Zboray, *A Fictive People* xvi).

However, technological revolution or consumer culture were not accepted uniformly across the nation. In fact, these changes brought tensions with them, and many middle-class Americans felt the need to come to terms with changing socioeconomic conditions mainly by reading about them. English seaman and novelist Frederick Marryat (1792-1848) had stated as early as 1839, “To write upon America *as a nation* would be absurd, for nation, properly speaking it is not; but to consider it in its present chaotic state is well worth the labour” (9, italics original). Given contemporary circumstances in the US of rapid developments in various fields, particularly industry in urban areas, the statement may well reflect the ongoing chaotic atmosphere. Responding to the chaos of modernization, Ronald J. Zboray states, “some Americans turned to novels and stories to help them address the personal challenges of rapid development and the diverse emotional experiences it brought [...]. Any illusion of order, of explanation, in a time of largely inexplicable disorder, had the potential both to sell and heal” (*A Fictive People* xvi-xvii). Printed material, transported by railway, encouraged readers to think nationally, as readers across the nation would find legitimized role models embodying particular

modes of production and consumption. In other words, literary print culture served to address the concerns of contemporary mass culture. Americans tended to read about the changing American milieu and come to terms with the national character that was developing based on industrialization and consumption. More particularly, literary print culture reflected the Americans' engagement with the East, which helped to explain the popularity of Oriental tales, and especially the *Nights*. These works did not exclusively serve as an American projection of the Orient; nor were they merely pre-modern, immaterialist, romantic gestures against the American materialism of the time. Rather, the *Nights* and its Oriental literariness were employed to reflect on and legitimize the developing conception of the American national ethos as industrializing and producing abundantly.

The *Nights* contained imagery and motifs of transformation, which served American readers as metaphors for the emergence of industrialization and technological modernization as precursors to the growing phenomenon mass consumption in the US. The Orientalism of the *Nights* tapped into the American national consumer identity to provide imagery of transformation during a time in which products were being manufactured and distributed across the expanding nation. For example, "Aladdin and His Lamp: The Palace of the Industrial Exhibition," a piece that appeared in the *North American and United States Gazette* of Philadelphia in 1850 describes the upcoming Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 in England. The paper considers the speed with which the Great Exhibition was constructed, together with its "splendid and fairy-like character," and points out that "one cannot but recall the recollection of Aladdin and his nuptials, and fancy that here we have – or are to have – that identical supernatural super-royal palace – our English contemporaries call it the Palace of Glass – which was created, in a single night, by the energy of the Slave of the Lamp" ("Aladdin and His Lamp" n.p.). The *Nights* topoi are used here to

familiarize readers with rapid industrial development on the international scene, as exemplified by the modern exhibitions in London.

A similar use of the *Nights* occurs in the domestic US setting, aimed at generating a popular discourse regarding advances in technology. One year before the Great Exhibition in London, *The Mississippian* published a sketch, “Romance and Reality,” inspired by the story of Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Pari Banu, and featuring accounts of magical transformations brought about by three princes’ discoveries of a flying carpet, a telescopic tube, and the panacea apple. While these innovations lie “far beyond the fair Hudson or the broad Susquehanna,” the piece further elaborates on these discoveries – convenient transportation in the air on the carpet, visualization of distant people and objects through the looking tube, and the healing power of the artificial apple – before it ultimately connects them to contemporary American experiences: “How strange that civilization should call out, as palpable realities of our own every-day existence, the creations which were the idle dreams of story-tellers on the banks of Bosphorous and Euphrates!” (“Romance and Reality” n.p.). As such, the Oriental transformation contained in the *Nights* is domesticated, rationalizing the sweep of modernization and technological revolutions in the contemporary American landscape.

Where the article in *The Mississippian* interlinks the transformational romance of the *Nights* with the prospect of American technological modernization, *The Æsculapian Register* of Philadelphia, as early as 1824, directly establishes a link between the two categories, justifying the possibility of transformation in aviation by referring to the *Nights* (“Ærostation”). This article features an account of “The festival of the lamp,” an annual exhibition in China commemorating the downfall of the emperor *Ki*. The exhibition was so spectacular and splendid that Emperor Kam “put himself in the hands of a magician who enabled him, *seated on a fine throne to sail*

through the air, and contemplate from the above the whole solemnities of the festival” (“Ærostation” 116; italics original). This account, which foreshadows the descriptions of the Great Exhibition, flying carpet, telescopic pipe, and remedy apple, is prefaced by references to the *Nights*: “The *Fairy Tales* and *Arabian Nights*, afford a strong presumptive proof of this in those excursions through the air, by wooden horses, Turkey carpets, &c. which they so delightfully describe to the astonished and bewildered fancy of the youthful inquirer into the account of former ages” (“Ærostation” 116). Far from claiming that the *Nights* has influenced the developing American industry of aviation or other contemporary areas of technological modernization in the US, the argument is that the *Nights* and its thematics of rapid development were useful for descriptions, narrativizations, familiarizations, and legitimizations, allowing American readers to come to terms with the ongoing changes in various industrial and technological arenas of the antebellum landscape. An example will further clarify this point. In 1860, the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* reprints an article on the discovery of fire-catching pyrophoric substance in chemistry laboratories: “We are able to accomplish many things, now-a-days, which have a parallel only in the enchantments of the genie of the ‘Arabian Nights;’ and indeed, to the unlearned eye, some laboratory experiments appear something more than marvelous” (“Pyrophorus”). Describing the substance and its development process, the essay notes, “Those who witness this singular experiment are as amazed as Aladdin when the African magician said, ‘You see what I have done by virtue of my incense’” (n.p). The *Nights* imagery is used to explain contemporary scientific developments that fed industrial advancement and eventually resulted in the abundance of commodities for mass consumption. Also, it is in this sense and application that the trope of Aladdin is used to suggest abundance in ‘scientific’ production. In 1833, the *New York Spectator* mentions the publication of a new scientific

periodical, *Aladdin's Lamp*. The announcement states the editorial wish that, in spite of the simplicity of the periodical's style, the journal, "like its magic prototype – will yield abundantly the choicest gems" ("We Have Received the First Number of a New Scientific Periodical Called Aladdin's Lamp" n.p). In this context, Aladdin and other figures and elements from the *Nights* become symbols of the advances in industrial production and implicitly encourage the collective participation in the culture of mass consumption in an increasingly urbanized society. The collective aspect of this transformation is suggested by further references to the *Nights*. In 1853, *Putnam's Monthly* described New York as an Oriental space and its residents as Aladdins: "Yet this story ["Aladdin"] which dazzled our childhood's eyes with unimaginable splendors, grows daily tamer and tamer, before the passing wonders of the days in which we live. We also are Aladdins, and for us the Genii of the lamp are working" ("New York Daguerreotyped" 121). In this statement, Aladdin is not seen as *an other*, nor *a self*, but a *collective self*. Moreover, this self is not necessarily aristocratic or high-brow; rather, it embodies modern American mass consciousness experiencing rapid developments in industrialization, urbanization, and unprecedented abundance. As the above examples suggest, antebellum American experiences of the Orient via the *Nights* featured icons of transformation and abundance, an ethos that flourished in increasingly urbanized and industrialized New England.

Moreover, the use of the *Nights* and its various imagery in shaping the discourses of material and technological advancement as major aspects of antebellum American selfhood challenge Anderson's conception of the time of the modern nation. In the wake of the decline of sacred religions and royal monarchies, Anderson maintains, a categorically transformed perception of the time occurs that is homogeneous, empty, and temporally coincidental:

However, it is a conception of such fundamental importance that, without taking it fully into account, we will find it difficult to probe the obscure genesis of nationalism. What has come to take place of the medieval conception of simultaneity-along-time is, to borrow again from Benjamin, an idea of ‘homogeneous, empty time,’ in which simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfilment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar. (*Imagined Communities* 24)

The use of the *Nights* to develop this discourse of modernization does not pose a challenge to Anderson’s notion of simultaneity in the sense of the time in which these print editions of the *Nights* and their popular media adaptations are consumed. However, examination of the antebellum print culture of the *Nights* suggests that the temporality of modern American nationhood is not exclusively clock-based, calendrical, or thoroughly detached from the past. On the other hand, more than once reference is made to the pre-modern time-frame in order to rationalize the present dynamics of modernization. In other words, the time of the modern antebellum nation is composed as much as of the pre-modern, romantic past as of the technologizing present, and it operates diachronically as much as it occurs transversally. As such, the pre-modern ‘Romance’ of the *Nights* is used to discourse on and substantiate the modern industrial ‘Reality.’ In this sense and application, antebellum time is not a cohesive, homogeneous, or empty entity; it consists of modern as well as pre-modern temporalities, hence the operation of the modern nation in heterogeneous time.

As suggested above, the emergence of discourses of transformation and modernization on a national basis was interconnected with the numerous contemporary interpretations and reworkings of the *Nights* that used the text to rationalize the dynamism of the time. The *Nights* served Americans to visualize and internalize – as part of the developing national ethos – the

new modes of production and distribution, and to participate more actively in the market-driven culture of consumption that came about in the wake of these changes. This participation coincided with an increase in mass manufacturing, and the circulation and promotion of the *Nights* served to endorse the nation-wide myth of technological modernization.

VI. Antebellum Popularity of the *Nights*, Conclusions, and Future Directions

The utility of the *Nights* and its Orientalism explain, to a degree, its status in American print culture of the time. One typical example of the print distribution of the *Nights* can be seen in a document of book sales between 1794 and 1796 in Dumfries, Virginia, one of the eight main post towns in this period. This document indicates that the *Nights* topped the list of “English fiction” bestsellers, with a total sale of thirty volumes, after only a few other books, including the Bible, with a total number of 47 (Napier 443-44). Moreover, the reading public sought “the tried and true with a generous response to Shakespeare, *The Arabian Nights*, and Fielding” (Napier 445). Also, in the early nineteenth century, a formative time for ‘American’ fiction, the *Nights* was popular particularly due to its many elements that could be borrowed, imitated, adapted, and recast within the growing corpus of American fiction. As one early nineteenth-century American review suggests, “it is well known that many of our modern novelists have culled their ideas from the *Arabian Nights*” (“The Tales of the Genii” 396). The continued popularity of the *Nights* in American fiction of the time is such that “many American stories, of the first quarter-century in particular, evidence the impact of this work” (Isani 86-87);³⁵ and numerous publications of the *Nights* and its tales appeared in the antebellum period.³⁶

³⁵ Isnai lists some of these works in his Appendix A (285-303).

³⁶ See the Appendix.

Regarding the popularity of the *Nights*, Nance has said that “between 1790 and the 1890s, Anglo-Americans cherished the *Arabian Nights* deeply, seeing it as a literary classic that coexisted with the Bible in helping people interpret West Asia” (21). As the print numbers of the *Nights* and the Bible in the antebellum period are disparate – 60 versus thousands, respectively, – *coexistence* can be too amicable a description of antebellum popular culture, which was often a non-monolithic and multifarious site of ideological struggles. For example, at the time, the Bible was regarded as encouraging Protestant Americans to work hard and abstain from pleasure, while the *Nights*, which featured portrayals of worldly resources, was associated with consumption, and hedonism. For example, the *New York Herald* cites the *Nights* to describe the opening of Niblo’s Garden, the theatre in Broadway that was expanding rapidly during New York’s construction boom, and which became one of New York’s most fashionable theatres around the mid-nineteenth century (“Niblo’s Garden”). The article specifically uses the topoi of the *Nights* to evoke thematics of hedonism: “One couldn’t for the life of him help thinking of some of those magnificent visions which have delighted thousands in the stories of the ‘Arabian Nights. The soft, subdued brilliance of the lamp – the cool refreshing breeze – the fragrance of the air – the groups of happy fair ones – the ice creams – everything ought to have been what it ought to have been’” (n.p.). Similarly, in 1860, George P. Fox evokes the imagery of the Aladdin story to describe the booming business in Broadway in New York in his endorsement of modern contemporary fashion: “Every visitor in our city looks with admiration on the great business establishments which are daily springing up in in Broadway, under a more potent influence than the charmed lamp of Aladdin” (40). These emerging establishments included not only palaces but also “warehouses for the sale of rich and costly goods on a large scale [... as well as] the bountiful arrangements which are made for the supply of the daily wants of life” (40). The re-

creation of the Orient, as the literary print Orientalism of the *Nights* suggests, was not so much a figuring of the East as exotic, depraved, romantic, or either superior or inferior to the West, but pertained most importantly to hedonism in the consumption of fashion among other modern commodities.

Moreover, as Nance points out, “for citizens who had just fought a war for economic and political independence, the *Nights* provided colorful metaphors of the potential contentment and plenty they might enjoy as consumers in a nation that, by 1840, was becoming a global powerhouse rivaled only by Britain” (20). Though Nance alludes to the Oriental influence on, and its provision for, American literary culture of the time, it should be noted that print culture, informed by the specific political and economic conditions in which it was produced, employed, adopted, edited, and recast the *Nights* and its major tales in order to address these ongoing socioeconomic transformations, using the tales’ imagery and motifs of transformation and abundance to do so.

As such, antebellum Orientalism did not exclusively present the East as either demonic otherness or a romantic alternative to the industrializing US. Instead, the *Nights* and its literary Orientalism served the formation of discourses of transformation, modernization, and hedonism in consumption as major components in the developing American national identity. The changing socioeconomic circumstances due to industrialization and international trade coincided with the definition of the American national character as risk-taking, capitalist, and consumerist. These new circumstances challenged the Puritan ethos that valued accumulation of wealth and avoidance of expenditure as paths to redemption. During this time, consumption was on the rise; first, as an indicator of the superior socioeconomic status of the developing American elite, and second, as a mass phenomenon in the wake of the new modes of manufacturing and distribution

that were sweeping the new nation in the course of technological modernization. The uses and prominence of this body of texts and its various reproductions to address the changes in the socioeconomic order were in part due to the archetypes – such as Aladdin and Sinbad – that were seen as embodiments of the American visions of expansionism, material affluence, and self-promotion. Furthermore, the stories of the *Nights*, with their leitmotifs of transformation and material abundance, were profusely recast and reused in the antebellum period in order to address this vision and the socioeconomic order that influenced it. For instance, an Opinion and Editorial in the *National Intelligencer* in 1839 describes the transformation and urban growth in New Hampshire as follows:

The Arabian Nights are outdone. [...] Uncle Sinbad, the Sailor, must now strike his colors to Uncle Sam, the Alchemist [sic], who, though he is not yet transported to the Valley of Diamonds, has got a set of *crotchets kinder hooked* about his neck, which are altogether unparalleled by those of the Old Man of the Sea. The famous Roc is blown up by steam, *alias* has burst its boiler. Fortunes, far surpassing the feasts, furniture, and palaces of Aladdin are conjured up and conjured down by the *hard rubs* on thee cranium, as fast and as frequent as by the rubs on the wonderful lamp. Even here, on one of the most steril [sic] spots in the country, I feel the influence of a magic more powerful than that of all the genie of the Oriental fable. (“To the Editors” n.p.; italics original)

The essay describes the sudden growth in Manchester, New Hampshire, in the wake of the advancements in management of the river’s water, development of “large, handsome, and convenient” dwellings, establishment of factories and financial institutions, and the expansion of railroads (n.p.), as well as the sudden upsurge of factories and lodges of various sorts, as the

sudden birth of a nation. It uses the thematics of the literary Orientalism of the *Nights* to present this modernization as part of the rising American national ethos.

The *Nights* has been conventionally considered for its pseudo-ethnographic insights into the Orient. However, the assimilation of the *Nights* in antebellum American national enculturation is complicated, and pertains to territorial expansion, consumer culture, and modernization. These uses blur the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction, between Orientalia and Americanness, and eventually provide an imaginative framework for the heterogeneous discursive order and material conditions in the historic moment of the formation of American nationhood. Regarding American nation formation, Anderson states that “genealogies were being conceived which could only be accommodated by homogenous, empty time” (*Imagined Communities* 70). Nonetheless, while he theorizes US nationalism as grounded in a Protestant English-speaking cohesion delivered through a synchronized network of periodicals, my examination shows the multifarious re-workings of the Orientalia of the *Nights* in these periodicals; US antebellum nation-building, featuring territorial settlement and expansion, technological modernization, and elite and mass consumerism, were narrativized and internalized using various components and thematics of the *Nights*, hence the heterogeneous modality, rather than a cohesive unity, characterizing the antebellum American nationalization. Moreover, Anderson briefly states that James Fennimore Cooper’s *The Pathfinder* (1840), Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* (1851), and Mark Twain’s antebellum novel *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), as extensively popular reading materials of their times, presented the Americanization of racial otherness by pushing memories of fratricide into oblivion and thus prompted imaginings of fraternity leading into an emerging national consciousness in the nineteenth-century US (*Imagined Communities* 202-3). However, my study of antebellum print culture indicates that

American nation formation was consistently comprised of diversity and heterogeneity, beyond the racial otherness in the US, extending to the literary Orientalism across the Atlantic and beyond and its various (non-)literary adoptions and adaptations in domestic discourses pertaining to American-ness.

Although this chapter touches upon several uses of the *Nights* in antebellum print culture, much is left to be studied about the production, transmission, circulation, and reception of the *Nights* and other instances of literary Orientalism in antebellum culture, within and beyond print, particularly in relation to the development of theatre, children's literature, and the construction of gender roles. Additionally, during the nineteenth century and afterwards nationhood as a modern phenomenon has appeared beyond Anglo-American and Western European contexts. For instance, *Al-Nahda*, or a renaissance, in Egypt emerged as a set of sociopolitical and cultural changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and involved the establishment of a modern nation-state. In the same era, Egypt witnessed the growth of the press and the formation of a public reading community. These developments coincided with a renewed interest in the printed *Nights*. The following chapter argues that the simultaneous occurrence of these phenomena is not coincidental, and that the Egyptian print history of the *Nights* was adapted to the interests of *al-Nahda*. The *Nights* was used in the context of *Al-Nahda* to form a female reading and writing identity, and cultural citizenship was a major component in the emerging national consciousness. As such, with the print culture of the *Nights* as a paradigm case, I will endeavor to further demonstrate the porous, fluid, and heterogeneous character of modern nationhood.

VII. Appendix

The Appendix presents in separate listings the bibliographic information of “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves,” “Sinbad,” “Aladdin,” and the *Nights* in the order of their publication between 1794 until the Civil War in US. These entries are extracted from the *OCLC WorldCat*, and the database’s recording format has been mostly kept in presenting them. Chauvin’s bibliography has also been consulted as a supplement to this list.

“Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves”

The forty thieves: a grand romantic drama, in two acts. By Michael Kelly, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and George Colman. New York: David Longworth, 1808.

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves. Juvenile audience. Otsego, NY: H. & E. Phinney, Jun. and sold by them wholesale and retail, 1809.

The forty thieves: a grand operatical romance, in two acts. By Michael Kelly, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and George Colman. New York: David Longworth, 1809.

The forty thieves: a grand operatical romance, and brilliant spectacle, in two acts. By Michael Kelly, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and George Colman; Boston: J. Larkin & J. Greenleaf, 1810.

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves. By Henry Phinney; Elihu Phinney. Juvenile audience. Otsego, NY: Printed by H. & E. Phinney, Jun. and sold by them wholesale and retail, 1811.

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves: an eastern tale. Embellished with engravings. Juvenile audience. Boston: Watson & Bangs, 1813.

The story of Ali Baba, and the forty thieves: An Eastern tale; Embellished with engravings. By Nathaniel Dearborn. Juvenile audience. Boston: Thomas Wells, no. 3, Hanover-Street, 1813.

The entertaining & interesting story of Alibaba the wood cutter with the death of the forty thieves, and the overthrow of their protector Orcobrand, the evil genius of the forest. By William Charles and William M'Culloch. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published and sold wholesale by Wm. Charles, and may be had of all the booksellers. Price, 18 3-4 cents. 1813. W. M'Culloch, printer. [1813].

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves. Juvenile audience. Boston: Thomas G. Bangs, 1814.

The story of Ali Baba, and the forty thieves: An Eastern tale: Embellished with engravings. Juvenile audience. Boston: Published by Charles Callender, no. 11, Marlboro' Street, 1814.

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves. By Albert D. Pier and Chauncey Morgan. Juvenile audience. Oxford, NY: Printed and sold by C. Morgan and A.D. Pier., 1815.

The story of the Ali Baba, and the forty thieves: Embellished with engravings. By Nathaniel Dearborn. Juvenile audience. Boston: Published by Thomas Wells, Hanover-Street., 1816.

The entertaining & interesting story, of Alibaba the wood cutter with the death of the forty thieves, and the overthrow of their protector Orcobrand, the evil genius of the forest. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published and sold wholesale by Wm. Charles, no. 32, South Third Street, and may be had of all the booksellers. Price 18 3-4 cents, 1817.

Ali Baba, or, The forty thieves: a tale for the nursery. New York: L. & F. Lockwood, 1818.

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves. By Francis Joseph Hogan and John Babcock.

Juvenile audience. New Haven: Sidney's Press, printed for John Babcock and Son, 1820.

The story of Ali Baba, and the forty thieves. By David Watson. Juvenile audience. Woodstock,

VT: Printed by David Watson, 1823.

Juvenile library: containing the adventures of Valentine and Orson. Ali Baba, or The forty

thieves. Bruce's travels in Abyssinia, and Mother Bunch's fairy tales. By Solomon King and

James Bruce. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by S. King, 136 William-Street.,

1825.

The story of Ali Baba, or, The forty thieves. By William Applegate and William Whale, and S. S.

Ketcham. Juvenile audience. New York: W. Whale, 55 1-2 Bowery, W. Applegate, 225

Spring-Street, and S.S. Ketcham, 384 Pearl-Street, 1828.

The forty thieves [sic], or, Ali Baba and Morgiana. By Willard Johnson. Juvenile audience.

Philadelphia: Published by Willard Johnson, and sold at no. 28 Mead Alley, 1829.

Fairy tales: Blue Beard. Cinderella. Forty thieves. Tom Thumb. Yellow dwarf. Sleeping Beauty.

Jack, giant killer. Red Riding Hood. Jack, and bean stalk. By Robert H Elton; Charles

Perrault. Juvenile audience. New York: Elton, 104 Nassau St, [between 1838 and 1841?].

The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves: from the Arabian Nights' entertainments. By H. & E.

Phinney (Firm). Juvenile audience. Cooperstown, NY: H. & E. Phinney, 1842.

The forty thieves; or, The banditti of the forest: Embellished with nine engravings. By James Fisher and Turner & Fisher. Juvenile audience. New York; Philadelphia: Published by Turner & Fisher, [between 1843 and 1848?].

The Forty thieves. By McLoughlin Bros., inc. Juvenile audience. New York: McLoughlin Bros., 24 Beekman St., 1856.

“Sinbad”

The seven voyages of Sinbad the sailor: And The story of Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by H. and P. Rice, no. 50 High-Street., 1794.

The History of Sinbad the Sailor: containing, an account of his several surprising voyages, and miraculous escapes. By Alexander Anderson. Juvenile audience. Publisher: New York: Printed for John Tiebout by Lewis Nichols, 1804.

The Life and adventures of Sinbad the sailor. By Hosea Sprague. Juvenile audience. Boston: Printed and sold by Hosea Sprague, no. 88 Newbury-Street, 1806.

The life & adventures of Sinbad the sailor: with plates. By Thomas T. Stiles, and G. Love. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published by T.T. Stiles. No. 12, Walnut St., 1808.

The history of Sinbad the Sailor: containing an account of his several surprizing voyages and miraculous escapes. Newburyport, MA: Printed and sold by W. and J. Gilman, 1809.

The story of Quashi; or, the Desperate negro. To which is added, The story of Sinbad the sailor and The elephants. Together with the story of Mendaculus. Newburyport ed. Publisher: Newburyport, MA: W. & J. Gilman, 1814 [?].

The history of Sinbad the Sailor. Also, the celebrated travels and adventures, by sea and land, of the renowned Baron Munchausen. Chillicothe, OH: [publisher not identified], 1817.

The seven voyages of Sinbad the sailor: faithfully related by himself. By David Watson. Woodstock, VT: Printed by David Watson, 1826.

The history of Sinbad the sailor; containing an account of his surprising voyages and miraculous escapes. [Also, the Story of the fisherman]. Boston, 1828.

The history of Sinbad the sailor: containing an account of his several surprising voyages and miraculous escapes. By Freeman Scott. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published by Freeman Scott, 1829.

The voyages and travels of Sinbad the sailor, giving an account of his seven wonderful voyages, and his astonishing [sic] escapes from shipwreck, famine, &c. New York: Published by Turner & Fisher [183-].

The Story of Sinbad the sailor: from the Arabian nights' entertainments. Juvenile audience. Cincinnati: Published by U.P. James, 1833.

The voyages and travels of Sinbad the sailor: giving an account of his seven wonderful voyages, and his astonishing [sic] escapes from shipwreck, famine, &c. Embellished with nine engravings. Juvenile audience. New York and Philadelphia: Published by Turner & Fisher., [between 1835 and 1849?].

The history of Sinbad the sailor: containing an account of his surprising voyages and miraculous escapes; also, the story of the fisherman. Juvenile audience. Boston: Theodore Abbot, 1841.

The seven voyages of Sindbad the sailor: and The story of Ali Baba, and the forty robbers: From The Arabian knights' entertainments. By Joseph H Francis, Louis-Pierre-René Demoraine,

and Bernard; Claude-Nicolas-Eugène Guillaumot. C.S. Francis & Co. Juvenile audience. Illustrated. New York: C.S. Francis & Co. 252 Broadway; Boston: J.H. Francis, 128 Washington-Street., 1848.

Sinbad the sailor. By Richard Marsh. Juvenile audience. New York: Richard Marsh, no. 374 Pearl-Street, [between 1850 and 1856?].

Aunt Mavor's picture story book: comprising: Old Mother Hubbard, House that Jack built, Punch and Judy, History of our pets, Jack and the bean stalk, Little Totty, Little dog Trusty, Cherry orchard, John Gilpin, Sinbad the sailor, Whittington and his cat, History of Blue Beard; with ninety-six large coloured illustrations. By G. Routledge & Co.. Juvenile audience. London; New York: G. Routledge & Co., 1857.

“Aladdin”

History of Alladin: containing a true and wonderful account of an enchanted lamp; found in a subterraneous cave, in China. Juvenile audience. Northampton, MA: [publisher not identified], 1804.

The history of Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp. Philadelphia: Published and sold by Thomas Desilver, 1813.

Aladdin, or The wonderful lamp. By Solomon King. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by Solomon King., [between 1822 and 1832?].

The story of Aladdin, and the wonderful lamp. By David Watson. Juvenile audience. Woodstock, VT: Printed by David Watson., 1823.

Aladdin: a fairy opera in three acts. By George Soane, and Henry R. Bishop. [Theatrical script]. New York: Published by Murden, 1826.

The story of Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp: from the Arabian nights' entertainments. By James Conner, and H. & E. Phinney (Firm). Juvenile audience. Cooperstown, NY: Stereotyped by James Conner, NY, H. & E. Phinney, publishers, 1833.

Alexander's modern acting drama: consisting of the most popular plays, produced at the Philadelphia theatres, and elsewhere. By Victor Hugo, Charles Farley, Alfred Bunn, John O'Keeffe, and James Kenney. [Theatrical script]. Philadelphia: Published by Carey & Hart, 1835.

The popular fairy tale of Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp: Embellished with nine engravings. By Turner & Fisher. Juvenile audience. New York and Philadelphia: Published by Turner & Fisher, [between 1836 and 1849?].

Popular fairy tales, or A lilluputian library: [Vignette caption: The discreet princess]. [Containing Fairy tales, Aladdin, Jack and the beanstalk, Puss in Boots, Tom Thumb, Prince Fatal and Prince Fortune, Three wishes, and Nourjahad]. Vol. I. By Frances Chamberlaine Sheridan, Fielding Lucas, John D Toy, Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon. Juvenile audience. Baltimore: published by Fielding Lucas Jr. No. 138 Market Street, [not after 1844?].

Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp. A gift for all seasons. With fifteen exquisite illustrations on wood engraved by Brightly, Gilbert, Gihon, Waitt, and Downes, from original designs by Darley. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: G.B. Zieber, 1846.

The history of Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp. By Edward Dunigan. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by Edwd. Dunigan, 151 Fulton-Street, [between 1848 and 1857].

Aladdin. By G. Routledge & Co. Juvenile audience. London; New York: George Routledge & Co., [approximately 1850].

Aladdin and the wonderful lamp: illuminated with ten pictures. By William H Thwaites, Henry W. Hewet, Nathaniel Orr, Phineas F. Annin. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by H.W. Hewet, engraver and printer, No. 12 Dutch Street, 1855.

Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp: a drama in three acts, as produced at Barnum's Museum, New York, March 17th, 1856: with a description of the costume, cast of characters, entrances and exits, relative positions, and the whole of the stage business. [Theatrical script]. New York: Published by O.A. Roorbach, 1856.

Aladin and his wonderfull lamp. By John McLoughlin, Marian S. Carson Collection (Library of Congress). Juvenile audience. New York: Published by John McLoughlin. 1856.

Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp. By Frederick R Gardner. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published by Willis P. Hazard, 190 Chestnut Street, 1857.

Aunt Mavor's nursery tales for good little people: comprising Tom Thumb, Cinderella, the three bears, Beauty and the beast, Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp, Children in the wood, Jack the giant killer, the dogs dinner party, Puss in Boots, Hop o' my Thumb, Butterfly's ball, grasshopper's feast, Little Red Riding Hood. By Mavor, Aunt, and Alfred Crowquill. Juvenile audience. London: New York: G. Routledge & Co., 1858.

The child's own book of standard fairy tales: containing Aladdin, Cinderella, Beauty and the beast, Jack the giant killer, Red Riding Hood, Tom Thumb, Puss in boots, and numerous other favorites of the nursery: with many illustrations. By Anna Roosevelt Cowles. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: Published by J.W. Bradley, 48 N. Fourth Street, 1860.

Famous fairy tales for little folks. [Including Aladdin, or The wonderful lamp, Hop-o'-my-Thumb, Blanch and Rosalinda, Dummling and the toad, Fortunio, Puss in boots, The fox's brush, The three wishes, Goody two-shoes]. By James Miller, John Feely, William H.

Thwaites, Jacob A. Dallas, Robert S. Bross, Nathaniel Orr, Henry W. Hewet, and Loomis & Annin. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by James Miller, 1860.

The Child's own book and treasury of interesting stories. Juvenile audience. New York: C.S. Francis & Company; Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Company, 1860.

The Nights

The Arabian nights entertainments: Consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from a cruel vow he had made, to marry a lady every day, and have her put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultanness. Philadelphia: Printed for H. & P. Rice, no. 50, High-Street; and J. Rice et Co. Market-Street, Baltimore, 1794. <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/26572>

Arabian nights entertainments: being a collection of 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 head cut off next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of the first Sultanness.: Containing a better account of the customs, manners, and religion of the Eastern nations, viz. Tartars, Persians, and Indians, than hitherto published. By Antoine Galland. Norwich, Connecticut: Re-printed by Thomas Hubbard., M, DCC, XCVI, 1796. <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/29993>

The Oriental moralist, or The beauties of The Arabian nights entertainments: Translated from the original, and accompanied with suitable reflections adapted to each story. By the Reverend Mr. Cooper. Dover, New Hampshire: Printed by Samuel Bragg, Jr. for Wm. T. Clap, Boston, 1797.

<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=edmo69826&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327183431&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>

The Arabian nights entertainments: Consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from a cruel vow he had made, to marry a lady every day, and have her put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultanness: Containing, a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the Eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, and Indians, &c.: Vol. I [-II]. Printed at Exeter, New Hampshire by Henry Ranlet, for Thomas and Andrews, Faust's Statue, no. 45, Newbury-Street, Boston, 1797. <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/31741>

Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of a collection of 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. Containing a better account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, viz. Tartars, Persians and Indians, than hitherto published. Translated into French from the Arabian mss. By Mr. Galland, of the Royal Academy; and now into English from the Paris edition. By Antoine Galland. Wilmington, Delaware: Published by Peter Brynberg, 1797.

Arabian nights entertainments, consisting of a collection of stories, told by the sultanness of the Indies [...]. Wilmington, Delaware: Printed and sold by Bonsal & Niles.--also sold at their book-store, Baltimore, 1800.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. New York: Published by T.Y. Crowell [1800?].

The Arabian nights entertainments: abridged, from a collection of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from a cruel vow he had made, to marry a lady every day, and have her put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultanness: containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, and Indians. Providence [sic], Rhode Island: Printed by David Heaton, 1807.

The History of Ali Cogia: the moral contained in this interesting story ought to be impressed on the mind of every magistrate. To which is added The story of Cogia Hassan Alhabbal by Richard Saunders. Juvenile audience. Salem, NY: Printed by Dodd and Rumsey; Albany: For Websters & Skinner, 1808.

The Arabian nights entertainments: Abridged from a collection of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from a cruel vow he had made, to marry a lady every day and have her put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of the first Sultanness: Containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, and Indians. [United States]: Printed for the bookseller, 1811.

The Arabian nights: in four volumes. By Edward Forster, and Antoine Galland. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by J. & A.Y. Humphreys, 1812.

The Arabian nights entertainments: Consisting of a collection of 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. : Containing a better account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nattions, viz. Tartars, Persians, and Indians, than hitherto published. By Antoine Galland. Juvenile audience. New York: Published by Evert Duyckinck, no. 102 Pearl-Street. Nicholas Van Riper, Print, 1815.

The Arabian nights entertainments: a new translation. By Edward Forster, and Antoine Galland. New York: David Huntington, 1815.

The 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 put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultanness: containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, &c. In two volumes. Vol. I [-III]. Juvenile audience. Hartford, Connecticut: Bowles and Francis printers, 1822.

Story of the third old man: which has hitherto been missing from the first volume of the Arabian nights entertainments, but which has been wonderfully discovered and marvelously done into English. By al Hafiz Bolgolam, Huntington & Hopkins, Goodsell & Wells. Hartford, Huntington & Hopkins, 1822.

The Arabian nights entertainments: carefully revised and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added, a selection of new tales, now first translated from the Arabic originals. Also, an introduction and notes, illustrative of the religion, manners and customs, of the Mahummedans. By Jonathan Scott. Philadelphia: Pomeroy, 1826.

The Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies [...] containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, &c. Exeter, New Hampshire: Published by J. & B. Williams, 1827.

New Arabian nights' entertainments. By George Lamb, and Joseph von Hammer. Philadelphia: R.W. Pomeroy, 1827.

The Arabian nights' entertainments: consisting of a collection of stories told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from the execution of a bloody vow which he had made to marry and kill a lady every day, to avenge the inconstancy of his Sultana. Translated from French. New York: G.G. Sickels, publisher, 1829.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. New edition with engravings. Stereotyped by J. Conner. New York, 1831 (Chauvin 4: 80).

The Arabian nights' entertainments. Philadelphia: L. Johnson, 1832.

<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/9316071.html>

Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of a collection of stories [told by the Sultanness of the Indies [...] ; translated into French from the Arabian MSS. by Mr. Galland ... and now into English from the Paris edition]. Boston: C. Gaylord, 1832.

A selection of stories from the Arabian nights' entertainments. [Containing The story of Aladdin, or, The wonderful lamp, The story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves, The story of Ali Cogia:

a merchant of Bagdad, The story of envy punished, or, The three sisters, and The story of Sindbad the sailor]. Juvenile audience. Cooperstown, NY: H. & E. Phinney, 1833.

The Arabian nights' entertainments, consisting of a collection of stories, told by the Sutaness of the Indies. By Antoine Galland. Ithaca, NY: Mack, Andrus & Woodruff, 1837.

The Arabian nights entertainments, consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultaness of the Indies [...] Containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations [...] Translated from the Arabian mss. 9th American from the 18th English ed. Exeter, New Hampshire: J. & B. Williams, 1837.

A selection of stories from the Arabian nights' entertainments; embracing Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp, Ali Baba and the forty thieves, Ali Cogia, a merchant of Bagdad, Envy punished; or, The three sisters, and Sinbad the sailor. Cooperstown, NY: Published by H & E. Phinney, 1838.

A selection of stories from the Arabian night' entertainments: embracing Aladdin; or The wonderful lamp, --Ali Baba and the forty thieves, --Ali Cogia, a merchant of Bagdad, --Envy punished; or, The three sisters, --and Sindbad the sailor. By James Conner, and H. & E. Phinney. Stereotyped by James Conner (in New York); Cooperstown, NY: Published by H. & E. Phinney, 1840.

The Arabian nights' entertainments: embellished with nearly one hundred engravings: complete in one volume. [Stereotyped] by James Conner. Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle, 1842.

Tales from the Arabian nights' entertainments: as related by a mother for the amusement of her children [with forty engravings by Butler, from designs by J. Gilbert]. New York: Henry G. Langley, 1844.

The thousand and one nights, or The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Edward William Lane, and William Harvey [illustrated with 600 hundred woodcuts]. New York, Harper & Bros., 1847.

The Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies to divert the Sultan [...]: containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations [...]. Jesper Harding. Philadelphia: J. Harding, 1847.

The thousand and one nights: or, The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Edward Forster. New York: C.S. Francis, 1847.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Halifax, 1847 (Chauvin 4: 80).

The thousand and one nights; or, The Arabian night's entertainments. By Edward William Lane [translated and arranged for family reading, with explanatory notes, by E. W. Lane, esq. From the 2nd London ed. Illustrated with six hundred woodcuts by Harvey, and illuminated titles by Owen Jones]. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1848.

The Arabian nights. By Walter Paget [edited with an introduction by W.H.D. Rouse, Litt. D., M.A., etc.; illustrated by Walter Paget]. London: E. Nister; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1849.

The Arabian nights entertainments, : consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the sultaness 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 put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first sultaness. : Containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, &c. ; In two volumes. By Jesper Harding. Juvenile audience. Philadelphia: J. Harding, 1849.

<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3ZVys9>

The Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultaness of the Indies ... containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the Eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, etc. Embellished with about seventy engravings. Philadelphia: W.A. Leary, 1850.

The Arabian nights entertainments: Six colored engravings on steel. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., [approximately 1850?].

The Arabian nights' entertainments: a collection of stories, told by the Sultaness of the Indies [...]. Ithaca, NY: Published by Andrus, Gauntlett, & Co., 1850.

The Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultaness 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 put to death next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultaness, containing a familiar account of the customs, manners, and religion of the Eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, etc. Embellished with about seventy engravings. 2 vols. Philadelphia: W.A. Leary & Co., 1851.

The thousand and one nights or, the Arabian nights entertainments. A new ed., adapted to family reading. Boston, Lee [1852].

The thousand and one nights, or The Arabain nights' entertainments: Embellished with numerous characteristic engravings, illustrated from designs by D.C. Johnston. By James O'Kane, and Francis Bacon Library. New York: James O'Kane, Bookseller and Stationer, Photograph Album Manufacturer, 126 Nassau Street, [1852].

Stories from the Arabian nights' entertainments. Buffalo: Phinney & Co., 1852.

The thousand and one nights; or, The Arabian nights' entertainments. Vol. I[-III]. By Edward Forster. George Moir Bussey. Edward William Lane, Joseph H. Francis, Louis-Pierre-René Demoraine, Benjamin F. Childs, Gowland, Bernard, Nivet, Claude-Nicolas-Eugène Guillaumot, Victor-Joseph Chevin, Budzilowicz, C.S. Francis & Co., and Munroe & Francis. Juvenile audience. New York: C.S. Francis & Co., 252 Broadway; Boston: J.H. Francis, 128 Washington-Street, 1852.

The Arabian nights' entertainments; or, The thousand and one nights. Philadelphia: J. & J.L. Gihon, 1852.

Tales from the Arabian nights' entertainment, as related by a mother for the amusement of her children. [With forty engravings by Butler, from designs by J. Gilbert]. Publisher: Philadelphia: Hart, 1852.

The Arabian nights entertainments: Consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultanness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan [...]: Containing a familiar account of the

customs, manners and religion of the eastern nations, the Tartars, Persians, Indians, etc.: Embellished with about seventy engravings. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Published by Leary & Getz, no. 138 North Second Street, [1853?].

The Arabian nights' entertainments. [Translated by Edward William Lane, with six hundred woodcuts by William Harvey]. Boston: Published by Little, Brown, 1853.

Far-famed tales from the Arabian nights' entertainments: containing the most popular stories and those best adapted to family reading: the whole of each story being given from the original without abridgement [“Carefully revised and corrected, with some additions, amendments and illustrative notes from Lane's edition”]. New York: C.S. Francis and Co.; Boston: Crosby, Nichols and Co., 1854.

The Arabian nights' entertainments. By George Moir Bussey, and Edward Forster. Philadelphia: W.P. Hazard, 1856. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/4422251.html>

The thousand and one nights, or, The Arabian nights' entertainments. 2 vols. [Translated and arranged for family reading, with explanatory notes, by E.W. Lane; illustrated with six hundred woodcuts by Harvey and illuminated titles by Owen Jones By Edward William Lane]. New York: Harper, 1856.

The thousand and one nights; or, The Arabian nights' entertainments. By Anderson, Gates, and Wright. Cincinnati: Anderson, Gates & Wright [1857].

Select tales from the Arabian nights' entertainments. By Edward Forster. New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1857.

The Arabian nights' entertainments: embellished with nearly one hundred engravings: a new edition, carefully revised and corrected. Philadelphia: Published by Parry & McMillan, 1858.

Stories from the Arabian nights' entertainments: embracing Aladdin, or, the wonderful lamp, Ali Baba and the forty thieves, Ali Cogia, a merchant of Bagdad, Envy punished, or, the three sisters, and Sinbad the sailor. Juvenile audience. Buffalo, NY: Published by Phinney & Company, 1858. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3ZWBW8>

Stories from the Arabian nights' entertainments: embracing Aladdin; or, The wonderful lamp: Ali Baba and the forty thieves: Ali Cogia, a merchant of Bagdad: Envy punished; or, The three sisters: and Sindbad the sailor: with 24 engravings. Juvenile audience. Buffalo, NY: Published by Phinney & Co., 1859. <https://archive.org/details/storiesfromarabi00buffiala>

The Arabian nights' entertainments. ["Translated by the Rev. Edward Forster. Carefully rev. and corr.; embellished with six hundred engravings."]. New York: Published by D. Appleton, 1860.

The thousand and one nights, or, The Arabian nights' entertainments. Embellished with eight characteristic engravings. New York: Published by H. Dayton, 1860.

Chapter IV

Re-Publications and Re-formations of the *Nights* in Egypt and Gendered Heterogeneous Nationhood

“While presses and publishing houses in Europe are trying hard to issue millions of copies of Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital*, Einstein’s theories and *The Origin of the Species*, our presses are busy with new prints of the *Aghani* and *The Thousand and One Nights*” [Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid in *al-Iraq Daily*, 1923, qtd. in Musawī, *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel* 84]

I. Aims and Scope

Previous chapters have examined the print cultures of the *Nights* and its major tales, and demonstrated how these tales were used in nation-building trends in nineteenth-century England and the antebellum US. The *Nights*, a major piece of literary Orientalism, was promoted and employed as literary matter across social classes as part of the development of the nineteenth-century English bourgeoisie and British official nationalism as a whole. Moreover, the *Nights* was appropriated in antebellum American culture, not as an exotic Oriental other, but as an image of modern American subjectivity as capitalist, expansionist, and consumerist, in a period of growing territorial settlement and technological transformation. Documenting and historicizing these uses of the *Nights* demonstrates that, rather than being solid or homogeneous, as Anderson sees it, the formation of modern nationhood was heterogeneous, conditioned, porous, negotiated, and borderly at the crossroads of literary Orientalism, social classes, and discourses.

This chapter continues my discussion of the heterogeneous modality of modern nation-state formation based on my examination of the print culture of the *Nights*. Specifically, where the previous chapters have expounded upon the heterogeneity of nationhood and examined the assimilations of literary Orientalism across borders of class and discourse, this chapter further illuminates this heterogeneity, arguing for the importance of considering gender in the development of modern nationhood. Anderson claims that “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginations” (*Imagined Communities* 7). Anderson views the nation as an imagined horizontal network of brotherhood, and does not account for the participation of women in the

community. This chapter mainly addresses this gap, particularly the re-purposing of the *Nights* in the development of female writing and reading subjectivities in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In order to do so, I examine and contextualize re-purposing of the *Nights* by, and for, emerging women writers and readers during the height of *al-Nahḍa* activism.

II. Treatment of the *Nights* in *al-Nahḍa* Periodicals

One of the striking characteristics of the appearance of the *Nights* in Arabic and Egyptian print cultures was its variety of treatments. In other words, instead of a relatively unanimous response, a reception, or a rejection, to the body of tales of the *Nights*, they were treated in a variety of ways. For instance, and similarly to the aforementioned American context, the iconography of the *Nights* and its tales were used to suggest modernization. Isma'il Pasha (1830-95), Muḥammad 'Alī's grandson and Khedive of Egypt and Sudan between 1863 and 1879, invested extensively in economic and industrial projects and expanded urbanization in Egypt. One of his major enterprises was the Suez Canal. This project, along with the introduction of railway and telegraph wire, developing waterways and light houses, and improving ports, resembled the operations of Aladdin's lamp in the *Nights*, according to an *al-Muqtataf* article (Raf'at 422-23). As such, the imagery of the *Nights* is employed to describe the fast speed with which Egypt was being modernized under Isma'il Pasha. Though the tale already features connotations of traditionalism and pre-modernity, it is here used as an image of transformation and urbanization at the time Egypt was developing into a modernized nation-state. Furthermore, some of these responses suggested the use of the *Nights* in modern scientific queries. In a 1903 account of the history and geography of the Comoro Islands, *al-Hilāl* describes the expansion of trade in the region after the emergence of Islam, borrowing information from the *Nights* and particularly from the Sinbad tales, which have "a foundation and correctness" ("Oriental Lands

and their Leaders: Comoro Islands” 133). Regardless of the (in-)accuracy of the information, *al-Hilāl*'s reference suggests an approval of the *Nights* as containing trustworthy knowledge, and ascribes a modern quality to it. Another article in *Al-Hilāl*, “Oriental Influences in Civilizing the West,” which discusses the “history-long superiority” of the Semites in trade and geography as compared with Europeans and their influence over the latter, makes a similar assertion (575). *Al-Hilāl*'s editor, Jurjī Zaydān, uses the pre-modern textuality of the *Nights* to construct a modern geographical discourse in which Arabic trade systems compete with those of the Europeans. In this discursive re-construction of the past, the *Nights* is considered a source of “accurate” geographical information. Claiming that the Sinbad tales were written by a contemporary of al-Mas‘ūdi (c. 896–956), a historian of the *Nights* in the medieval Islamic period, *al-Hilāl* further states that “researchers would see that Sinbad tales included in *A Thousand and One Nights* have an accurate geographical basis” (“Oriental Influences in Civilizing the West” 577). Although these articles may not be historically accurate, they are timely, having appeared during *al-Nahḍa*, a period in which modern Arab identity was being developed in response to hegemonic European models, and efforts were being made to revisit, consolidate, and present the native past as modern, thereby establishing a domestic modernity.

On the other hand, *al-Hilāl* acknowledges a negative reference to the *Nights*. *Al-Bashīr* published a dismissive review of Jurjī Zaydān's *A General History of Freemasonry / Tarīkh al-masūniyya* (published in 1894), which described the book's account of the universal availability of knowledge as “resembling the tales of *A Thousand and One Nights*” (qtd. in *al-Hilāl* “*Al-Bashīr* and *History of Freemasonry*” 862). The *al-Bashīr* review expresses an opinion of Zaydān's book as fantasy-ridden, with the pejorative comparison to the *Nights* suggesting both are fanciful and implausible. Similarly, in 1921, a reader of *al-Hilāl*, inquiring about Arabic

novels (*riwāya*) that are similar to European novels, dismisses the *Nights* in much the same manner: “The novel has a high status in the literature of the European states. But do Arabs have such a thing and did they attempt to compose novels? And by this, I don’t mean the likes of *A Thousand and One Nights* but rather real fictional accounts such as those in Europe” (“Query and Suggestion” 621). Given the association of European novels with modernity, this query stemmed from a search for examples of modern Arabic literature similar to those in European novels, and thus dismisses the *Nights* as traditional and pre-modern.

Simultaneously, awareness of the status of the *Nights* in Europe was growing, as translations, particularly French and English, helped it grow in popularity. As an example, in 1926, *al-Zahrāʿ* published a lecture outlining Europeans’ interest in Arabic language and literature, discussing, among others, Edward Lane’s translation of the *Nights* (Al-‘Alawī 62-3). A 1932 account in *al-Hilāl* of the status of the *Nights* in world literature was even more appreciative: “we [Arabs] gave to world literature and human technique (of story-telling) the most precious pearl, namely *A Thousand and One Nights*” (Maṭrān 42). Above all, the *Nights* was cited – again in *al-Hilāl* – to exemplify and promote the development of popular (versus canonical) Arabic literature (Al-Ṭanāḥī 1328).

As this brief review of references to the *Nights* in the periodicals of *al-Nahḍa* suggests, the emergence of the *Nights* in print inspired many different responses and reactions. The variation in these responses provides insight into the very state of emergence and revaluation that the publication of the *Nights* inspired in Egypt and elsewhere. The collection of tales, which had held middle status in traditional Arabic poetics, was beginning to gain a renewed recognition and value in Arabic and Egyptian literature, as readers and writers learned of the popularity of the

Nights in Western languages and literatures.³⁷ The Būlāq Press of Cairo, publisher of an edition of the *Nights* in 1835, gave it priority over other works (Larzul 205). The renewed popularity of the *Nights* is particularly evident from the inquiries made in *al-Hilāl* by readers of its Arabic editions. For instance, in a letter to *al-Hilāl*, historian and author Ḥikmat Sharīf (1870-1948) notes that “[the *Nights*] is the most famous of all compositions of humanity” (Sharīf 853), and requests more information about the author and the time and place of composition of the book (Sharīf 853). This query suggests, among others, the novelty of the text in Arabic and Egyptian literature in the wake of Arabic readers’ familiarity with its status in Western literatures. In 1904, *al-Hilāl* responded to a similar question pertaining to the authorship and time of the composition of the *Nights* (“*A Thousand and One Nights: Al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin Rayyis bin Ṭalib*” 410). The inquiries prompted further pieces on the history, origins, and status of the *Nights* in the periodicals of the time. For instance, in 1907, *al-Hilāl* released “History of the Tales,” introducing an Egyptian tradition of storytelling vis-à-vis world literature. The same article also examines the Persian and Indian roots of the *Nights*, describes its Arabic translation during the Abbasids dynasty (750-1258 AD) when “Muslims advanced their civilization,” and ultimately discusses its translation into “the majority of the languages of the civilized world” (“History of the Tales” 176).³⁸

³⁷ On the *Nights* tales as middle literature, occupying a status between popular and classical literature in medieval Arabic, see Chraïbi, *Les Mille Et Une Nuits* (223), and Charibi, Introduction (62-4). See Rastegar, *Literary Modernity* (55-65), who argues that the *Nights* enabled an “autonomous field” of legitimization and valuation in modern Arabic literature.

³⁸ For an account of references to the *Nights* in Arabic periodicals between 1881 and 2015, see Akel (451-91). Also, for a further discussion of the *Nights* in titles of Arabic periodicals, see Sa’d (2: 241-48).

III. Review of Selected Scholarly Studies

Following its first appearance in print, the *Nights* was treated in various manners in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa*. These and later treatments of the *Nights* in periodicals and other media have been critically examined at various lengths. For instance, Fārūq Sa‘d has studied the origins of the *Nights*, and its presence in music, theatre, cinema, poetry, the short story, the novel, and children’s literature in several international contexts, but especially in the Arabic world. The *Nights* and particularly Scheherazade received even more critical attention later on. For example, Allen has referred to the Fez conference in Morocco in 1979, which featured presentations on the *Nights* and modern fiction (164). In 1985, Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Ghanī’s *Scheherazade in Modern Arabic Thought* extends Sa‘d’s study to the second half of the twentieth century, discussing the treatment of the *Nights*, particularly Scheherazade, in Arabic literature in relation to mythology, aesthetics, and social and nationalist thoughts. Furthermore, at the 1989 conference “*The Thousand and One Nights* in Arabic Literature and Society,” Fedwa Malti-Douglas made one of the earliest feminist references to the *Nights*: “for many a modern critic, Shahrazad becomes the prototypical woman whose existence permits Arab woman to speak” (“Shahrazad Feminist” 40). Malti-Douglas refers to the global re-castings of Scheherazade and her tales in post-modernist fiction. This reference concerns the postcolonialist turn in Arabic and other literatures, in which Scheherazade, the major story-teller of the *Nights*, has been recast in fiction, drama, and other genres in order to draw attention to gender relations and to promote female voice and agency. Malti-Douglas specifically examines Ethel Johnston Phelps’ short story “Scheherazade Retold” (1981) and the postmodernist novel *The Fall of Imam* (1987) by the Egyptian physician and writer Nawāl al-Sa‘dāwī as two such re-castings (“Shahrazad Feminist”). Muhsin Musawi has further discussed the growth of postmodern re-readings of the *Nights* and especially

Scheherazade in Arabic fiction. He contends that “the growth of modern Arabic fiction in its postcolonial stamp coincides with the increasing interest in *The Thousand and One Nights* after centuries of disregard and neglect” (*The Postcolonial Arabic Novel* 71). As such, the postcolonial and postmodernist turns in Arabic fiction, typified by Naguib Mahfouz’s *Arabian Nights and Days* (1981), coincided with the literary re-imagining of the *Nights* and its female protagonist.

Although the *Nights* and Scheherazade have been examined in various dimensions in relation to Arabic and Egyptian literature, the repurposing of the *Nights* with regard to modern women writers and readers of the *al-Nahḍa* period has been relatively under-studied. The above review shows that previous scholars have paid much attention to reworkings of the *Nights*, especially of the mid-twentieth century and afterward, in Arabic and Egyptian literature and culture. However, what has been less satisfactorily examined is the deployments of the *Nights* by women writers, and for women readers, as thriving participants in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa* and as integral components of the emerging modern Egyptian nation. It is the objective of this chapter to fill up this gap in the scholarship.

IV. Reworkings of the *Nights* by Female Writers

Ḥikmat Sharīf’s aforementioned query also suggests, for one, the reappropriation of the *Nights* for the interests of female readers. He mentions the Beirut-based ‘Adabiyya Press’ edition of the *Nights*, which “has attempted to delete speeches inconsistent with decencies from the afore-mentioned book and printed it in his booming publishing house such that a maiden can read it in her seclusion” (Sharīf 854).³⁹ The statement suggests two important changes regarding this text. First, the *Nights* is being cleansed of ‘indecencies’ and thus made further suitable for

³⁹ Adabiyya Press published its edition of the *Nights* in Beirut in 1880-82.

the public sphere, where ideas and materials circulate for communal, rather than private or elitist, engagement. Second and more importantly, this public sphere is not exclusively occupied by male readers; rather, female readers, even unmarried ones (as suggested by “al-‘adhrā’”), are also part of this modern and incipient phenomenon. As such, while the statement refers to private readership (as indicated by “khidr,” meaning *veil*), the increasing number of women readers is also acknowledged, and in response, the Lebanese press has made the *Nights* more accessible as women’s reading material.

In Egypt, the reworking of the *Nights for women* was preceded by its reworking by women. In other words, while al-Hilāl Press, based in Cairo, later attempted to follow the examples of the Lebanese publishers by producing a ‘woman-friendly’ *Nights* in Egypt, it is important to note that the first major re-working of the *Nights* for Egyptian print culture was the work of a woman:⁴⁰ *Consequence of Matters Regarding Speech and Action* (1888), a bildungsroman of a young prince called Mamdūh, written by the feminist, anti-colonialist, nationalist author ‘Ā’isha ‘Ismat Taymūr (1840-1902). However, this work is rarely discussed in scholarship on the *Nights*.⁴¹ As early as 1925, Mayy Ziyāda pointed to “structural similarities” between *Consequences* and the *Nights* (“‘Ā’isha ‘Ismat Taymūr” 284); Sabry Hafez reiterated this observation in 1993 (131). In 2003 and 2011, Hatem observed similarities of form and characterization between the *Nights* and *Consequences* (Introduction 7; *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* 77, 80); and in 1995, Zeidan maintained that Taymūr drew her themes especially from the *Nights* (62). However, the extent, evolutions, and implications of Taymūr’s

⁴⁰ Al-Hilāl’s edition of the *Nights* will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴¹ This may be because Taymūr was inspired by other sources alongside the *Nights*. She is said to have drawn on traditional Arabic *maqāma* for the prose style, on *Kalila wa Dimna* for the motif of advice to royal personages, and on Fenelon’s *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, translated by Rifa’ah Tahtawi as *Mawaqī al-aflak fī waqa’i tilimak* (1863) for the characterization of Vizier Malik and Companion ‘Aqīl (Ḥasan 138-9; Hafez 131; Hatem, Introduction 15).

incorporations of the *Nights* into the thriving print culture of Egypt have not been critically examined.

My examination shows that Taymūr utilizes the *Nights* on the levels of spatiality, characterization, organization, and above all, thematics. While Taymūr does not completely replicate the settings of the *Nights*, she mostly lays out her narrative in its time-space. The main plotline of Princess Būrān, a strong-willed girl who is betrothed to Prince Mamdūh, King ‘Adil’s son, is set in medieval Persia (Taymūr 77). Some of the trading takes place in the Levant and Yemen, but China features more prominently (Taymūr 77). China is also a refuge for the young prince and his mentor, Companion ‘Aqīl, in their escape from the tyranny of Dushnām and Ghadūr, usurpers of King ‘Adil’s power in Baghdad (Taymūr 111). In India, we are introduced to a benevolent monarch whose only son requires the syrup of a rare and hard-to-find fruit to recover from a near-fatal bowel disease (Taymūr 118, 121). The Chinese and Indian scenes in Taymūr’s novel are reminiscent of the appearances of these regions in the *Nights* as spaces of trade and mystery (“Merchant” 642-46; “Space and Time” 708). Also, Egypt is home to two merchants, Bahrām and Farhād, whose account makes up the second half of the book (Taymūr 117-220). Ultimately, the frame story of King ‘Adil and his royal entourage occurs in medieval Islamic Baghdad, also the location of many tales in the *Nights*, particularly those of Harūn al-Rashīd and Sinbad.

Furthermore, Taymūr deploys the devices of narrative frames and embedded tales, which are key elements in the *Nights*, as the central organizing principles of *Consequences*. She inserts tales recurrently throughout her story; for example, Vizier Mālik and Companion ‘Aqīl tell King ‘Adil the story of the precious tree in order to draw King ‘Adil’s attention to the significance of appropriate nurturing for the young prince (Taymūr 30-36). As another instance, the story of

Shāh Bandar's daughter and her betraying cousin is embedded in the story of the Algerian prince and the reluctant Chinese princess, all of which inserted in the story of Bahrām's and Farhād's trade travels. Similarly, the tale of the ploughman's daughter who recovers from an illness thanks to the healing drops from a miraculous tree (Taymūr 223-27) also appears as an embedded narrative. Most importantly, Taymūr's account of Bahrām and Farhād, two merchants from Alexandria, is embedded in the second half of the book as an episodic and re-surfacing series of tales told by Companion 'Aqīl to the troubled Prince Mamdūḥ (Taymūr 117-220). While embedding is used in various ways and situations in *Consequences*, the overall structure of the *Nights*, in which a companion tells a male royal personage educational and entertaining stories to assist him through his trauma, persists throughout the work.

Additionally, Taymūr employs several major characters and narrative structures of the *Nights* in her work. Particularly, the story of Bahrām and Farhād appears to be a reworking of “Abū Qīr the Dyer and Abū Şīr the Barber” and “Sandbād the Seaman and Sandbād the Landsman.”⁴² Like Abū Qīr and Abū Şīr, Bahrām and Farhād are tradesmen from Egypt (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 208-10; Taymūr 117); they are also neighbours who possess opposite moral qualities. Abū Qīr is perfidious, deceitful, and spendthrift, while Abū Şīr is honest, hard-working, and considerate (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 208-10). Similarly, where Farhād is wasteful and opportunist, Bahrām is well-intending, hard-working, and authentic (Taymūr 117-19). Both Abū Qīr and Abū Şīr and Bahrām and Farhād decide to travel in order to obtain wealth (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 210; Taymūr 118-20). Abū Qīr's and Abū Şīr's trade endeavors involve travelling across seas and lands, during which an unequal dynamic develops between them. Abū Şīr works

⁴² In discussing the story of Abū Qīr and Abū Şīr, my references to the *Nights* are based on volume 4 of the *Wahabiyya* edition, published in 1880. See this edition listed in the Appendix. See also Chauvin (4: 18).

hard constantly, and Abū Qīr takes advantage of Abū Šīr's efforts. Abū Qīr does not hesitate to take advantage of Abū Šīr's endeavors in order to gain comfort, wealth, and/or status, and returns his favors with selfish rejections. A similar dynamic develops between Farhād and Bahrām, as Farhād steals Bahrām's hard-won accomplishments, and as such manages to profit enormously in finance and social status. For instance, while Bahrām is in search of the fruit syrup that will cure the Indian king's son of his bowel problem, Farhād is planning to poison him so that the king of Egypt can take over their land and grant Farhād a ministerial position (Taymūr 122-3). Eventually, Bahrām finds the fruit, but Bahrām manages to take it to the Indian court and receives many rewards (Taymūr 127). On the other hand, Abū Šīr does not hesitate to forgive Abū Qīr and help him out even after Abū Qīr mistreats him by provoking the king to take Abū Šīr's life (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 217). Likewise, Bahrām does not hesitate to favor Farhād after luck turns against him at the end of the story. For instance, Bahrām approaches the king of India, and asks forgiveness for Farhād after he accidentally violates the frontline of a king's city and loses all his caravan and possessions (Taymūr 184-85). Ultimately, both Bahrām and Abū Šīr manage to settle back in their homeland of Egypt, having gained enormous wealth and status.

The story of Bahrām and Farhād also displays elements from the Sinbad tales that appear in the *Nights*,⁴³ though where Sinbad goes on seven voyages, Bahrām goes on only five. Bahrām travels to India, where he retrieved the syrup for the king's son; to the Levant, where he overcame a monster; to China, where he married the reluctant princess to the Algerian prince; to India, where he helped to save the king's city from a Persian attack; then while on the way to Yemen, to the city of iron walls, which he saved and provided with salt; and finally, from Yemen

⁴³ For my discussion of the Sinbad tales, I refer to Volume 3 of the *Wahabiyya* edition of the *Nights*, published in 1880.

(this time instead of from his homeland of Egypt) to China, where he cured the king's daughter of a serious disease. Although the number of voyages on which each character embarks is different, the tales show correspondences in other ways. For example, the comparison of Bahrām and Farhād is similar to the contrast between the poor Sinbad (the Landsman) and the rich Sinbad (the Seaman). More importantly, however, like Sinbad, Bahrām *travels* in order to seek *fortune*. Both Bahrām and Sinbad endure hardships and perils of various sorts including confrontations with non-human creatures: on his third voyage, Sinbad saves his peers from a black ghoul, and Bahrām similarly saves his peers from a monster (Taymūr 135-38). On his fourth voyage, Sinbad's companions are given a food that annuls their consciousness (*Wahabiyya Nights* 3: 20); and although Bahrām does not experience a corresponding incident on his own travels, Prince Mamdūh tells of how he was given bread that annulled his wisdom (Taymūr 106-08). Both Sinbad and Bahrām are honest and well-meaning, but also employ trickery to achieve their goals. For instance, Sinbad disentangles himself from the old man mounted on his shoulders by tricking him into drinking (*Wahabiyya Nights* 3: 27-28), and Bahrām manages to marry the dismayed Algerian prince to his man-hating Chinese beloved by building her a house with seven compartments containing symbolic paintings (Taymūr 150-75). On the other hand, fortune also plays a significant role for both protagonists: Sinbad is lucky to find the escape hole in the cave in which he is buried alongside his dead wife (*Wahabiyya Nights* 3: 24), while Bahrām does not obtain wealth before fortune, called Sa'āda in the story, turns to him (Taymūr 178-79). Moreover, the combination of fortune and character bring both Sinbad and Bahrām successful marriages at the end of their travels. Sinbad marries the old Shaykh's daughter and inherits the Shaykh's wealth and power (*Wahabiyya Nights* 3: 38-9), while Bahrām marries the daughter of the old man in the garden-house (Taymūr 218-19). Both Sinbad and

Bahrām achieve positive outcomes, as they not only survive the hazards of their voyages, but also earn capital and prominence as they eventually return to their homelands.

The above account outlines only some of the major elements of the *Nights* that Taymūr re-works in *Consequences*, which include rings, tricksters, male/female disguises, transformations, and caves as hiding places, among other things. Above all these, the thematics of the *Nights* are re-enlivened in *Consequences*. The stories of Abū Qīr and Abū Šīr on the one hand, and the Sinbad tales on the other, are blended in *Consequences* to develop the integral themes of patience and perseverance. More importantly, the tale of Bahrām and Farhād, embedded in the narrative, is included in order to assist Prince Mamdūḥ following his betrayal by Dushnām and Ghadūr, who mistreated him, assumed the throne by toppling King ‘Adil, and banished the young prince to death. While the young prince is on the verge of committing suicide, Companion ‘Aqīl decides to tell him the story of Bahrām and Farhād not only to teach him a lesson on patience and perseverance, but also to divert his attention from his troubling political circumstances. In other words, Companion ‘Aqīl assumes the role of Scheherazade for Mamdūḥ, who is, similar to Shahrībāz, the king of the *Nights*’ frame tale, traumatized by betrayal:

Since the time God blessed me with your meeting, I have kept in my heart a strange story, an exceptional tale, and my intention is to amuse you so that you learn about the bounties of patience, and to contemplate on the good outcomes of circumstances. And if you appreciate its introduction, then finish it, and if not, do what you wish. So accept my

words in the name of your highness, and kindly grant me the good acceptance [of my words]. (Taymūr 115)⁴⁴

In addition, in place of night breaks in the *Nights*, where Scheherazade splits the narrative to sustain suspense, Taymūr embeds narrative prompts in the course of the tale of Bahrām and Farhād. In fact, where the narrative prompts in the *Nights* are consistent and recurrent, Taymūr varies the convention in *Consequences*. For example, after retrieving a missing royal ring from a bird’s nest, Mamdūḥ “was filled with joy, and craved food, and ate with an excellent appetite, and chatted with a clear mindset, and then told ‘Aqīl: ‘I request from my kind-hearted [Companion] to talk about Bahrām, and of what happened to him after he retreated from his goal’” (Taymūr 146). This leads to the account of Bahrām’s third voyage. As another instance, once they settle in China, Prince Mamdūḥ says to Companion ‘Aqīl: “Our mood has turned pleasant; our mind has become orderly; and we have left [the story of] Bahrām in the wilderness. If only I knew what he underwent?” (Taymūr 165). With this prompt, Companion ‘Aqīl tells the story of Bahrām and the man-resenting Chinese princess. Later on, and upon hearing Bahrām’s accomplishments, Mamdūḥ becomes eager to hear more of the story: “I request you, my advisor [i.e., Companion], [to tell me] a bit about that ill-mannered arrogant [Farhād] and whether he underwent some of the rage and rejection that Bahrām experienced” (Taymūr 181). Ultimately, similar to the eventual recovery of the king in the *Nights*’ frame tale, Mamdūḥ recovers from the trauma of betrayal over the course of Companion ‘Aqīl’s tales and endeavors, and assumes the throne. Indeed, storytelling as a means of delivery from trauma is explicitly foregrounded toward the end of Companion ‘Aqīl’s tale (Taymūr 220). After Bahrām prosperously returns to his

⁴⁴ Here, Taymūr uses the phrase “strange story and a quaint tale”/ “ḥadīthan gharīban wa khabaran ‘ajīban,” which pertains to *khurāfāt* or strange stories. In this relation, Chraibi argues that *khurāfāt* is a formative textual element in the *Nights* (Introduction 23-42).

homeland, “Mamdūḥ’s sorrow disappeared, his wounds were healed by the morale, his heart was filled with hope, his mood became pleasant, and his frustration faded away” (220). This is not an exceptional authorial intervention for Taymūr; as the narrator and author, she is the ultimate Scheherazade, who intervenes in the narrative frequently, informs the readers of the contexts of events, and interjects her own poetry, all from an omniscient position throughout the book (Taymūr 47-48).

Taken as a whole, Taymūr incorporates several major elements of the *Nights*, such as mercantilism and mirror-for-princes literature, into her work.⁴⁵ These borrowings are not surprising, given the reshaping of the *Nights* in nineteenth-century Egyptian culture and its viability in Arabian print culture and beyond. Eva Sallis contends that the alterations in Egyptian versions of the *Nights* were due to a need to refine the tale collection and improve its “story art” in relation to its earlier manuscripts (30; 35-7). Also, regarding the *Nights* as a ‘shape-shifting’ work, Grotzfeld states that the Būlāq Press sought to end the manuscript transmission of the tale collection, and, in making the book available to a larger number of interested readers, it “presented a grammatically and philologically revised text of ZER” (21). Particularly, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharqāwī, editor of the Būlāq edition, took upon himself to convert the miscellaneous Arabic of the manuscripts to formal and standard Arabic that would be appropriate for print (Larzul 207).⁴⁶ Alongside the various re-formations of the *Nights* at the time, adaptations for Arabian theatre began to appear as early as 1849-50, when ‘*Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mughaffal wa Ḥarūn al-Rashīd*, a theatrical staging of “Sleeper and the Waker,” was produced in Beirut (Sa’d

⁴⁵ Stressing the element of trade in the *Nights*, Chraibi has argued that the *Nights* represents a manual for young merchants in the medieval Arabic period (“Situation, Motivation, and Action in the *Arabian Nights*” 6). Also, on the *Nights* as an example of the royal didactic genre of mirror for princes, see “Mirror for Princess.”

⁴⁶ For a broader discussion of the *Nights* as a “shape-shifter,” see Marzolph (Preface ix and xvi).

1: 229; Walther 54). Also, from 1870 onward, mixed borrowings from the *Nights* appeared in the Syrian theatre, where *Harūn al-Rashīd ma‘a uns al-jalīs*, and *Harūn al-Rashīd ma‘a al-‘amir ghānim bin ayyūb wa qūt al-qulūb*, and *al-‘Amir maḥmūd najal shāh al-‘ajam* were performed (Sa‘d 1: 229; Walther 54). Given Taymūr’s aristocratic and affluent familial situation (which also facilitated her privileged education in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian literatures), it is highly probable that she was aware of these reproductions.⁴⁷ Reshaping and drawing upon the *Nights* were already practiced in the Arabic-speaking world by the time Taymūr used the tale collection as inspiration for her own work.

Nonetheless, Taymūr’s adaptation of the *Nights* is selective and transformative. In other words, Taymūr produces a de-eroticized and humanized recasting of the *Nights*, mostly bereft of marvels, fantasies, and fables, in *Consequences*. However, the extent of her appropriation must be understood in the light of mixed perceptions of the *Nights* in contemporary Arabic cultural and literary landscapes. Referring to this mixed reception, Musawi contends that the process of the recognition of the *Nights* in Arabic culture was not smooth due to concerns of morality and plausibility, and involved appropriation and rewriting of the tales (*The Postcolonial Arabic Novel* 71-73; 76-78; 82-83). Pejorative perceptions of the *Nights* resulted mainly from the frivolous, erotic, and fantastic elements that readers perceived in the Egyptian editions. Some of the negative references to the *Nights* in contemporary *al-Nahḍa* periodicals were discussed earlier in this chapter. The contemporary cultural stigma surrounding the *Nights* for women authors can best be seen in Zaynab Fawwāz’s *Scattered Pearls Concerning the Class of Cloistered Ladies*. This book, published by ‘Amīriyya Press of Cairo in 1894-95, is a pioneering compendium containing the accounts of chief female figures, historical and contemporary, from

⁴⁷ On Taymūr’s background and status, see Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* (9-49).

Arabian and non-Arabian backgrounds. Fawwāz's objective was to promote awareness of various sorts of contributions women made to society by presenting relevant exemplary female models (6-16). In this regard, the lack of mention of Scheherazade or other notable females in the *Nights* can be explained by the historical and scientific aims of Fawwāz's work (2-11). Nonetheless, despite such aims, Fawwāz uses as source texts, not only histories and biographies, but also works of literature, including collections of poetry. Some of these include Abū Tammām's *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* and Abū al-Faraj al-'Iṣbahān's *The Book of Songs / Kitāb al-'aghāni*, one-third of which covers female poets and slave-singers; however, the *Nights* is not included (Fawwāz 6-7). More specifically, Fawwāz's *Scattered Pearls* features the biography of Shajara al-Durr, also a major female figure in the *Nights*. In the *Nights*, Shajara al-Durr is a talented slave-girl and an accomplished singer. She manages to make love to the merchant Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī within the palace of Caliph al al-Mutawakkil, obtains her own freedom from the Caliph by singing, and afterwards spends a good life with Abū al-Ḥasan in Basra in Iraq (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 252-60). However, Fawwāz presents the *historical* Shajara al-Durr rather than her fictionalized counterpart (252-55). In *Scattered Pearls*, Shajara al-Durr is the wife of Egyptian Sultan Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb (1205-49 AD), who was killed in the Crusades. She manages to cover up his death, and names his son, Tūranshāh, as the sultan of Egypt. After Tūranshāh is murdered by the Baḥri monarchy, Shajara al-Durr herself assumes the throne for a short time.⁴⁸ *Scattered Pearls* makes no mention of the Shajara al-Durr of the *Nights*, or any other figure from the tale collection. Above all, the Būlāq edition, a blueprint for Arabic and other versions of the *Nights* during the nineteenth century and afterwards, reflects Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension,

⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion of the historical Shajara al-Durr, see Duncan, "Scholarly Views of Shajara al-Durr: A Need for Consensus."

and features relatively detailed sexual scenes (Naaman 368).⁴⁹ Considering contemporary cultural perceptions of fantasy, frivolity, and erotica in the *Nights*, Taymūr, a pioneering female author, must have felt obligated to de-sexualize and humanize her selective borrowing from the *Nights* in order to legitimize her publication.

Adoption and adaptation are also relevant in terms of the intended usage of the work; early in *Consequences*, Taymūr puts forth the idea of literature as an exemplar for children (27-28), and explicitly repurposes fiction as pedagogical and entertaining material (Hatem, Introduction 12-13). This is one of the earliest references to the *Nights* within the category of children's literature in Egypt. *Consequences* depicts the triumph of good over evil, through cultivating patience and perseverance, as a moral example for younger readers:

Al-ʿadab represents an axis upon which a lived and familiar life revolve. It is a source of culture and education that can reform deviance. Whoever leans on the cane of *ʿadab* is safe from false steps. Those who benefit from it are able to clothe their flaws from others. Good education is the most wonderful thing to present to an audience. It brings one closer to human truth and shows how the goodness of a child depends on good education because if left to themselves, they will not tend to discipline. They will avoid good manners as a sheep would a wolf. Those whose reins are left to the whims of childhood will surely destroy the future solidity of their masculinity and their virtue. The leniency of a care-taker can easily lead [a child] to evil. This is not a surprising conclusion since it has been said that he who grows up accustomed to something will grow with it. Those

⁴⁹ Later in this chapter, I will further discuss some of the erotic contents of the Egyptian *Nights*. Also see Naaman, "Eating Figs and Pomegranates," for a discussion of the governmental bans on the editions of the *Nights* in Egypt in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (336-37). He uses this discussion to explore taboos in the language of the *Nights* in selected medieval and modern versions.

with foresight are certain that the most serious struggle is that which concerns the education of children. It includes diplomatically preventing them from mingling with foolish and lowly people. Beware of having a knave lead [your child], covering their eyes with the veil of trickery or distracting them through hypocrisy from the source of good manners, which serves their best interest. [Without it], they [children] will be condemned to loss ... and to burn with the fire of regret and anxiety. From bad manners, they will derive a deadly salt that will transform their [original] good intentions into habitual deceit and hypocrisy. (27-28)⁵⁰

ʿAdab mainly refers to literature, pedagogy, and civility (Farag). In the main narrative of *Consequences*, the young prince Mamdūh hears didactic and amusing stories intended to help him overcome his trauma. As such, Taymūr capitalizes on the diverse semantics of *ʿadab* in *Consequences*, promoting entertaining reading matter for the education of juvenile audiences.⁵¹ Taymūr’s promotion of children’s literature is especially important considering that the genre was only just emerging in Egypt at the time (Abu-Nasr 781). In 1893, *al-Muqataṭaf* acknowledges the paucity of children’s books in Arabic. Unlike families who could afford English or French schools, the *al-Muqataṭaf* article states, those Egyptian families who send their children to Arabic schools have very few options for children’s books (“House Management Section” 346). Children’s books were considered important in those countries “that preceded us in civilization,” such as in England, but not, or so it seemed, in Arabic-speaking countries (“House Management Section”). Most notably, it is in these circumstances of paucity where *Consequences* and *Nights* are published and debated vis-à-vis the category of children’s literature. Although these texts are

⁵⁰ I have mostly relied on Hatem’s translation of this quotation (*Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* 71).

⁵¹ For a broader discussion of the usage of *ʿadab* for child-rearing at the time, see Morrison (41).

not mentioned explicitly, *Consequences* and the *Nights* are, respectively, endorsed and dismissed as appropriate reading material for children. The *al-Muqtataf* essay speaks highly of an unidentified female author who has developed stories for children that are more realistic and not fantasy-ridden. Instead of stories about children being kidnapped, carried into the sky, and taken to a jinni's house, *al-Muqtataf* suggests that children prefer more realistic stories whose protagonists, for example, lose their fathers, fall into the hands of Bedouins or Indians, wander around forests, or grow up with animals, among other narratives “whose occurrences are probable” (“House Management Section” 345-46). The material that the article recommends is closer to *Consequences*, which recounts the tribulations of a young inexperienced prince, while the material that the article rejects is closer to the *Nights*, which was haunted by supernaturalism and fantasy. In another 1893 article, *al-Muqtataf* explicitly rejects the *Nights* as suitable for children and highlights the importance of cultivating in children “sound wisdom,” “justice,” “kindness,” and “the love of nation” (“House Management Section” 37-38). With regard to children's nurturing, the essay stresses the necessity of children's books that are, among others, free from “superstition, fantasy, wiles, and shams” (“House Management Section” 40). Based on these criteria, the essay dismisses the *Nights* as suitable reading on the grounds that it “poisons the child” and “corrupts their morality” (“House Management Section” 41).⁵² On the other hand, Taymūr's *Consequences*, an adaptation of the *Nights*, is cited as a particular sample of children's literature in Arabic in *al-Muqtataf*. As part of a commentary series of twelve essays on Taymūr's

⁵² In a broader frame, Yousef has discussed the *al-Nahḍa* cultural elites' concern over the exposure of literate men, women, and children to superstitious and immoral reading materials as hindrances against social reform agendas (60). Yousef also documents *al-Nahḍa* concerns over women's reading of ‘immoral’ amorous stories (*gharāmiyāt*) (61-62). It is in such a cultural climate that women were discouraged from reading the *Nights* due to its elements of erotica as well as superstition.

career, Mayy Ziyāda (1886-1941), recalls that she and her peers were exposed to *Consequences* as children:

This is *Consequences of Matters*. It is indeed among the residues of those tales we listened to in our childhood, during evening gatherings in cold winter, in thunder, and the pouring of rain. And we enjoyed them in two ways: emancipation from the wrath of nature and its coldness in a warm shelter, and the pleasure of listening to the accounts of kings, jinns, heroes, lovers, and the verdicts of fate. Eventually we ended up with the defeat of evil and the victory of righteousness.” (“Ā’isha ‘Ismat Taymūr” 281-82).

Based on these historical accounts, it seems that even as the *Nights* was not considered proper reading for juvenile audiences, its reworked offspring *Consequences* was embraced as such.

As such, one can speculate that *Consequences* can be seen as an early use of the *Nights* to develop children’s literature in Egypt.⁵³ A major impetus behind using the *Nights* to develop children’s literature, as Taymūr did in *Consequences*, was to present accomplished role models such as Sinbad.⁵⁴ However, Sinbad was not part of the Egyptian manuscripts of the *Nights*, and Egyptian publications of the book incorporated the tale series from European editions. In fact, the *Nights*, including the Sinbad stories, became an important formative text in the development of children’s literature in Arabic in the twentieth century. Taymūr’s adaptation of the *Nights* is a particular precursor to the works of Kāmil Kilānī (1897-1959), an Egyptian pioneer of children’s books. Kilānī published selected tales of the *Nights* for juvenile audiences between the 1930s and 1950s. These works included *Abū Qīr and Abū Šīr*, *Sinbad of the Sea* (which are also the major

⁵³ Also, for a broader discussion of Taymūr as a precursor of modern Arabic fiction, see Elsadda (103-05).

⁵⁴ In this regards, for a discussion of the perceived importance of nurturing pedagogy via Arabic children’s literature, see Mdallel (301, 305).

reworked tales in *Consequences*), *Aladdin*, *The Merchant from Baghdad*, *Ali Baba*, *Baba Abdallah and Dervish*, *The Story of Khusraw Shah*, *The City of Brass*, *Abdallah the Fisherman and Abdallah the Merman*, and *Scheherazade and Shehryar* (Sa'd 1: 293). Moreover, in 1952, Dār al-Ma'ārif of Egypt established *Sinbad Magazine*, a children's periodical adapted from Sinbad's travels as told in the *Nights* (Sa'd 2: 242). Similar to Taymūr's *Consequences*, Kilānī's books feature accounts of strong and/or successful human heroes, and non-human entities such as ifreets and jinns only play secondary roles (Sa'd 1: 301).

Ultimately, in the preface to his edition of *Ali Baba*, Kilānī makes a similar proposition to Taymūr's regarding literature for young readers: "We must but take advantage of this natural inclination by all ways and means in order to inform children, to culture them, to rectify their manners, and to organize their thoughts without tiring them or removing them from their national attachments" (qtd in Sa'd 1: 301). Kilānī stresses the use of the *Nights* and other texts to create interest in fictional role models for children and positively inspire those children to become educated and disciplined citizens interested in their national cultures. Prior to Kilānī, Taymūr appropriated various characters, themes, plotlines, and stylistics from the *Nights*, redirecting them to promote modern values of national significance for Egyptian boys and girls (Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* 72). Therefore, works of Egyptian children's literature inspired by the *Nights*, such as Kilānī's, can be regarded as manifestations of Taymūr's vision.⁵⁵

As noted earlier in this study, Anderson highlights the advent of the novel as a marker of modern nationhood. He takes novels and their authors from three different contexts as his case studies: *Noli Me Tāngere / Touch Me Not* (1887) by Filipino nationalist José Rizal (1861-96), *El*

⁵⁵ For a further discussion of Kilānī's career, particularly his patriotic view of children's literature, see Morrison (48-49; 53-54; 56-59).

Periquillo Sarniento / The Mangy Parrot (1816) by Mexican writer and political journalist José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776-1827), and *Semarang Hitam / Black Semarang* (1924) by Indonesian journalist and writer Marco Kartodikromo (1890-1932). For Anderson, these works embody unprecedented national imaginaries, as the writers present realistic and detailed worlds in calendric frames that reflect on their respective nationalist aspirations (*Imagined Communities* 26-36).

Although his argument is valid otherwise, Anderson chooses all male authors for his discussion. Within the time period in question in Anderson's analysis, Taymūr's *Consequences* is the first published literary work by an Arabic woman (Zeidan 62; Hatem, Introduction 7),⁵⁶ catering to anonymous audiences, whose numbers were rapidly rising across the emerging national community.⁵⁷ However, even though *Consequences* is de-eroticized, de-fantasized, and humanized, it is not, strictly speaking, a novel or a realistic depiction of contemporary events, which Anderson finds in the aforementioned nationalistic novels.⁵⁸ Besides, although *Consequences* is not strictly calendric, it does display a linear progression of events in a similar manner to the ways in which novels do, and more importantly, Taymūr's work does involve – thanks to its medium of print – a community of anonymous readers “which is the hallmark of modern nations” (*Imagined Communities* 36). The works Anderson cites were used by their

⁵⁶ Also, it is evident from her biographical accounts that Taymūr was a pioneering modernist woman writer (“The Contemporary Narrative Movement” 265-66). Additionally, in his biography of Taymūr, ‘Abdulfattāh ‘Ibādih confirms this evaluation, adding that during Taymūr's period of depression, her son Maḥmūd arranged the publication of *Consequences* (406). It was first published in February 1888, by al-Bahiya Press in Cairo (Taymūr 278).

⁵⁷ The rapid rise in the literate population is especially suggested by their demand for reading matter: in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, at least 212 new Arabic periodicals were started in Egypt (Fahmy 30).

⁵⁸ This said, Hatem analyzes *Consequences* as a political, economic, and sexual allegory of late nineteenth-century circumstances in Egypt (*Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building in Nineteenth Century Egypt* 77-112). Also, Ziyāda hailed Taymūr as a writer of modernist fiction with reference to her *Consequences* (“‘Ā'isha Ismat Taymūr” 286-87).

respective communities of readers to envisage national role models, while Taymūr's work provided the Arabic reading public with a pluralized community progressing through linear temporality and causality. More importantly, Taymūr, in developing *Consequences* as a liberal reworking of the *Nights*, does forge national role models for children to inspire them to become responsible future Egyptian citizens. In this sense, Bahrām, Mamdūḥ, Companion 'Aqīl, Vizier Mālik, King 'Adil, and above all, the Scheherazade-like narrator Taymūr herself, are not simply pre-modern fictional constructs; rather, these recastings from the *Nights* are presented as role models for new generations of Egyptians in their build-up as future citizens. In other words, once printed, these figures were read by the anonymous community of readers in their envisaging of themselves as agents of culturalization and socialization of juveniles for the emerging Egyptian nation. This re-appropriation of the *Nights* for readers coincided with the professionalization of child-rearing and the initiation of the children's press in Egypt, aiming to develop the modern concept of childhood as a nationally significant phenomenon.⁵⁹ As such, Taymūr used the *Nights* and participated in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa*, engaging with pedagogy for young audiences in modern Egypt.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ For instance, Rifā'ah Rāf'i al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's (1801-73) *The Garden of Egyptian Schools / Rawḍa al-madāris al-miṣriyya* appeared in the 1870s, and *Al-Samīr al-ṣaghīr*, another notable schoolchildren's magazine in Egypt, was published from 1897 to 1900.

⁶⁰ Musawi notes of the Arabic literary experimentations with the frame-tale of the *Nights* from the 1930s through the 1950s by male authors such as Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898-1987) and Ṭāhā Ḥuseyn (1889-1973): "Between the endeavor for aesthetics of fiction and affirmation of a middle class selfhood or a wider nationhood, there is a ground for a lot of experimentation, too. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the earliest attention to *The Thousand and One Nights* focused on the framing tale, its implications and possible utilizations in some new narratives (*The Postcolonial Arabic Novel* 97). Simultaneously, given Taymūr's experimentation with the *Nights*, including its frame-tale, and her development of literary-pedagogical reading matter for the encouragement of the Egyptian middle class, Musawi's observation may also apply to her use of the *Nights*.

Taymūr's vision was not limited to adaptation of the *Nights* as children's literature and as a means to cultivate soundness and morality in future Egyptian citizens. An immediate consequence of her pioneering publications was the encouragement of women's participation in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa*. Several periodicals produced by women appeared during *al-Nahḍa* in Egypt, an unprecedented and historic phenomenon. Hind Nawfal, a writer of Lebanese descent and one of the earliest Arab women journalists, established the periodical *al-Fatāt* in Alexandria in 1892. *Al-Fatāt* published selections from Taymūr's poetry collection *Finest Class / Ḥilya al-Ṭirāz* (Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* 114). Around the same time, several other journals were established by Lebanese women in Egypt, including *The Intimate Companion / 'Anīs al-jalīs* (1898), *The Family / al-'Āila* (1899), *The Woman / al-Mar'ā*, *Happiness / al-Sa'āda*, *The Magazine of Ladies and Girls / Majalla al-Sayyidāt wa-al-banāt*, Labiba Hashim's *Eastern Women / Fatāt al-sharq* (1906-1939), and Malaka Sa'd's *The Gentle Class / al-Jins al-laṭīf* (1908-25). These periodicals mainly featured articles on women's rights and advocated for women's participation in modern literary culture, advancing what Taymūr had pioneered in the preceding decade(s). Egyptian women followed suit, and established periodicals with an even more overt political tone. For instance, in 1907, Jamīla Ḥafiz published *al-Rayḥāna*, in which she advocated nationalism and anti-colonialism. In addition, Labiba Aḥmad founded the monthly *Women's Awakening / al-Nahḍa al-Nisā'iyya*, which later became the outlet of The Association of Egyptian Women's Awakening; both the periodical and the association advocated women's equality and women's education.⁶¹

⁶¹ For an inclusive listing of women's magazines of the *al-Nahḍa* period and afterwards, see Zeidan (238-48). Also, for a detailed discussion of their contents, see Zeidan (46-50) and Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied*. As an aside, several male journalists of the time, rather than withdrawing their assistance with the growth of these journals, were actively involved in women's periodicals. For instance, Salīm Sarkīs used the feminine pseudonym Maryam Mazhar

Taymūr exerted enormous influence on the participation of women in Arabic print culture. In her preface to *Consequences*, a frequently-cited autobiographical sketch, she documents her childhood distaste for knitting and embroidery, which were typical feminine crafts of the time, as compared to her avid interest in gathering old stories from the elderly, learning writing, immersing herself in literature of various sorts, and ultimately aspiring to become a woman author (Taymūr 24-25). Taymūr's early rebellion provided an impetus for contemporary and later women to become involved in literary culture. As a published author and poet, Taymūr used her reputation to endorse the works of her female contemporaries, such as Hind Noufal and Zaynab Fawwāz (also Taymūr's biographer) (Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-building* 199).

Taymūr's impact on the development of women's literary culture of *al-Nahḍa* and afterwards has been frequently noted.⁶² However, what has not yet been explored is the appearance and use of the *Nights* in women's periodicals, as Taymūr had done earlier in *Consequences*. My study shows that women's periodicals of *al-Nahḍa* mostly contain indirect reworkings of selected elements of the *Nights* rather than explicit reprintings of its stories. An example is Malakah Sa'd, editor of the monthly *The Gentle Class / Al-Jins al-laṭīf* (1908-1925) in Cairo. In an early article in her magazine, Sa'd recounts the hardship she overcame in order to establish the periodical ("The Wife and Marriage"). In the pursuit of her goal, Sa'd compares herself to Sinbad the Seaman, but simultaneously conflates that prototype with the fifth brother of the Barber in the *Nights*, who becomes destitute due to his excessive daydreaming

for his publication of *Mir'āt al-Ḥasnā'*, an exemplary women's journal in Cairo; and brothers Najīb and Amīn al-Haddad provided editorial assistantship for Alexandra Avierinotch's *'Anīs al-jalīs* (Zeidan 49).

⁶² For instance, see Fawwāz (303-19); Ziyāda, *'Ā'isha al-Taymūrriya: Poet of the Vanguard*; Baron (*Women's Awakening in Egypt* 51); Booth (*May Her Likes Be Multiplied* 23, 110); Elsadda (103-05); and Yousef (67-71).

(*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 108-11). Engaged in the business of glassware, the Barber's fifth brother dreams of making great profit in his trade, marrying the vizier's daughter, and becoming a king, and ultimately pictures himself beating and kicking the noble daughter as she is requesting his kindness. While imaging the assault on his wife, the Barber's brother heedlessly beats and kicks the glassware and thus destroys his only merchandise (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 108-9). In Sa'd's retelling, Sinbad the Seaman is on his way to the bazaar to sell his oil, and has a daydream similar to that of the Barber's brother. Sa'd's Sinbad eventually beats up his imaginary son for his disobedience, and thereby spoils his oil ("The Wife and Marriage" 83). Sa'd further states that she identified with Sinbad over the difficulties she had establishing the journal with her limited means, and implies that the retelling of these tales in the first issue of her magazine contains a cautionary note, for herself and her female fellows, to avoid daydreaming like the Barber's brother, and to endeavor to cultivate their vocational dreams like Sinbad (of the *Nights*) ("The Wife and Marriage" 83-84).

Another women's periodical of the time, *The Intimate Companion / 'Anīs al-jalīs* (1898-1907), uses elements from the *Nights* even more prominently. Baron maintains that female-run periodicals of *al-Nahḍa* tended to avoid pre-modern popular literature and instead sought to follow 'high' Arabic linguistic and literary traditions. In her words, *al-Nahḍa* women writers "did not connect themselves to female producers of oral culture, the reservoir of storytellers, singers of ballads, and other indigenous women whose medium was colloquial speech" (*Women's Awakening in Egypt* 42). While this statement does explain women's strategies for literary recognition within the male-dominated *'adab* of the time, my examination of *'Anīs al-jalīs* indicates that the periodical displays the deployment of elements of pre-modern popular literary culture as featured in the *Nights*.

ʿAnīs al-jalīs was founded and run by Alexandra Avierino (1872-1926), a Greco-Lebanese female journalist, translator, and poet, in Alexandria in 1898. Avierino intended her periodical to feature articles on the education of young girls and the improvement of women’s rights. Though meant for a female readership, the magazine found an audience among Alexandrian men as well.⁶³ On the origin of the magazine’s title, Baron notes that some women’s journals of *al-Nahḍa* bore titles that “were more metaphoric and tended to stress gender polarity. [...] *ʿAnīs al-jalīs* (*The intimate companion*) suggested female bonds and intimacy” (*Women’s Awakening in Egypt* 62-63). While Baron’s explanation sounds fitting, given the increasing accessibility of the editions of the *Nights*,⁶⁴ it is likely that Avierino took her title from the *Nights* itself. The Egyptian *Nights* re-printed the tale of *ʿAnīs al-jalīs*. In the *Nights*, *ʿAnīs al-jalīs*, a slave girl, trespasses the boundaries set for her in the house of the king’s vizier, al-Faḍl, where she resides temporarily before she would be gifted to the king of Basra, and where she makes love to Vizier al-Faḍl’s handsome son, ‘Alī Nūr al-Dīn (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 116-17). The vizier’s son, who is a reckless and irresponsible youth, spends his inheritance on partying and friendships after his father passes away (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 119-20). Unlike him, *ʿAnīs al-jalīs* is learned, intelligent, pragmatic, and influential with the male characters of the story. She provides remedial financial advice to Alī Nūr al-Dīn when he is destitute (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 120-21). Later on, *ʿAnīs al-jalīs* saves not only her husband, but also Ja‘far Barmakī and the garden keeper, from Harūn al-Rashīd’s wrath with her accomplished singing and lute playing in

⁶³ For instance, Avierino anticipated that her magazine would be potentially read by 31,200 female readers in Egypt, and Baron estimates the number as high as 35,199 (“Readers and the Women’s Press in Egypt” 220). When Avierino visited a girls’ school in 1901, one student gave a speech, stating “We always read your magazine, as guiding lamps, a model of excellence and success” (qtd. in Booth, “Activism through Literature” 16). These readers could then read the magazine to less literate and/or illiterate female audiences.

⁶⁴ See the editions of the *Nights* listed in the Appendix.

the Caliph's garden in Baghdad (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 128-29). More importantly, 'Anīs al-jalīs prompts Harūn al-Rashīd to save Alī Nūr al-Dīn's life when his death at the hands of the king of Basra is imminent (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 135). Eventually, 'Anīs al-jalīs and Alī Nūr al-Dīn receive one of Harūn al-Rashīd's palaces in Baghdad, as a gift, to reside in. Gelder has argued that in the configuration of slave-girl lost and regained, as the structural pattern of 'Anīs al-jalīs of the *Nights*, the female partner is usually morally, intellectually, and artistically superior to her male counterpart ("Slave-girl Lost and Regained" 202).⁶⁵ Although she is not given many chances to display her various expertise, 'Anīs al-jalīs knows "writing, grammar, language, hermeneutics, fiqh, medicine, astrology, and music" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 116).

Avierino capitalizes on the superior intellectual positioning of the strong female figure in the *Nights* for her magazine, which promotes education for Arabian and Egyptian girls to empower them for a modern lifestyle. In fact, girls' education is a major theme in 'Anīs al-jalīs. Avierino's magazine encourages writers to endorse girls' education as an important component of building a strong modern nation: "Easterners must know [this] and teach their male and female children equally if they wish to improve their matters and advance their status; otherwise, their future will be twice as bad as the past, and weakness will dominate their national collectivity" ("Educating the Girls" 58-59). Encouraging girls' literacy, 'Anīs al-jalīs contains biographies of female European monarchs and political personages. Avierino's periodical introduces readers to these learned female personages who are capable of earning a living based on their writing and publication output. For instance, the magazine published a biography of Romania's queen, suggesting her capacities as a writer and poet, and states that even

⁶⁵ Also, Gelder shows that 'Anīs al-jalīs is not the only story of an erudite slave-girl in the *Nights*. Others include, for example, the story of Tawaddud and the tale of 'Alī Shār and Zumurrud ("Slave-girl Lost and Regained" 203, 205).

* ١٩٩ *

الف ليلة وليلة



(ش ٣٩) تقدم نور الدين وضما وقبلها

تسمعه ، مني قال نعم فاخبرته بما فعل ولدك فحزن ومزق ثيابه ولطم على وجهه
وتنف لحيته . فقالت له لا تقتل نفسك انا اعطيك من مالي عشرة آلاف
دينار ثمنها فعند ذلك رفع رأسه اليها وقال لها ويلك انا مالي حاجة بثمنها
ولكن خوفي ان تروح روحي ومالي فقالت له يا سيدي ما سبب ذلك قال
لها اما تعلمين ان وراءنا هذا العدو الذي يقال له المعين بن ساوي ومتي سمع
بهذا الامر تقدم الى السلطان وقال له

❖ الليلة القاسية والتسعون والمائة ❖ قالت بلغني ايها الملك السعيد ان
الوزير قال لزوجتي اما تعلمين ان وراءنا عدوا يقال له المعين بن ساوي ومتي
سمع بهذا الامر تقدم الى السلطان وقال له ان وزيرك الذي تزعم انه يحبك اخذ
منك عشرة آلاف دينار واشترى بها جارية ما رأى احد مثلها فلما اعجبته قال
لابن خذها انت احق بها من السلطان وها هي الجارية عنده فيقول الملك
تكذب فيقول الملك عن اذنك اهجم عليه واتيك بها فياذن له في ذلك

Image I: Illustration of the union between 'Anīs al-jalīs and 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn from al-Hilāl's edition of the *Nights* (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 2: 199).

without her political career, “she would certainly be enriched from the income she would make from writing her stories and composing her fine poems” (“The Learned Queens” 210). The same article mentions notable European women such as Queen Margherita of Italy, the Queen of Portugal, and the mother of the Emperor of Germany, and their accomplishments in, respectively, writing and languages, medicine, and music and horticulture. The article notes that these personages could accumulate wealth relying on the said skills and regardless of their political affiliations (“The Learned Queens” 211-12). Avierino’s magazine presents influential female figures in order to inspire the development of similar domestic Arabic and Egyptian counterparts. Although she is not noble, contemporary, or European, the periodical’s namesake, ‘Anīs al-jalīs – with her contemporary popular-cultural associations of aptitude and learned-ness – becomes a figure of modern education and vocation for Egyptian girls and women.

Additionally, whereas several stories in the *Nights* contain polygamous and adulterous figures, ‘Anīs al-jalīs’ tale stands out as encouraging monogamy.⁶⁶ Vizier al-Faḍl insists that Alī Nūr al-Dīn remain monogamous with his wife, ‘Anīs al-jalīs. He requests his son to “not marry another wife, not harm her [i.e. ‘Anīs al-jalīs], and not sell her,” and Alī Nūr al-Dīn accepts this condition (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 118). This request on the part of al-Faḍl, who passes away right after their marriage, is curious, since his son’s happiness does not seem to depend on monogamy; rather, Alī Nūr al-Dīn’s life is mostly brought to ruin due to his financial recklessness and later by court animosities against the dead vizier. Regardless of the rationale behind the request in the tale, the notion of monogamy becomes a major theme in Avierino’s *‘Anīs al-jalīs*. After the first year of the magazine, an anonymous contributor commended Avierino’s publication for

⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of polygyny and adultery in the *Nights*, see “Marriage.”



Image II: Cover of *ʿAnīs al-jalīs*, 30 April 1899.

discussing marriage, while (erroneously) criticizing other women's periodicals for disregarding the topic ("Generous Message" 12). In fact, *'Anīs al-jalīs* advocated compassionate marriage and monogamy as integral elements in the changing identity of modern Egyptian women. In 1898, *'Anīs al-jalīs* featured an attack on polygyny and men's convenient access to divorce, as ongoing attempts, through other periodicals of the time, were being made to implement a partnering, compassion-based ideal of marriage for modern Egyptian families (Shajara al-Durr).⁶⁷

Nevertheless, these examples from *'Anīs al-jalīs* occur within the larger trend in *al-Nahḍa* women's periodicals to domesticate nineteenth-century European feminism, and thus bring about modernizations of various sorts – in education, literary production, professional practice, and political representation – for Egyptian women. Booth demonstrates that the earliest women's journals of *al-Nahḍa* clearly identified with the West: "In *The Young Woman*, twelve out of fifteen profiles featured Western women; in *The Sociable Companion's* [*'Anīs al-jalīs's*] 1898 volume, it was six out of six (not including the West-focused collective biographical essays)" (*May Her Likes Be Multiplied* 48). Nonetheless, Booth's statement is based on explicit identification and references in these pioneering periodicals, and *'Anīs al-jalīs* draws on Arabian literary and cultural traditions, adapting and modernizing *'Anīs al-jalīs* of the *Nights*. *'Anīs al-jalīs* manages to survive and also save Alī Nūr al-Dīn's life and those of other men with her compositional dexterity and political skill, all within a monogamous partnership, making her iconography desirable as an ideal figure of modern Egyptian womanhood. Particularly, Avierino indicates her domestic outlook as she discusses the inclusion of the biographies of European and American female figures in her publication: "It is particularly excruciating for this Eastern

⁶⁷ Also, for a broader discussion of the changing conceptions and practices of marriage – including the idealization of compassion-based marriage – during *al-Nahḍa*, see Cuno, *Modernizing Marriage*.

women's journal to not discern within our [own] women an adornment to embellish its front pages ("Pictures of the Magazine" 205). Her article also regards the achievements of (pre-) Islamic Arabian women in poetry, sciences, and literature as a "legacy" to be regained in the present time ("Pictures of the Magazine" 206). It is in this spirit of regaining the legacy of past female creativity that Avierino encourages readers' contributions. Although her magazine did not eventually feature many articles written by women, it did publish some articles by major female writers such as Labiba Hashim, who later produced *Eastern Women / Fatāt al-sharq* (1906-39), and set a pioneering example for female creativity and Egyptian women's active participation in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa* and afterwards. In a sense, Avierino seeks to build a community of modern-day 'Anīs al-jalīs – educated girls and accomplished, influential women – through a rhetoric of exemplarity in her 'Anīs al-jalīs in contemporary Egypt.

However, this discussion should not be taken to imply that the *Nights* has influenced the development of 'Anīs al-jalīs throughout. Nor was the *Nights* the only domestic example of popular literature at Avierino's or other female journalists' disposal. Furthermore, my argument is not that the *Nights* editions already described modern Egyptian family structures or advocated modern-style education for Arabian girls, but rather, that the *Nights* was increasingly employed in the formation of certain aspects of modernity in Egypt that pertained to women's changing identity and their participation in public cultures of *al-Nahḍa*. This re-purposing, as the example of 'Anīs al-jalīs suggests, was more implicit – in the titular and iconic domains – rather than explicit republication of the tales.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Another relevant example is *Shajara al-durr*, a bilingual Turkish and Arabic magazine, which Sa'd al-Dīn founded in Alexandria in 1901. However, I have not been able to access this journal or most of the other women's periodicals I have mentioned earlier, due to their scarcity in North American libraries. Even though such titles as 'Anīs al-jalīs and *Shajara al-durr* may suggest the

On this topic, Anderson highlights periodicals for their function as markers of the formation of the new solidarity that is integral to the development of modern nationhood. For Anderson, for example, the newspaper is a major form of print capitalism whose consumption by readers reinforces the imagined community's perception of clocked and calendrical time. While the aforementioned women's periodicals were not released on a daily basis as newspapers were, their production, circulation, and readership on a regular basis validate Anderson's understanding of the operations of newspapers and periodicals as temporary "best sellers" (*Imagined Communities* 35). Nonetheless, and with regard to the readership and development of the periodicals, he does not take femininity into account:

The significance of this mass ceremony [...] is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. [...] What more vivid figure of the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? (*Imagined Communities* 35)

Though not newspapers per se, the *al-Nahḍa* women's periodicals were released on a fairly regular basis, featured calendrical dates, and discussed contemporary and historical world events. More importantly, they created an imagined link among their male *and female* readers as

growing re-working and legitimization of the *Nights* by modernist female writers and periodicalists, I anticipate that the deployments of the *Nights* in women's periodicals of *al-Nahḍa* is more implicit than explicit thanks to the aforementioned perceptions of fantasy and erotica within the tale collection. My plan is to reach these women's journals and further explore their uses of motifs, characters, narratives, and models of self-articulation in the *Nights* as part of their redefinition of modern Arabian and Egyptian femininity.

simultaneous, anonymous consumers of shared printed material in a common everyday life.⁶⁹ Specifically, given their catering to women readers on such topics as the changing conception of womanhood in domestic, familial, and public life in modern Egyptian nation, these periodicals demonstrate that the composition of the imagined community of readers was not homogeneous and solid, but was various and diverse in terms of gender. In other words, female publishers, authors, and readers worked toward implementing a new solidarity based on the medium of print concerning new issues of national significance and women's participation in these discourses. As such, the examination of the operation of these periodicals suggests that Anderson's monolithic viewpoint is insufficiently nuanced. Anderson's ignorance of female participation in the print culture of periodicals is ultimately demonstrated by his consistent use of masculine pronouns throughout *Imagined Communities*.

The heterogeneity of gender in the national reading community, as opposed to Anderson's homogeneous model, was due to female creators of periodicals, who contributed in various ways to the transformation of their readers into participants in the national scene. Although the pejorative associations of superstition and erotica prevented these women from explicitly reproducing the tales of *Nights* in their periodicals, they did invoke the figure of Scheherazade, with the attendant perceptions of creativity and productivity, in order to write and publish on women's education, public visibility, and civic contributions. In a later work, Booth explicitly acknowledges pre-modern Arabic popular literature in relation to the formation of female literary modernity: "Yet this traditional image of woman as storyteller, as shaper of her children's and grandchildren's lives, for better or for worse, through stories – carried a critical

⁶⁹ Although collective literacy did not reach a majority during *al-Nahda*, men's literacy rate only tripled, while women's literacy increased twenty-five times between 1897 and 1927 (Yousef 43-46).

message: women would now tell their own stories in print and would join battle, as it were, over contestations about women's status in modern Arab societies" ("Activism through Literature" 6-7). In this relatively broad statement, Booth suggests that elements of pre-modern Arabic popular culture made their way into modernized and printed literariness at the hands of Egyptian women of *al-Nahḍa*. In this regard, Booth mentions Scheherazade as a female prototype offhandedly ("Activism through Literature" 6). In a similar way, Ashour et al. point to the rich and complex tradition of pre-modern Arabic female literary production for its re-workings by contemporary Arabian women: "The mother of them all is, of course, Sheherazade, the mistress of speech, who tells stories upon stories. Her tales go beyond time and place, and through them, she takes leave of the king's bedchamber and steps into the wider world" (Introduction 2). Where Booth's mention of Scheherazade is offhanded, and Ashour's and her co-authors' pointing to Scheherazade is relatively broad and metaphorical, my examinations substantiate their observations and confirm that modernist female Egyptian writers and publishers of *al-Nahḍa* – such as Taymūr, Sa'd, Aviernio (and perhaps Sa'd al-Dīn too) – borrowed from, trans-mediated, and repurposed selected characters, tales, elements, and motifs of the *Nights* in forging modern female authors and readers as participants in the culture of printed material.⁷⁰ Ultimately, these re-worked and modernized prototypes of femininity, to use Anderson's words, are "replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others [i.e. readers] of whose existence he [or she; as fellow female readers] is confident" (*Imagined Communities* 35) in order to forge their own individual and collective modern identities as educated women and literate, cultured Egyptians. With a view of the increasing participation of female periodicalists and readers discussing issues

⁷⁰ For a broader discussion of modernization and revitalization integral to the professionalization and popularization of modern authorship in Egypt during *al-Nahḍa*, see Yousef (77-101).

of significance to Arabic and Egyptian modern nationalities, the imagined community is gendered, composite, and heterogeneous, rather than homogeneous as Anderson regards it.

In the light of Taymūr's and the female journalists' visions and contributions, Anderson seems not to sufficiently acknowledge the extent to which women participated in the print culture on the emergent national stage. Arguing that "nations are not simply phantasmagoria of the mind; as systems of cultural representation whereby people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community, they are historical practices through which social difference is both invented and performed" (89), Anne McClintock explicitly criticizes male theorists such as Anderson, "who have seldom felt moved to explore how nationalism is implicated in gender power" (89). McClintock further maintains that women participate in the constitution of the nation, among other roles, "as active transmitters and producers of the national culture" (90). Taymūr, Sa'd, and Avierno, as well as their female fellows in *al-Nahḍa*, do exemplify McClintock's characterization. They all accomplished these tasks of transmission and production by re-working themes and elements of the *Nights* for the purpose of forging nationally validated role models for Egyptian females, younger and older, in the sphere of literature and beyond, to follow.

V. The *Nights* for Women

I have previously suggested that Taymūr should be regarded as a trailblazer in promoting the modern usage of the *Nights* as children's literature. Nevertheless, *Consequences* was not highly accessible to young readers in the *al-Nahḍa* period. The book is written in rhyming prose and contains convoluted imagery, somewhat in the style of classical *maqāma*.⁷¹ In addition,

⁷¹ On *Consequences* following the *maqāma* style, see Hafez (131). Also, Abu-Nasr has observed that complicated prose style was a prevalent hindrance against the development of children's

Taymūr addresses children’s caretakers, rather than children themselves, at the outset of *Consequences*. She holds adults responsible for preventing the destruction of “the soundness of the formation of manhood and virtue” (Taymūr 28) in youngsters. Indeed, in her anecdote of her exposure to *Consequences* as a child, Ziyāda acknowledges that she *listened* to *Consequences* being read to her *by* an adult.⁷² Alongside attempts to professionalize child-rearing on a national scale, mothers were considered important agents in the acculturation of children as strong and responsible citizens.⁷³ Ziyāda’s account on the one hand, and the contemporary upholding of mothers as agents of socialization on the other, suggest that the main target audience of *Consequences* was women rather than men.⁷⁴ However, even though the 1890 *al-Muqtaṭaf* essay does recommend *Consequences* and children’s literature in general for women and especially mothers, this observation should be made with caution due to the relative dearth of publication data regarding *Consequences*. *Al-Muqtaṭaf* aims to “caution mothers regarding the books they give their children for reading. Young children can only be given books that they understand, benefit from, and enjoy. Such books are rare. We do not know of them except some books that the American press of Beirut published” (“House Management Section” 346). This essay can be read as evidence of women’s literacy and access to the book market as well as their

literature at the time in question (781). In 1926, the issue of the complicated prose style of *Consequences* was even raised with regard to adults’ readership (let alone juvenile audiences) (‘Ibādih 407).

⁷² A report on Ziyāda’s essay appeared in *al-Muqtaṭaf* in the same year, indicating both the importance of *Consequences* and Ziyāda’s account of it (“The Section on Scientific News” 349-50).

⁷³ Yousef discusses the responsibility of *al-Nahḍa* mothers to raise their children as a duty to the nation (53-54). Also, see Morrison for further discussion of mothers’ responsibilities for children in the modern Egyptian nation (4-5; 14; 44-45; 97).

⁷⁴ This is not to deny other intended or actual readers of the book. An 1893 anecdote by a fierce critic of Taymūr’s work of social criticism, *A Reflective Mirror on Some Matters* (1892) praises Taymūr’s literary accomplishments, suggesting that *Consequences* was discussed in male-dominated adult literary gatherings of the time (qtd. in Hatem, *Literature, Gender, and Nation-Building* 130).

responsibility for the education of their children.⁷⁵ It is likely that women were among the target audiences of works such as *Consequences*, especially considering their roles as guardians of their children. In the dynamic context of *al-Nahḍa*, women were transitioning from their pre-modern role of oral storytellers (such as Taymūr's grandmother and the senior women, whose stories she listened to) to literate modern readers and guardians empowered to make choices from the variety of increasingly accessible printed material.

Nonetheless, even as women were encouraged to read works such as *Consequences*, they, and by extension their children, were cautioned away from its progenitor, the *Nights*, which was regarded as corrupting and immoral because of its elements of superstition and eroticism.⁷⁶ In general, women's reading of "improper texts" provoked anxiety over those texts possibly inspiring "immoral behavior" (Baron, "Readers and the Women's Press in Egypt" 219). In 1894, seven years before the release of its expurgated edition of the *Nights*, the periodical *al-Hilāl* dismisses existing texts of the *Nights* as containing "superstition and prattles the likes of ifreets and jinns" ("The Section on Queries and Suggestions: The History of Coins" 107). Also in this regard, Abu-Nasr observes that the *Nights* (as well as the stories of El-Shater Hassan and Goha) were not favored as children's literature by Arabic cultural elites, who were concerned over the educational value of these texts (781). Interestingly enough, even though Egyptian women and children were cautioned against the *Nights*, the Būlāq edition and its reprints sold well to European and American visitors and to ruling elites in Egypt and across the wider Arabian region (Mahdi 100, 240; Larzul 207; Moussa-Mahmoud 102). Moreover, the circumstances of the *Nights* in Egypt were slightly different from its situation in Lebanon, where 'morally

⁷⁵ On the broader topic of Egyptian women's participation in the market as producers and traders in the nineteenth century, see Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (64-131).

⁷⁶ Yousef has discussed the general distrust of "superstitious" women during *al-Nahḍa* (53).

cleansed' copies of the *Nights* were produced by 'Adabiyya Press (in 4 volumes) and Jesuits Press (in 5 volumes), respectively, in 1880-82 and 1888-90. In this regard, the anecdote of Lebanese feminist author and translator 'Anbara Salam Khālidī (1897-1986) is instructive. In her memoirs, Khālidī refers to the absence of children's literature during her childhood; in compensation, she would read everything at her disposal, including books of prayers and almanacs, and especially her favorite work, the *Nights* (39-40).⁷⁷ Given contemporary moral concerns of the 'corrupting impact' of the *Nights* for women and children, and especially her Islamic family background, it is likely that Khālidī's "favourite" childhood book was one of the bowdlerized editions of the *Nights* published in Beirut.

Partly prompted by the Lebanese publishers, partly in response to the increasing number of women readers of the time, and partly impelled by the aforementioned cautionary discourse of the consumption of the *Nights* by women and children, al-Hilāl Press of Cairo decided to publish a 'women-friendly' edition of the *Nights*.⁷⁸ In an advertisement in 1901, *Al-Hilāl* informs readers of the popularity of the book in European literatures: "*A Thousand and One Nights* has been published numerous times and translated into most European languages" ("New Publications" 446). In the meantime, the advertisement taps into European demand for the *Nights* by referring to its Egyptian edition as "the most complete" ("New Publications" 446). Most important, *al-Hilāl* describes its edition of the *Nights* as cleaned up, especially for female readers: "and we are

⁷⁷ Also, for a corresponding account of Fatma Aliye (1864-1936), an early female Ottoman writer, and her reading of the Turkish *Nights* during her childhood, see Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?" (50-51).

⁷⁸ See the Appendix in 1901-05 for this title. Also, this argument should not be taken to suggest that women did not find access to, or did not read, the unexpurgated *Nights*. Selim discusses the abundance of commercially successful "vulgar" fiction that were in circulation during *al-Nahḍa*, in response to which anxious cultural elites suppressed/marginalized some texts and cleansed others, and thus served to promote the formation of the Egyptian bourgeois (43-49). Similarly, it can be speculated that it was women's reading of the unexpurgated *Nights* that prompted the elite press to rework the collection to make it 'appropriate' for Egyptian middle-class women.

in an era when the two sexes compete in reading books” (“New Publications” 446). Female readers are particularly considered as an increasing segment of the reading population as compared to *adīb*, the traditional literary elite, which was predominantly male. In order to cater to the demands of this new body of readership, *Al-Hilāl* further informs its readers that Beirut publishers released two expurgated editions of the *Nights* (“New Publications” 446). In the wake of the Lebanese editions, *Al-Hilāl* produced its own such edition of the *Nights*, characterized as “completely cleansed [...] so that maidens are not embarrassed reading it” (“New Publications” 446). The editorial dynamic behind the *Nights* edition of al-Hilāl Press caters to the increasing demands of women readers for literary materials by cleansing the publication of erotica, which, as the advertisement further states, ‘stains’ the Egyptian *Nights* (“New Publications” 446). As with *Consequences*, al-Hilāl’s publication attempts to interlink moral etiquette and literature, this time explicitly in relation to women as readers. As such, it is only after its appropriation in Taymūr’s *Consequences* that the *Nights* was explicitly repurposed for female readers in Egypt. Ultimately, and upon the publication of the fifth volume in 1905, *Al-Hilāl* promoted its edition of the *Nights* as *the first ever illustrated* publication of the *Nights* in Arabic, containing about 200 illustrations (“New Publications” 192).⁷⁹

My examination of al-Hilāl’s *Nights* confirms that its editors aimed at boosting and legitimizing the popularity of the book with women. Al-Hilāl Press, in Cairo, printed the *Nights* in five illustrated volumes; Volumes One and Two in 1901, Volumes Three and Four in 1903, and eventually Volume Five in 1904-05. A comparison between Wahabiyya’s and al-Hilāl’s editions illuminates the editorial scope involved in the latter, even though Arabic editions in

⁷⁹ My comparison of al-Hilāl’s and Edward William Lane’s *Nights* indicates that al-Hilāl borrowed illustrations – for instance, in “City of Brass” / *madīna al-nuḥās* – from the English publication (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 3: 134-58). See Chapter II of this dissertation for a discussion of Lane’s *Nights*.

general have less “obscenity” than, for instance, the Wortley-Montague manuscript (“Sexuality” 701).

Specifically, my examination shows that the al-Hilāl Press aimed primarily at deleting instances of sexually graphic language from the *Nights*. The tale of “As‘ad and Amjad,” for example, contains an account of incest (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 2: 83-108). As‘ad and Amjad are the two sons of King Qmar al-Zamān, born to his wives, Ḥayāt al-Nufūs and Budūr, respectively. When the princes are grown, Ḥayāt al-Nufūs falls in love with Budūr’s son and Budūr falls for Ḥayāt al-Nufūs’s son. However, the princes reject the women’s proposals, in reaction to which the two queens trick King Qmar al-Zamān into punishing his sons. Although the misogyny remains, the al-Hilāl Press removes the passionate verses Ḥayāt al-Nufūs writes to Prince Amjad in the Wahabiyya edition (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 33; *Al-Hilāl Nights* 2: 84). Likewise, Budūr’s passionate verses to As‘ad are absent from al-Hilāl’s edition (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 34-35; *Al-Hilāl Nights* 2: 85). However, neither the tales nor the cut verses contain graphic erotic imagery, and the al-Hilāl edition is otherwise identical to the Wahabiyya version of the story.

Al-Hilāl’s appropriation goes beyond versification.⁸⁰ In the story of the Nazarene broker, which is embedded in “The Tailor, The Hunchback, Bailiff, etc.” a former merchant falls in love with a lady at the bazaar, and manages to spend lascivious nights with her (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 1: 164-86). In the meantime, the merchant is impoverished, commits thievery, and, as punishment, he loses his right hand (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 1: 173-75). The Wahabiyya and al-Hilāl versions are similar except that the latter lacks the versification as well as the descriptions of sexual intimacy between the merchant and his beloved. As the merchant visits the lady’s palatial house for the

⁸⁰ For a broader discussion of the exclusion and inclusion of poetry in the *Nights*, see Van Gelder, “Poetry and the *Arabian Nights*.”

first time, she warmly welcomes him, and in the merchant's words, "[she] took me in her arms, pressed me to her bosom, put her mouth on my mouth, and started sucking up my tongue, and I did the same" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 85). In the next rendezvous, the merchant recounts that "[we] jumped on one another and kissed lips" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 85). These expressions of physical intimacy are not included in al-Hilāl's version, even though the sexual practice is mostly controlled by the story's heroine.

Another story of controlling female figures that is modified in al-Hilāl's edition is the barber's tale of his second brother Baqbaq, contained in "The Story of Baghdad's Tailor" (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 1: 187-218). Baqbaq is invited to a grand house by an anonymous old lady. She gets him to eat, drink, dance, and play with her slave-girls, and shaves his beard. The al-Hilāl and Wahabiyya editions are almost identical, except that the al-Hilāl edition does not mention Baqbaq's erection, undressing, and sexual gratification by a slave girl. For example, in the Wahabiyya edition, the old lady councils Baqbaq that her daughter "does not give her body to anyone until she takes off her clothes, undresses completely, and stays naked, and that you do the same thing" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 105). While Baqbaq undresses and follows the naked girl throughout the house, "lust overcomes him, and his dick hardens" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 105). During the chase game, Baqbaq falls through a hidden trap door embedded in the floor, lands in the middle of the crowded market while "naked with an erect dick," and is punished for, apparently, public nudity (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 105). These passages do not appear in the al-Hilāl edition, although the rest of the story is intact. As is evident from these examples, the al-Hilāl publisher omits passages perceived as bawdy, while the stories themselves depict strong women in charge of their own sexuality.

The most representative example of the al-Hilāl edition's modifications of stories with controlling heroines is "The Story of the Porter and the Girls" (or "Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad") (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 1: 37-63). Again, the al-Hilāl and Wahabiyya editions are similar, except that the sexual content present in the latter is removed from the former (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 27-58). This story follows three beautiful girls who allow a witty porter, and later three mendicants, to join their hilarious and luxurious evening festivities. Harūn al-Rashīd and his vizier Ja'far also manage to join this gathering of merry-making and music. In al-Hilāl's edition, the first poetic excerpt describing the second girl's beauty is not included (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 1: 38; *Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 27-8). In addition, the passage containing the playfulness of the three girls and the porter is completely dropped from al-Hilāl's edition:

As they became drunk, the girl who opened the door stood up, took off her clothes, became naked, jumped into that pool, played in the water, took the water into her mouth, and sprayed it onto the porter. Then she washed her body parts and between her thighs. Then she left the water and threw herself onto the porter's lap, and while pointing to her vagina, she asked him: What's its name? The porter replied: May God bless you! And she said: Wo wo wo! Don't you feel embarrassed? And she grabbed his neck and started slapping him. He replied: your vagina! She said: another word! So, he replied: Your pussy! She said: Another word! So he replied: Your cunt! She kept slapping him until his back and neck turned pale! Then he asked her: So what's its name? She replied: The basil of the bridges! The porter said: Oh, the basil of the bridges! Thank God for your health! Then they turned around cups and pitchers! The second girl stood up, took off her clothes, jumped into the pool, and she did like the first girl did [...]. (*Wahabiyya Nights* 1: 29)

The expurgations from the al-Hilāl edition are not limited to tales with strong female characters; explicit language relating to homosexual intimacy is also removed, as, for example, from the al-Hilāl version of “From the Tales of Abū Nuwās with Rashīd” (or “Abū Nuwās with the Three Boys”) (*Al-Hilāl Nights* 3: 210-13). In the Wahbiyyah edition, Abū Nuwās tricks three beautiful young boys into a feast of drinking and poetry and has intimate relations with them (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 218-20). Abū Nuwās continues reciting poetry, and when they are all drunk, he begins “caressing the boys with kisses and hugging, groping their legs with his legs, and did not bother about taboo or disgrace” (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 219). However, this passage does not appear in the al-Hilāl edition, though the rest of the story is identical in both versions.⁸¹

Ultimately, the al-Hilāl edition does not contain all of the stories that appeared in the Wahabiyya edition; in particular, the al-Hilāl edition removes two tales for which misogyny is a central element.⁸² The al-Hilāl edition does not feature “The Story Including Women’s Craftiness and that Their Malice Is Enormous” (or “Craft and Malice of Women; or the Tale of the King, His Son, His Concubine and the Seven Viziers”), though it is featured in the Wahabiyya edition (*Wahabiyya Nights* 3: 56-93). In this story, a king’s wicked concubine propositions his son, but ends up being punished after the prince refuses her advances. Nor does

⁸¹ In a sense, although al-Hilāl Press includes this tale of same-sex socialization, it curtails the story’s explicit same-sex union. For a related and broader discussion of distinguishing homosocialization from homosexuality as a marker of modernity in the nineteenth century, see Najmabadi, “Mapping Transformations of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in Modern Iran.”

⁸² This is not to claim that expression of misogyny is completely absent from the al-Hilāl edition; one such example is the story of As‘ad and Amjad, discussed earlier in this chapter.

حكاية الجمال مع البنات

❖ ٤٠ ❖

المدام وجلست هي واختمها وجلس الجمال بينهن وهو يظن انه في المنام ثم قدمت باطية
المدام وملات اول قدح وشربتة والثاني والثالث ثم ملات وناولت اختمها والاخرى
ثم ملات وناولت الجمال فاخذ الجمال منها الكاس وانشد هذا الشعر

اشرب الراح فاعزًا بالعمافي ان هذا الشراب للداء شافي

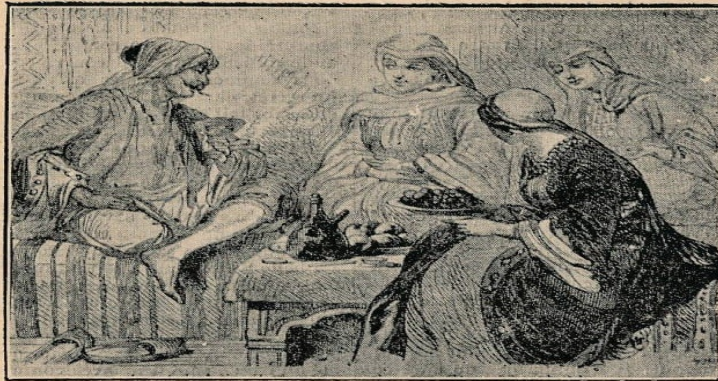
وبعد هذا الشعر قيل ايديهن وشرب معهن ثم نزل عند صاحبة المحل وقال
ياسيدي انا عبدك ومملوكك وخدامك وانشد يقول

على الباب عبد من عبيدك واقف بجدك والاحسان والشكر عارف

فقلت اشرب هنيئًا وعافية في مجاري الصحة . فاخذ الكاس وقبل يديها وترنم

بقول الشاعر

ناولتها شبه خديها مشعشة	حمرء يحكي سناها ضوء مقياس
فقبلتها وقالت وهي ضاحكة	فكيف تسقي خدود الناس للناس
قلت اشربي فهي من دمعي وحمرتها	دي ومازجها في الكاس انفاسي



(ش ٨) الجمال والبنات

فاخذت الصبية القدح وشربتة ونزلت عند اختمها ولا زلت والجمال بينهن في

Image III: Al-Hilāl's illustration of the union of the porter with the three girls (1: 40).⁸³

⁸³ In order to further realize the scope of the editorship involved in al-Hilāl's *Nights*, it is illuminating to compare this illustration to Image VI from the Şubayḥ edition of the Egyptian *Nights* in Chapter VI of this dissertation.

al-Hilāl's publication include "The Story of Predominance of Lust in Women and Its Cure," which appears in the Wahabiyya edition as "The King's Daughter and the Ape" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 188-9). In this tale, a king's daughter elopes with her companion monkey. The monkey serves the princess by satisfying her insatiable sexual desire. The omission of these two stories from the al-Hilāl edition is especially significant given the misogynist undertones present in the Beirut Jesuits edition, which al-Hilāl Press purportedly used as a source for its own edition. The Beirut Jesuits edition has been characterized as bowdlerized ("Censorship" 517), but still features "The Story of the King, His Son, the Ministers, and the Concubine" (*Beirut Jesuits Nights* 3: 344-86) as well as "The Story of the Woman's Craftiness with Her Husband" (*Beirut Jesuits Nights* 3: 63-4).

"Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle-girl" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 103-56) is another story that is not included in the al-Hilāl edition. While not necessarily a misogynist story, it does contain descriptions of the sexual adventures of Alī Nūr al-Dīn, a merchant's son, particularly his passionate lovemaking with Maryam, the daughter of the Frankish king. Similarly, the al-Hilāl edition omits "The Tale of Wardān the Butcher" (*Wahabiyya Nights* 2: 186-88), which features a woman who has intercourse with a bear in a far-away cave. During one of her visits to the bear, she is killed by a butcher, who then takes the treasures from the cave. Another tale omitted from the al-Hilāl edition for its depiction of prostitution, "From the Anecdotes of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Abū Ḥasan the Merchant of Oman," concerns Hārūn al-Rashīd's encounter with Ḥasan, a merchant from Oman. Ḥasan falls in love with the daughter of the keeper of a brothel in Baghdad that he frequents (*Wahabiyya Nights* 4: 233-42).⁸⁴

⁸⁴ For close readings of erotic elements in the frame-tale of the *Nights*, see Ghazoul (32-35) and Malti-Douglas, "Homosexuality, Heterosexuality, and Shahrazād." Also, for a broader discussion

As these examples demonstrate, al-Hilāl Press was concerned about sexually explicit language in the *Nights* and sought to remove it from their publication in accordance with the emergent bourgeois decorum. The preface to the al-Hilāl edition reiterates the Press’s desire to legitimize the text for women, “who are [nowadays] competing for the reading of books of literature” (1: i-ii), by removing perceived vulgarity and eroticism. This pursuit was informed by the notion of *al-Nahḍa* cultural elites that “promiscuous” popular literature was “dangerous” and would corrupt Egyptian authenticity amongst public readers (Selim 45-49, 52). Purging the erotic (and most of the misogynistic) elements and including illustrations – for the first time in the modern Arabic history of the book – helped make the publication more competitive in the book market, officially ‘acceptable,’ and sought after for and by women. These features, especially combined with the availability of the book by mail, further made the al-Hilāl edition an accessible reading choice for women, who generally were less mobile than their male counterparts.⁸⁵ The popularity of the *al-Hilāl* edition is evident from its advertisements, some of which have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Primarily, al-Hilāl Press had its own outlet – *al-Hilāl* magazine – in which to advertise the publication. As another example, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī’s periodical, *al-Ḍiyāʿ*, reiterates *al-Hilāl*’s lauding of the *Nights* for its European translations and the perceived moral concerns provoked by the tales, and ultimately extolls al-Hilāl’s publication for the expurgations, expanding the book’s readership for individual and group readings among old and young (“Literary Works: *A Thousand and One Nights*” 564-5). Even Rashīd Riḍa’s Quran-oriented periodical took part in this expansion. His *al-Manār* advertised *al-Hilāl*’s *Nights* as illustrated, available via mail, and free from “bawdiness and

of the medieval origins of misogyny and erotica in the *Nights*, see Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* (159-78).

⁸⁵ On the expansion of the postal system as facilitating public readership at the time, see Baron (*The Women’s Awakening in Egypt* 59), Yousef (27-28), and Fahmy (178).

insolence” (“Scientific Literary Works” 310). The popularity of this edition further grew in time and scope. In 1932, the Egyptian literary and cultural figure Aḥmad Ḥasan Al-Zayyāt (1885-1968) praises al-Hilāl’s edition of the *Nights*, stressing its *usefulness* for women and children. After criticizing various poor printings of the *Nights* available in the market, Al-Zayyāt describes the al-Hilāl and Beirut Jesuits editions as “more appropriate for adolescents’ morality and damsels’ modesty” (“The Life History of *A Thousand and One Nights*” 320-21). It appears from these accounts that al-Hilāl’s de-eroticization and appropriation of the *Nights* legitimized and expanded the public readership of the tale collection, catering particularly to the female readers of *al-Nahḍa*.

The al-Hilāl edition of the *Nights* was also a step towards building a modern Egypt based on modern Arabic. This was a point of pride for *Al-Hilāl*’s editor, Jurjī Zaydān, who was himself a Christian, as it would help bring together Egyptians of different religions and ethnic backgrounds within a unified national landscape (Yousef 36-37, 129, 139). With regard to the use of the *Nights* in nation-building, it is also reasonable to revisit Anderson’s theory. As discussed above, Anderson sees the novel as an element in the formation of the modern nation, and the nation as an analogue to the novel. In the novel, as in the modern national community, people who are not aware of one another’s existence operate horizontally within a shared unit. In this regard, Anderson especially emphasizes the anonymous aspect of nationhood, in which citizens who do not meet each other in their lifetimes are aware of their collective existence thanks to their shared consumption of the same printed material:

Notice that during this sequence [character] A and [character] D never meet, indeed may not even be aware of each other’s existence if [character] C has played her cards right. What then actually links A to D? Two complementary conception: First, that they are

embedded in ‘societies’ (Wessex, Lubeck, Los Angeles). These societies are sociological entities of such firm and stable reality that their members (A and D) can even be described as passing each other on the street, without ever becoming acquainted, and still connected. Second, A and D are embedded in the minds of the omniscient readers. Only they, like Gods, watch A telephoning C, B Shopping, and D playing pool all *at once*. That all these acts are performed at the same clocked calendrical time, but by actors who maybe largely unaware of one another, shows the novelty of this imagined world conjured up by the author in his readers’ minds. (*Imagined Communities* 25-26; italics original).

The *Nights* of al-Hilāl does not recount “firm and stable realities;” rather, it includes most of the content of the Būlāq edition of the *Nights*, and thus features several elements of fantasy and fable. Nor does the publication feature a consistent narrative of “clocked and calendrical time,” as the novel usually does.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, al-Hilāl explicitly re-purposes the *Nights* in print for simultaneous consumption by a community of readers, which includes both men and women. In fact, this publication, de-eroticized, illustrated, and popularized as it is, openly catered to women readers, an increasing segment of the population during this time.⁸⁷ In fact, with the al-Hilāl edition of the *Nights*, women readers are officially acknowledged as “firm and stable realities” that are “embedded” in modern Egyptian society. Without knowing one another, female readers

⁸⁶ However, the *Nights* has been recurrently used to develop modern novels. Although this argument is outside the scope of this chapter, see Irwin, “The *Arabian Nights* and the Origins of the Western Novel,” and Aravamudan, “The Adventure Chronotope and the Oriental Xenotope,” for discussions of the *Nights* as a formative text in the development of the modern European novel. Also, on the re-workings of the *Nights* in the modern Arabic novel in the mid-twentieth century and afterward, see ‘Abd al-Ghanī, *Scheherazade in Modern Arabic Thought*.

⁸⁷ Although the actual numbers were still small at the time, Baron reports that the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a 50-percent increase in female literacy and a 6.2-percent increase in male literacy (“Reader’s and Women’s Press in Egypt” 220).

– who “at once” experience the *Nights* of al-Hilāl – simultaneously envisage themselves as fellow participants in a modern nation that was increasingly characterized by literacy and consumption of modern printed literary material.⁸⁸ Al-Hilāl’s publication and re-formation of the *Nights*, as well as its promotions in periodicals, publicly recognized women as a thriving part of the modern reading nation. In other words, al-Hilāl’s ‘women-friendly’ re-purposing of the *Nights* facilitates the collective, anonymized, and simultaneous reading experience of modern printed material as conducive to the forging of a collective female selfhood during the *al-Nahḍa* period. Not only did these readers anonymously, publicly, and officially bond over the shared printed material of the *Nights*, female “omniscient readers” could identify with characters such as ʿAnīs al-jalīs or Scheherazade, and adapt and modernize these stories of strong female figures in order to forge their own self-definition in the changing domestic and public spheres.

VI. Conclusions

This chapter examines the repurposing of the *Nights* by and for women in the print culture of *al-Nahḍa* as writers and readers of modern literary and cultural works. Particularly, my examination of the *Nights* as deployed and consumed by female modern(ist) writers and readers poses a challenge to Anderson’s masculinized theory of nation-building, revealing the lack of sufficient nuance in his theory with regard to gender. Also, my critical revisiting of Anderson supports some of the existing gender-oriented responses to his theory. For example, Sharp criticizes the silence in intellectual analyses of gendered constructions of the history of nation-

⁸⁸ In this relation, Baron has observed that engagement with printed material indicated women’s identification with the modern literary culture (“Readers and the Women’s Press in Egypt” 222). Also, Yousef shows that praxis of reading and writing became a marker of modern and middle-class Egyptian identity during the time period in question (51-52). In a broader frame, Morrison argues that the formation of the Egyptian middle-class, or *effendification*, was facilitated by the consumption of material culture, such as clothing or books, by women as well as other segments of the population (70-71).

building enterprises, and particularly points to Anderson (98). Sharp specifically argues that Anderson is silent on women, and in his conception of the modern nation, women “are scripted into the national imaginary in a different manner” from men,” who in a “metonymic bond [...] act to save or promote the female nation” (99) and their vulnerable female fellows. My findings in this chapter confirm Sharp’s assessment that nation-building operates as a field of struggle, where, in contrast to monolithic masculinist historiography, the national polity is constituted by gendered identities (Sharp 106). Anderson views the nation as a “solid” community that makes a “steady” movement through “empty” and “homogeneous” time (*Imagined Communities* 26). Furthermore, my study critiques Anderson’s view of the nation as a homogeneous and solid reading community, instead foregrounding Egyptian nationality of the *al-Nahḍa* period as involving the participation of women. The re-formations, trans-mediations, and republications of the *Nights* by and for women in this period demonstrate the roles of women as active agents in modern Egyptian book and periodical culture. This critique further challenges the myths of homogeneity and perceived solidity in the modernist account of nation-building, showing it instead as a multifaceted, multidimensional, composite, and heterogeneous phenomenon. As such, the argument in my previous chapters has taken a new direction. Where the previous chapters demonstrated the heterogeneity of modern nationhood across the boundaries of readers’ social classes and discourses, this chapter shows the participation of women as readers, writers, and as cultural citizens.⁸⁹ The next chapter further complicates Andersonian homogeneity and

⁸⁹ On this topic, for a study of women as disenfranchised, but politically engaged cultural citizens in antebellum New England, see Zborays, *Voices without Votes*.

expands on the idea of heterogeneity as characteristic of modern nation-building by examining the *Nights* in the Iranian context.⁹⁰

VII. Appendix

The appendix lists publications of the *Nights* and its major tales in Egypt, in chronological order, up to 1922. The bibliographic entries are extracted from *OCLC WorldCat* and verified and complemented by consulting Chauvin and Akel. Due to the evolving nature of *OCLC WorldCat*, the following list should not be considered an exhaustive listing of Egyptian editions of the *Nights*. Unless otherwise noted in parentheses following an entry, the bibliographic item is extracted from *OCLC WorldCat*. In presenting these entries, *OCLC WorldCat* format has been mostly preserved in order to maintain consistency with the appendices to previous chapters.

Alf layla wa layla. 2 vols. Prepared by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharqāwī. Cairo:

Maṭba‘a Būlāq, 1252/1835 (Akel 436).

Ḥikaya uns al-wujūd ma ‘a ma ‘shūqat-hu [...]. Cairo: [publisher not mentioned], 1278/1861

(Akel 446).

⁹⁰ Another line of argument for the heterogeneity of the modern nation based on *al-Nahḍa* Arabic print culture can be made in view of the circulation of Arabic books and periodicals of the time across the emerging nation-state borders through the larger Arabic areas. For instance, some of the books and magazines that were issued in Egypt were also available via mail for their consumers in Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and elsewhere. However, this inquiry is beyond the focus of the present chapter, which deals with the heterogeneous formation of the modern Egyptian nation. I thus leave this query to future studies. Moreover, designating women’s participation in modern Egyptian nationhood based on the re-formation, re-mediation, and re-production of the *Nights*, as in this chapter, is not meant to deny the heterogeneity within the category of modern womanhood in Egypt across the lines of religion such as Coptic, Greek Orthodox and Muslim; or along the lines of class such as elite, urban, and rural. However, these questions are beyond the scope of the present study.

Qiṣṣa dalila al-muḥtala wa bintahā zaynab [...]. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1278/1861
(Akel 441).

Qiṣṣa al-malika al-hayfā' [...]. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1279/1862 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir 'Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1279/1862 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: Būlāq, 1279/1862 (Akel 447).

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. Prepared by Muḥammad Qiṭṭa 'Adwī. Būlāq: Maṭba'a 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī, 1279-1280/1862-1863,

<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/21281547.html>

Qiṣṣa Masrūr al-tājir ma'a ma'shūqata-hu [...]. Cairo: 1281/1864 (Akel 447).

Ḥikaya uns al-wujūd ma'a ma'shūqat-hu [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāstiliya, 1283/186 (Akel 446).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1286/1869 (Akel 447).

Ḥikaya uns al-wujūd ma'a ma'shūqat-hu [...]. Cairo: [publisher not mentioned], 1287/1870
(Akel 446).

Qiṣṣa qamar al-zamān ibn al-malik shahrimān [...]. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1287/1870
(Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā'igh al-baṣrī wa mā ittafaqa la-hu ma'a al-a'jamī wa-akhawātihi al-bināt wa-mā waqa'a la-hu fī jazar al-wāq wāq min sha'n zawjatih-i. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Wahabiyya, 1291/1874 (Akel 439, 448).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir 'Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1291/1874 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa ‘ajīb wa gharīb wa mā jarā la-humā [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāstiliya, 1296/1879 (Akel 448).

Qiṣṣa ‘ajīb wa gharīb wa mā jarā la-humā [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāstiliya, 1297/1880 (Akel 448).

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 1st ed. Prepared by Ṭāhā Maḥmūd Qiṭriyya al-Dimyāṭī al-Shāfi‘ī and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bilbīsī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Wahabiyya, 1297/1880 (Akel 439).

Qiṣṣat-un bahiyatun wa tuḥfat-un siniyyat-un tashtamil ‘alā mā jarā li Ḥasan al-baṣrī [...].
Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1297/1880 (Akel 448).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: [publisher unidentified], 1297/1880 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Sandbād al-baḥrī wa mā jarā la-hū fi al-sab‘ al-safarāt wa yalī-ha ḥikaya fi kayd al-nisā’.
Prepared by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kutubī, Cairo: 1880 (Akel 445).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir ‘Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāstiliya, 1297/1880 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1299/1882 (Akel 441, 448).

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 1st ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmira al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1352/1884.

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1301/1884 (Akel 441, 447).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyyah, 1301/1884 (Akel 441, 448).

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 1st ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1301-1302/1884-1885 (Akel 440).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441, 448).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Masrūr al-tājir ma‘a ma‘shūqata-hu [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Sandbād al-bahrī wa mā jarā la-hū fī al-sab‘ al-safarāt wa yalī-ha ḥikaya fī kayd al-nisā’. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441).

Qiṣṣa dalila al-muḥtala wa bintahā zaynab. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441).

Qiṣṣa ‘ajīb wa gharīb wa mā jarā la-humā. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441, 448).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir ‘Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885, (Akel 441, 447).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 448).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmira al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441, 448).

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1302/1885 (Akel 441), <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/44814433.html>.

Qiṣṣa dalila al-muḥtala wa bintahā zaynab al-naṣṣāba wa-akhīhā Zarīq al-sammāk: ma‘a al-muqaddam Aḥmad al-Danif wa-al-muqaddam Ḥasan Shūmān wa-‘Alī al-Zaybaq al-miṣri. Egypt: Maṭba‘a al-Sharīfa [al-Sharafīyya?], 1305/1887.

Qiṣṣa al-tājir ‘Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1304/1887 (Akel 441, 447).

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. Cairo, 1305-1306/1887-1889 (Chauvin 4: 18).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1305/1888 (Akel 441, 447).

Qiṣṣa Masrūr al-tājir ma‘a ma‘shūqata-hu [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1305/1888 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa madīna al-nuḥās [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1305/1888 (Akel 448).

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1305-1306/1888-1889 (Akel 440), <https://archive.org/details/alflaylahwalayla0102alqauoft>.

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1308/1890 (Akel 441).

Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1307/1890 (Akel 441).

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1308/1890 (Akel 441).

- Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā'igh al-baṣrī*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Ilmiyya, 1311/1893 (Akel 448).
- Alf layla wa layla*. 4 vols. 3rd ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1311/1893 (Akel 441).
- Qiṣṣa Masrūr al-tājir ma 'a ma 'shūqata-hu [...]*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Ilmiyya, 1312/1894 (Akel 447).
- Qiṣṣa qamar al-zamān ibn al-malik shahrimān [...]*. Cairo: Maṭba'a Muḥammad 'Afandī Mustafā, 1313/1895 (Akel 447).
- Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā'igh al-baṣrī [...]*. Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Tawfīq, 1314/1896 (Akel 448).
- I'āda ḥikāyat Ḥāsib karīm al-dīn wa-Malika al-ḥayāt*. 1st ed. Cairo: Manshūrāt Aṣḍiqā' al-Kitāb, 1900.
- Alf layla wa layla [...]*. 5 vols. Illustrated. Cairo, Maṭba'a al-Hilāl, 1901-1905 (Akel 441-42).
- Alf layla wa layla*. 4 vols. Prepared by Muḥammad Qiṭṭa 'Adwī. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Miymaniyya, 1320/1902 (Akel 439).
- Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā'igh al-baṣrī wa mā ittafaqa la-hu ma 'a al-a 'jamī wa-akhawātihi al-sab ' al bināt wa-mā waqa 'a la-hu fī jazā'ir al-wāq wāq min sha'n zawjatih-i wa hiya qiṣṣah 'ajība wa -sīra gharība*. Egypt: 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ṣabrī al-Kutubī, 1321/1903.
- Alf layla wa layla*. 4 vols. 4th ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1321/1903 (Akel 440).
- Qiṣṣa Tawaddud al-jāriya*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Khayriya, 1323/1905 (Akel 441).

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. 5th ed. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafīyya, 1323-1324/1905-1906 (Akel 440).

Hikaya uns al-wujūd ma‘a maḥbūbat-hu al-Ward fī al-akmām. Egypt: Sharikat Ṭab‘ al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1324/1906.

Qiṣṣa qamar al-zamān ibn al-malik shahrimān [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-Malījiya, 1324/1906 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa ‘ajīb wa gharīb wa mā jarā la-humā [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-Malījiya, 1324/1906 (Akel 448).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-Malijiyah, 1324/1906, (Akel 448).

Qiṣṣa al-ḥammāl ma‘a al-sab‘ bināt wa-mā jarā la-hum min gharā’ib al-aḥwāl. Cairo: al Maṭba‘a al-Ḥamīdiyya al-Miṣriyya, 1324/1906 (Akel 442, 448).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir ‘Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmirah al-Malījiya, 1325/1907 (Akel 447).

Alf layla wa layla [...]. 4 vols. Based on 1862-1863 Būlāq edition. Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-taqaddum al-‘Ilmiyya, 1325/1907 (Akel 439).

Kitāb Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. Based on 1862-1863 Būlāq edition prepared by Muḥammad Qiṭṭa ‘Adwī. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Miymaniyya, 1328/1910 (Akel 439).

Qiṣṣa al-tājir ‘Ali nūr al-dīn al-miṣrī [...]. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Ilmiyya, 1330/1912 (Akel 447).

Qiṣṣa Ḥasan al-ṣā’igh al-baṣrī wa mā ittafaqa la-hu ma‘a al-a‘jamī wa-akhawātīhi al-sab‘ al-bināt wa-mā waqa‘a la-hu fī jazā’ir al-wāq wāq min sha’n zawjatih-i wa hiya qiṣṣah

‘ajība wa -sīra gharība. Egypt: al-Maktaba al-‘Uthmāniyya al-Miṣrīyah wa-Maṭba‘ūhā,
1341/1922.

Alf layla wa layla. 4 vols. Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Futūh al-‘Adabiyya, 1339/1921 (Akel 442).

Alf layla wa layla. 3rd ed. Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Hilāl, 1922 (Akel 442).

Chapter V

The Print Culture of the Iranian *Nights* and its Trans-Regional Circumstances: Towards

Heterogenizing Modern Iranian Nationhood

“I’m not surprised if Europeans’ knowledge of Iranians is limited to *A Thousand and One Nights* stories, but it’s a disaster when some Egyptian or Saudi says Shias are not Muslims.”

– @AgoraLiberty’s Tweet in the wake of the killing of nine people in Munich by German-Iranian teenager Ali Sonboly on 22 July 2016.

I. Aims and Scope

This chapter, much like the previous ones, investigates the print culture of the *Nights* in order to demonstrate the heterogeneity of modern nationhood. The preceding chapters explored this heterogeneity by examining several major aspects of the *Nights* and its print cultures, including social classes, discourses, and genders, respectively, in England, the US, and Egypt; this chapter extends these arguments to Iran. Although Benedict Anderson, whose theories are the primary influence on this study, has not directly addressed Iranian nationalism, his arguments are particularly relevant to this chapter. In his discussion of what he calls the “Last Wave” of nationalism, the postcolonial nationalism of the twentieth century (*Imagined Communities* 113), Anderson emphasizes the roles of intelligentsia who are bilingual – literate in both their native language and culture and those of European countries – in Asian and African territories. For Anderson, bilingualism “meant access, through the European language-of-state, to modern Western culture in the broadest sense, and in particular, to the models of nationalism, nation-ness, and nation-state produced elsewhere in the course of the nineteenth century” (*Imagined Communities* 116). Most importantly, he expands his concept of modern nationhood coalescing through print technology to colonial and postcolonial contexts (*Imagined Communities* 116). Adapting Anderson’s theories, this chapter continues to emphasize heterogeneity, rather than homogeneity, as the modality in which modern nationhood operates. This chapter examines the modern Iranian *Nights* as a representative example of a trans-regionally-prompted phenomenon facilitated by regional, rather than merely European, bilingualism. Without discrediting European influences, I will show the influence of *trans-regional* elements on the appearance of the modern Iranian *Nights* in the nineteenth century, followed by its print-cultural Persianist nationalistic treatments at the hands of Iranian literary and cultural elites. In other words, the

intent of this chapter is to discuss the Persocentric nationalistic discourse that has surrounded the *Nights* since its first complete translation in Iran was achieved in 1843, and in response, to highlight the heterogeneous trans-regional network – extending to the Ottoman Empire, India, and Egypt – that informed the development of modern Persian rendition of the *Nights* even despite the Persianist and Iranocentric histories of the work. This chapter covers the mid-nineteenth century to the present day.

II. An Overview of Aryanism

The popularity of the *Nights* in modern Europe following its first translation into French in 1704 influenced its status and reinforced its popularity in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. In the wake of its popularity, Iranian literary and cultural elites attempted to claim and appropriate the collection as *essentially* and *originally Persian* as part of the nation-building enterprise in Iran. Most Iranian print-cultural treatments of and references to the *Nights* seem to stem from, and be informed by, Persianist and Iranocentric nationalism, itself an emergent phenomenon during the nineteenth century. This strand of Iranian nationalism, as Zia-Ebrahimi shows, was one of a host of reactions to European modernity; it was based on the chief notion that Iranians are *essentially* and *originally* Aryans and, being Europeans' distant cousins, are thus racially distinct from Semitic Arabs (Zia-Ebrahimi 5-6). According to this racializing and ethnicizing ideology, Iran was a primordial nation whose grandeur was in its ancient, pre-Islamic past, and the seventh-century Arabo-Islamic conquest led to the decline of Persian culture (Zia-Ebrahimi 2-3, 107-108, 114-15, 164, 185, 219).⁹¹ This worldview led to attempts to uproot and purge what Iranian nationalists perceived as alien Arabic influences, including Arabic loanwords

⁹¹ Also, against this Perso-Islamic background, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Iranian historiography tended to highlight continuities in Iran's past, authenticating Iran as a monolithic, perennial, and primordial unit possessing a "national spirit" (Vejdani 3-4).

into Persian, in order to restore the ancient glory of Aryan Iran (Zia-Ebrahimi 6, 147). Firdawsī's *Book of Kings* (c. 977-1010 CE) was particularly important to the nation-building project for its presentation of the heroic deeds of the pre-Islamic Iranian kings and its masterful use of de-Arabized Persian language; it became an exemplar of the claims of pre-Islamic Iran's glorious past (Zia-Ebrahimi 29-31, 50, 58, 188-89).⁹² More importantly, based on this emerging Persocentric narrative, Arabs' scientific and literary flourishing during the Islamic Golden Age (8th-13th centuries CE) were viewed as re-occurrences of the ancient Persians' achievements in an Islamic guise (Zia-Ebrahimi 2-3, 91-92, 108-109).

Historicizing the nineteenth-century discursive, intellectual, and ideological visions of Iranians as racially distinct from Arabs and as related to Europeans, Zia-Ebrahimi further documents the origins of this type of nationalism in the selective adoption and promotion of old-school, anti-Semitic European Orientalism by members of the Iranian literary and cultural elites, such as Mīrzā Fath'ālī Ākhūndzādih (1812-78) and Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī (1854-96) (9-12). Zia-Ebrahimi demonstrates the lack of Persian antiquarianism, even regarding *The Book of Kings* and the Shu'ūbiyyih movement in medieval Persia (101-07), and interprets Ākhūndzādih's and Kirmānī's anachronistic historiography as selective amplifications of European scholarship in constructing a modern Iranian subjectivity based on Aryanism. He documents the growth and official adoption of Aryanism in literature, music, and ideological writing during the Pahlavi period and afterward (Zia-Ebrahimi 169-214).⁹³

⁹² *The Book of Kings*, a poetic epic, was even treated by early twentieth-century Iran's cultural elite as a historical text, in contrast to pre-modern readings that emphasized its poetic erudition (Jabbari 425).

⁹³ On a relevant note, see Jabbari, who discusses early-twentieth-century Iranian historiographers' use of European literary historiography as a marker of literary modernity (419-20, 422, 424, and 426-27). Also see Tavakoli-Targhi, who discusses the glorification of Iran's pre-Islamic past and the de-Arabization of the Persian language as means of re-awakening a

III. Aryanism in the Iranian Print-Cultural Treatment of the *Nights*

The binary opposition between Arabs and Persians and the promotion of a Persocentric nationalism, as outlined above, is more or less manifest in the Iranian print culture of the *Nights*. In other words, the efforts of Iran's literary and cultural elites consisted primarily of the selective borrowing of older European Orientalist discourses on the *Nights*, especially in the context of Aryanist discourse in Iran. Early nineteenth-century European discussions of the *Nights* introduced a Persian/Arab binary in reference to the origins of the tales ("Textual History"). On one side of the debate were Arabists, who held that the *Nights* had Arabic origins. This group included French orientalist Antoine Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who opined that the *Nights* was probably compiled in the Mamluk era (1250-1517) ("Textual History" 713). The opposite school belonged to Indologists, such as German orientalist August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), who suggested Indian origins for the *Nights* ("Textual History" 713). Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) was the first one to suggest that the *Nights* originated in Persia and India; he further posited that during the Islamic epoch, its frame story was embellished with Arabic material ("Textual History" 713). Although this debate was mostly philological and narratological, these reflections on the earliest literary emergence of the *Nights* took on new meanings and values for Iranian literati, who adopted and amplified them as part of their effort to refashion the *Nights* as a Persian text and part of a Persocentric selfhood.

As mentioned earlier, early nineteenth-century European Orientalism was the catalyst for the debate over whether the *Nights* was of Arabic or Persian origin. The discussion was further

Persian spirit during the Iranian nationalist movement (96-112). For a broader discussion on this topic, also see Vazīrī, who surveys the borrowings from European Orientalism in Iranian Persocentric and anti-Arabic nationalist projects.

continued in works such as the *First Encyclopedia of Islam* (published in 1913), which introduced the *Nights* as follows:

‘Thousand and One Nights’ is the title of the most famous of all Arabian collections of fairy tales. Like all Orientals the Arabs from the earliest times enjoyed imaginative stories. But the intellectual horizon of the true Arabs being rather narrow, the material for these entertainments was borrowed mainly from elsewhere, from Persia and India, as we gather from the accounts from concerning the prophet’s competitor the merchant al-Nadr. So the relations between Arabia and Persia (and even more distant eastern countries), which were commenced during the seventh and eighth centuries, gave rise to an active importation of subject matter for fables and fairy tales. The individual stages of this process cannot now be traced with absolute certainty, a few cases only excepted such as the history of the origin of the book *Kalila wa-Dimna*. For everything which was of the nature of a fairy tale lay outside the scope of the professional man-of-letters. (Houtsma et al. 252)⁹⁴

These debates over the origin of the *Nights*, and the evolutionary history of the tales, were then carried over into the Iranian literary and cultural landscapes via translations and adaptations that appropriated, repurposed, and refashioned the *Nights* as an iconic Persian text. An early instance of this process can be seen in the 1921 pro-German publication *Kāvih*, a political, literary, and cultural periodical based in Germany that also circulated in Iran (“Alf liylih va liylih”). The magazine draws upon Orientalists’ encyclopedia entries to discuss the origins of the *Nights*,

⁹⁴ This overview was reproduced in the 1960 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Islam*: “Like all Orientals the Arabs from the earliest times enjoyed imaginative stories; but since the intellectual horizon of true Arabs in ancient times before the rise of Islam was rather narrow the material for these entertainments was borrowed mainly from elsewhere, from Persia and from India, as we gather from the accounts of the Prophet’s competitor, the merchant al-Nadr. In later times when Arab civilization had grown richer and more comprehensive the literary influence from other countries was, of course, much stronger” (Gibb et al. 358).

summarizing the Arabist argument before presenting a comparatively lengthy account of proponents of the Persianist view, such as Johannes Østrup (1867-1938), who proposed the ancient Persian *Hizār Afsān* as a possible source of the *Nights* (“Alf liylih va liylih” 7-8). The *Kāvih* article concludes that notwithstanding “the current Egyptian edition,” the tales have an “ancient core of Persian origin,” and thus merit the attention of Persian scholars, especially since the *Nights* is mentioned in Firdawsī’s *Book of Kings* (“Alf liylih va liylih” 9). As such, early European orientalism is selectively borrowed and adapted in order to contextualize the *Nights* within an ancient Persian time-frame, particularly linked to *The Book of Kings*, an important text in the development of a Persian national literature. A further example of this trend is the 1929 lecture – later published as an introduction to Iranian editions of the *Nights* – by ‘Alīaṣghar Ḥikmat (1893-1980), a Pahlavi minister of Education and Charities and a reformer of Iran’s educational system.⁹⁵ Ḥikmat’s discussion touched upon the lesser-known tales of the *Nights* and drew on “European orientalist scholars’ research” in contextualizing the *Nights* within an Indian and Persian framework (Ḥikmat 12). To this end, he specifically pointed to the ancient Achaemenid Empire: “Initially, the book of *Alf liylih va liylih* has emerged in Hindustan prior to the [rise of the] ancient Persian rulers (Achaemenid). Later, in a period that is apparently before Alexander’s invasion [of Persia], it [the collection of tales] arrived in Iran and was translated into ancient Persian, and was named *Hizār Afsān* [i.e., *A Thousand Tales*]” (Ḥikmat 12). Ḥikmat also cites several sources “in order to prove the point” regarding the existence of *Hizār Afsān* in ancient Iran prior to Alexander’s conquest (14-16). As such, Ḥikmat links the origins of the *Nights* to ancient Persian history, an important frame of reference for the nation-building endeavour in Iran. More specifically, Ḥikmat cites a further example of European Orientalism

⁹⁵ Also, for examples of those editions of the *Nights* that were prefaced by Ḥikmat’s lecture, see 1936-37, 2010, and 2014 in the Appendix.

from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to show that the *Nights* and Firdawsī's *Book of Kings* are interconnected in several respects, such that they “have the same identity” (16), and cites seven reasons for this conclusion (16-19). As already noted, *Book of Kings* was treated as an important text in the formation of the modern Persian literary canon and of Iranian national subjectivity, particularly because of its rich repertoire of imagery and figures from pre-Islamic Persia. That the *Nights*, a book of contested origins and authorship, is compared to *Book of Kings*, a major text in the construction of modern Iranian literature and nationhood, indicates the emergence of the *Nights* as an important text in Persian nationalist identity formation.

Furthermore, Hikmat reiterates the nineteenth-century debate over the origins of the *Nights*, comparing Sacy's and Edward William Lane's Arabism with Van Hammer-Purgstall's Persianism: “But finally, as a result of the research by the German Van Hammer-Purgstall, the Dutch de Goeje, and the Danish Østrup, this issue – as we said – has been ascertained such that the aforementioned book [the *Nights*] originally appeared in India, then came to Iran during the Achaemenid, and then was translated into Arabic during the ninth century” (19). As such, Hikmat confirms the Indo-Persian history of the *Nights* and affirms a derivative view of its Arabic context.⁹⁶ Specifically regarding the Arabic context of the tales, Hikmat notes that during the ninth century, when “scientific and literary books were translated from various languages into Arabic, the *Nights* put on Arabic clothes” (12), marking the Arabic context as derivative of and secondary to the tales' Persian origins (22, 31). In addition, Hikmat states that where the original Indian tales are mainly allegorical stories of animals, the original Persian tales of the *Nights* display “the apex of [narrative] beauty” and feature “moral points” (20-21), thus also building up a hierarchy of Persian over Indian elements.

⁹⁶ Also, as an example, Goeje's thesis had been repudiated by Emmanuel Cosquin (1841-1919) as early as 1909 (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 277).

Boozari has observed that Hikmat's views of the *Nights* are based on the entries in Brill's *Encyclopedia of Islam* ("Persian Manuscripts are Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*" 53).⁹⁷ Extending Boozari's observation, one can also see the European Orientalist view of the *Nights* reappearing in later Iranian print treatments of the *Nights* after Hikmat. For instance, MuḥammadJa'far Maḥjūb, a researcher of popular Persian literature active during the 1950s and 1960s, discussed the *Nights* in *Sukhan*, a leading literary and cultural magazine of the time, by drawing on European orientalism. Although he briefly acknowledges European observations of "Indian, Iranian, Arabic, Jewish, and Egyptian" (362) influences in the *Nights*, Maḥjūb follows the dismissive treatment of Arabs in Brill's encyclopedia, such as "the narrow minds of the Arabs" (Maḥjūb 363-64), and adds that Arabs "collected" their tale materials from other territories, particularly Iran and India (Maḥjūb 363-64, 370). As outlined earlier, a major feature of Persocentric nationalism was its characterization of Arabic literary and cultural productions as derivatives of ancient Persian achievements.⁹⁸

Maḥjūb also discusses the Persianist/Arabist debate in European Orientalism; of Sacy, who denied that the *Nights* originated in Persian sources, he points out that it is "more appropriate" to cite sources that "highly matter for illuminating the history of this book" (365). He cites several medieval sources, further drawing on orientalist discussions about the *Nights*;

⁹⁷ Moreover, Rastegar has effectively challenged Hikmat's observations by historicizing the appearance of the modern Iranian *Nights*, and questioned Hikmat's ignorance of it. In Rastegar's words, Hikmat fails to ask "What circumstances led to the translation of the text into Persian only as late as the 1830s [*sic*], if the text had been known from antiquity for its rich and authentic heritage, particularly in relation to Iran?" (*Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* 66). The modern history of the *Nights* in Iran will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

⁹⁸ On a relevant note, for recent *Nights*-based studies of the proliferation of medieval Arabic literature and culture, see Chraïbi, *Les Mille Et Une Nuits*; Mūsāwi, *The Popular Memory of the Societies of the Thousand and One Nights*; and Mūsāwi, *The Islamic Context of The Thousand and One Nights*.

and from these citations, he concludes that the *Nights* comes from the ancient Persian *Hizār Afsān*, and also that it might have a common origin with “Iran’s national epic” (368), Firdawsī’s *Book of Kings*. Afterwards, he continues to report on, discuss, and confirm Persian origins for the book (Maḥjūb 369-70). Ultimately, in his discussion of the Arabic circulation of the tales and in reference to the legendary king of the *Nights*, Hārūn al-Rashīd, Maḥjūb foregrounds his court’s figure Abū Nuwās as the “the notable Iranian poet” (375).⁹⁹

The Persianization of the *Nights* was further perpetuated by the Iranian mythologist and writer Jalāl Sattārī (b. 1931/32). In his 1969 article in *Arts and People*, a literary, cultural, and artistic magazine in Iran, he draws not only upon European Orientalism but also on Maḥjūb’s and Ḥikmat discussions of the *Nights*. Sattārī initially refers to the nineteenth-century European debate over the origins of the *Nights*, in order to explore the work’s Indian and Persian origins (45-48). Though he elaborates on the ancient Indian history of the tales, Sattārī qualifies this view, adding that “one should not forget – as Edgard Blochet says – that [ancient] Iranians have been as creative and capable as Indians for developing mysterious and marvelous tales [as formative materials of the *Nights*]” (Sattārī, “An Introduction to *A Thousand and One Nights*” 49), and ultimately refers to the Avesta as its exemplar:

The fanciful and fantastic world that has blossomed and solidified at the heart of [ancient] Iran’s religious thought was neither ruined at the hands of puritanical Nestorians, nor killed under the sword of Islam. As such, during the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate, along with the penetration of the Persian thought [...], the mysterious spirits of which [ancient] Iranian popular tales were laden with stepped into the young world of Islam. (49)

⁹⁹ Also, see Vejdani for a broader discussion of a Pahlavi-period historiographical trend, in which ethnically Iranian poets and philosophers were highlighted for their “enormous contributions to Islamic civilization” (89-90).

Thus, Sattārī repeats the derivative and Orientalist views of the origins of the fairy-tale elements of *Nights*; the latter is explicitly mentioned in the 1960 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Islam*: “Quite a number of tales are of Persian origin, especially those fairy-tales in which the ghosts and the fairies act independently” (Gibb et al. 363). Though he draws on Blochet’s scholarship to support the Persianist history of the *Nights*, Sattārī also diverges from Blochet’s views of the Turani as well as Indian and Persian sources for the fanciful elements of the *Nights*, such as the presence of magic in the tale of Aladdin (Sattārī, “An Introduction to *A Thousand and One Nights*” 49-50).¹⁰⁰ Sattārī claims that ancient Iranians and ancient Turanis had the same racial roots, even though the former were “city-dwellers and civilized” and the latter were “desert-dwellers and nomadic,” hence insinuating the cultural superiority of the Iranians (50).¹⁰¹ On these grounds, Sattārī concludes, “it is difficult to accept Blochet’s statement that the aspect of magic in *A Thousand and One Nights* has an exclusively Turani, and not an Iranian, root” (50). Regardless of the (in-)accuracy of his historical claims, Sattārī successfully perpetuates the Persianist discourse surrounding the *Nights*, furthering the use of the *Nights* in Persocentric nation-building.¹⁰²

Attempts to present the *Nights* as Persian were developed, on the one hand, in the absence of a complete medieval Persian version of the *Nights* (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 282) and a lack of explicit references to it in the medieval period (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 277-80). On the other hand, with this absence in mind, European orientalist discussions

¹⁰⁰ In medieval Persian texts, Turan has been used to refer to what nowadays constitutes central Asia and China.

¹⁰¹ Also see Vejdani, who discusses a Pahlavi-period historiographical trend in which the *civilized Iranian race* was contrasted to the Mongols and Turks as *others* (85, 90-91).

¹⁰² Sattārī expands on some of these statements in *Scheherazade’s Magic*, in which he outlines Iranian textual origins and counterparts of the *Nights* alongside Greek, Indian, and Arabian influences, and ultimately claims Persian origins for the magical elements present in the tales (5-101).

of the *Nights* were cited to introduce the *Nights* as an originally and essentially Persian work. Nonetheless, these print-cultural treatments of the *Nights* confirm that the Iranian *Nights* was an emergent phenomenon in the nineteenth century, and European Orientalism was adopted to claim the *Nights* and Persianize it for Iranian audiences in the course of Persocentric nationalism.¹⁰³

Most recently, the trend toward Persianization of the *Nights* in Iranian print culture has prevailed so strongly that, rather than selectively appropriating European orientalism, it has evolved into denying current international scholarship of the *Nights* in favor of a predominantly Persianist historiography of the book. In 2011-12, film director, screenwriter, and playwright Bahrām Biyžāyī (b. 1938) has expressed disapproval of present-day international scholarship on the *Nights*, accusing Robert Irwin, for example, of “giving up the originality of the stories of *A Thousand and One Nights* – unilaterally and entirely – to Arabs” (*Where Is Hizār Afsān?* 9). Moreover, Biyžāyī criticizes UNESCO’s 2004 celebration of the 300th anniversary of the translation of the *Nights* as organized by “the Arabian scholars of the Arab world” and as disavowing Persian participation in its textual history even though it is “fundamentally their [Iranians’] work” (10-11). Above all, Biyžāyī reads (in a Persian translation) Ulrich Marzolph’s “The Persian *Nights*: Links between the *Arabian Nights* and Iranian Culture” as an argument for the “denial” of an existing link, and for a “detachment” between the *Nights* and Iranian culture (*Where Is Hizār Afsān?* 13). Biyžāyī also criticizes Marzolph’s choice of the title *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, instead of *The Encyclopedia of A Thousand and One Nights*; according to Biyžāyī, the use of the name *Arabian Nights* is an example of “setting the work of one people

¹⁰³ In this regard, also see Green, who has shown how the nationalist veneration of Iran’s pre-Islamic past framed Iranian intellectuals’ output during the Pahlavi period (“From the Silk Road to the Railroad” 179-80).

[i.e. Iranians] in the name of another race and tribe [i.e. Arabs] who only benefit from the translation” (16). In response to what he considers the underappreciation of Persian elements and history in scholarly discussions of the *Nights*, he attempts to confirm the Persian origin of the *Nights*’ frame tale by elaborating on the ancient Persian *Hizār Afsān* (*A Thousand Tales*), a commonly acknowledged source of the *Nights*.¹⁰⁴ Biyẓāyī traces *Hizār Afsān*, a missing text, via mythological analysis and intertextual semiotics through medieval Persian poetry, and particularly points to the similarities between the *Nights* and *The Book of Kings* (24, 32, 47-49).¹⁰⁵

My goal in this study is not to prove or disprove claims such as Biyẓāyī’s regarding the origin of the *Nights*. Rather, my examination is intended to show that Iranian print-cultural treatments of the *Nights* demonstrate an awareness amongst Iranian literati of the story book’s international significance and their use of it in the construction of a modern Persocentric selfhood. This appropriation, repurposing, and reclaiming of the *Nights* by literary and cultural elites echoed within Iranian print culture and beyond, ultimately forging a popular consciousness of the *Nights* as *essentially* and *originally Persian*. For example, Shahlā Lāhījī, a pioneer Iranian female publisher and the publisher of Biyẓāyī’s book, asserted that his discussion of the *Nights*’ origins brings to light an alternative, 3000-year-old world literature history, and, linking his book to his dramaturgy, she praised Biyẓāyī’s illumination of “the destruction” of the ancient Persian *Hizār Afsān* and its “Arabization” in Islamic Baghdād (Lāhījī 19). As another example, in 2005,

¹⁰⁴ In fact, the earliest mention of *Hizār Afsāna* (*A Thousand Tales*) in Arabic literature dates back to al-Mas‘ūdī’s work in the first half of the tenth century CE (Grotzfeld 17-18).

¹⁰⁵ Also, in this regard, see Marzolph, “Response to Biyẓāyī,” who also provides a Persian translation of his own English article on the *Nights*. Also, Bahārlū has criticized Biyẓāyī’s “antiquarianism” and “extreme nationalism” in his Persianist dramatic re-working of the history of *Hizār Afsān* (95). Although he is not critical of Biyẓāyī, Talajooy has classified Biyẓāyī’s dramatic works as belonging to the early Pahlavi period, and has elaborated on his nationalistic re-configuration of Iran’s history (187-88).

Hāfiz, a versatile literary and social periodical, reiterates the Persian character of the tales, claiming that considering the *Nights* “Arabic is as much of a lie as regarding Avicenna an Arab!” (Amin 50). In 2004, *People’s Culture*, a socio-cultural periodical in Iran, attempted to produce an exclusively ancient Persian etymology for Scheherazade (Junaydī). More recently, *Sharq*, a reformist morning newspaper in Iran, published Muḥammadrizā Mar‘ashīpūr’s positive appraisal of Biyẓāyī’s discussions, which he has rationalized as a reaction against European attempts to “Arabize” the tales, simultaneously re-presenting the secondary view of their medieval Arabic context as having been “enriched” by Iranians of various skills (Mar‘ashīpūr 8). It is evident from these accounts that the *Nights* has been deployed in the Persianist and Iranocentric nationalist discourses.¹⁰⁶

Ironically, in spite of these attempts to canonize and refashion the *Nights* to fit this discourse, no complete Persian version of the *Nights* has been found dating prior to the nineteenth century. Marzolph has referred to four incomplete manuscripts of the *Nights*; one of these, in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, is a Persian manuscript consisting of 118 folios containing 81 nights, dating to the first half of the nineteenth century (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 282-83).¹⁰⁷ By comparison, the first complete translation of the *Nights*, by ‘Abd-al Laṭīf Ṭasūjī and Mīrzā Surūsh, contains 1001 nights and 751 pages. Considering the absence of a complete preserved Persian *Nights* prior to the nineteenth century on the one hand (Marzolph, “The

¹⁰⁶ This said, my argument here mostly pertains to mainstream and more popular discussions, rather than strictly academic and thus elitist publications, of the *Nights* in Iran. For instance, even though Biyẓāyī’s book on the *Nights* is subtitled *Research*, its publisher has confirmed that the volume has not undergone blind/peer review (“Question about Review Procedure at Rawshangarān Press”), a common academic research convention. For a shortlisted record of the discussions of the *Nights* produced in Iran between 1936 and 2015, see Boozari, “A Bibliography of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Persian.”

¹⁰⁷ Also, for further discussion of the Berlin manuscript, see Nabavīnizhād, “The Story of *A Thousand and One Nights*.”

Persian *Nights*” 283), and on the other hand the emergent importance of the tale collection for Iranian literati and popular readership in the nineteenth century and afterwards, I argue in the next section that the appearance of the Iranian *Nights*, far from being an indigenous Iranian or Persian phenomenon, was informed, apart from the book’s popularity among public and elite European readers, by the trans-regional reinvention and reception of the collection across the Ottoman Empire, India, and Egypt. Regarding this topic, Rastegar has pointed to the “transaction” of the *Nights* between Iranian and Egyptian literary and linguistic fields (*Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* 55-73). Building up on his argument, I show that the Iranian *Nights* is intertwined in and impelled by the broader trans-regional inter-linkages pertaining not only to the circulation of books and printed matter, but also to local articulations of certain projects of modernity.

IV. The *Nights* across the Region and in Iran

The emerging importance of the *Nights* in Iran should be studied with a view of the tales’ re-production and circulation in the larger region. Although the Būlāq edition, originating in Egypt, has been correctly recognized as the blueprint of Ṭasūjī’s translation (“Persia” 672), it is also relevant to evaluate the circumstances of the *Nights* in the Ottoman Empire, the intermediary region between Iran and Egypt. Given the historical presence of the *Nights* in Turkish culture as well as the extensive exchange of material and intellectual cultures among Ottoman, Azerbaijani, and Persian areas even before modernization in these regions, it is likely that at least an *awareness* of the Turkish *Nights* was communicated to Iran via Ottoman routes. The Turkish publication of the *Nights* occurred during the Tanzīmāt period (1839-76), when Turkish language and literature were undergoing a resurgence, and simplified language was favoured over Ottoman Turkish in order to serve a larger audience. Even though cultural

exchange in the form of translation from Arabic to Turkish was relatively widespread during the nineteenth century (Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?” 56-57), the Turkish *Nights* was translated from French, rather than from Arabic, betraying the Ottoman literary and cultural elites’ orientation toward European modernity and their perception of Arabic cultural context as “outdated” and backward (Birkalan 222, 226-27). Thus, both the Turkish and Iranian editions of the *Nights* seem to have coincided with the volatile dynamism pertaining to the politics of nationalization, involving the simplification of language and the modernization of native literary culture. This dynamism indicates a transitional experience that characterizes the contours of vernacular Iranian and Turkish literary modernities.

However, these similarities cannot be overstated, since Turkish literary culture had long been familiar with the *Nights*. It has been estimated that some Turkish elements of the *Nights* preceded even the pre-modern Arabic tale collection (Proverbio 367, 404). Moreover, an early Turkish version of the *Nights* was prepared by ‘Abdī, under the title *Binbir Gece (Thousand and One Nights)*, in 1429, suggesting the *Nights* was a familiar literary and cultural item long before it became popular in nineteenth-century Europe (Birkalan 221, 224). Most importantly, such tales as “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves,” “Sinbad,” and “Aladdin and the Magic Lamp,” which were absent from the early Arabic versions, are said to have been incorporated from Turkish oral or manuscript traditions into European collections of the tales (Birkalan 223-24). It is against this background that, eventually, the first printed edition of the Turkish *Nights* appeared in 1851, following its Turkish translation in 1842 by poet and religious judge Ahmet Nazif (Birkalan 225).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ For a broader discussion of the Turkish manuscripts of the *Nights*, see Grotzfeld (19).

This makes the Turkish trajectory of the *Nights* discernibly different from the Iranian one. Unlike the Turkish translations, “Persian translations apparently were not prepared before the beginning of the nineteenth century” (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 282). Relative continuity in the Turkish history of the *Nights*, especially before the modern European infatuation with the work, is important, as it challenges a straightforward, West-East directional account of the popularity of this collection of stories in an Asian context. In turn, this continuity is important for a trans-regional assessment, as it provides a point of comparison between vernacular textual history and colonial hegemonic ventures. More importantly, in view of the extensive transmission of goods and ideas at the hands of merchants, religious scholars, and literati across Persia and the Ottoman Empire prior to, but especially in, the nineteenth century (Abdelkhah 40-42), as facilitated, among others, by the prominent Trabzon-Tabriz route between 1830-1900 (Isawwi),¹⁰⁹ it is very likely that Iranians not only knew of the popularity of Turkish *Nights* but might also have accessed copies of the Turkish tales.

Whereas the transmission of the Turkish *Nights* into Persia is a tentative conjecture, the emergence of modern Persian literature is closely connected to publication activities in Istanbul (Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire” 40, 47). In fact, the interchange goes beyond the sphere of nineteenth-century literature, encompassing education, journalism, and political institutions, inspired by Ottoman examples and the communication processes involved. Examples of these projects are numerous. In 1872, Iranian diplomat and prime minister Mīrzā Ḥusiyūn Khān Sipahsālār (1828-81) set up a translation school which taught Turkish alongside French, English, and Russian (Ringer 48). In addition, the major Iranian newspaper, *Rūznāmiḥ*

¹⁰⁹ Also see Zarinebaf, who argues for the nineteenth-century prominence of Tabriz, versus that of Tehran, as a centre of cultural and political revitalization, thanks to its exposure, especially after 1823, to not only English and Russian, but also Ottoman trade networks (“From Istanbul to Tabriz” 156-57, 168-69).

Vaqāyi' Ittifāqiyyih, established in 1851, partly followed the example of the first Turkish newspaper, *Calendar of Events*, begun in 1832 (Avery 816). Moreover, *Akhtar*, the first Persian journal in Istanbul, was established in 1875, with the effect of weakening the Qājār government's dominance over the spread of political reform debates (Ringer 247). Hāj Ziyn al-'Ābidīn Marāghīṭ's *Ibrahīm Beig's Travelogue* (1903), a travel account that was highly influential in spreading ideas of cultural and political reform on the eve of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905-07), was also published in Istanbul. Most importantly, Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1833-1905), a prominent Iranian modernist, encouraged de-Christianized, non-Occidentalized modernization efforts for Iran on the examples of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire (Ringer 220).¹¹⁰

Although the distribution of Turkish elements of the *Nights* in Persia is speculative, what is more certain is that the Būlāq edition was brought into Iran through the Ottoman Empire, where the works of the Egyptian Būlāq Press were very popular (Strauss, *The Egyptian Connection* 33-49). Furthermore, the trans-regional interchange of the *Nights*, as suggestive of the larger trend of cultural, intellectual, and material communication between the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the course of their modern nation formation, does pose a challenge to Anderson's monolithic view of nationhood. He argues that "once created, [modern nations] became 'modular,' capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social

¹¹⁰ Related to this topic, and for a comparative discussion of Iranian and Turkish constitutionalisms, see Zarineabf, who demonstrates the significance of regional and local reception of European ideas in cross-fertilizing modernist discourses ("From Istanbul to Tabriz"). Also see Atabaki, who discusses modernity in a non-Eurocentric framework and as a trans-regional political institutionalization process mediated, for example, through various periodicals and theatricals across Iran and its neighbors ("Constitutionalism in Iran and Its Asian Interdependencies"). Also, for a comparative study of Turkey and Iran for their processes of modernization involving the relationship between common people and the state, see Atabaki, *The State and the Subaltern*.

terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations” (*Imagined Communities* 4). For Anderson, nationhood can be imitated, transplanted, and re-created. Specifically, he regards European nation-building exemplars, which took the forms of printed materials in European vernacular languages, as sources of models of modern nationality throughout the nineteenth century (*Imagined Communities* 67-83).

Nonetheless, given the array of materials and models of communication in the region, it appears that the development of Iranian modernity and modernization were as much *trans-regionally* informed as they were motivated by European hegemony. Furthermore, the above discussion suggests that these Iranian modernization projects were implemented in view of the regional vernacular modernization movements, rather than by the total transplantation and/or imitation of pre-existing European models. The circulation of the *Nights* as an example of the transmission of vernacular material culture is one example of the regional dimension of Iran’s nationalization project; further examples and contexts are discussed below.

Compared to its Turkish history, the Indian history of the *Nights* suggests even a more definitive link to the collection’s Iranian context. Initially, the publication of the *Nights* in India served to facilitate British colonial enterprises in India and in the region. For this purpose, the Calcutta I edition of the *Nights* was printed in two volumes between 1814 and 1818. Its editor, Shaykh Aḥmad Shirwānī, a teacher at the College of Fort William of the East India Company, prepared the *Nights* in order to instruct British colonial soldiers in the Arabic language and culture (Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* 43). The Calcutta II edition appeared in 1839-42 under similar circumstances (Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* 45-46). The Calcutta I edition of the *Nights* may have in turn inspired a Persian copy in India, where the Persian language had historical antecedence and was still a significant vernacular tongue. *The Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the*

Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, India, for example, mentions a manuscript collection of one hundred tales from the *Nights* that was compiled in 1836 (Muqtadir 195). Its compiler/translator, Auḥad bin Aḥmad Bilgrāmī, collected the stories “at the desire of his friends,” and the volume was produced “in ordinary written *Ta’līq*” (Muqtadir 195).¹¹¹ While one cannot read too much into this bibliographical information, it does suggest that this Persian manuscript was produced for a less elite audience, indicating a demand for Persian translations of the *Nights* in India.

Persian editions of the *Nights* printed in India appeared later than those printed in Iran. However, it is still likely that the very appearance of the *Nights* in India contributed to the popularity of the book in Iran. This is because the link between the Iranian and Indian print-cultural fields is relatively strong, given the extensive intellectual and material culture communication that took place between both countries around the time of the modern appearances of the *Nights*. First, with the spread of lithographic printing in India in the 1840s, Persian books were produced in several cities including Mumbai, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, and Cawnpore (Scheglova 12, 15). Before that, the first complete edition of *The Book of Kings* was produced in Calcutta in 1829 by Major Turner Macan, who was also responsible for bringing a major manuscript of the *Nights* to India (Marzolph, “The *Shahnameh* in Print” 9). Also, although only five lithographic editions of *The Book of Kings* were produced in Iran between 1851 and 1904, in India about 25 editions were produced between 1850 and 1920, and the Indian editions were, sometimes primarily, meant for consumption in Iran (Marzolph, “The *Shahnameh* in Print”

¹¹¹ A cursive style of calligraphy, *Ta’līq* was used for various types of composition across the Persianate world. Although it was replaced by *nastī ‘alīq*, another style of cursive penmanship, during the fourteenth century, *Ta’līq* continued to be used.

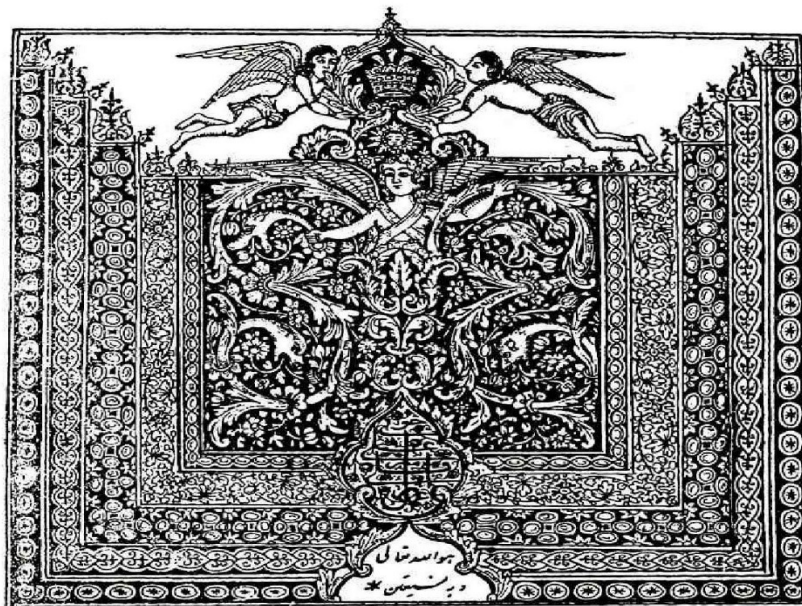
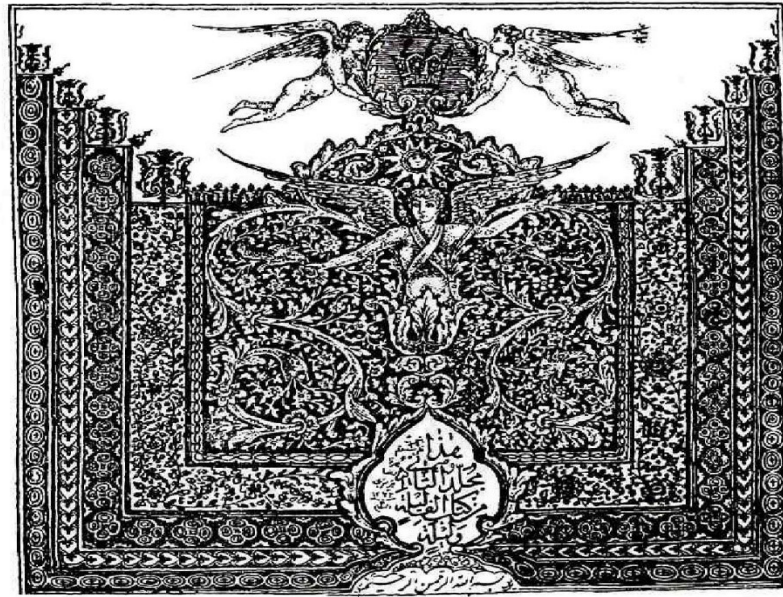


Image I: Chapter headings of the beginning of Volume II of the *Iranian Nights*, published in 1855 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 117, 220).

11).¹¹² Hājji Mūsā's book catalogue, dating from 1865 and listing various sorts of contemporary popular narratives in Iran, also suggests a trans-regional network for Iranian reading culture including India. The catalogue includes several items published in Indian cities such as Mumbai and Calcutta (Marzolph, "Persian Popular Literature in the Qajar Period" 223-30). Although they were published in India, these books found readers within Iran, some of them as examples of the budding category of popular literature.¹¹³

Furthermore, the first Persian newspaper was established in India by Rom Mohan Roy (1772-1833) (Avery 820), followed by *The Best of News and the Best of Blessings / Iḥsān al-Akḥbār va Tuḥfat al-Akhyār*, published by Mīrzā Muḥammad'alī Shīrāzī in Calcutta. This newspaper reached Iran in 1851, provoking British officials with its anti-colonial contents. The most important Persian newspaper in India was *Firm Bond / Ḥabl al-Matīn*, which was published between 1883 and 1912 in Calcutta, and which covered Iranian religious and political reforms (Avery 833-34). Despite being banned by the Qājār government, *Firm Bond* was still circulated in Iran, and exerted an influence over Iranian readers even after Iran's Constitutional Revolution of 1905-07.¹¹⁴

¹¹² In this regard, it is also worth noting that the first illustrated lithograph editions of *Book of Kings* appeared in India in 1845 and 1849, and inspired the narrative and illustration programs of some of the later Iranian productions of the book in the nineteenth century (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 56-57).

¹¹³ On a related note, it is even likely that around this time, Indian lithographic stones were exported to Iran for use in its publishing industry (Green, "Stones from Bavaria" 317). Moreover, Green estimates that the constraints of paper production in Qajar Iran necessitated the import of Persian printed books from India, where a relatively cheaper print economy operated ("Paper Modernity?" 283).

¹¹⁴ Furthermore, for further discussion of the intellectual contact between nineteenth-century Persia and India, see Kia, who argues that modern Iranian national selfhood was developed in dialogue with Indian "friends," rather than European interlocutors, via reformist texts of various types throughout the late nineteenth century (398-99, 404, 409, and 411). In this discussion, Kia highlights the trans-regional dialogical character of modern Iranian national subjectivity in both Persian and Urdu (401).

Given the aforementioned spread of Persian printed texts from India to Iran, it is unsurprising that awareness of the significance of the *Nights*, and its printed texts, were transmitted to Iran, even though the popularity of the *Nights* in India was initially a product of colonialism. Having listed several Arabic editions originating in India, Chauvin outlines various nineteenth-century translations of the *Nights* in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Kanarese, Gujarati, and Marathi (4: 17-23). Also, as *OCLC WorldCat* shows, the *Nights* was translated and published in languages other than Arabic in India. Among these editions are a Bengali versified edition prepared by Nāsir‘alī and published in Calcutta in 1863 (Accession No: OCLC: 46476153); a one-volume lithographed illustrated republication of Ṭasūjī’s translation in Maṭba‘a al-Karīm in Mumbai in 1889 (Accession No: OCLC: 37243932); and a one-volume illustrated edition in Urdu published in 1906 in Lucknow (Accession No: OCLC: 213027992).¹¹⁵ The listings compiled by Chauvin and *OCLC WorldCat* suggest that after it was introduced as part of the British colonial enterprise, the *Nights* was translated and adapted into regional languages, indicating its growing popularity in India’s reading culture of the time. Some of these Indian editions of the *Nights* found their way into Iran. For example, *Iran Libraries Information Website* lists an undated one-volume Urdu edition of the *Nights* preserved in Qum, titled *Alf Liylīh urdū*.¹¹⁶ Moreover, Iran’s National Library features, among others, an Arabic lithograph edition published in Mumbai in 1886 (Accession No: 6-21811), and a Persian edition (Accession No: 6-28482) of the *Nights* also published in Mumbai (*National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran*). Moreover, in his catalogue of Persian books, Khānbābā Mushār has listed a selected edition of

¹¹⁵ *OCLC WorldCat* also lists a one-volume Persian *Nights* containing color illustrations and produced in 1814 (Accession No: OCLC: 80696328), but the database does not provide the book’s place of publication, and I have not been able to verify this entry through other sources.

¹¹⁶ *Iran Libraries Information Website* is a centralized online database that includes catalogues of numerous Iranian libraries.

the *Nights* published in India in 1862 (1: 476); an undated lithographic edition published in Mumbai (5: 5487); and two lithographic editions published in Lahore in 1914 (5: 5487).¹¹⁷ These listings suggest, among other things, the availability of Indian publications of the *Nights* in Iran's book market. These copies must have participated in the growing popularity of the *Nights* among Iranian popular and elite readers.¹¹⁸

The aforementioned local publications and trans-regional circulation of literary material in general and the *Nights* in particular help to call Anderson's notion of the finite modern nation into question. Building on his earlier observation that the modern nation is limited and finite (*Imagined Communities* 7), Anderson outlines the development of modern maps from the convergence of print technology with the cartographic conception of spatiality. A "powerful emblem for the anticolonial nationalism," the map represents nations as "tightly bounded territorial units" (*Imagined Communities* 175). Anderson correctly identifies maps as modern resources in the forging of popular national consciousness. However, examining other offshoots of print culture, such as the *Nights*, demonstrates the porous and fuzzy quality of geographical borders, so that the development of the vogue of the *Nights* is seen to be prompted by trans-regional interactions between Persia and India on top of the Ottoman Empire.

¹¹⁷ Khānbābā Mushār also lists a Persian translation of François Petis de La Croix's *Thousand and One Days* published in Mumbai in 1896 (1: 477); however, this book is an imitation of the *Nights* and thus falls outside the immediate scope of this study. On a separate note, Mushār's five-volume *Listing of Persian Printed Books* is the first relatively comprehensive bibliography of Persian books.

¹¹⁸ Also, the likely Indian copies that are kept in personal collections should be considered here. Although we are not certain of their contents, private libraries hold numerous copies of printed materials that are not available elsewhere in or outside Iran (Marzolph, "Persian Incunabula" 207). On a separate topic, this chapter does not discuss the Chinese influence on the popularity of the modern *Nights* in Iran. Green has argued for the relative paucity of Sino-Persian contact even during the nineteenth century ("From the Silk Road to the Railroad"). On the other hand, Green shows the transmission of "outward-reaching" Indian and Egyptian print output, rather than "inward-looking" and less competitive Iranian print materials, to China during the nineteenth century and later ("From the Silk Road to the Railroad" 171, 184).

Among the trans-regional influences that shaped the modern Iranian *Nights*, perhaps the Arabian context – marked by the Būlāq edition – is most definitive. During *al-Nahḍa*, the Arabic literary and cultural renaissance, the *Nights* was accorded a relatively high status, some of it sparked by Antoine Galland’s French translation, followed by the popularity of the collection among modern European readers and writers during the eighteenth century and later. There and then, the *Nights*, as a literary Orientalist chronotope, was assimilated in the literary market in general and in the novel in particular.¹¹⁹ More importantly however, as a hybrid corpus of texts, the *Nights* was utilized for the modernization of Arabic literature. In Egypt, the *Nights* was specifically useful as a source of literary topoi and leitmotifs for the formation of modern Arabic genres such as the novel (Sheehi 79). Also, as I have shown in Chapter Four of this dissertation, the *Nights* was not only a formative text in the development of children’s literature as a modern category, but was also appropriated and adapted for women as readers and writers in the print-cultural landscape of modern Egypt. As a whole, the conception of traditional Arabian cultural identity in the *Nights*, and its reception among the European elite and popular reading communities, made it a useful text in the development of Egyptian literature and culture, such that it has been continuously republished and adapted since its first modern edition in 1835.

Regarding the transference of the Egyptian Būlāq edition to Iran, Rastegar has observed that “[t]he speed with which the Tabriz court [in northwestern Iran] appears to have gained access to a copy of the Būlāq press edition of *Alflayla* is evidence of exchange and contact, on literary and cultural levels, with Egypt and other parts of the Arab world” (*Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* 71). Enjoying a relatively progressive cultural and political

¹¹⁹ On the rise in popularity of the *Nights* among the English readers and writers in the nineteenth century, see Mūsāwi, *Scheherazade in England*. Also, see Chapter Two of this dissertation for a discussion of the appropriation and mass production of the *Nights* for lower-class and mass readers in nineteenth-century England.

climate under the governance of Crown Prince ‘Abbās Mīrzā Qājār and Bahman Mīrzā, Tabriz literary circles had become familiar with *al-Nahḍa*, the movement that was aimed at intellectual and cultural modernization. This modernization was due to political and civil reorganizations, known as *Tanzīmāt*, in the Ottoman Empire, as well as to Egyptian encounters with modern European literature and culture. That the first complete Iranian translation of the *Nights* was achieved in Tabriz, and not in Tehran or other major cities of the time, and based on an Arabic edition, is an indicator of the significance of trans-regional connections among Persia and, through the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and the wider Arabian world. Although he takes this regional context into account, Rastegar has suggested that it is likely that the Iranian court also came to know of the popularity of the book in Europe; as a case in point, he mentions Madame Gulsāz, the French wife of an Iranian courtier who converted to Islam and moved to Iran in the 1830s, eventually becoming a royal tutor in the Qājār court (*Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* 68-69). Madame Gulsāz, who was most probably familiar with Galland’s French translation of the *Nights*, may have informed the Qājār court in Tabriz of the popularity of the work. Though Rastegar refers to a European contact point, it is equally valid to further consider the role of trans-regional communications in the continued popularity of the *Nights* in Iran. To begin with, hundreds of Iranian merchants resided in Cairo during the nineteenth century (Abdelkhah 39), and they may have brought news of the popularity of the *Nights*, if not actual copies of the text itself, to Iran. Furthermore, Ā’isha Taymūr (1840-1902), whose *Consequences* was an adaptation of the the *Nights*,¹²⁰ served as a translator in the Egyptian court thanks to her proficiency in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Taymūr was a translator to the Iranian royal family during their visit to Egypt (Ashour et al. 502). Even though

¹²⁰ See Chapter Four.

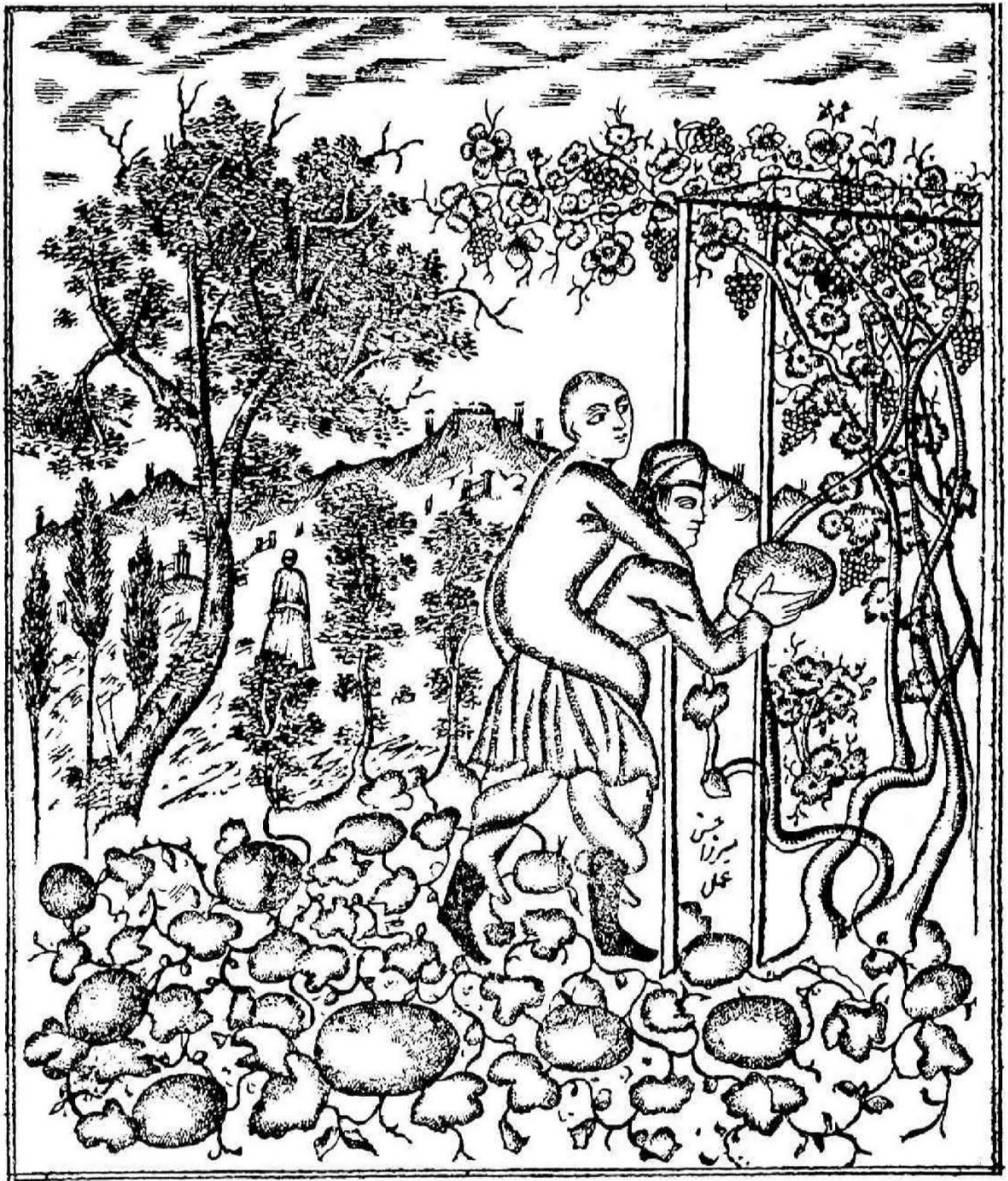


Image II: Illustration of Sinbad and the old man of the sea in an Iranian edition of the *Nights*, published in 1855 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 126, 222).



Image III: Illustration of As'ad and Amjad in an Iranian edition of the *Nights*, published in 1858 (Boozari, "Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*" 43).

her career as a translator occurred after the publication of Ṭasūjī's *Nights*, and we do not know of the exact nature of the interaction between Taymūr and the Iranian visitors, the royal visit on the one hand and Taymūr's intermediary position on the other might have been further opportunities for the significance of the *Nights* to be conveyed to the Iranian cohort. A similar example is the contact between the Iranian court and Alexandra Avierino (1872-1926), who, as discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation, reimagined selected themes and models from the *Nights* in her magazine *'Anīs al-jalīs*. Having gained prominence for her literary and publication activism, she received an order of merit from Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1853-1907) of Iran (Zeidan 315). However, these examples are all conjectures about how the *Nights* was transmitted between Egypt and Iran, and it should not be taken as certain as the fact that Ṭasūjī's *Nights* was produced from the Egyptian Būlāq edition.¹²¹

All of this said, Ṭasūjī's *Nights* was intended for two purposes. The project was initially commissioned as a translation from Arabic into Persian. Ṭasūjī's career as a translator was virtually concurrent with the development of the modern Iranian book-publishing industry, which began in 1817-18 with the establishment of printing presses in Tabriz (Green, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution" 480).¹²² In fact, Ṭasūjī came to learn of this new development in Tabriz, and his translation of the *Nights* was published for the first time in 1843-45. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1831-96) had been familiar with the *Nights*, having had access to

¹²¹ A Būlāq copy of the *Nights* stamped by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār for the royal library is worth mentioning here. This copy is currently held in *National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran* (Accession No: 8-19948).

¹²² Press history in Persia dates back to the Safavid era, when Armenians used print machinery; however, their use of the technology remained limited to religious books that were not in Persian. Also, Avery notes that native anti-enlightenment sentiments postponed the establishment of Persian press in Iran to the nineteenth century (818). For a survey of early Persian moveable-type printed books produced in Iran between 1817 and 1856, see Marzolph, "Persian Incunabula." For a broader discussion of the introduction of printing in Iran in the nineteenth century, see Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* (12-13).

the first lithographic printing of the book as an example of mirror-for-princes literature (Amanat 66-68). Young Naser al-Din had been even tutored by Ṭasūjī in the Tabriz court. Already enamored by the stories of the *Nights*, he ordered a lavishly-illustrated manuscript production of the book. The project proved highly costly and time-consuming (it took seven years) and was completed in 1859 (Bakhtiyār).¹²³ The manuscript reproduction of the *Nights*, significantly, was “the last outstanding specimen of the traditional art of the book in Qājār Iran” (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 284). The appearances of both printed and manuscript versions signalled a transition from the Iranian tradition of exquisite illustration and manuscript production to the thriving institution of print. Also, the production of both illustrated manuscripts and printed texts of the *Nights* in the mid-nineteenth century was a testimony to the dual importance, both elite and popular, accorded to it soon after its translation in Iran.

Larzul considers both the Arabian medieval background of the *Nights* and its popularity in Europe in her observation that the text was prioritized by the Būlāq Press of Cairo (205). However, the appearance of the *Nights* in Iran in a royal context and in the print market occurred in spite of the absence of a medieval Persian *Nights*. Though it was not a medieval Persian text, the *Nights* came to prominence in Iranian literary culture in the nineteenth century, and was one of the earliest secular works of literature to be published in Iran along with pre-existing Persian literary works. For example, the first illustrated lithographed edition of *Liylī va Majnūn* was produced in 1843 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 19); the first illustrated lithographed edition of Nizāmi’s *Khamsih* was produced in 1845 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 19); Sa’dī’s

¹²³ For reference to the fame of this manuscript in contemporary US periodicals, see Chapter Three of this dissertation. Also, see Images VII and VIII in Chapter Six, which feature two illustrations from this manuscript. For a detailed discussion of the production and contents of the manuscript, see Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights* (35-40); and Boozari, “The Manuscript of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Gulistān Palace.”

collected works appeared in a complete and illustrated lithographed edition in 1850-51 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 19); the first illustrated edition of Firdawsī's *Book of Kings* appeared in 1850 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 23); and the first illustrated *Dīvān* of Hāfiz was printed in 1852 (Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 25). Moreover, Ṭasūjī and Surūsh produced the first complete Persian translation of the *Nights* in 1843; the calligraphic work for its printing was completed in 1843 and 1845, respectively, for Volumes One and Two; the *editio princeps* was lithographically published in 1845 in Tabriz; the second lithographic edition, containing illustrations, appeared in 1855 in Tehran; and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's illustrated manuscript was completed in 1859. In view of its absence in the Persian literary landscape prior to the nineteenth century, the publication of the *Nights* alongside Persian classics suggests, among other things, the role of ultranational heterogeneous transregionalism in its importance to Persian literary culture. Ṭasūjī's preface presents the *Nights* as what can be considered one of the earliest manifestations of an admittedly court-impelled print capitalism in Iran. Ṭasūjī states that he received governmental funding to have the book printed at the Tabriz Dār al-Ṭibā'/Press House, an endeavor that he hoped would earn him a comfortable subsistence for the rest of his life (*A Thousand and One Nights 1845* i-ii). While the Preface notes that the book was printed in the Qājār court press in Tabriz, hence implying a royal setting for its uses, the Persian *Nights* proved so popular among the Iranian reading public that the book was re-published several times during the nineteenth century (Marzolph, "The Persian *Nights*" 285; Boozari, "Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*" 40; Amanat 461).¹²⁴ The reprint history also suggests the growth of a public reading market for the first time in Iranian literary history.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ See the Appendix for a listing of these editions.

¹²⁵ For another discussion of early publishing in Iran including the *Nights*, see Ringer (34-37).

Though the *Nights* was new to Iran's modern literary landscape, Iranian literati mostly endeavored to re-fashion the *Nights* as perennially Persian, utilizing and re-purposing the tale collection in an Aryanist nationalistic project. As shown above, they adopted outdated European discussions of the *Nights*, especially concerning its origins, to emphasize a Persianist history for the tales. However, the process of Persianization of the *Nights* seems to have begun earlier than the adoptions of European orientalism of the *Nights*, with Ṭasūjī's translation itself. Ṭasūjī's translation was initially commissioned by the state, a chief conductor of modernization and reform projects. The reformation and simplification of Persian prose, particularly in political correspondence and literary circles, had already begun with the pioneering works of Qājār prime minister and prose stylist Qāim Maqām Farāhānī (1779-1835) and was continued by later Qājār prime minister Mīrzā Taqī Khān Farāhānī (*aka* Amīr Kabīr) (1807-52) (Kamshad 13-14). This trend continued with nineteenth-century elites' attempts at simplification, democratization, and "purification" of Persian by minimizing Arabic loanwords (Karimi-Hakkak 85). In this volatile climate of linguistic dynamism, Qājār prince Bahman Mīrzā (1810-84) – the son of Crown Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā Qājār (1789-1838), known for his leading reform projects in military and education – ordered Ṭasūjī to translate "this novel recension from Arabic to Persian, the finest of languages" (*A Thousand and One Nights* 1845 1). That Persian is called "the finest of languages" is significant, since this designation arose from, and fed the development of, the Persianist ethos and the de-Arabization of the Persian language as part of Iran's nation-building efforts. Within this context, Ṭasūjī seized the opportunity to translate the *Nights* into what was considered a relatively simple and less convoluted, but still elevated, literary Persian. A cursory comparative examination of the Būlāq edition and Ṭasūjī's translation indicates the liberality of the latter, rather than strict textual faithfulness, as it aimed to reproduce the Arabic text in *fine* and



Image IV: Illustration of the Tale of Wardan the Butcher in an Iranian edition of the *Nights*, published in 1889 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 45).

euphonious Persian prose. Although Ṭasūjī's translation does include some Arabic words, it is a key text in the Persianization process of the time for its use of elevated and relatively simplified Persian prose. Poet and critic Muḥammadtaqī Bahār (1884-1951) praised Ṭasūjī's translation of the *Nights* for his "sweet, fluent, and fluid Persian" prose (3: 369). Similarly, Ibrāhīm Iqlīdī, himself a recent Persian translator of the *Nights*, criticized Ṭasūjī's translation but did acknowledge its attempt at elevating the Persian language of the text in comparison to the less formal diction of the Būlāq edition (Boozari, "Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*" 30-31).¹²⁶ These responses help to demonstrate the ways in which Ṭasūjī's translation helped to modernize and nationalize Persian and make it more accessible to everyday readers. Ṭasūjī himself recognized that Arabic belonged to the elites of the time (*A Thousand and One Nights* 1845 1), and his intention was to help *both* "elite and common people" access the *Nights* (*A Thousand and One Nights* 1845 i).

Ṭasūjī further justifies his translation by citing the previous lack of a complete Persian version. Though he acknowledges that his source is Arabic, he does not explicitly identify his source text; in the preface to Volume I, Ṭasūjī notes that his source text is "badī'" (*A Thousand and One Nights* 1845 1), suggesting its novelty, but does not reveal the source of this Arabic version. There may be several explanations as to why he chooses not to reveal his source, but a likely one is that, in light of the growing Persocentric nationalist discourse of the time, identifying an Arabic text as a source for one's work would be counterproductive to the trend of Persianization.¹²⁷ Thus, although communication of material and intellectual culture occurred across the region, the Arabic roots of Ṭasūjī's translation were not acknowledged officially.

¹²⁶ Also see Haddadian-Moghadam, who discusses the broader trend toward domestication in Persian translations during the Qajar period (45-58).

¹²⁷ See Vejdani, who shows that Qajar-sponsored translations were intended to follow the political and cultural agendas of the time (21-24).

However, this is a conjectural rationale. While the reasons for Ṭasūjī's decision not to identify his sources are relatively uncertain, it is easier to detect Persianization in the work of his collaborator Surūsh, who replaced Arabic verses with Persian ones. It is estimated that he inserted more than 2500 lines from celebrated classic and contemporary Persian poetry (with the highest number of lines from Sa'dī's) in place of the Arabic verses (Yahaghi 5). Ultimately, the royal illustrations display comparable examples of Persianization, as Hārūn al-Rashīd and his vizier Ja'far Barmakī, prominent figures in the *Nights*, were depicted similarly to, respectively, Iran's Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and his vizier Amīr Kabīr, and the medieval Arabic context was recast in a contemporary Qājār Tehran milieu (Boozari, "The Manuscript of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Gulistān Palace" 161; Amanat 74; Marzolph, "The Persian *Nights*" 284). All of this demonstrates that the Persianization of the *Nights* occurred even before the later Iranian literati amplified the Persian origins of the text with reference to European Orientalism.

Perhaps due to the Persianization and claims of the historicity and canonicity of the *Nights* in Iran's literary and cultural landscape, the Iranian intelligentsia handled the discussions of the origins of Ṭasūjī's *Nights* tangentially, if they did not avoid the question altogether. As late as 2004, Marzolph has demonstrated that while the Būlāq and Calcutta II editions were almost contemporaneous with Ṭasūjī's translation, "both [Egyptian and Indian] editions differ considerably in wording, and a particularly peculiar lacuna proves the Būlāq edition beyond reasonable doubt to constitute the basis for the Persian translation" ("The Persian *Nights*" 285). However, discussions of the *Nights* in Iran either sidestepped the debate over the origin of Ṭasūjī's edition in favour of further constructing the ancient Persian lineage of *Hizār Afsān*, or referred to the Būlāq edition as an aside. For instance, Ḥikmat mentions the Būlāq edition only briefly (37), while Maḥjūb briefly and indirectly acknowledges the Arabic edition (377), and

drops it from his listing of “the Oriental translations of the book” (387-88), and Yaḥyā Āryanpūr states that Ṭasūjī “apparently” produced the Persian translation from the Egyptian Būlāq edition (183). Perhaps responding to this lacuna in scholarship, Marzolph has called for a detailed comparative reading of the Būlāq edition and Ṭasūjī’s translation (Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 285), and in 2015, Boozari similarly proposed a comparative examination of the two versions and other versions of the *Nights* (“Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 55). Their calls are both timely and significant, especially given the relative paucity of comparative studies of the Arabic and Persian contexts of the *Nights*. This paucity has been aptly noted by Rastegar, who has emphasized the necessity of trans-regional comparative literary studies involving Persian and Arabic (versus Western) literatures to further develop the picture of Iranian literary modernity (“Literary Modernity between Arabic and Persian Prose” 374).¹²⁸ The brief and tangential mentions of, or the lack of references to, the Arabic authority of Ṭasūjī’s *Nights* have to do with the dearth of bibliographic information at the disposal of the aforementioned Iranian intelligentsia; however, it seems to be equally symptomatic of the rise of Persocentric discourse in the wake of the appearance of the Iranian *Nights*, ultimately regarding the discussion of its Arabic antecedent as insignificant or unnecessary. The suppression and/or marginalization of this question due to Persianist discourse may also explain the relative lack of comparative studies involving the Arabic and Persian editions, adaptations, and adoptions of the *Nights* among Iranian researchers. In fact, there are numerous studies by present-day Iranian scholars that compare the *Nights*, not to Arabic texts and contexts, but to celebrated Persian or

¹²⁸ For further discussion of the increasing significance of trans-regional frameworks in literary studies, see Kilpatrick, “Eastern Mediterranean Literatures.”

European works.¹²⁹ The dearth of Arabic-Persian comparative studies concerning the *Nights* becomes symptomatic especially in view of, on the one hand, the introduction of comparative literary studies as an academic subject and practice in Iran at least since the 1930s (Anushirvani 484), and on the other hand, the increasing significance of the *Nights* in Iran's publishing market since the appearance of Ṭasūjī's translation,¹³⁰ as well as growing interest in the *Nights* for scholars and literary and cultural elites.¹³¹

Despite the Persianization present in his text, Ṭasūjī's career as a whole, and particularly his proficiency in Persian and Arabic in developing the first existing full Persian *Nights* from the Būlāq edition, challenges Anderson's idea of the European component of bilingualism, in which the intelligentsia were familiar with both European languages and nineteenth-century models of nation-state formation:

Print-literacy already made possible the imagined community floating in homogenous, empty time of which we have spoken earlier. Bilingualism meant access, through the European language-of-state, to modern Western culture in the broadest sense, and, in

¹²⁹ For instance, Raḥīmkhānī-sāmānī conducts a comparative study of Firdawsī's *Book of Kings* and the *Nights*, eventually claiming a shared pre-Islamic Persian origin for both texts. As another characteristic example, Khurāsānī and Ḥāj-ṭālibī, having confirmed *Hizār Afsān* as "the first foundation" of the *Nights*, compare the work to Niẓāmi's *Haft Piykar* (25). Also, Ṣādiqī stresses the Persian origins of the *Nights*, and compares the tale collection to Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Durrī and 'Abbāsī compare the elements of fantasy in the *Nights* to those of *Harry Potter*, while Barādarān-Jamīlī examines intertextualities between the *Nights* and James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, in both cases to suggest possible influence of the *Nights* on the later texts. Muḥarramzādīh provides a comparative existentialist reading of the *Nights* and Albert Camus' *Caligula*, and Maḥmūdī-Bakhtiyāri and Khusravī seek to present a comparative poststructuralist assessment of cross-dressing in selected tales of the *Nights* and selected plays by William Shakespeare.

¹³⁰ See the list of Iranian editions of the *Nights* in the Appendix.

¹³¹ See Boozari, "A Bibliography of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Persian" for a shortlisting of their titles.

particular, to the models of nationalism, nation-ness, and nation-state produced elsewhere in the course of the nineteenth century. (*Imagined Communities* 116)

Anderson rightly identifies the development of print culture as an influence on modern nation-states globally; he also correctly acknowledges the influence of European national models on postcolonial national aspirations.¹³² However, his theorization of the so-called Last Wave of nationalism does not acknowledge the extensive trans-regional communication of ideas and material embodiments of modernity, as represented by the completion of the first full translation of the Persian *Nights* following the Arabic work and through Ottoman routes, and the role of Indian editions of the *Nights* in the continuing popularity of the work in Iran. The modern Iranian *Nights* and other texts that were printed elsewhere but read in Iran not only draw attention to the significance of regional vernaculars, but also illustrate the heterogeneous regional operations of ideas and material embodiments of modernity in the development of Iran as a modern nation-state, in contrast to Anderson's more monolithic, homogeneous, and Eurocentric model of postcolonial nationhood.

V. Concluding Remarks

This chapter situates the appearance of the *Nights* in Iran within the broader trans-regional exchanges of printed materials during the modernization projects in India and the Ottoman Empire as well as in Egypt and Persia. Rastegar has mapped out some of these trans-regional connections between Egypt and Iran, concluding that the *Nights* “was uniquely situated

¹³² Confirming these standpoints, Green has discussed the beginnings of “Muslim printing” – Tabriz Press in Iran, Būlāq Press in Egypt, and Lucknow Press in India – established by Middle Eastern and South Asian “transcultural journeymen” who visited Europe and Russia in the 1820s (“Journeymen, Middlemen”). Interestingly, the first Persian book published in Iran, which was printed with Russian technology, was *Treatise on Holy War* (1817), a book of Shia verdicts endorsing contemporary Iranian war against Russia (“Journeymen, Middlemen” 215). Also, see Green, *The Love of Strangers*, for a closer glance at Iranians' first encounter with English paper technology in 1818 (121-28).

to play an enabling role in the transformation of categories of legitimacy into ones that affirmed the autonomy of the literary field” (65). Where Rastegar sees the literary field, of which the *Nights* was a formative component, as the path to autonomy, my study documents the development of a canonical and perennial Persianist history for the *Nights*, and the *uses* of the book in Aryanist nation-building endeavours by Iranian intelligentsia who selectively modified European orientalism. Taken together, the close intertextuality between the Būlāq and Ṭasūjī editions and, beyond that, the links among the modern history of the *Nights* in Iran and its circumstances of circulation and re-production in Turkish, Arabic, and Indian areas indicate that the development of the Persian version was not an indigenous Iranian phenomenon, especially considering that the *Nights* had not been produced in Persian prior to the nineteenth century. As such, the Persian *Nights* was a *modern* phenomenon in response to the *emerging trans-regional* popularity of the book in the wake of its spread into the European and American literary markets. The trans-regional vogue of the *Nights*, mostly facilitated by the development of print technology in the regional states, serves as a challenge to the Persianist and Iranocentric histories of this collection of stories. These literary histories, which emphasized the Persian history of the *Nights* and positioned it as a canonical text alongside such works as *The Book of Kings*, demonstrate the renewed literary and historical importance of this text form around the mid-nineteenth century. This view of the *Nights* prompted several attempts to publish, claim, appropriate, and re-purpose it as part of the Iranian nationalist project that was primarily characterized by a belief in Aryan supremacy and anti-Arabism. In Iran’s print culture, the *Nights* was regarded, paradoxically, as both a modern text – thanks to the use of simplified and smooth Persian in the translations – and a classical text, mostly in reference to *The Book of Kings* and the now-lost *Hizār Afsān*. Relating to this, Rastegar has argued for the “the dual nature” of the *Nights* “as both exemplary of a

classical heritage, and yet innovative in its most recent form” (71). However, the results of this study do not endorse a *nature* for the constantly-changing *Nights*. I do not regard the *Nights* as containing classical or innovative modalities; rather, this chapter shows that, as a text that was given primacy in Iran thanks to its popularity across the region and with European and American readers, the *Nights* was accorded modernist and classic values as it was re-produced, re-fashioned, and deployed as part of the Iranian nationalist project. This process involved selective adoption, adaptation, and re-production of previous European orientalist discussions, especially those concerning the origins of the *Nights*.

In a broader frame, the production and circulation of the *Nights* across Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and the Indian subcontinent, and the influence of these on the emergence and continued vogue of the *Nights* in Iran, demonstrate the significance of trans-regional links and vernacular recasting of the *Nights*, challenging the exclusive view of European and American influences on the popularization of the text in the Middle East. Anderson emphasizes the role of bilingualism in the formation of contours of colonial nationalisms, stating that bilingual intelligentsias, as intermediaries between local states and European languages and cultures, “had access [...] to models of nation, nation-ness, and nationalism, distilled from the turbulent, chaotic experiences of more than a century of American and European history” (*Imagined Communities* 140). Nonetheless, my examination of Ṭasūjī’s translation reveals the significance of bi- and multi-lingualism in *regional* vernaculars, not only in Persian and Arabic, which led to the formation of the basic Persian literary corpus to be used and appropriated in the Iranian project of nation-building, but also in Turkish, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Kanarese, Gujarati, and Marathi, among others. My findings agree with Anderson’s major argument that the “‘last wave of nationalism, most of them in the colonial territories in Asia and Africa, was in its origins a

response to the new-style global imperialism made possible by the achievements of industrial capitalism” (*Imagined Communities* 139). As mentioned earlier, regional states, including Persia, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and India, were developing responses to European modernity by defining and implementing literary, military, and educational modernization projects of their own. The study of the Iranian circumstances of the *Nights* shows the importance of trans-regional dialogues and transmissions of vernacular material and knowledge. Anderson asks us to “remind ourselves that a very large number of these (mainly non-European) nations came to have European languages-of-state” (*Imagined Communities* 113), introduces the colonial national modular imagination based on the European and American instances of nation-formation, and, above all, considers colonial nation-building, following Western examples, as “floating in homogeneous, empty time” (*Imagined Communities* 116). Nonetheless, this examination of the Iranian history of the *Nights* indicates that, European influences aside, the development and popularization of the Persian version was equally influenced by the reproduction, transmission, and circulation of intellectual and material cultures across the region. Although one should be cautious against generalizing the circumstances of the appearance, publication, and distribution of the *Nights*, the vernacular popularization of this collection of tales seems representative of the major aspects of modernization, involving transmission of cultural and material cultures, that were occurring trans-regionally, and reveals a heterogeneous condition, loaded with trans-regional communications of printed materials, operating under the supposedly solid and homogeneous national subjectivity that was being developed in Iran as *solely* and *essentially* Arayanist.¹³³ Ultimately, this chapter has demonstrated a trans-regional promotion of the modern

¹³³ For a different discussion of Iranian nationhood, see Hamīd Dabashi, *Iran without Borders*, which argues for a heterogeneous, non-sectarian, and cosmopolitan Iranian national culture from the eighteenth century to the present.

Nights followed by its use in Iran for nationalistic purposes. This should be taken only as a foray into future discussions of the extensive trans-regional communication of material culture – including books and periodicals – and their various uses in society as a whole, including but not limited to nationalistic projects.¹³⁴

VI. Appendix

This appendix chronologically lists various major editions and tales of the *Nights* published in Persian in Iran. This bibliographic inventory, while by no means exhaustive, is extracted from *OCLC WorldCat* and complemented and verified by consulting Chauvin, Boozari (“Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*”), *National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran*, and *Tehran International Book Fair*. Unless otherwise noted following an entry, the bibliographic item is extracted from *OCLC WorldCat*. In compiling this inventory, *OCLC WorldCat* style has been mostly followed in order to ensure consistency with the appendices to previous chapters.

Alf liylih va liylih. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī and Surūsh, and prepared by ‘Alī Khushnivīs; patron: Bahman Mīrzā Qājār. Tabriz: Dār al-Ṭibā‘ih Tabriz, 1259-1261/1843-1845 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 39-40).

Alf liylih va liylih. [Lithographically published in] Tehran, 1847 (Chauvin 4: 23).

¹³⁴ For example, several trans-regional and ultra-national frameworks have been devised to study the circumstances of printing in Iran. See Green, “Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution,” who demonstrates that the beginning of typography and print in Iran shared features not only with Muslim printers across the region but also “with their counterparts in the Atlantic and Pacific” (474). See also Green, “Stones from Bavaria,” for a discussion of the introduction of lithography in Iran situated within a global frame, including South Asia and Southeast Asia as well as Russia and Europe.

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by Muḥammad-Alī ibn ‘Abdullāh Biyg Jarāḥbāshī Ṭihrani, and illustrated by Mīrzā ‘Alī-Qulī Khū’ī Mīrzā Rizā ibn Muḥammad-‘Alī Āshtiyānī and Mīrzā Ḥasan ibn Āqā Sayyid Mīrzā Naqāsh. Tehran, 1272/1855 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40-41).

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by Muḥammad Ja‘far al-Gulpāyigānī, and illustrated by Mīrzā Ḥasan Āqā Sayyid Mīrzā Naqāsh. Tehran: Muḥammad-Rizā ibn Āqā ‘Abdal-Bāqī and ‘Alī-Naqī ibn Muḥammad-Ibrāhīm; Printer: Mīr Bāqir, 1275/1858 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 43).

Muntakhab-i Alf liylih va liylih; Alf liylā-yi kūchak. [Illustrator unknown]. Tehran: [Publisher unknown], 1280/1863 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 49).

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by Farajallāḥ Tafriḥshī and Muḥarrir ‘Alī, and illustrated by ‘Abd al-Ḥusiyn al-Khānsārī and Mīrzā Naṣrallāh. Tehran, [publisher unidentified], 1293/1876 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 44).

Alf liylih va liylih. Illustrated by Mīrzā Naṣrallāh. Tabriz: [Publisher unidentified], 1307/1889 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 44).

Alf liylih va liylih / Hizār Dastān. Prepared by Ja‘far Qulī Farīdanī and ‘Alī-Naqī Ṭāliqānī, and illustrated by ‘Alī Khān. Tabriz: Muḥammad-Ismā‘īl ibn Āqā ‘Alī-Akbar Khānsārī and Muḥammad-Ḥusiyn ibn Muḥammad Khānsārī, 1315/1897 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 45).

Hizār Dastān. Prepared by Muḥammad-Bāqir ibn Muḥammad-Ḥasan Azūḥanī Isfahānī, and illustrated by Javād and ‘Alī Khān Naqāsh Tabrīzī. Tehran: Mīrzā Suliymān Khān Rukn al-Mulk; printer: Amīr Abul-Ḥasan Ṭihriani, Āqā Muḥammad-Ismā‘īl, and Āqā Muḥammad-Ibrāhīm, 1317-18/1899-1900 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 51).

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by Ḥusiyin-‘Alī ibn Abdullāh Khān, and illustrated by Javād and Ḥusiyin-‘Alī. Tehran: Muḥammad Ismā‘īl ibn Mullā ‘Alīakbar Khānsārī; printer: Mīrzā ‘Alīaṣghar, 1320/1902 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 46).

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by ‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl Isfahānī, and illustrated by Mīrzā Muḥammad. Tehran: Aḥmad Āqā Muayyid al-‘Ulamā, 1334/1915 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 47).

Alf liylih va liylih. Prepared by Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad‘alī Vazīrī ibn Mīrzā Muḥammad Mustaufī Shīrāzī, and illustrated by Muḥammad Ṣāni‘ī and Muhsin Tājbakhsh. Tehran: Shirkat-i Tazāmunī Āqā Muḥammad-Ḥasan ‘Ilmī va Shurakā, 1352/1933 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 40, 48).

Hizār-o Yek-Shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī and Surūsh, and prefaced by Alīaṣghar Ḥikmat. Tehran: Muḥammad Ramizānī’s Kulāli-yi Khāvar, 1315-1315/1936-37,

<http://books.google.com/books?id=syEZAQAAlAAJ> (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 53).¹³⁵

Muntakhab-i Alf liyl. Translated by Ṭasūjī and Surūsh, prepared by Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad‘alī Vazīrī, and illustrated by Muhsin Tājbaksh and and Muḥammad Ṣāni‘ī Khānsārī. Tehran: Maṭba‘i ‘Ilmī, 1317/1938 (*National Library*).

Kulliyāt-i Muṣavvar-i Hizār-u yik shab. Tehran: [lead printing, funded by] Shirkat-e ‘Ilmi va shurakā, 1947.

Dāstān-ha-yi Shūrangīz-i Hizār-u yik shab. Tehran: Bungāh-i Maṭbū‘āti-i Ṣafi‘alīshāh, 1950.

Qiṣṣi-ha-yi Barguzīdih az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Shams al-Mulūk Muṣāhib. Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjumih va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1958.

Hizār-u yik shab. Illustrated. Tehran: Kitābkhānih-yi Ibn-i Sīnā, 1337/1958 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 7 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Mūsa Farhang Rāzī. Tehran:

Gūtinbirg, 1338/1959-60, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/215392068.html>

(Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 53; *National Library*).

¹³⁵ A future line of inquiry regarding the Persian *Nights* is the issue of censorship. Given the censorship imposed on the Persian *Nights*, beginning with the edition of Kolale-ye Khavar, and the intensification of censorship of the *Nights* after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, a comparison of the publications of the *Nights* in Iran to those produced in Paris and Sweden, respectively, in 1984 and 1991, would be worthy of future study. Also, for a relevant discussion of censorship in nineteenth-century Iranian lithographic books, see Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration* 54-55, and for a discussion of censorship in selected Iranian editions of the *Nights*, see Marzolph, “The Persian *Nights*” 286-90.

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Dānish-i Naw, 1357/1978 (*National Library*).

Chand Dāstān-i Barguzidih az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Aḥmad Sa‘īdī. Tehran: Bunyād, 1362/1983 (*National Library*).

Mard va Nāmard [...]. Prepared by Mihdī Azar-Yazdī, and illustrated by Muḥammad Tajvīdī, 1364/1985 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣi-ha-yi Kūtāh az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Muḥammad Shabzindidār. Tehran: Nās, 1371/1992 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]. Prepared by Majīd Sayf. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sipīdih, 1993.

Ḥadīs-i Ghānim Pīsar-i Ayyūb. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā‘īz, 1373 (?)/1994 (*National Library*).

Mahyār-i Javān va Edrīs-i Khūnāshām. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā‘īz, 1374 (?)/1995 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Prepared by Ismā‘īl Shāhrūdī. Tehran: Piymān, 1374/1995 (*National Library*).

‘Alībābā va chihl duzd-i Baghdād. Tehran: Gulistān-i Kitāb, 1995.

Safar-hā-yi daryāyī va chand dāstān-i dīgar. Prepared by Maḥmūd Iḥyāyī. Tehran: Nidā, 1375/1996 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Ḥadīs-i irṣīyih va pīsarān-i bāzargān.

Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1375/1996 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Safar-i jādū. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī, Tehran:

Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Sandbād va Qaṣr-i zīr-i daryā. Prepared by

‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Sandbād va parandih-yi ghūlāsā. Prepared by

‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Hikāyat-i ‘Alā al-Dīn pīsar-i Shāmāt-i miṣrī.

Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Khāb-i Sulṭān. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī.

Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Nūr al-Dīn va silsilih-yi miṣrīyān. Prepared by

‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Ḥadīs-i Malikih-yi sarzamīn-i sind. Prepared

by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: ‘Alā al-Dīn va Chirāgh-i jādū. Prepared by

‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’īz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Gawhar-i shab-chirāgh. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’iz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Haft qiṣṣih az haft shahr. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’iz, 1996.

Dāstān-i az dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab [...]: Hizārtū-ha-yi Ishāq-i Mūsili. Prepared by ‘Alī Ṣālihī. Tehran: Pā’iz, 1996.

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi shūrīn-i Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Shukūh Qāsimniyā. Tehran: Piydāyish, 1375/1996.

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Dunyā-i Kitāb, 1998.

Hizār-u yik shab. 5 vols. Prepared by Bahrām Afrāsiyābī. Illustrated. Tehran: Sukhan, 1378/2000 (National Library).

Qiṣṣih-yi guzidih az Hizār-u yik shab. [For juvenile audience]. Translated by ‘Alīrizā Rizādād and Aqdas Razāzīfar. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1379/2000 (Tehran International Book Fair).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Jāmī, 2000.

Hikāyat-i Sandbād-i Bahrī va 6 Qiṣṣih-yi dīgar. Prepared by Dāryūsh ‘Abidī. Tehran: Madrisih, 1379/2000 (National Library).

Parvāz bā ābnūs: 29 dāstān az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Muḥammad Shams. Tehran: Zīkr, 1380/2001 (National Library).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Bahrām Afrāsiyābī. Tehran: Mihrfām, 1382/2003 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Hāydh ‘Abdullāhī. Tehran: Dīdgāh, 1382/2003 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Intishaarat-i Afsūn, 1382/2003.

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī and Surūsh. Tehran: Hirmis, 2003-04.

Yikī būd yikī nabūd: Majmū‘i-yi chand dāstān az Hizār-u yik shab [...]. Prepared and translated by Ghulāmriżā Afshār-Nādirī. Illustrated. Tehran: Pindār-i Naw, 1383/2004 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 5 vols. Prepared by Bahrām Afrāsiyābī. Tehran: Mahtāb, 1384-86/2005-07 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 6 vols. Prepared by Ḥamīd ‘Āmilī. Tehran: Ṭarh-i Āyandih, 1384-88/2005-09 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Prepared for juvenile audience by Riżā Shīrāzī, and illustrated by Murtiżā Amīn. Tehran: Payām-i Mihrāb, 1385/2006 (*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab: ‘Alā al-Dīn va chirāgh-e jādū. Prepared by Marie Stuart, illustrated by Robert Ayton, and translated to Persian by Muḥammadriżā Mar‘ashīpūr. Tehran: Qiṣṣih, 1385/2006 (*National Library*).

- Hizār-u yik shab*. 18 vols. Translated by Muḥammad-Ibrāhīm Iqlīdī. Tehran: Markaz, 1385-1387/2006-2008 (Boozari, "Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights* 53).
- Shish akhtar va Ḥasan-i zargar: Bargiriftih az Hizār-u yik shab*. Prepared by Muḥammad Raʿūf Tavakkulī. Tehran: Tavakkulī, 1386/2007 (*OCLC WorldCat; National Library*).
- Hizār-u yik shab*. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Hirmis, 1386/2007 (*National Library*).
- Hizār-u yik shab*. Edited by Aḥmad Atāʾī. Illustrated. Tehran: Āshiyāni-yi Kitāb, 1386/2007 (*National Library*).
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i 'ajīb va gharīb*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Ayyūb va farzandān*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Ḥammal ba dukhtarān*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Hārūn al-Rashīd va dukhtarak*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Hārūn va kanizak*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Malik Nu'mān va Farzandānash*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Malik Shahrīmān va Qamar al-Zamān*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.
- Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Shāh 'Abīd*. Tehran: Pul, 2008.

Muntakhab-i dāstān-ha-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Hikayat-i Malikzādih va Shamās Vazīr. Tehran: Pul, 2008.

Dah shab az Hizār-u yik shab (Majmū‘i) [Including Shahrzād va Shahriyār; Dīv va mahīgīr; Mahī-i sihrāmīz; Pādshāhī ki sang shud; Jazīri-yi Asrārāmīz; Asb-hā-yi bāldār; Ganjī ke sāhibash rā yāft; Asb-i chūbi; Asb-i dukhtar-i Hurmuz; and Naghāshī-ui jādūyī]. Prepared for juvenile audience by Muḥammad Kaẓim Mazīnānī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1387/2008 (*OCLC WorldCat; Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Sūdābih Mubashshir. Tehran: Kitāb-i Pārsih, 1387/2008 (*OCLC WorldCat; National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 5 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Mītrā Mihrābādī. Illustrated. Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1387/2008 (*National Library*).

Muntakhab-i Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Qāzī Va Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Pul, in collaboration with Nashr-i Khallāq, 2009.

Hikāyat-i asb-i Ābnūs: Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Dāryūsh ‘Abidī, and illustrated by Miṣsam Mūsāvi. Tehran: Madrisih, 1388/2009 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2nd ed. Translated by Ṭasūjī and Surūsh, and edited by Mūsa Farhang Rāzī. Tehran: Gūtinbirg, 1388/2009 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 53; *National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Illustrated. Tehran: Naqd-i Afkār, 1388/2009 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Illustrated. Tehran: Aras, 1389/2010.

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and introduced by Ḥikmat. Tehran: Bihzād, 1389/2010
(*National Library*).

Afsāni-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab, Hizār va yik rūz, Gumshudigān. [For juvenile audience].

Translated by Ru'ý' Khū'ī. Publisher: Mihrāb-i Qalam, 1389/2010 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 6 vols. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Nargis Ābyār and Shāhrukh Gīvā, and illustrated by Banafshih 'Irfāniyān. Tehran: Safir-i Ardihāl, 1389/2010 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Shahrzād, 1389/2010 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 3 vols. Prepared by Shukūh Ghāsimniyā. Tehran, Piydāyish, 1389/2010
(*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Pārmīs, 1389/2010 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Ilhām, 1389/2010 (*National Library*).

Bāgh-i chihār-faṣl: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mahshad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Bahrām Afrāsiyābī. Publisher: Abr-i Sifid, 1390/2011 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Majmū'ī-yi dilnīshīn az qīṣṣih-hā-yi pedarbuzurg: Qīṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Qanbar Shikarī-Pīnvandī. Qum: Zimzimih-yi Zindigī. 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Juvenile audience. Publisher: Shahrzād, 1390/2011 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Qīṣṣih-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Dūrāndīshī-yi shīrīn. Rewritten by Raḥīm Rizāyī for juvenile audience, and illustrated by Fātimih Madadī Marasht. Tehran: Āsimān-i Andīshih, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

'Alā al-Dīn va chirāgh-i jādū. Translated for juvenile audience by Šāliḥih Ghanī Kākhkī. Mashhad: Piyk-i Hadyih, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Šāhib-i abr: Barguzidih-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mahshad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Sandbād: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Maryam Farhādī, and illustrated by Behshād Yikkih. Mahshad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Parandih-yi Bihishtī: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mashhad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Jazīri-yi lākpūsh-t-hā: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mashhad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Jangal-i parandihgān: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mashhad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Chūpān va duzd: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mashhad: Bartarīn, 1390/2011 (*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Izhdihā-yi Ṭalāʾī, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Ta shab-hengāmī dīgar: Barguzidih-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Ghulāmriżā Riżāyī. Tehran: Vīdā, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Shīrīn-i Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Firishtih Rāmshīnī. Publisher: Shahrzād, 1390/2011 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Jādū-yi naqqashī: Dāstān-hā-yī az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Muḥammad Kāzīm Mazīnānī, and illustrated by Riżā Maktabī. Tehran: Ministry of Education Press, 1390/2011. (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Ishārāt-i Ṭalāʾī, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Illustrated. Tehran: Firdaws, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Shāhīn va pādshāh: Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Ḥusiyn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 5 vols. Translated by Muḥammad-Ibrāhīm Iqlīdī, Tehran: Markaz, 1390/2011 (Boozari, “Persian Manuscripts and Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*” 53).

Khāb dar khāb: Dāstān-ha-yī az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Muḥammad Kāzim Mazīnānī, and illustrated by Hisām al-Din Tabātabāʾī. Tehran: Ministry of Education, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab: Asb-i Ābnūs. Re-written for juvenile audience by Raḥīm Rizāyī, and illustrated by Fātimih Madadī Marasht. Tehran: Āsimān-i Andīshih, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: ‘Alā al-dīn va chirāgh-i jādū. Prepared for juvenile audience by Ḥusayn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Mard-e Pineh-dooz. Prepared for juvenile audience by Ḥusayn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hikāyat-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, edited by ‘Alīmurād Rizāʾīpūr. Publisher: ‘Ilmī, 1390/2011 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Siyāmak Gulshīrī. Tehran: Pārsih, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Ādīni-yei Sabz, 1390/2011 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Shūrīne Hizār-u yik shab. 3 vols. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Nargis Ābyār, edited by Raʾūf Shahsavārī (and Muḥammad Zawqī), and illustrated by Muḥammad‘ali

Banāasadī. Tehran: Piydāyish, 1391-1394/2012-2015 (*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

10 qiṣṣih-yi tasviri az Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1391/2012 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Dominic Cooke, and translated by Ardishīr Mihrābādī and Aḥmad Sipāsdār. Tehran: Nukhustīn, 1391/2012 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Jamīlih Bihravish. Mashhad: Sunbulih, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audience by Zahrā Hiydarī, and illustrated by Nūshīn Ṣafākhū. Tehran: Sūrī-yī Mīhr, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Shāhīn va kalāgh, Parandih va bāghbān: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Raḥīm Karbāsī, and illustrated by Amīr-ḥāmid Pāzhtār. Tabriz: Āzīn-Gustar, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Kūdak-i dānā: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audience by Raḥīm Karbāsī, and illustrated by Amīr-ḥāmid Pāzhtār. Tabriz: Āzīn-Gustar, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Sandbād-i baḥrī va chand dāstān-i dīgar. Prepared by Nessim Joseph Dawood, translated by Piymān Ismā‘īliān. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Maryam Qayyūmī. Tehran: I'jāz-i Qalam, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by 'Alīmurād Rizā'īpūr. Tehran: Farārūy, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Abū Muḥammad Tanbal. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Asb-i Ābnūs. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Joghd va bāz. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Chihār 'Abdullāh. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Liylā Asadī. Publisher: Jahān-i Siturg, 1391/2012 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Dāstān-hā-yi az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Fu'ād Naẓīrī and Liylā Khānpūr. Publisher: Sālīs, 1391/2012 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Firdaws, 1391/2012 (*OCLC WorldCat and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Suliyīmān-i nabī va ajinnih. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: ‘Alā al-Dīn abū Shāmāt-i Miṣrī. Prepared [for juvenile audiences] by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Qamar al-Zamān. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Gawhar ‘Iffat. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Asb-i chūbi (Hizār-u yik shab). Prepared by Fātimih Furūzish, and illustrated by Nargis Shā‘iri-Karīmī. Tehran: Ṭāhir, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab, Shahrzād. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Maryam Sharīf-Raḥaviyān, and illustrated by Salīm Ṣālihī. Tehran: Ṭāhir, 1391/2012 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab, Safar ha ye Sandbād. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Maryam Sharīf-Raḥaviyān. Tehran: Ṭāhir, 1391/2012 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hikāyat-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Majīd Gulmuḥammadi. Tehran: Farhang-i Risā, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hakayat-hā-yī az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Maryam Ja‘far-pūr-Mukhtārī. Publisher: Kiyā-Rād, 1392/2013 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab [...]. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Publisher: Piymān, 1392/2013 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Marziyih Shīrvānī. Publisher: Milīnā, 1392/2013 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hikāyat-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Majīd Gulmuḥammadi. Publisher: Āryan, 1392/2013 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Mūsh va gubih va sag, Mard va mār-i bad-jisns, Mūsh va māhī: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Raḥīm Karbāsī, and illustrated by Amīr-ḥāmid Pāzhtār. Tabriz: Āzīn-Gustar, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Mard-i khayyāt. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Muḥammadriżā Behraves. Publisher: Āzīn-e Tarbiyat, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab: Gawhar-i shab-chirāgh. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Muḥammadriżā Behraves. Publisher: Āzīn-e Tarbiyat, 1392/2013 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Chatr-i-Nūr. Tehran: Pāsārgād, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared in verse by Maryam Na‘īmābādī. Tehran: Arnā, 1392/2013.

Hizār-u yik shab. 3 vols. Prepared by Iḥsān ‘Azīmī. Tehran: Gawhar-i Andīsheh, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Ashja‘, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab (1). Prepared by Liylā Asadī. Mashhad: Rāmsīn, 1392/2013
(*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab (2). Prepared by Liylā Asadī. Mashhad: Rāmsīn, 1392/2013
(*National Library*).

Qiṣṣi-hā-yi shīrīn-i Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Shukūh Qāsimniyā, and
illustrated by Muḥammad‘alī Banī-Asadī. Tehran: Piydāyish, 1392/2013 (*OCLC WorldCat*;
Tehran International Book Fair).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Farāmarz Nidāyī. Tehran: Samā, 1392/2013
(*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Pūr-i Sā‘ib, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Siyāvash Rustamānī, and illustrated by Fātimih
Madadī Marasht. Tehran: Ārshā Qalam, 1392/2013 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 6 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and prefaced by Ḥikmat. Tehran: Nigāh,
1393/2014.

Bachi-shīr va ādamī-zād: Qiṣṣih-hā-yi taṣvīrī az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile
audiences by Ḥusiyinn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī,
1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Irtibāt-i Nuvīn, 1393/2014
(*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Prepared by Nargis Abulḥasanī. Illustrated. Qum: Navīd-i Zuhūr, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Bitā Hāshimī. Tehran: Farhang va Qalam, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Līdā, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Kāzim ‘Ābidīnī. Tehran: Āfarīnih, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab bi rivāyat-i tasvīr. Prepared by ‘Ātifih Faraqdān. Fakhrākiyā, 1393/2014 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Kāzim ‘Ābidīnī. Tehran: Farārūy, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Majmū‘i-yi dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Iḥsān ‘Azīmī. Tehran: Gawhar-i Andīsheh, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

‘Alā al-Dīn va chirāgh-i jādū. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*OCLC WorldCat; National Library*).

Mahīgīr va dīv. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Murgh-i Sukhangū: Az qiṣṣih-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences and illustrated by Munā Zawqī. Tehran: Ābrūn, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Ghaazi-e Panj-Saleh: Hizār-u yik shab. Re-written for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Shīrīne Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Arnica Esterl, illustrated by Olga Dugina, and translated from German by Mihdī Ṭārimī. Tehran: Naẓar, 1393/2014 (*National Library and Tehran International Book Fair*).

Ḥakīm ruyān va malik yūnān. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*OCLC WorldCat; National Library*).

Chashmi-yi jādūyī: Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*OCLC WorldCat and National Library*).

Jazīri-ī ki nahang būd: Az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Durrāj va lākpūsh-t-hā: Az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Darri-yi almās-ha: Az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Ḥusiyūn Fattāhī, and illustrated by Farhād Jamshīdī. Tehran: Qadyānī, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Pīremard-i nābīnā: Barguzidih az Hizār-u yik shab. Rewritten for juvenile audiences by Maryam Farhādī, and illustrated by Behshād Yikkih. Mashhad: Bartarīn, 1393/2014. (*National Library*).

Mard-i pāk-dāman [...]. Rewritten for juvenile audiences by Yasaman Raḥmati, and illustrated by Maryam Khalaj. Mahshad: Bartarīn, 1393/2014. (*National Library*).

Matn-i kāmil-i Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Māndānā Ni‘matnijād. Publisher: Samā, 1393/2014 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Dānyāl va asb-i parandih: Barguzidih az Hizār-u yik shab. Rewritten for juvenile audiences by Maryam Farhādī, and illustrated by Behshād Yikkih. Mahshad: Bartarīn, 1393/2014. (*National Library*).

Shahr-i ṭilism-shudih: Bargiriftih az dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Daryūsh Haftbarādarān et al, and illustrated by ‘Alī Qādirī and Ilāhih Arkiyā. Tehran: Faraye Elm, 1393/2014 (*National Library*).

Anisih khātūn va tūpāz khān. Prepared by Sūlmāz Khājivand. Tehran: Hūpā, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Sāmān Āzādī. Tehran: Yāsīn-i Nūr, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Qiṣṣih-hā-yi shūrīn-i Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Muḥammad Tajīk and Firishtih Rāmshīnī. Publisher: Shahrzād, 1394/2015 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. in 1 vol. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and illustrated by Samīra Rizāʿī. Isfahān: Āmīs, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Hikāyat-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Publisher: Nīkfarjām, 1394/2015 (*Tehran International Book Fair*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Illustrated. Tehran: Āvā-yi Tarannum, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: ‘Aqīl, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Nashr-i ‘Alī, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Martin Woodside, illustrated by Lucy Corvino, translated into Persian by Manūchir Akbarlū, and edited by Shahlā Intizāriyān. Tehran: Shahr-i Qalam, 1394/2015 (*National Library*).

1001 shab: 60 taṣvīr barāy-i rangāmīzī. Prepared by Sophie LeBlanc, and translated by Shahnāz Kumīylīzādīh. Tehran: Dānish Bahman, 1395/2016. (*National Library*).

Afsāni-yi māhīgīr va dīv. Prepared and illustrated by Siyyidih Mihrak I‘timād. Tehran: Kirdigārī, 1395/2016. (*National Library*).

Hikāyat-i ṭāvūs va chand hekāyat-i dīgar: Barguzidih az Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Zeynab Asadzādīh. Tehran: Sabz Rāyān Gustar, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Dāstān-hā-yi Ba Shukūh-i Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared by Sūdābih Mubashshir. Tehran: Yāqūt-i Kavīr, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Yāqūt-i Kavīr, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Prepared by ‘Alī Angushtbāf. Tehran: Mehrāj, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Nasīm-i Taḥavvul, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī, and edited by Khalīlallāh Yāserī. Qum: Ātīlā, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 4 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Tehran: Sālār Alamūtī, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 3 vols. Based on Ṭasūjī’s version. Tehran: Ātīsā, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 2 vols. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Qum: Kumih, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. 3 vols. Prepared by Nargis Abulḥasanī. Qum: Neẓārīh, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Translated by Ṭasūjī. Qum: Asmā al-Zahrā, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Hizār-u yik shab. Prepared for juvenile audiences by Majīd Mihrī, and illustrated by ‘Ātifih ‘Abdullāhī. Qum: Ilīnā, 1395/2016 (*National Library*).

Chapter VI

Conclusions

I. Summaries

This project is an examination of selected aspects of the print culture of the *Nights* in England, the US, Egypt, and Iran, from around the early nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Through this examination, I have explored various appearances and uses of the *Nights* in nation-building projects in these countries. By way of this investigation, I have adapted Anderson's theory, and demonstrated the formation of modern nationhood as heterogeneous at the crossroads of literary Orientalism, social classes, discourses, gender, and trans-regional communications in the national contexts in question. Building on and advancing the existing scholarship on the *Nights*, I have documented, analyzed, and compared, and contrasted various material embodiments and deployments of the *Nights* in relation to the constitution of modern nationality.

Anderson theorizes nationalism as the formation of homogeneous and solid imagined communities moving in a steady historical time-line in the wake of the expansion of vernacular print capitalism. My project demonstrates that modern nationhood did not occur as a cohesive unity with a steady movement, but was characterized by constant tensions and divergences, as reflected in printed literary reading materials. My examination has demonstrated that the *Nights*, as a significant piece of literary Orientalism, was employed in various ways, all integral to the projects of modernization and nationalization across the contexts in question in this study. Building on the existing critical appraisals of Anderson's theory, I have shown the formation of modern nationhood as porous, fluid, and heterogeneous across the boundaries of language, media, discourse, and regional geography, eventually challenging Anderson's conceptions.

This project considers the bibliographical histories of the *Nights* in English, Arabic, and Persian, respectively, in Britain, the US, Egypt, and Iran during the rise of their nationalist

movements, and covers various aspects of the *Nights*' publication and reception history, including translations, reproductions, commercialisations, transmissions, and readerships. It also explores responses to the republications of the *Nights* in contemporary periodicals of various types. I have compiled bibliographies of the *Nights* and contextualized and explained them in the specific literary, political, and economic circumstances of the aforementioned contexts, ultimately demonstrating the various inter-related uses of the *Nights* and its major tales in the constructions of modern national selfhoods as integral to the projects of modernity in the states discussed in this project.

Chapter One situates the *Nights* in the English popular press during the nineteenth century, and outlines its lower-income and lower-literacy readerships. This chapter particularly demonstrates that the *Nights* was domesticated and Anglicized in order to reinforce notions of Englishness and Britishness across lower social classes. Continuing my central argument, Chapter Two provides an account of the *Nights* in the US antebellum press, and outlines the various uses of the *Nights* and its tales, such as those of Aladdin and Sinbad, in internalizing and legitimizing American subjectivity at a time when elite and mass consumerism and technological modernization were in full swing and as the US was expanding territorially south and west. Chapter Four examines the prompt that book markets in Egypt and the larger region received from the (European and) Anglo-American popularity of the *Nights*. The popularity led to various adaptations of the *Nights* for, and by, female readers and writers, an expanding sector of the rising nationalist movement during the *Nahda* period. Chapter Five discusses the heterogeneous modality of modern Iranian nationhood based on an examination of publications of the *Nights* in Persian and other regional vernacular languages.

These examinations show that characterizing the nation as occurring in homogeneous, empty time, as Anderson does, denies the constant heterogeneity integral to nation-buildings in various global contexts, and blinds one to the various operations of literary Orientalism in the shaping of the cultures of modernity. Without ascribing any inherent essence to the *Nights*, I have accounted for this work as a major set of texts in world literature by documenting and delineating its constant and divergent, but still related, applications to and re-appropriations for nation-building in its different contexts of reception in question in this project.

II. Further Research Questions

As outlined above, this study provides some answers to a set of important questions related to the history of the *Nights*. These questions pertain to the various instances of publication, circulation, and readers' interpretations of the *Nights* across the cultures of modern nationalities. Nonetheless, this project is limited to the popularization of the *Nights* in English, Arabic, and Persian areas, and further investigation is required to historicize the publications of the *Nights* and explain their uses in nationalization and other projects in other linguistic contexts. In addition, my project should also give rise to another set of queries: How do trans-mediations of the *Nights* compare and contrast in theatres and/or cinema across the borders of nationality and language? What are the implications of the *Nights* for the emergence of children's literature on the global scale? How do illustrations of the *Nights* compare and contrast across national and political borders, and why?

III. Vision

My project provides an example from which to explore print culture and the history of the book to challenge, rethink, and revisit relevant theoretical frames in the studies of nationalism.

My dissertation also forms a model for future world literature studies that involve moving across national, cultural, and linguistic borders to provide new understandings of the cultures of modernity. Equally important, this trans-disciplinary project, being at the crossroads of the studies of comparative literature and print culture, not only leads to the insights discussed above but also exemplifies a case of *comparative print culture*, my term for a hybrid discipline that has not yet been outlined, given the paucity of scholarship self-identifying as such. For example, Lara L. Cohen's and Jordan A. Stein's essay collection *Early African American Print Culture* explores the various contours of African-American engagements with the booming culture of print in the early American Republic. This collection adopts comparative spatial and temporal frames in the examination not just of literary works, but also photographs, engravings, woodcuts, broadsides, newspapers, and autobiographies. Even more importantly, the study pushes against the conventional frames of national polity and posits alternative geographies of imagined black solidarities extending from England across the Atlantic to the West Coast. Ultimately, the collection challenges the assumption that print capitalism operates universally. I posit that comparative print culture includes a range of scholarly practices that discover, examine, document, and historicize various occurrences of printed materials as well as their reproduction, circulation, and everyday use across genres, languages, and media, all conducted with a well-defined comparative orientation. Particularly, and unlike national historiographies of print, comparative print culture transcends political borders and traces, analyzes, and explains the circumstances of printed materials across national polities in order to develop fresh sites and models of comparison.

My study exemplifies a case of comparative print culture scholarship from a textual and thematic perspective. My critical bibliographic investigation of the shifting textuality of the

Nights transcends and problematizes boundaries of language, nation, class, adaptation, adoption, and regional division in order to account for the appearance of this collection across literary modernities and nationalities, thus proving the heterogeneity of those national subjectivities.

IV. Further Images

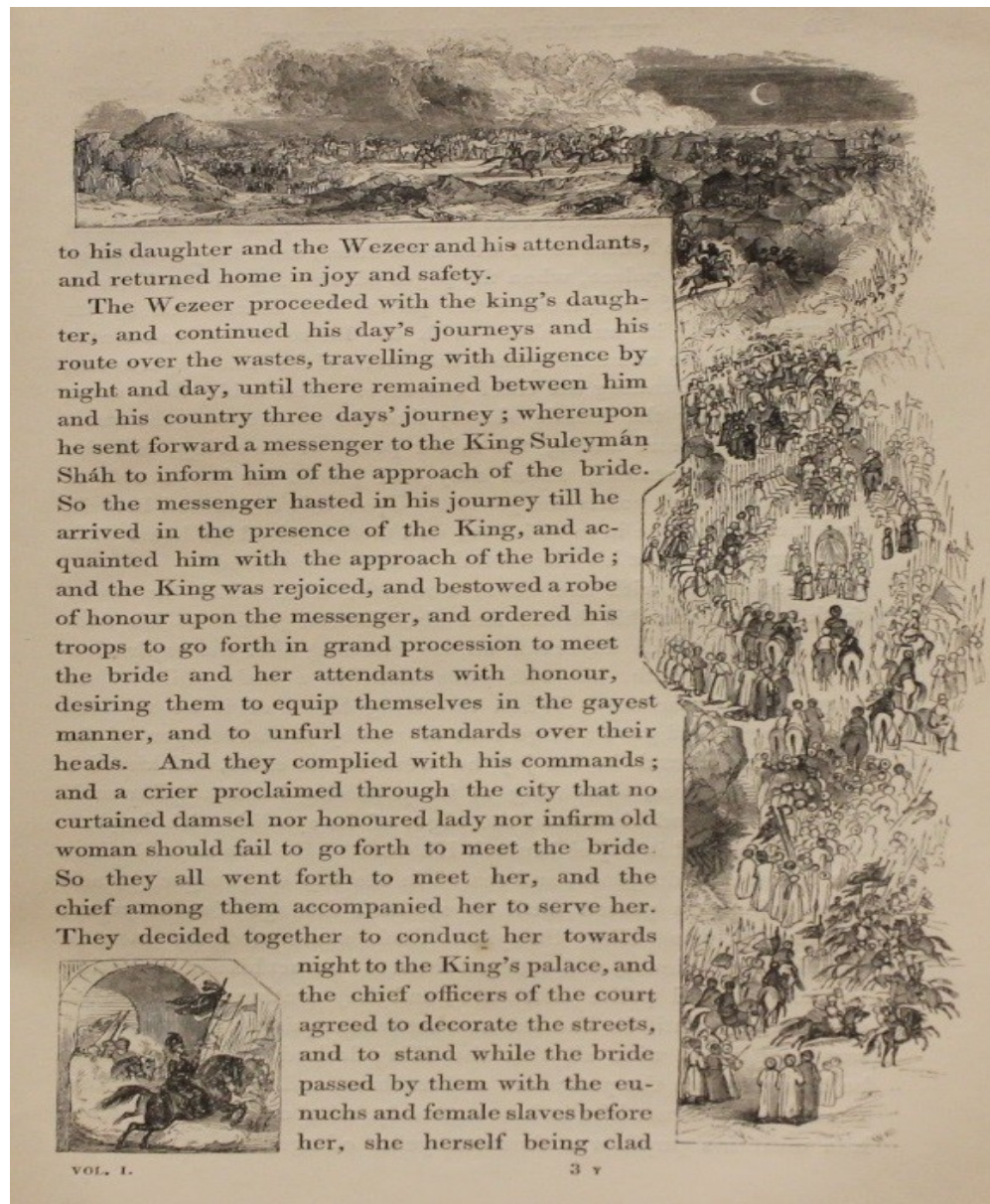


Image I: Illustration and text from the third volume of Lane's edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

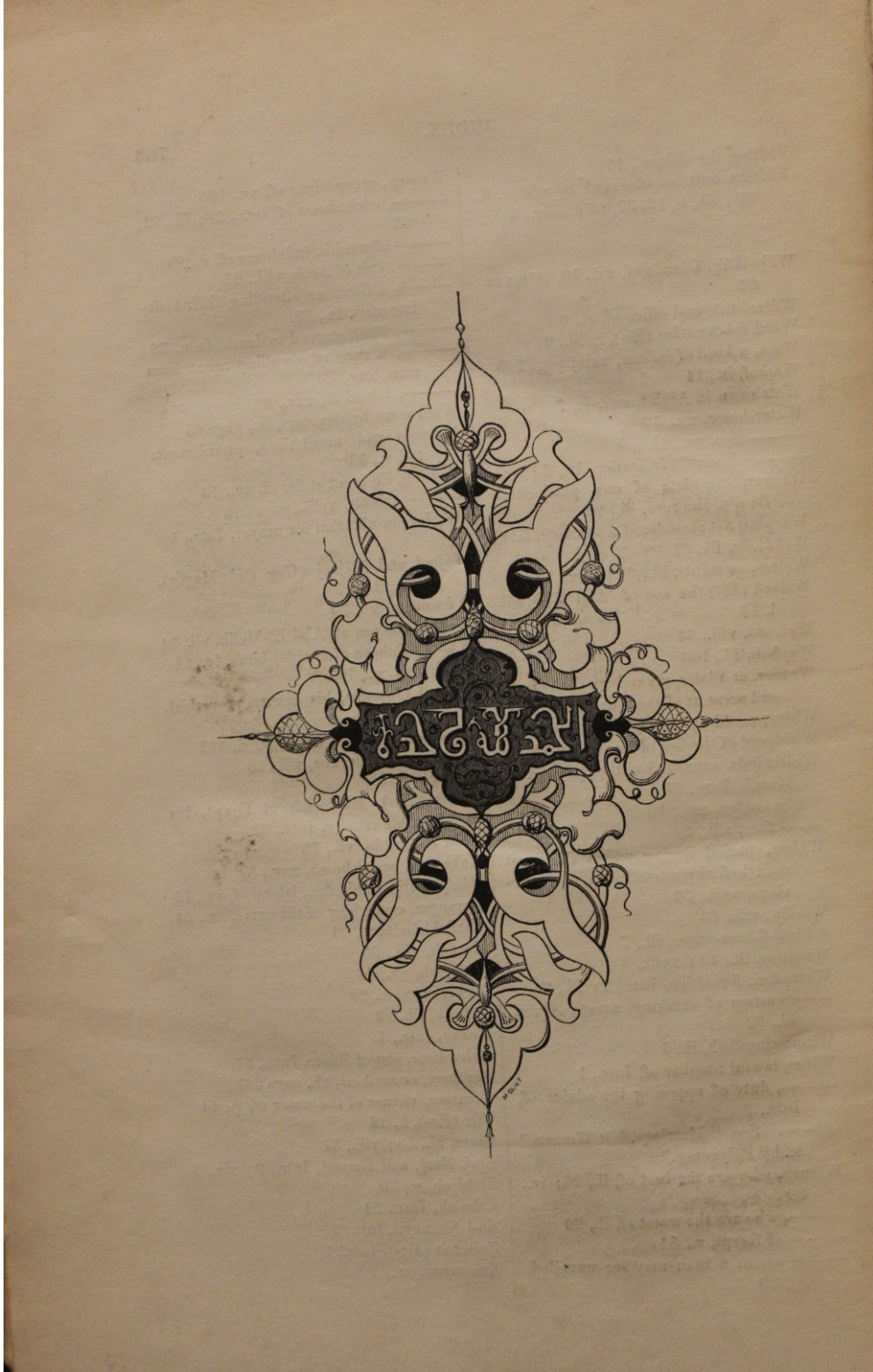


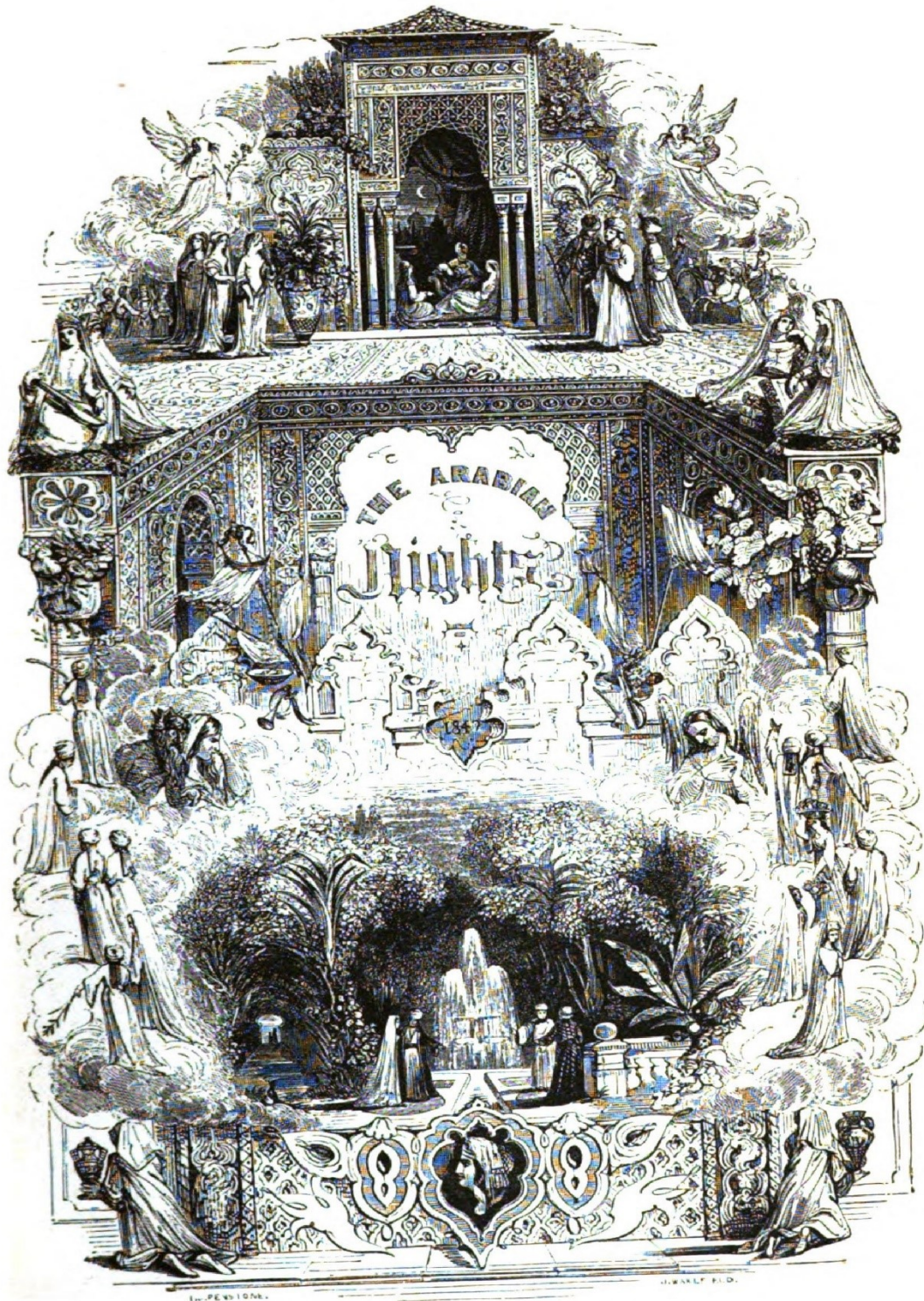
Image II: Illustration ending Lane's edition of the *Nights* published by C. Knight and Co. Courtesy of the University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives.

FRONTISPIECE.



“ The lady happening at the same time to look up to the tree, saw the two princes, and made a sign to them with her hand to come down without making any noise. Their fear was extreme when they found themselves discovered, and they prayed the lady, by other signs, to excuse them; but she, after having laid the monster's head softly down on the ground, rose up, and spoke to them, with a low, but eager voice, to come down to her; she would take no denial. They made signs to her that they were afraid of the genie, and would fain have been excused. Upon which she ordered them to come down, and if they did not make haste, threatened to awake the genie, and bid him kill them.”—p. 9.

Image III: Illustration of the encounter between the kings and the monster's bride from the frame tale of the *Nights*, published by L. Johnson in Philadelphia in 1832 (*L. Johnson – The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* i).



Cook

Original from

Image IV: Illustration in the inside cover of Forster's edition of the *Nights*, published by W. P. Hazard of Philadelphia in 1856 (*W. P. Hazard – The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*).

- ٤ -



الجنى وضع
رأسه على
ركبتها ونام
فرفعت رأسها
الى أعلى الشجرة
فأرت الملكين
وهما فوق تلك
الشجرة فرفعت
رأس الجنى من
فوق ركبتها
ووضعتها على
الارض ووقفت
تحت الشجرة
وقالت لهما
بالاشارة انزلا
ولا تخافا من
هذا العفريت
فقالا لها بالله
عليك أن
تصاحينا من
هذا الأمر

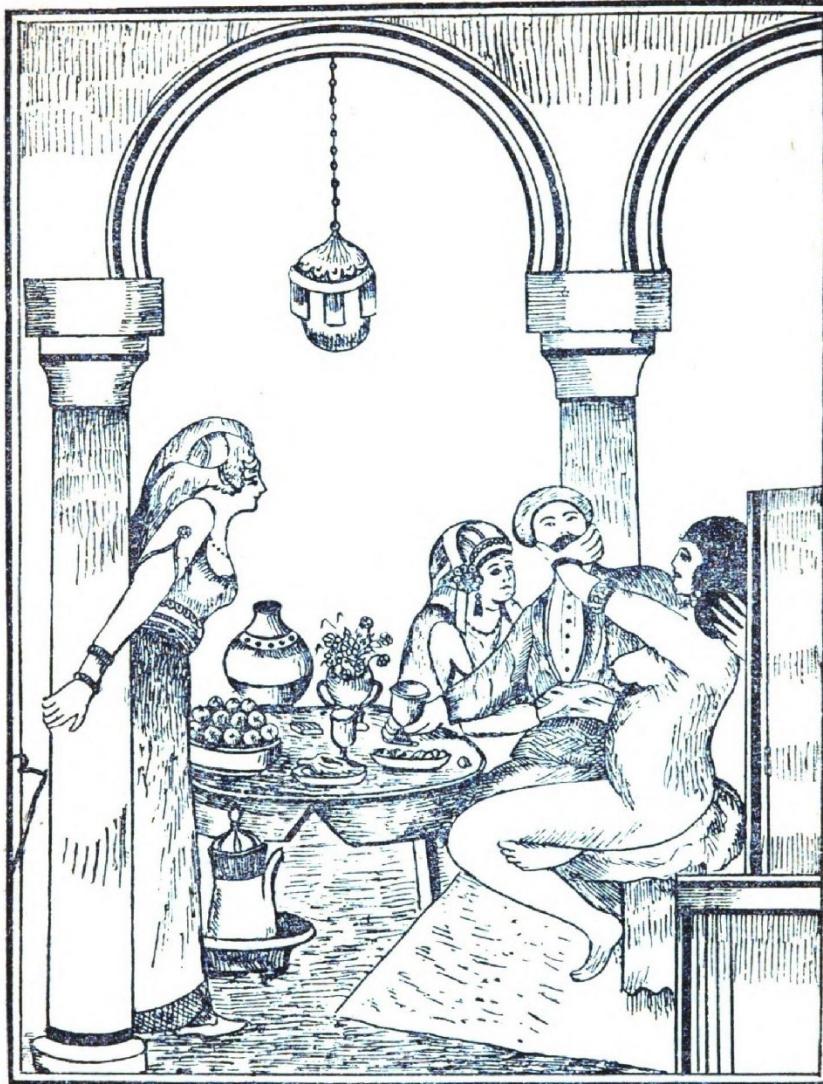
(ووقفت تحت الشجرة وقالت لهما بالاشارة انزلا)

فقال لهما بالله عليك ان تنزلا والا نبهت عليك العفريت فيقتلكا ثم قتلة فاذا نزلت اليها فقامت لهما
وقالت ارضعا رصعا عني فاوالا ائبه ايك العفريت فن خوفهما قال الملك شهر يار لا خيه الملك شاه
زمان يا اخی اعمل ما أمرتك به فقال لا أفعل حتى تفعل أنت قبلي وأخذ ايتغامزان على نكاحها
فقال لهما ما أرا كما تتغامزان فان لم تتقدما وتفعلا والا نبهت عليك العفريت فن خوفهما من الجنى
فعلا ما أمرتهما به فلما فرغتا قالت لهما ابقوا وأخرجت لهما من جيبيها كيسا وأخرجت لهما منه عقدا فيه
خمسمائة وسبعون خاتما فقالت لهما اندرون ما هذه فقالا لها لا ندرى فقالت لهما اصحاب هذه الخواتم
كلهم كانوا يفعلون في على غفلة قرن هذا العفريت فاعطيتا في خاتميكما انما الاثنان الاخران فاعطياها
من يديهما خاتمين فقالت لهما ان هذا العفريت قد اختطفتني ليلة عرسى ثم انه وضعني في علبة وجعل

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Image V: Illustration of the encounter between the kings and the monster's bride from the frame tale of the *Nights* in Egypt (*Şubayh Press – Alf layla wa layla* 4).



﴿ مسكته من رقبتہ وصارت تصكہ ﴾

وعملت مثل الأولى وطلعت ودمت نفسها في حجر الجمال وأشارت الى فرجها وقالت يا نور عيني ما اسم هذا قال فرجك فقالت أما يقبح عليك هذا الكلام وصكته كفاطن له سائر ما في القاعة فقال حبك الجسور فقالت له لا والضرب والصك على قفاه فقال لها وما اسمه فقالت له السمسم المقشور ثم قامت الثالثة وخلعت ثيابها ونزلت تلك البحيرة وعلقت مثل من قبلها ثم لبست ثيابها والقت نفسها في حجر الجمال وقالت له أيضا ما اسم هذا وأشارت الى فرجها فصار يقول لها كذا وكذا الى أن قال لها وهي تضر به وما اسمه فقالت خان أبي منصور ثم بعد ساعة قام الجمال ونزع ثيابا به ونزل البحيرة وذكره

Image VI: Illustration of the story of the porter and the three ladies of Baghdad in the *Nights* published in Egypt (*Şubayḥ Press – Alf layla wa layla* 34).

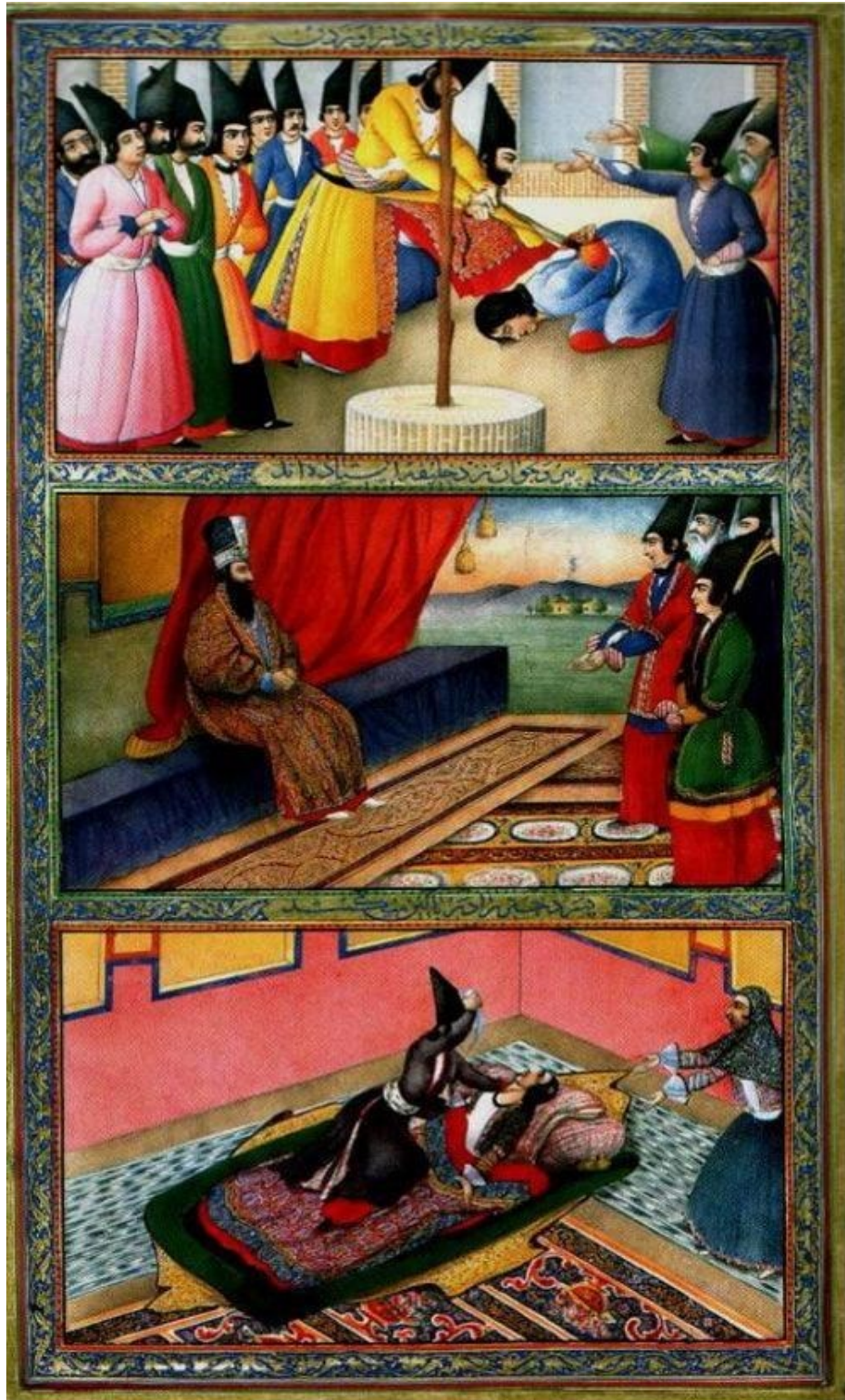


Image source: SHAHREFARANG.COM

Image VII: Color illustration in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār's manuscript ("Illustrations – One thousand and one nights").

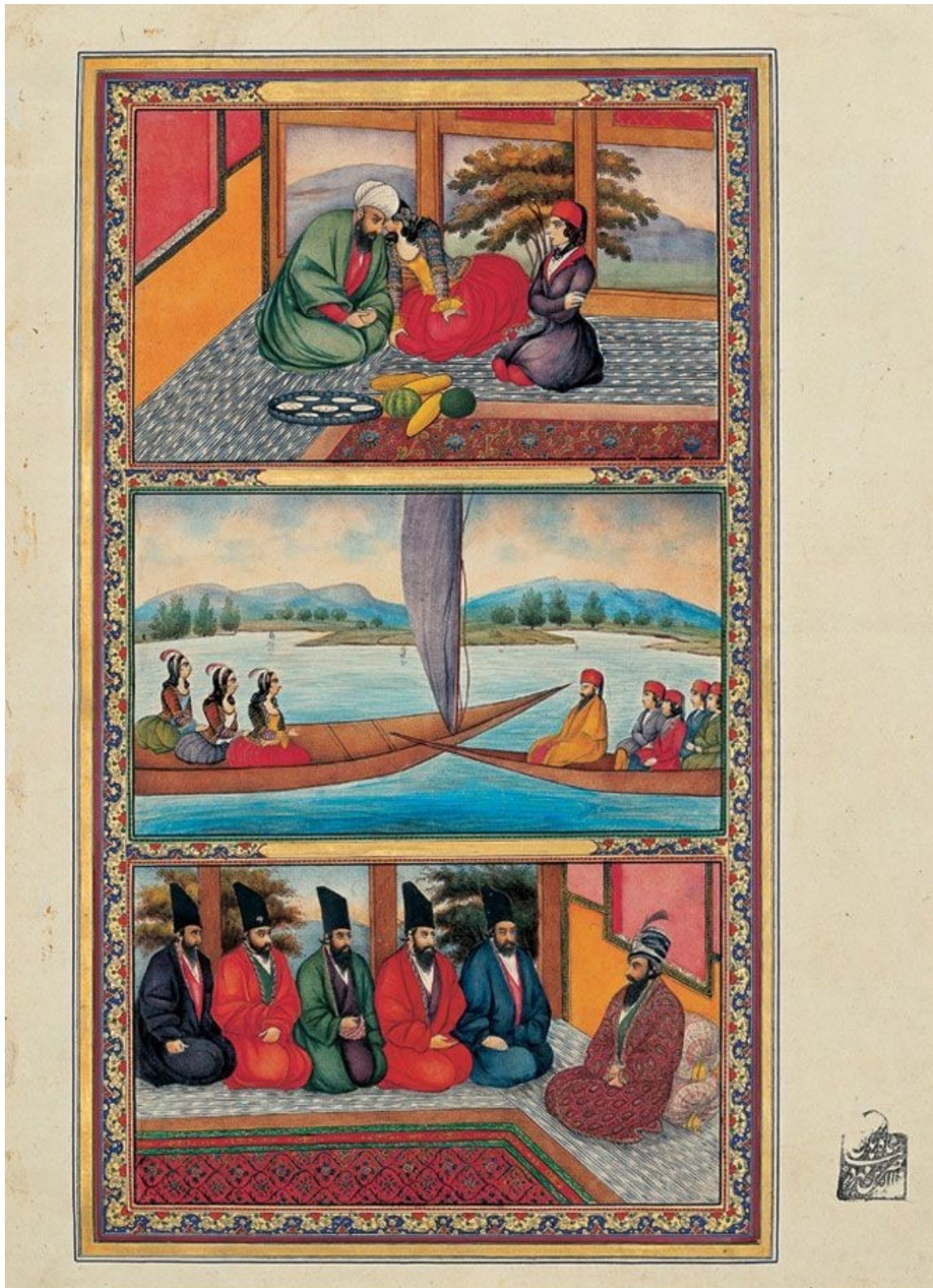


Image source: SHAHREFARANG.COM

Image VIII: Color illustration in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār's manuscript of the *Nights* ("Illustrations – One thousand and one nights").

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- @AgoraLiberty. "I'm not surprised if Europeans' knowledge of Iranians is limited to *A Thousand and One Nights* stories, but it's a disaster when some Egyptian or Saudi says Shias are not Muslims." [in Persian] *Twitter*, 23 July 2016, 6:28 a.m., <https://twitter.com/AgoraLiberty/status/756843451476480000>. Accessed 1 August 2016.
- 'Ibādih, 'Abdulfattāḥ. "'Ā'isha Taymūr: The First Woman Who Carried Brigade in Our Modern Movement" / "'Ā'isha Taymūriyyah: 'awwal man ḥamalat liwa' al-'adab fī nahḍatanā al-ḥadītha." *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 401-08, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/417693>. Accessed 17 November 2016.
- "A Costly Painting." *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 29 Apr. 1858. *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y4yh0>. Accessed 29 July 2016.
- A Manual for Mechanics and Their Institutions: A Complete Body of Information for That Useful and Respectable Class of the Population*. Prepared by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846.
- "A Modern Sinbad." *Pensacola Gazette*, 24 Aug. 1853. *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3XcLM6>. Accessed 15 July 2016.
- "A New Translation of the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights." *New Sporting Magazine*, vol. 14, no. 86, 1838, pp. 437-438.
- "A Stray Leaf from One Thousand and One Nights; Abou Hasan of Khorassan." *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*. March 1861, pp. 144-48.

A Thousand and One Nights 1845 / Hizār-u yik shab-i 1261 q. Translated by ‘Abd-al Laṭīf Ṭasūjī and Surūsh. PDF.

A Thousand and One Nights: Al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin Rayyis bin Ṭalib / Alf layla wa layla: Al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin Rayyis bin Ṭalib.” Editorial. *Al-Hilāl*, 15 Muḥarram 1322 / 1 April 1904, p. 410-11. <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/429227>. Accessed 29 December 2016.

“Advertisement and Notices.” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 20 December 1846 (issue 213).

“Advertisements and Notices.” *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 21 June 1868 (issue 932).

“Ærostation.” *The Æsculapian Register* vol. I., no. 15, 1824, p. 116. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y4QpX>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

Al-‘Alawī, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn. “Europeans’ Infatuation with Arabic Language” / Shaghaf al-urūbiyyīn bi al-lugha al-‘arabiyya.” *Al-Zahrā’*, vol. 3, no 1. July 1926, pp. 58-69, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/437235>. Accessed 4 January 2017.

“Aladdin and His Lamp.” *North American and United States Gazette*, 23 September 1850. *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aLQC7>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

Aladdin, or, The Wonderful Lamp: A Drama in Three Acts, as Produced at Barnum’s Museum, New York, March 17th, 1856: With a Description of the Costume, Cast of Characters, Entrances and Exits, Relative Positions, and the Whole of the Stage Business. New York: O. A. Roorbach, 1856, <http://ualberta.WorldCat.org/>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

Aladdin: A Fairy Opera in Three Acts. New York: Murden, 1826,

<http://ualberta.WorldCat.org/>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“Aladdin’s Lamp.” *Cleveland Daily Herald*, 6 November 1855. *Nineteenth Century U.S.*

Newspapers <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aFx80>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“Al-Bashīr and History of Freemasonry” / “Al-Bashīr wa tarīkh al-masūniyya.” Editorial. *Al-*

Hilāl, 4 Šafar 1314 / 15 July 1896, pp. 861-62.

<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/372207>. Accessed 13 November 2016.

Alexander’s Modern Acting Drama: Consisting of the Most Popular Plays, Produced at the

Philadelphia Theatres, and Elsewhere. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1835.

<http://ualberta.WorldCat.org/>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“Alf liylih va liylih.” *Kāvih*, vol. 2, no. 11, 1921, pp. 7-9,

<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/256091>. Accessed 18 January 2017.

Al-Hilāl Nights. A Thousand and One Nights / Alf layla wa layla. 1st ed., Cairo al-Hilāl, 1901-05.

5 vols.

Ali Baba, or, The forty Thieves: A Tale for the Nursery. New York: L. & F. Lockwood,

1818, <http://ualberta.WorldCat.org/>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

Al-Khālīdī, ‘Anbara Salām. *A Trip through Memories between Lebanon and Palestine / Jawla-*

tun fī al-dhikrayāt bayn-a Lubnān wa-Filasṭīn. Dār al-Nahār li al- Nashr, 1978.

Al-Ṭanāhī, Ṭāhir. “Is There a Literature Worth Restoration in Popular Language?” / “Hal fī al-

lughā al-‘āmiyya ‘adab-un yastahiqq al-ba‘th.” *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 41, no. 10, 2 August 1933, pp.

132-31, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/409539>. Accessed 1 January 2017.

- Al-Zayyāt, Ḥamad Ḥasan. “The Life History of *A Thousand and One Nights*” / “Tarīkh ḥayāt Alf layla wa layla.” *Al-Maʿrifa*, vol. 2, no. 3, June 1932, pp. 312-21, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/909788>. Accessed 26 November 2016.
- Amīn, Siyyid Ḥasan. “The International Year of the Oldest Iranian Tale: *A Thousand and One Nights*” “Sāl-i jahānī-i qadīmītarīn qiṣṣi-yi īrānī: *Hizār-u yik shab*.” *Hāfiz Monthly*, no. 12, 2005, pp. 50-55, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/189003>. Accessed 19 January 2017.
- “Arabian Nights Entertainments.” *The Literary Chronicle*, no. 351, 1826, pp. 73-74.
- Arabian Nights Entertainments: Being a Collection of Stories*. Norwich, CT: Thomas Hubbard, 1796. *Early American Imprints*, <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/29993>. Accessed 29 July 2016.
- “Arabian Nights.” *Young Folks* no. 513, 2 October 1880, p. 115.
- “Art. II. The Thousand and One Nights, Commonly Called in England the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments. A New Translation from the Arabic, with Copious Notes.” *The Eclectic Review*, vol. 8, 1840, pp. 641-60.
- “ART. X-Petition from the Inhabitants of the City of London against the Newspaper Stamps.” *The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1929*, vol. 61, no. 123, 1835, pp. 181-85.
- Beirut Jesuits Nights (A Thousand and One Nights / Alf layla wa layla)*. 1st ed., Beirut Jesuits, 1888-90. 5 vols. <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio9340166.002>.
- Biyzāyī, Bahrām. *Where is Hizār Afsān? (Research) / Hizār Afsān kujāst? (Pazhuhish)*. 2011-12. Rawshangarān, 2013-14.

Brougham, Henry. *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers*. 18th ed. London, 1825. *The Making of the Modern World*,

http://find.galegroup.com/mome/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=MOME&use_rGroupName=edmo69826&tabID=T001&docId=U3608923772&type=multipage&contentSet=MOMEArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE . Accessed 5

March 2016.

Curwen, Henry. *A History of Booksellers: The Old and the New*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1873.

“Deafness.” *Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Mar. 1832 Dec. 1845*, vol. 14, no. 838, 1845, pp. 155-56.

“Eastern Amusements.” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 15 April 1849, issue 334.

“Educating the Girls” / “Ta’līm al-banāt.” *ʿAnīs al-jalīs* vol. 2, no. 1, 31 November 1899, pp. 57-63.

“Epitome of Foreign and General News.” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 9 March 1890, issue 2468.

Famous Fairy Tales for Little Folks. New York: James Miller, 1860.

Fawwāz, Zaynab. *Scattered Pearls Concerning the Class of Cloistered Ladies / Al-Durr al-manthūr fī ṭabaqāt rabbāt al-khudūr*. ʿAmīriyya Press, 1894-95.

“Five Years in Damascus. Including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of that City; with Travels and Research in Palmyra, Lebanon, and Hauran. By Rev. J. L.

Porter, A. M., F. R. S. L. In Two volumes, with Maps and Illustrations. London, John Murray. 1855. 12mo. Pp. 395, 372.” *North American Review*, vol. 83, 1856, pp. 30-52.

Fox, George, P. *Fashion: The Power that Influences the World; The Philosophy of Modern Dress*. New York, 1860. *Google Books*,
<https://books.google.ca/books?id=fcOAAAAYAAJ&dq=Fashion%3A%20The%20Power%20that%20Influences%20the%20World%3B%20The%20Philosophy%20of%20Modern%20Dress&pg=PR7#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“From the National Eagle Era: Impromptu on Receiving an Eagle’s Quill from Lake Superior.” By J.G. Whittier. *Liberator*, 23 February 1849, p. 32. *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Xd3u5>. Accessed 3 July 2016.

“Generous Message” / “Risāla fādīl.” *Anīs al-jalīs*, vol. 2, no. 1, 31 January 1899, pp. 11-13.

“Genii and Fairies of the East, the Arabian Nights, &c.” *Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, vol. 30, 1834, pp. 233-37.

Gibb, H.A.R., et al, editors. *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 1, E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co, 1960.

Ḥikmat, Alīaṣghar. Introduction by Alīaṣghar Ḥikmat / Muqaddamih. *A Thousand and One Nights / Hizār-u yik shab*, translated by ‘Abdal-latif Ṭasūjī, and edited by Mītrā Mihrābādī, vol. 1, 2nd ed., *Dunyā-ye Kitāb*, 2003/4, pp. 7-47.

“History of the Tales” / “Tarīkh al-qaṣaṣ.” Editorial. *Al-Hilāl* 25 Shawwāl 1325 / 1 December 1907, pp. 174-77, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/429491>. Accessed 4 January 2017.

“House Management Section” / “Bāb al-tadbīr al-manzil.” Editorial. *Al-Muqataṭaf*, 3 February, 1890, pp. 345-48, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/451364>. Accessed 1 December 2016.

“House Management Section” / “Bāb al-tadbīr al-manzil.” Editorial. *Al-Muqataṭaf*, 2 October 1893, pp. 37-41, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/451307>. Accessed 2 December 2016.

Houtsma, Martijn Theodor, et al., editors. *First Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 1, 1913-36. E. J. Brill, 1987.

“Illustrations – One thousand and one nights.” *ShahreFarang*, <http://shahrefarang.com/en/one-thousand-and-one-nights-1853/>. Accessed 11 November 2016.

Junaydī, Fereydun. “Scheherazade Story-teller” / “Shahrzād-i dāstānsurāy.” *People’s Culture / Farhang-i mardum*, vol. 3, no. 11-12, 2004-05, pp. 12-14, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/594520>. Accessed 16 January 2017.

Knight, Charles. *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century with a Prelude of Early Reminiscences*, vol. 2, London: Bradbury & Evans, 1864.

L. Johnson – *The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*. Philadelphia: L. Johnson, 1832. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/9316071.html>. Accessed 5 July 2016.

Lāhījī, Shahlā. “Where is *Hizār Afsān*? / *Hizār Afsān kujāst*?” *Āzmā Monthly*, no. 88, June 2012, p. 19.

Lane, Edward William, translator, and William Harvey, illustrator. *The Thousand and One Nights, Commonly Called, in England, The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments. A new Translation from the Arabic, with Copious Notes*, 3 vols., London: C. Knight, 1840-41.

Bruce Peel Special Collections and Archives, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

8 August 2016.

“Literary Works: *A Thousand and One Nights*” / “Āthār ʿadabiyya: *Alf layla wa layla*.” *Al-Diyāʿ*, vol. 3, 1900-01, pp. 564-5.

Mahjūb, Muḥammadjaʿfar. “Leileh va leileh”. *Sukhan*, vol. 10, reprinted in *Iran’s Popular Literature: Essay Collection on Iranian People’s Folklore and Culture*, edited by Ḥasan Zolfaghari, Nashr-e Cheshmeh, 2014/15, pp. 361-389. 2 vols. in 1 vol.

Marʿashīpūr, Muḥammadriżā. “A Glance at Bahrām Biyżāyī’s *Where is Hizār Afsān: A Thousand and One Nights* Does Not Belong to One Culture” / “Nigāh-ī bi ‘*Hizār Afsān kujāst?*’ *aṣar-i Bahrām Biyżāyī: Hizār-u yik shab az ān-i yik farhang nīst.*” *Sharq Newspaper*, 27 October 2014, p. 8.

Marryat, Frederick. *Diary in America: With Remarks on Its Institutions*. New York: Carey and Hart, 1839.

Maṭrān, Khalīl. “About Literature, Science, and Technique” “Fī al-ʿadab wa al-ʿilm wa al-fan.” *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1 November 1932, pp. 41-42

<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/582454>. Accessed 1 January 2017.

“Modern Egypt.” *Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, October 30, 1836, pp. 427-30.

<http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=h9i&AN=43866468&site=ehost-live&scope=site&kw=true&acc=false&lpId=div12&ppId=divp3&twPV=null&xOff>

[=0&yOff=0&zm=fit&fs=null&rot=0&hid=4101&docMapOpen=true&pageMapOpen=true](#). Accessed 2 March 2016.

More, Hannah. *Cælebs In Search of a Wife; Comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals*. Vol. 2, New York: I. Riley, 1809.

“Mr. Sunderland.” *The New York Dissector* 2.1 (1845): 50. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 29 July 2016. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y48i8>

“Multiple Classified Advertisements.” *National Intelligencer*, 25 September 1848, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y8fC0>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“Multiple Classified Advertisements.” *National Intelligencer*, 5 December 1828, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y8VU4>. Accessed 12 July 2016.

“Multiple Display Advertisements.” *The Fishing Gazette: Devoted to Angling, River, Lake & Sea Fishing and Fish Culture*, no. 296, 23 December 1882.

“New Publications” / “Maṭbū‘āt jadīa.” *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2 December 1905, pp. 191-94, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/429895>. Accessed 20 December 2016.

“New Publications” / “Maṭbū‘āt jadīa.” *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 9, no. 15, 1 May 1901, pp. 446-48, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/424888>. Accessed 19 November 2016.

“New York Correspondence.” *National Intelligencer*, no. 10,765, 26 Aug. 1847, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Xcis0>. Accessed 15 July 2016.

- “New York Daguerreotyped; Group First: Business Streets, Mercantile Blocks, Stores, and Banks.” *Putnam’s Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1853, pp. 121-36. *Google Books*. Accessed 4 July 2016.
- “Niblo’s Garden.” *New York Herald*, 7 June 1843, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y8bxX>. Accessed 30 July 2016
- “Notices of New Publications.” *New York Herald*, 11 December 1859, p. 4, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y5Vz0>. 29 July 2016.
- “Oriental Influences in Civilizing the West; or Influences of the Semites on Europe” / “Āthār al-sharq fi madaniyya al-gharb aw āthār al-sāmiyyīn fi urūbā.” Editorial. *Al-Hilāl*, 2 May 1914, pp. 575-84, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/429091>. Accessed 14 November 2016.
- “Oriental Lands and their Leaders: Comoro Islands” / “Mulūk al-sharq wa ’marā’u-hu: āā’ir al-qumur.” *Al-Hilāl*, 1 December 1903, pp. 131-38, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/429141>. Accessed 12 December 2016.
- “Pictures of the Magazine: Illustrious Women” / “Şuwar al-majalla: Shahīrāt al-nisā’.” *Anīs al-jalīs* vol. 2, no. 6, June 30, 1899, pp. 205-09.
- “Prairie Life - A Tale of Revenge.” *Arkansas State Democrat*, 14 September 1849, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3YJ7W5>. Accessed 15 July 2016.
- “Pyrophorus.” *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 13 July 1860, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3YJ8b4>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

“Query and Suggestion” / “Al-Suāl wa l-iqtirāh.” *Al-Hilāl*, 2 March 1921, pp. 621-24,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/487262>. Accessed 4 January 2017.

Raf‘at, Muḥammad. “Khedive Isma‘il.” *Al-Muqataṭaf*, 2 April 1924, pp. 417-25,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/458274>. Accessed 14 December 2016.

“Romance and Reality.” *The Mississippian: Agriculture, Politics, Literature, and Science: Vicksburg Daily Whig*, 12 July 1850, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, 30 July 2016.
<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Y3bs8>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

Sattārī, Jalāl. “An Introduction to *A Thousand and One Nights*: 1” / “Muqaddami-ī bar *Hizār-u yik shab*: 1” *Arts and People / Hunar va mardum*, no 85, 1969, pp. 45-50,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/223421>. Accessed 13 January 2017.

---. *Scheherazade’s Magic / Afsūn-i Shahrzād*. Tūs, 1368/1989.

“Scientific Literary Works” / “Āthār ‘ilmiyya ‘adabiyya.” *Al-Manār*, vol. 6, no. 8, 12 July 1903,
 pp. 308-11, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/205584>. Accessed 18 December 2016.

“Self-Esteem: A Dialogue.” *The Operatives Magazine VI*, 1841, p. 92, *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Xcho9>. Accessed 8 July 2016.

Shajara al-Durr. “The Divorce and Monogamy” / “Al-Ṭalāq wa ta‘addud al-zawjaat.” *Anīs al-jalīs*, vol. 1, no. 7, 31 July 1898, pp. 203-06.

Sharīf, Hikmat. Letter. “The Section for Correspondences: *A Thousand and One Nights*” / “Bab-
al Murasilat: Alf layla wa layla.” *Al-Hilāl*, 23 Muḥarram 1313 / 16 July 1895, pp. 852-54,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/416462>. Accessed 2 January 2016.

“Sinbad Outdone.” *The North American and Daily Advertiser*, 27 March 1843, *Nineteenth
Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3XcHG4>. Accessed
15 July 2016.

*Stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments: Embracing Aladdin, or, The Wonderful Lamp:
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves: Ali Cogia, a Merchant of Bagdad: Envy Punished, or,
The Three Sisters: And Sinbad the Sailor*. Buffalo, NY, Phinney & Co., 1858, *Nineteenth
Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3ZWBW8>. Accessed 28
July 2016.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *First Geography for Children*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co.,
1855.

Şubayḥ Press – Alf layla wa layla. Cairo: Şubayḥ, 1985.
<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/21288122.html>. Accessed 2 December
2015.

Taymūr, ‘Ā’isha. *Consequence of Matters Regarding Speech and Action / Natā’ij al-aḥwāl fī al-
aqwāl wa-al-af’āl*. Introduced by Mervat Hatem. Al-Majlis al-Qawmī li al-Mar’a, 2003.

“The American Aladdin.” *Daily Scioto Gazette*, 27 April 1855, *Nineteenth Century U.S.
Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aEyU0>. Accessed 29 July 2016

“The Arabian Nights Entertainments, Carefully Revised, and Occasionally Corrected from
the Arabic. To Which is Added a Selection of New Tales, Now First Translated

from the Arabic Originals.” *American Quarterly Review*, vol. 6, no. 12, 1829, pp. 283-303.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments, translated by Edward William Lane, and illustrated by William Harvey, London: J. Murray, 1850. <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10249701-2>

The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of a Collection of Stories Told by the Sultanness of the Indies. New York: Evert Duyckinck, 1815.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories. Philadelphia: H. & P. Rice, 1794. *Early American Imprints*, <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/26572>. Accessed 28 July 2016.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories. Exeter, NH: Henry Ranlet, 1797. 2 vols., <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/31741>. Accessed 27 July 2016.

The Arabian Nights: In Four Volumes. Translated by Edward Forster, Philadelphia: J. & A.Y. Humphreys, 1812.

“The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments; Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories.” *The Literary Chronicle*, vol. 6, no. 276, 1824, p. 555.

“The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments; or The Thousand and One Nights.” *The American Whig Review*, vol. 6, 1847, pp. 601-618, *Sabin Americana*. Gale/Cengage Learning, <http://galenet.galegroup.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3803835207&srchtp=a&ste=14>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

The Child's Own Book and Treasury of Interesting Stories. New York: C.S. Francis & Company; Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Company, 1860.

The Child's Own Book of Standard Fairy Tales: Containing Aladdin, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast, Jack the Giant Killer, Red Riding Hood, Tom Thumb, Puss in Boots, and Numerous Other Favorites of the Nursery: with Many Illustrations. Ed. Anna Roosevelt Cowles. Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1860.

“The Contemporary Narrative Movement” / “Al-nahḍa al-qaṣaṣiyya al-ḥaliyya.” *Majalla al-majma‘ al-‘arabiyya bi Damishq*, vol. 6, no. 6, 1926, pp. 263-68,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/376954>. Accessed 3 January 2017.

The Forty Thieves: A Grand Operatical Romance, and Brilliant Spectacle, in Two Acts. Boston: J. Larkin & J. Greenleaf, 1810.

The Forty Thieves: A Grand Operatical Romance, in Two Acts. New York: David Longworth, 1809.

The Forty Thieves: A Grand Romantic Drama, in Two Acts. New York: David Longworth, 1808.

The Forty Thieves; or, The Banditti of the Forest: Embellished with Nine Engravings. New York; Philadelphia: Turner & Fisher, [between 1843 and 1848?].

The Front Parlor: Past. 2003. Driehaus Museum in Chicago,
http://www.driehausmuseum.org/visit/interior_highlights. Accessed 30 July 2016.

“The History of Arabian Nights in England.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, issue 1084, 30 August 1863.

The History of Sinbad the Sailor. Also, the Celebrated Travels and Adventures, by Sea and Land, of the Renowned Baron Munchausen. Chillicothe, OH, 1817.

The History of Sinbad the Sailor: Containing an Account of His Surprising Voyages and Miraculous Escapes; Also, the Story of the Fisherman. Boston: Theodore Abbot, 1841.

The History of Sinbad the Sailor: Containing, an Account of His Several Surprising Voyages, and Miraculous Escapes. New York: Lewis Nichols, 1804.

“The Learned Queens” / “Al-Malikāt al-‘ālimāt.” *ʿAnīs al-jalīs* vol. 2, no. 6, 30 June 1899, pp. 210-13.

“THE OHIOAN & NEW ERA [...]” *Cleveland Daily Herald*, issue 66, 9 November, 1838, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3YaYH5>. Accessed 15 July 2016.

“The Old Man of the Sea.” *The Ripley Bee*, 6 November 1858, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3Xd5o7>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

The Oriental Moralist, or The Beauties of The Arabian Nights Entertainments: Translated from the Original, and Accompanied with Suitable Reflections Adapted to Each Story. By the Reverend Mr. Cooper. Dover, NH: Samuel Bragg, Jr., 1797, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupUpName=edmo69826&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327183431&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed 28 July 2016.

“The Queen’s Visit.” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, issue 663, 5 August 1855.

“The Section on Queries and Suggestions: The History of Coins” / “Bāb al-suāl wa l-iqtirāh: Tarīkh al-nuqūd.” *Al-Hilāl*, vol. 3, no. 3, 3 October 1894,
<http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/417132>. Accessed 21 December 2016.

“The Section on Scientific News” / “Bab al-akhbār al-‘ilmiyyah.” *Al-Muqtataf*, vol. 66, no. 3, 2 March 1925, pp. 348-59. <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/458578>. Accessed 3 December 2016.

The Seven Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor. And the story of Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp. Philadelphia: H. and P. Rice, no. 50 High-Street, 1794, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3XWp85>. Accessed 27 July 2016.

The Seven Voyages of Sindbad the Sailor: And The Story of Ali Baba, and the Forty Robbers: From The Arabian Knights’ Entertainments. New York: C. S. Francis & Co.; Boston: J. H. Francis, 1848.

The Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. Otsego, NY: H. & E. Phinney, 1809.

“The Tales of the Genii. Translated from the Persian, by Sir Charles Morrell, with Memoirs of the Author. In Three Volumes: D. Mallory, New York: 1825.” *The New York Mirror, and Ladies’ Literary Gazette* vol. 2, 1825, p. 396, *University of Alberta Libraries Microfilms*, AP 01 256, Reel 165.

“The Theatre Was Well Filled Last Night to Witness the Re-production of That Beautiful Spectacle-drama, ‘Aladdin’s Lamp’.” *Cleveland Daily Herald*, 6 January 1857,

Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aG2U4>.

Accessed 29 July 2016.

The Thousand and One Nights, or The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Translated by Edward William Lane and Illustrated by William Harvey, New York, Harper & Bros., 1847.

“The War of the Peace-Makers.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 30 December 1877.

“The Way the Company Managed the Affair – the Public Not so Badly Sold, After all – all the Real Diamonds Not from London.” *New York Times*, December 08 1872, p 1.

“The Westminster Election.” *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 22 February 1846, p. 2.

“The Wife and Marriage” / “Al-Zawja wa al-Ziwāj.” *Jins al-laṭīf*, vol. 1, no. 1. July 1908, pp. 83-88, <http://dar.bibalex.org/webpages/mainpage.jsf?PID=DAF-Job:35819&q=>. Accessed 28 November 2017.

“Theatre.” *National Advocate*, 11 January 1817, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aFqR7>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

“To the Editors.” *National Intelligencer*, 2 September 1839, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3YJBq3>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

W.P. Hazard – The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Translated by Edward Forster, and edited by George Moir Bussey. Philadelphia: W.P. Hazard, 1856, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/4422251.html>. Accessed 26 July 2016.

Wahabiyya Nights (A Thousand and One Nights / Alf layla wa layla). 1st ed., Maṭba‘a Wahabiyya, 1880. 4 vols.

“We Have Received the First Number of a New Scientific Periodical Called Aladdin’s Lamp.” *New York Spectator*, 11 November 1833, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aLU38>. Accessed 30 July 2016.

“What youngster has not read the fine story of Aladdin’s wonderful lamp, so well told in the ‘Thousand and One Nights?’” *Cleveland Daily Herald*, 7 January 1857, *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3aEvU1>. Accessed 29 July 2016.

Secondary Sources:

‘Abd al-Ghanī, Muṣṭafā. *Scheherazade in Modern Arabic Thought / Shahrazād fī al-fīkr al-‘Arabī al-ḥadīth*. Dār al-Sharq, 1985.

Abu-Nasr, Julinda. “The Arab World.” *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children’s Literature*, edited by Peter Hunt, Routledge, 2005, pp. 781-85.

Adelkhah, Fariba. *The Thousand and One Borders of Iran: Travel and Identity*. Translated by Andrew Brown, Routledge, 2016.

Akel, Ibrahim. “Arabic Editions and Bibliography.” Chraibi, pp. 451-91.

Allen, Roger. *The Arabic Novel: An Historical and Critical Introduction*. Syracuse UP, 1995.

Altick, Richard, D. *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Reading Public, 1800-1900*. 2nd ed., Ohio State UP, 1957.

- Amanat, ‘Abbās. *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qājār and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*. U of California P, 1997.
- Anderson, Benedict. “Responses.” *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*, edited by Jonathan Culler and Pheng Cheah, Routledge, 2003, pp. 225-47.
- . *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd edition, Verso, 2006.
- Anushiravani, Alireza. “Comparative Literature in Iran.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2012, pp. 484-91.
- Aravamudan, Srinivas. “The Adventure Chronotope and the Oriental Xenotrope: Galland, Sheridan, and Joyce Domesticate *The Arabian Nights*.” *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*, edited by Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum, Oxford UP, 2008, pp. 235-65.
- Āryanpūr, Yaḥyā. *From Saba to Nima: A Hundred and Fifty Years of Iranian Literary History / Az ṣabā tā nimā: Tāriḫ-i 150 sāl adab-i fārsī*. 4th ed., vol. 1, Tehran: Intishārāt-e zovvar, 2003/04.
- Ashour, Radwa, et al., editors, and Mandy McClure, translator. *Arab Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide 1873–1999*. The American University in Cairo Press, 2008.
- . Introduction. *Arab Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide 1873–1999*, by Ashour et al., American University in Cairo Press, pp. 1-12.
- Atabaki, Touraj, editor. *The State and the Subaltern: Modernisation, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*. I.B. Tauris, 2007.

- . "Constitutionalism in Iran and Its Asian Interdependencies." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2008, pp. 142-53.
- Avery, Peter. "Printing, the Press, and Literature in Modern Iran." *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 7, From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, edited by Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville, Cambridge UP, 2008, pp. 815-70.
- Bahār, Muḥammadtaqī. *Stylistics / Sabk-shinasī*. 3rd ed., vol. 3, Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1970-71.
- Bahārlū, Muḥammad. "Scheherazade is Here with Us Tonight: A Note on Bahrām Biyẓāyī's Play *Thousand and First Night*" / Shahrzād imshab injā hāzīr ast: Yāddashtī bar namāyish-i 'Shab-i Hizār-u yikum'-i Bahrām Biyẓāyī." *Gulistāneh*, vol. 5, no. 53, 2003, pp. 94-96, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/287499>. Accessed 26 January 2017.
- Bakhtiyār, Mozaffar. "Illumination of *A Thousand and One Nights* (Gulistān Palace Museum Manuscript)" "Kitāb-ārāyī-i 'Hizār-u yik shab' (Nuskhi-yi kitābkhāni-yi gulestān)" *Nāmih-yi Bahāristān*, vol. 3, no. 1-5, 2002, pp. 123-30.
- Barādarān-jamīlī, Liylā. "A Labyrinth of Sleep and Wake in *The Thousand and One Nights* and James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*." *Critical Language and Literary Studies*, vol. 11, no. 15, 2015-16, pp. 157-80, <http://cills.sbu.ac.ir/article/view/5787/5329>. Accessed 16 January 2017.
- Baron, Beth. "Readers and the Women's Press in Egypt." *Poetics Today*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1994, pp. 217-40.
- . *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*. Yale UP, 1994.
- Barrow, Ian J. "India for the Working Classes: The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2004, pp. 677-772.

- Berridge, Virginia. "Popular Sunday Newspapers and Mid-Victorian Society." *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, edited by George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate, Sage, 1978, pp. 247-65.
- Birkalan, Hande A. "The *Thousand and One Nights* in Turkish: Translations, Adaptation, and Issues." *Fabula: Journal of Folktale Studies*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2004, pp. 221-36.
- Boggs, Colleen Glenney. "Transatlantic Romanticisms." *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660-1830*, edited by Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning, Cambridge UP, 2012, pp. 219-38.
- Books and Pamphlets Published in Canada, Up to the Year Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-seven, Copies of Which Are in the Public Reference Library, Toronto, Canada.* Toronto Public Library, 1918.
- <https://archive.org/details/bookspamphletspu00tororich>. Accessed 11 November 2016.
- Booth, Marilyn. "Activism through Literature: Arguing Women's Rights in the Middle East." *Yale Review*, vol. 93, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1-26.
- . *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt*. U of California P, 2001.
- Boozari, Ali. "A Bibliography of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Persian" / "Ma'khazshināsi-yi Hizār-u yik shab bi zabān-i fārsī." Marzolph and Boozari, pp. 59-80.
- . "Persian Manuscripts are Rare Books of the *Arabian Nights*" / "Nuskhi-hā-yi khattī va chāppī-yi Hizār-u yik shab dar īrān." Marzolph and Boozari, pp. 27-58.

- . "The Manuscript of *A Thousand and One Nights* in Gulistān Palace: Codicology and Illustrations" / Nuskhī-yi khattī-yi Hizār-u yik shab-i kākh-i gulistān: Nuskhī-shināsi va mu‘arrifī-yi nigāri-hā." *Namih-yi Bahāristān*, new vol., no. 3, 2014, pp. 160-276.
- Caracciolo, L. Peter. "The House of Fiction and le Jardin Anglo-chinois." *Middle Eastern Literatures*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2004, pp. 199-211.
- Carpenter, Frederic Ives. *Emerson and Asia*. Harvard UP, 1930.
- Casanova, Pascale. "Literature, Nation, and Politics." *The Princeton Sourcebook in Comparative Literature: From the European Enlightenment to the Global Present*, edited by David Damrosch, Natalie Melas, and Mbongiseni Buthelezi, Princeton UP, 2009, pp. 329-41.
- Castro-Klarén, Sara, and John Charles Chasteen, editors. *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Woodrow Wilson Center P, 2003.
- Catalogue of the Books in the Montreal Library*. George P. Bull, 1833.
- <https://books.google.ca/books?id=abhfAAAACAAJ&dq=Catalog%20of%20books%20printed%20in%20Montreal&pg=PR1#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Accessed 11 November 2016.
- "Censorship." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 515-17.
- Chatterjee, Partha. "The Nation in Heterogeneous Time." *Futures: The Journal of Policy, Planning and Futures Studies*, vol. 37, 2005, pp. 925-42.

- Chauvin, Victor Charles. *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885: Les Mille et une nuits*. Vols. 4, 5, 6, and 7. Imprimerie H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1900-03.
- Chraïbi, Aboubakr, editor. *Arabic Manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights: Presentation and Critical Editions of Four Noteworthy Texts [and] Observations on Some Osmanli Translations*. Espaces et signes, 2016.
- . "Les Mille Et Une Nuits:" *Histoire du Texte et Classification des Contes / The Thousand and One Nights: History of the Text and Classification of the Tales*. L'Harmattan, 2008.
- . "Situation, Motivation, and Action in the *Arabian Nights*." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 5-9.
- . Introduction. *Arabic Manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights: Presentation and Critical Editions of Four Noteworthy Texts [and] Observations on Some Osmanli Translations*, edited by Chraïbi, Espaces et signes, 2016, pp. 15-64.
- Chrisman, Laura. "Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies." *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, edited by Neil Lazarus, Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 183-98.
- "Class, n. and adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University P., Accessed 4 March 2016.
- Cohen, Lara Langer, and Jordan Alexander Stein, editors. *Early African American Print Culture*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2012.
- Cox, Howard, and Simon Mowatt. *Revolutions from Grub Street: A History of Magazine Publishing in Britain*. Oxford UP, 2014.
- Culler, Jonathan. "Anderson and the Novel." *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*, edited by Jonathan Culler and Pheng Cheah, Routledge, 2003, pp. 29-52.

Cuno, Kenneth M. *Modernizing Marriage: Family, Ideology, and Law in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Egypt*. Syracuse UP, 2015.

“Currency convertor.” *The National Archives*,

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default2.asp>. Accessed 10 November 2016.

Dabashi, Hamid. *Iran without Borders: Towards a Critique of the Postcolonial Nation*. Verso, 2016.

Diouf, Sylviane A. *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*. New ed., NYU P, 2013.

Duncan, David J. “Scholarly Views of Shajarat al-Durr: A Need for Consensus.” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2000, pp. 51-69.

Durrī, Najmeh, and Siyyid Miḥdī ‘Abbāsi. “Comparative Examination of Magic in *A Thousand and One Nights* and *Harry Potter*” / “Muqāyisi-yi taṭbiqī-yi ‘anāṣur-i jādūyī-yi Hizār-u yik shab va dāstān-hā-yi Harry Potter.” *Comparative Literature Periodical*, vol. 6, no. 11, 2014-15, 141-60, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/1065294>. Accessed 14 January 2017.

Elsadda, Hoda, “Egypt.” Ashour et al, pp. 103-05.

El-Shamy, Hasan M. *A Motif Index of the Thousand and One Nights*. Indiana UP, 2006.

Fahmy, Ziad. *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture*. Stanford UP, 2011.

- Farag, Iman. "Private Lives, Public Affairs: The Uses of *Adab*." In *Muslim Traditions and Modern Techniques of Power*, edited by Armando Salvatore, LIT Verlag, 2011, pp. 93-120.
- Finnie, David H. *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*. Harvard UP, 1967.
- Francaviglia, Richard. "The Treasures of Aladdin: Orientalizing the Mining Frontier." *Mining History Journal*, no. 18, 2011, 87-97.
- Gelder, Geert Jan van. "Poetry and the *Arabian Nights*." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 13-17.
- . "Slave-girl Lost and Regained: Transformations of a Story." *Marvels & Tales*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2004, pp. 201-17.
- Ghazoul, Ferial J. *Nocturnal poetics: The Arabian nights in comparative context*. American University in Cairo Press, 1996.
- Gilligan, Chris. "Citizenship, Ethnicity and Democratisation after the Collapse of the Left and Right." *Ethnicity and Democratization in the New Europe*, edited by Karl Cordell, Routledge, 1999, pp. 37-49.
- Gomez, Michael. *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*. Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Green, Nile. "From the Silk Road to the Railroad (and Back): The Means and Meanings of the Iranian Encounter with China." *Iranian Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2, 2015, pp. 165-92.
- . "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2009, pp. 203-24.

- . "Paper Modernity? Notes on an Iranian Industrial Tour, 1818." *Iran: British Institute of Persian Studies*, vol. 46, 2008, pp. 277-84.
- . "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qājār Iran." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2010, pp. 473-490.
- . "Stones from Bavaria: Iranian Lithography in its Global Contexts." *Iranian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2010, pp. 305-31.
- . *The Love of Strangers: What Six Muslim Students Learned in Jane Austen's London*. Princeton UP, 2015.
- Grotzfeld, Heinz. "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Arabian Nights*." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 17-21.
- Haddadian-Moghaddam, Esmaeil. *Literary Translation in Modern Iran: A Sociological Study*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014.
- Hafez, Sabry. *The Genesis of Arabic Narrative Discourse: A Study in the Sociology of Modern Arabic Literature*. Saqi Books, 1993.
- Haight, W. R. *Canadian Catalogue of Books*. Toronto Haight & Company. 1896.
<https://archive.org/details/p1canadiancata1896haiguoft>. Accessed 11 November 2016.
- Ḥasan, Muḥammad Rushdī. *The Influences of Maqamah on the Development of Modern Egyptian Story / Āthār al-maqāma fī nashʾat al-qīṣṣa al-miṣriyya al-ḥadītha*. Al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma l-al-Kitāb, 1974.
- Hatem, F. Mervat. Introduction / Taghdeem. *Consequence of Matters Regarding Speech and Action / Natāʾij al-aḥwāl fī al-aqwāl wa-al-afʿāl*, by ʿĀʾisha Taymūr, 1888, 2nd ed., Al-Majlis al-Qawmī li al-Marʾa, 2003, pp. 5-18.

---. *Literature, Gender, and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Egypt: The Life and Works of 'A'isha Taymūr*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Hiller, Mary R. "The Eclectic Review, 1805-1868." *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1994, 179-283.

Huang, Shan-Yun. "'Wandering Temporalities:' Rethinking Imagined Communities through Wandering Rocks." *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2012, pp. 589-610.

Hutchison, Coleman, *Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America*. U of Georgia P, 2012.

Iran Libraries Information Website. www.lib.ir. Accessed 19 January 2017.

Irwin, Robert. "Political Thought in the *Thousand and One Nights*." *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*. Edited by Ulrich Marzolph, Wayne State UP, 2007, pp. 103-19.

---. "The *Arabian Nights* and the Origins of the Western Novel." *Scheherazade's Children: Global Encounters with The Arabian Night*, edited by F. Kennedy and Marina Warner, New York UP, 2013, pp. 143-54.

---. *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*. Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2005.

---. *Visions of the Jinn: Illustrators of the Arabian Nights*. Arcadian Library and Oxford UP, 2010.

Isani, Mukhtar Ali. "The Oriental Tale in America through 1865: A Study in American Fiction." Dissertation, Princeton University, 1962.

Jabbari, Alexander. "The Making of Modernity in Persianate Literary History." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2016, pp. 418-34.

- Kamrath, Mark. "An 'Inconceivable Pleasure' and the Philadelphia Minerva: Erotic Liberalism, Oriental Tales, and the Female Subject in Periodicals of the Early Republic." *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2004, pp. 3-34.
- Kamshad, Hassan. *Modern Persian Prose Literature*. Cambridge UP, 1966.
- Karimi-Hakkak, Ahmad. "Language Reform Movement and Its Language: The Case of Persian." *The Politics of Language Purism*, edited by Björn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro. Walter de Gruyter, 1989, pp. 81-104.
- Kennedy, Philip F., and Marina Warner, editors. *Scheherazade's Children: Global Encounters with The Arabian Nights*. New York UP, 2013.
- Khurāsānī, Mahbubeh, and Shahlā Hāj-ṭālibī. "A Comparative Examination of *A Thousand and One Nights* and Niẓāmī's *Haft Piykar*" / "Barrasī-yi taṭbīqī-i dāstān-hā-yi Hizār-u yik shab bā dāstān-i Haft Piykar-i Niẓāmī." *Romantic Language and Literature Studies Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 11, 2014, pp. 25-38.
- Kia, Mana. "Indian Friends, Iranian Selves, Persianate Modern." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2016, pp. 398-417.
- Kilpatrick, Hilary. "Eastern Mediterranean Literatures: Perspectives for Comparative Study." *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures: A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Verena Klemm and Beatrice Gruendler, Reichert Verlag, 2000, pp. 83-94.
- Larzul, Sylvette. "Arab Receptions of the *Arabian Nights*: Between Contemptuous Dismissal and Recognition." *After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-appropriations*, edited by Francois Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin, Brill, 2014, pp. 199-217.

- Lee, Sang-Kyong. *East Asia and America: Encounters in Drama and Theatre*. Sydney: Wild Peony, 2000.
- Little, Douglas. *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*. 3rd ed., University of North Carolina P, 2008.
- Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: the History and Politics of Orientalism*. 2nd ed., Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Lomnitz, Claudio. *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism*, vol. 9, University of Minnesota P, 2001.
- Mahdi, Muhsin. *The Thousand and One Nights*. Brill, 1995.
- Maḥmūdī-Bakhtiyāri, Bihrūz, and Zahrā Khusravī. “Women’s Cross-Dressing in Two Tales from *A Thousand and One Nights* and Two Comedies by Shakespeare: A Comparative Study” / “Mardpūshī-i zanān dar du dāstān az Hizār-u yik shab va du kumidī az Shakespear: Yik barrasī-yi taṭbīqī.” *Fine Arts Periodical*, no. 44, 2011/12, pp. 55-63, https://jfadram.ut.ac.ir/article_29034_05e68cb4b60bf728e9f9ace59cdf318.pdf. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- Makdisi, Saree, and Felicity Nussbaum, editors. *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford UP. 2008.
- Malti-Douglas, Fedwa. “Homosociality, Heterosexuality, and Shahrazād.” Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 38-42.
- . “Shahrazad Feminist.” *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society*, edited by Richard C. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh, Cambridge UP, 1997, pp. 40-56.
- Marr, Timothy. *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*. Cambridge UP, 2006.

“Marriage.” Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 638-40.

Marzolph Ulrich, and Richard van Leeuwen, editors. *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO, 2004.

Marzolph, Ulrich, and Ali Boozari, editors. *Alf liylih va liylih farsi*. ‘Atf of Qum in Iran, 2015.

Marzolph, Ulrich, and Chraïbi Aboubakr. “*The Hundred and One Nights: A Recently Discovered Old Manuscript*.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft / Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. 162, no. 2, 2012, pp. 299-316.

Marzolph, Ulrich, editor. *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*. Wayne State UP, 2007.

---, editor. *The Arabian Nights Reader*. Wayne State UP, 2006.

---. “In the Studio of the *Nights*.” *Middle Eastern Literatures*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2014, pp. 43-57.

---. “Persian Incunabula: A Definition and Assessment.” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, vol. 82, 2007, pp. 205-20.

---. “Persian Popular Literature in the Qajar Period.” *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2001, pp. 215-36.

---. “Response to Biyžāyī: A Glance at *Where is Hizār Afsān?*” / Pāsukh bi Biyžāyī: Nigāhī bi kitāb-i Hizār Afsān kujāst?” *People’s Culture / Farhang-i mardum*, vol. 11, no. 42, 2012, pp. 164-75, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/985604>. Accessed 20 January 2017.

---. “The Arabian Nights International Bibliography.” Chraibi, pp. 493-564.

- . "The Persian *Nights*: Links between the *Arabian Nights* and Iranian Culture." *Fabula: Zeitschrift Für Erzählforschung / Journal of Folktale Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3-4, 2004, pp. 275-93.
- . "The *Shahnameh* in Print: The Lithographed Editions of the Persian National Epic." <http://persianacademy.ir/UserFiles/File/SG/01/SG-01-22.pdf>.
- . *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*. Brill, 2001.
- . Preface. *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*, edited by Marzolph, Wayne State UP, 2007, pp. ix-xvi.
- McClintock, Anne. "'No Longer in a Future Heaven: ' Nationalism, Gender, and Race.'" *Becoming National: A Reader*, edited by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, Oxford UP, 1996, pp. 260-84.
- McHoul, Alec. *Semiotic Investigations: Towards an Effective Semiotics*. U of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- Mdallel, Sabeur. "Translating Children's Literature in the Arab World: The State of the Art." *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1-2, 2003, pp. 298-306.
- "Merchant." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 642-6.
- "Mirror for Princes." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 647-8.
- Morrison, Heidi. *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Moussa-Mahmoud, Fatma. "English Travellers and the *Arabian Nights*." *The Arabian Nights in English Literature: Studies in the Reception of The Thousand and One Nights into British Culture*, edited by Peter L. Caracciolo, St. Martin's Press, 1988, pp. 95-111.

Muḥarramzādih, Nātāshā. “A Comparative Study of Albert Camus’ *Caligula* and the Frame Tale of *A Thousand and One Nights* Based on Jean-Paul Sartre’s Existentialism” / “Barrasī-yi taṭbiqī-yi namāyishnāmi-yi Caligula va dāstān-i bunyādīn-i afsāni-yi Hizār-u yik shab ba rūykard-i existentialism-i Jean-Paul Sartre.” *Rahavard-e Gil*, vol. 10, no. 45-46, 2014-15, pp. 43-49, www.magiran.com/p1348749. Accessed 19 January 2017.

Muqtadir, Maulavi Abdul. *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Vol. 8: Persian Manuscripts. Biography, Romances, Tales and Anecdotes*. Oriental Public Library, 1925.

Musawi, Muhsin. *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel: Debating Ambivalence*. Brill, 2003.

---. *Scheherazade in England: A Study of Nineteenth-Century English Criticism on the Arabian Nights*. Three Continent P, 1981.

---. *The Islamic Context of the Thousand and One Nights*. Columbia UP, 2009.

---. *The Popular Memory of the Societies of the Thousand and One Nights / Al-dhākira al-sha‘biyya l-mujtama‘āt Alf layla wa layla*. Markaz al-thaqāfi al-‘arabī, 2016.

Mushār, Khānbābā. *The Listing of Persian Printed Books / Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi chāppī-yi fārsī*. Arzhang, 1971-72. 5 vols.

Naaman, Erez. “Eating Figs and Pomegranates: Taboos and Language in the *Thousand and One Nights*.” *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2013, pp. 335-70.

Nabavīnizhād, Ḥusām al-Dīn. “The Story of *A Thousand and One Nights*: The [Persian] Translation by Mīrzā Zein al-‘Abidīn Khān Niyshābūrī” / “Qiṣṣi-yi Hizār-u yik shab.” *Zenderud*, no. 37-38, 2006, pp. 15-28.

- Najmabadi, Afsaneh. "Mapping Transformations of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in Modern Iran." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2005, pp. 54-77.
- Nance, Susan. *How the Arabian Nights Inspired the American Dream, 1790-1935*. U of North Carolina P, 2009.
- Napier, James. "Some Book Sales in Dumfries, Virginia, 1794-1796." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1953, pp. 441-45.
- National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran*. www.nlai.ir. Accessed 19 January 2017.
- Nishio, Tetsuo. "A Bibliography of the *Arabian Nights* in the 18th Century." *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* vol. 36, no. 4, 2012, 561-73.
- Nurse, Paul McMichael. *Eastern Dreams: How the Arabian Nights Came to the World*. Viking Canada, 2010.
- OCLC WorldCat*. University of Alberta Libraries. Accessed 23 January 2017.
- "Persia." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 671-72.
- Porter, Bernard. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. Oxford UP, 2004.
- Proverbio, Delio Vania. "The *Arabian Nights* through Some Ancient-Osmanli Translations." Chraibi, pp. 367-429.
- "Question about Review Procedure at Rawshangarān Press." Received by Rawshangarān Press Office, 25 Jan. 2017. [E-mail].
- Raḥīmkhānī-sāmānī, Aḥmad. "Comparative Morphology of 'Rustam's Seventh Stage' and 'Sā'id ibn Fārs' Tale" / "Shikl-shināsī-yi taṭbīqī-yi 'Khān-i haftum-i Rustam' va afsānih-yi

- Sā'id ibn Fārs." *Literary Criticism and Stylistics Research Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2011, pp. 31-56.
- Rastegar, Kamran. "Literary Modernity between Arabic and Persian Prose: Jurji Zaydan's *Riwayat* in Persian Translation." *Comparative Critical Studies* vol. 4, no. 3, 2007, pp. 359-78.
- . "The Changing Value of 'Alf Laylah wa Laylah' for Nineteenth-Century Arabic, Persian, and English Readerships." *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 269-287.
- . *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe: Textual Transactions in Nineteenth-Century Arabic, English, and Persian Literatures*. Routledge, 2007.
- Ringer, Monica M. *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*. Mazda Publishers, 2001.
- Robertson, Roland. "Global Connectivity and Global Consciousness." *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 55, no. 10, 2011, pp. 1336-1345.
- Sa'd, Fārūq. *Inspiration of A Thousand and One Nights / Min wahy Alf layla wa layla*. Al-Maktaba al-Ahlīyah, 1962. 2 vols.
- Şādiqī, Fātimih. "A Glance at Scheherazade's *A Thousand and One Nights* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*" / "Niğāhī bi Hizār-u yik shab-i shahrzād va Decameron-i Boccaccio." *Arts Monthly*, no. 81-82, 2005, pp. 36-42, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/108142>. Accessed 13 January 2017.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Penguin Books, 2003.
- Sallis, Eva. *Sheherazade through the Looking Glass: The Metamorphosis of the Thousand and One Nights*. Curzon Press, 1999.

- Schacker, Jennifer. "Otherness and Otherworldliness: Edward Lane's *Arabian Nights*." *National Dreams: The Remaking of Fairy Tales in Nineteenth-Century England*. University of Pennsylvania P., 2005, pp. 78-117.
- Scheglova, O.P. "Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century." *Manuscripta Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, pp. 12-22.
- Schueller, Malini Johar. *U.S. Orientalisms: Race, Nation, and Gender in Literature, 1790–1890*. University of Michigan P, 1998.
- Selim, Samah. "The People's Entertainment: Translation, Popular Fiction, and the Nahḍa in Egypt." *Other Renaissances: A New Approach to World Literature*, edited by Brenda Deen Schilgen, Gang Zhou, and Sander L. Gilman, Palgrave, 2006, pp. 35-58.
- "Sexuality." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 699-701.
- Shaban, Fuad. *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: Roots of Orientalism in America*. Acorn P, 1991.
- Sharp, Joanne R. "A Feminist Engagement with National Identity." *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Nancy Duncan, Routledge, 2005, pp. 97-107.
- Sheehi, Stephen. *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*. UP of Florida, 2004.
- Siskin, Clifford. "Epilogue: The Rise of Novelism." *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, edited by Deidre Lynch and William B. Warner, Duke UP, 1996, pp. 423-41.
- "Space and Time." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 707-9.
- Stearns, Peter N. *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2006.

Strauss, Johann. "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?" *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2003, pp. 39-76.

---. *The Egyptian Connection in Nineteenth-century Ottoman Literary and Intellectual History*. Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 2000.

Sullivan, Alvin. *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age, 1789-1836*. Greenwood P, 1983.

Talajooy, Saeed. "History and Iranian Drama: The Case of Bahrām Biyẓāyī." *Perceptions of Iran: History, Myths and Nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic*, edited by Ali M. Ansari, I.B. Tauris, 2014, pp. 183-210.

Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad. *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography*. Palgrave, 2001.

Tehran International Book Fair. www.tibf.ir. Accessed 6 February 2017.

"Textual History." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 713-16.

Thompson, Jason. *Edward William Lane 1801-1876: The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist*. Haus, 2010.

Tucker, Judith E. *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*. Cambridge UP, 1985.

Vaziri, Mostafa. *Iran as Imagined Nation*. Revised ed., Gorgias Press, 2013.

Vejdani, Farzin. *Making History in Iran: Education, Nationalism, and Print Culture*. Stanford UP, 2014.

Venuti, Lawrence. "From Translation, Community, Utopia." *The Princeton Sourcebook in Comparative Literature: From the European Enlightenment to the Global Present*. The

Princeton Sourcebook in Comparative Literature: From the European Enlightenment to the Global Present, edited by David Damrosch, Natalie Melas, and Mbongiseni Buthelezi, Princeton UP, 2009, pp. 358-80.

---. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2008.

Walther, Wiebke. "Modern Arabic Literature and the *Arabian Nights*." Marzolph and Leeuwen, pp. 54-61.

Warner, Marina. *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights*. Chatto and Windus, 2011.

Weir, David. *American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era through the Twentieth Century*. University of Massachusetts P., 2011.

WorldCat. University of Alberta Libraries, <http://ualberta.WorldCat.org/>. Accessed 23 December 2016.

Yahaghi, Muḥammad-Ja'far. "A Study on Verses Used in Persian Translation of *Thousand and One Nights*." *Les Mille et une nuits: Sources, transformations et liens avec la littérature, arts et les sciences* (II), 9-11 December 2015, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. Conference Presentation.

Yamanaka, Yuriko, and Tetsuo Nishio, editors. *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*. I.B. Tauris, 2006.

Yousef, Hoda A. *Composing Egypt: Reading, Writing, and the Emergence of a Modern Nation, 1870-1930*, Stanford UP, 2016.

- Zakim, Michael, and Gary J. Kornblith, editors. *Capitalism Takes Command: The Social Transformation of Nineteenth-century America*. U of Chicago P, 2012.
- Zarinebaf, Fariba. "From Istanbul to Tabriz: Modernity and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2008, pp. 154-69.
- Zboray, Ronald J. *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public*. Oxford UP, 1993.
- Zboray, Ronald J., and Mary Saracino Zboray. *Voices without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England*. UPNE, 2010.
- Zeidan, Joseph T. *Arab Women Novelists: The Formative Years and Beyond*. SUNY, 1995.
- Zia-Ebrahimi, Reza. *The Emergence of Iranian Nationalism: Race and the Politics of Dislocation*. Columbia UP, 2016.
- Ziyāda, Mayy. *‘Ā’isha al-Taymūriyya: Poet of the Vanguard / ‘Ā’isha Taymūr: Shā’ira al-ṭalī’a*, Nawfal Foundation, 1975.
- . "'Ā’isha ‘Ismat Taymūr.'" *Al-Muqtataf*, vol. 66, no. 3, 1925, pp. 281-87, <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/458564>. Accessed December 16, 2016.