University of Kent
Freie Universität Berlin

Faculty of Humanities
Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften / Department of Philosophy and Humanities (Freie Universität Berlin)

School of English (University of Kent)

Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (TEEME)
An Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate

Ph.D. dissertation

Discourses on Emotions: Communities, Styles, and Selves in Early Modern Mediterranean Travel Books
Three Case Studies

Laila Hashem Abdel-Rahman El-Sayed

Supervisors:

Prof. Donna Landry (University of Kent)
Prof. Dr. phil. Sabine Schülting (Freie Universität Berlin)

2016

TEEME: Composition of Doctoral Committee

Name of candidate	Laila Hashem Abdel-Rahman El-Sayed
Degree-awarding universities (and faculties, where required)	University of Kent Freie Universitaet Berlin
Place of viva	University of Kent
Required members:	
Examiner 1 (external to TEEME)	Prof. Matthew Dimmock. Professor of Early Modern Studies University of Sussex
Examiner 2 (internal to institution holding viva)	Prof. Abdulrazak Gurnah Professor of Postcolonial Literatures University of Kent
Supervisor 1	Prof. Donna Landry Professor of English and American Literature University of Kent
Supervisor 2 (or additional TEEME staff, if supervisor is one of the examiners)	Prof. Dr. Sabine Schülting Institut für Englische Philologie Freie Universität Berlin
Additional TEEME staff (from degree-awarding institution not holding viva)	Prof. Dr. Claudia Jarzebowski Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit/ Historische Emotionenforschung Freie Universität Berlin
Additional members for vivas with Berlin participation:	
Berlin:	
Non-professorial member of Berlin Faculty who holds a doctorate	Dr. Brigitte Rath Institut für Englische Philologie Freie Universität Berlin

Abstract

The present study focuses on emotion discourses in early modern travel books. It attempts a close textual, intertextual, and contextual analysis of several embedded narratives on emotions in three late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel books: *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb 'ila Liqāʾ al-Aḥbāb* by Andalusian traveller Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (1570- c.1641), *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam by* an English craftsman, Thomas Dallam (1575-1630), and *Seyahâtnâme* (The Book of Travels) by Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685).

In these travel books, al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya narrate their journeys as emotionally protean experiences. They associate emotions with the contexts of their journeys, their volition to travel, and their authorial motives to write about their journeys. They display their emotions in their dreams, humour, and other subjective experiences. Their narratives yield uncommon notions of emotions, namely the emotions of encounter. A love story between a Muslim traveller and a Catholic girl, an English craftsman's anxiety at the court of an Ottoman Sultan, a disgusting meal in a foreign land, are just a few examples of emotionally freighted situations which are unlikely to be found in any genre but a travel book.

The close textual analysis aims to identify the role of the writers' cultures in shaping and regulating their discourses on emotions. The intertextual and contextual analysis of these narratives reveals that the meaning and function of these displayed emotions revolve around the traveller's community affiliation, religion, ideology, and other culture-specific discourses and practices such as Sufism, folk medicine, myths, folk traditions, natural and geographical phenomena, cultural scripts, social norms, and power relations. In a nutshell, reading the travellers' discourses on emotions means reading many cultural and historical aspects of the early modern world.

To approach discourses on emotions in texts of the past, the present study draws on the theory of culture-construction of emotions. It uses three analytical notions from the fields of language, anthropology and history of emotions: 'emotional communities', 'emotional styles' and 'emotional self-fashioning'. The present study uses a theoretical framework defined by a recent wave of studies on self-narratives as sources for the history and cultural diversity of emotions in the medieval and early modern periods. Within this approach, travel writing is seen as a self-narrative, a communicative act, and a social practice.

This approach to emotion discourses in *Rihla*, travel journals and *Seyahat* genres allows us to project the transcultural and entangled history of the early modern Mediterranean, which as much it was a contested frontier between Islam and Christianity, was also a space of religious conversion and hybrid identities, the articulation of diplomacy and cultural exchange, mysticism and religious pluralism. This approach also pinpoints the diverse forms of cosmopolitanism, or rather cosmopolitanisms, in the plural.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht den Diskurs über Emotionen in frühneuzeitlichen Reiseberichten. Sie unternimmt eine textnahe, intertextuelle und kontextuelle Analyse unterschiedlicher Erzählungen über Emotionen in drei Reiseberichten aus dem späten 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert: *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb 'ila Liqā' al-Aḥbāb* des andalusischen Reisenden Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (1570- c.1641), *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam* des englischen Handwerkers Thomas Dallam (1575-1630) und *Seyahâtnâme* (*Das Buch der Reisen*) des osmanischen Reisenden Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685).

In diesen Reisberichten schildern al-Ḥajarī, Dallam und Çelebi ihre Fahrten als emotional vielschichtige Erfahrungen. Emotionen stehen hier in einem Zusammenhang mit den Kontexten ihrer Reisen, ihrer Motivation des Reisens und den Gründen der Autoren, über ihre Reisen zu schreiben. Sie zeigen ihre Emotionen in Träumen, Humor und anderen subjektiven Erfahrungen. Ihre Texte bieten so Einblick in ungewöhnliche Auffassungen von Emotionen, nämlich in Emotionen der Begegnung. Die Liebesgeschichte zwischen einem muslimischen Reisenden und einem katholischen Mädchen, die Angst eines englischen Handwerkers am Hof des osmanischen Sultans oder eine ekelerregende Speise im fremden Land sind nur einige Beispiele emotional aufgeladener Situationen, die man schwerlich in einer anderen Textgattung als der des Reiseberichts findet.

Die genaue Textanalyse zielt darauf ab, die Rolle herauszuarbeiten, die der kulturelle Hintergrund der Autoren bei der Formung und Regulierung ihrer Diskurse über Emotionen spielt. Eine genaue Textanalyse dieser Erzählungen zeigt, dass die Bedeutung und Funktion der dargestellten Emotionen stark geprägt ist von der Zugehörigkeit der Reisenden zu einer Gemeinschaft, Religion, Ideologie und anderer kulturspezifischer Diskurse und Praktiken, wie Sufismus, Volksmedizin,

Mythen, Volkstraditionen, natürliche und geographische Phänomene, kulturelle Skripts, soziale Normen und Machtbeziehungen. Kurz gesagt, in den Diskursen der Reisenden über Emotionen offenbaren sich viele kulturelle und historische Aspekte der frühneuzeitlichen Welt.

Um die Diskurse über Emotionen in den historischen Texten herauszuarbeiten, stützt sich die vorliegende Studie auf die Theorie der kulturellen Konstruktion von Emotionen. Sie verwendet dabei drei analytische Begriffe aus den Bereichen der Sprache, Anthropologie und Geschichte der Emotionen, nämlich ‚emotionale Gemeinschaften', ‚emotionale Stile' und ‚emotionale Selbstinszenierung'. Die vorliegende Studie bedient sich dabei eines theoretischen Rahmens, wie er vom jüngst einsetzenden Forschungsboom zu Selbst-Narrativen und Ego-Dokumenten als Quellen der Geschichte und kulturellen Vielfalt von Emotionen im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit herausgearbeitet wurde. Nach dieser Herangehensweise ist ein Reisebericht ein Selbst-Narrativ, ein kommunikativer Akt und eine soziale Praktik.

Diese Herangehensweise an die Diskurse der Emotion in den Gattungen von *Rihla*, Reisetagebüchern und *Seyahat* stellt die dichotomischen Herangehensweisen in Frage, die die akademische Wahrnehmung von Reisebüchern aus dem späten 16. und 17. Jahrhundert dominiert hat. Sie hinterfragt den Ansatz, die Glaubwürdigkeit der Reisenden feststellen und den Reisebericht in Form einer positivistischen, gattungsbezogenen Befragung entweder als Fakt oder Fiktion einstufen zu wollen. Sie wendet sich auch gegen frühere Studien, die mit dem rhetorischen Rüstzeug des späten 20. Jahrhunderts einen metanarrativen Kampf zwischen Christentum und Islam, Europa und die Anderen, Westen und Osten oder Wir und Sie konstatierten.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A Note on Transliteration and Dates

Arabic

The system of Arabic transliteration used in this thesis follows the following systems:

Long vowels are represented as ā , ū, ī,

The emphatic consonants are represented as follows:

[ض as ḍ], [ظ as ẓ], [ص as ṣ], [ط as ṭ], and [ق as q].

The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ح/ is represented as /ḥ/

The voiceless uvular fricative /خ/ like 'loch' (Scottish English) is represented as /kh/

The voiced uvular fricative /غ/ like French /R/ is represented as /gh/

The taˁ marbūtah is represented as in the final sound in hijarh and nisbah (not hijra or nisba)

The glottal stop *hamzah* like the Cockney English 'bottle' is represented as /ˀ/

The voiced pharyngeal fricative /ع/ is represented as /ʾ/

Ottoman Turkish

The system of Ottoman Turkish transliteration followed is The Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce sözlük = Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English dictionary (Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1997).

Dates and places

All dates are given in the Common Era year.

All names of cities and countries are given in English.

Introduction

Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Modern Mediterranean

> When I set down she looked at me askance. Her face showed anger.
>> She told me: "Are you Turk?"
>> I answered: "A muslim, God be Praised"
>> [...]
>> She asked: "Are your women veiled?"
>> I answered her: "Yes!"
>> She asked: "So how can girls express their love, as well as those   who marry them?"
>> I answered her: "No one who ask for a girl's hand will ever see her
>> before she has become his wife".
>
> As for her question about love, [one should know that] it is an established custom in the country of the Frenchmen and the Netherlanders that everyone who wishes to marry a girl is allowed by her family to visit her and to be alone with her so that mutual love can spring up between them. When he feels like asking her hand, and the girl agrees, then there will be a talk about marriage. But should he feel otherwise, then he is put under no obligation by the meetings he had with her. The girl may have more than one visiting her in the way mentioned. A Muslim should thank God for the blessing and the purity of the religion of Islam!
>
> Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī, 1611[1]

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Mediterranean was both a disputed frontier among Arab Magharibi, Ottoman Turkish, Euro-Christians, including Protestant British and Dutch, and Catholic French and Spanish, Italian and Maltese, and a shared space for the cultural, commercial, and diplomatic interplay between these Islamic and Christian cultures. The early modern Mediterranean witnessed an unprecedented mobility among these cultures because of the advances in maritime technologies, the expansion of trade, the voluntary and involuntary conversion from one religion to another, and the increased (forced) immigration, especially after the expulsion of the Jews (1492) and Muslims (1609-1614)from Spain. These factors brought the Mediterranean, and the globe at large, into a dense network of cultural interaction; it became part of the 'First Global

---

[1] Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Ala 'L-Qawm Al-Kāfirīn (the Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels): Historical Study, Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, P. S. Van Koningsveld, Qāsim Al-Sāmarrā'ī, and Gerard Albert Wiegers (eds.), Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1997, 142-144.

Age' (1400-1800), in which all the civilizations and cultures came to varying shades of mutuality, dialogue, and reciprocity.[2]

In addition, all these factors encouraged more people to travel the early modern Mediterranean. Many of these travellers, including immigrants, diplomats, merchants, sailors, returned renegades, ransomed slaves, brought home their stories about the other side of the Mediterranean. Their stories tell how they experienced cultural diversity, brought about cultural exchange in arts, music, and culinary delights, and above all, how they negotiated and discussed religions and emotions, as the epigraph illustrates. Within this historical context, the study of Muslim-Christian relations in the Mediterranean became a study of a connected history. Historians, literary critics, and anthropologists have used the Arabic *Rihla*, English *Travel*, and Ottoman *Seyahat* genres as a gateway to the histories, ethnographies, and cultures of the early modern world. They became valuable sources on the history of material objects (clothing, gardens, musical instruments, markets), the history of diplomacy, and the history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self.[3]

Historiographies of Early Modern Muslim-Christian Encounters

Historians, literary critics, and cultural theorists have used early modern travel books to read representations of Muslim-Christian relations, European representations of Islam, and Muslim perceptions of Christian Europe in the early modern period.[4] Scholars have paid attention to Muslim-Christian relations between Europe and Safavid Persia and Mughal India,[5] yet more

---

2   Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion,* West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
3   Susan Bassnett, "Constructing Cultures: the Politics of Travellers' Tales", in *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993,
4   See Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in Glenn Hooper and Tim Younges (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing,* Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003, 13-26. In this article, Borm surveys the differences between the terms 'travel book', 'travel narrative', journey work', 'travel memoir', 'travel story', 'travelogue', 'metatravelogue', 'travellers' tales', 'travel journal', or simply 'travels', 'travel writing' and 'travel literature', 'the literature of travel', and 'the travel genre' (p. 13).
5   See for example: Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

attention has been paid to the Mediterranean 'triangulation of encounter' among England, al-Andalus and the Arabic Maghreb (North-West Africa), and the Ottoman Empire, including the Levant and Egypt.[6] Some of these historiographical readings have fallen into disuse, other readings are anachronistic, and some readings are now on the academic rise.

One of the obsolete readings of early modern Muslim-Christian encounters is Bernard Lewis' notion of the *clash of civilizations*.[7] In his narrative on the history of Mediterranean Muslim-Christian encounter, Lewis argues, "that there are two fixed and opposed forces at work in the history of the Mediterranean world: on the one hand, western civilisation which he envisages as a Judeo-Christian bloc; and on the other, and quite distinct, a hostile Islamic world hell-bent on the conquest and conversion of the West".[8] In addition, Lewis makes many provocative claims about early modern Muslims in general, especially about travellers between Europe and the Middle East.[9] For examples, he argues that travel between early modern Europe and the Muslim world was asymmetrical, because the Muslims (especially the Arabs) were less curious about travelling.[10] He also claims that the early modern "Muslim world seems to have taken little trouble even to inform itself about the identity of the languages of Christendom, let alone learn them".[11] According to Lewis, the Muslim discovery of Europe did not happen until the early nineteenth century, when

---

[6]   Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, p. 5. In another book, Matar address a different Mediterranean triangle which links England, North Africa, and the indiginous inhabitants of North Africa. See: Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999,

[7]   The phrase appeared for the first time in 1990 in Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage", *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1990, p. 60. Available here: http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/. Six years later, the term was used by Lewis's student Samuel P. Huntington in his book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order,* London: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

[8]   William Dalrymple, "Foreword: The Porous Frontiers of Islam and Christendom: A Clash or Fusion of Civilisations?', in Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. xi.

[9]   *Bernard Lewis, From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004,* p. 35; see for example: "Some English Travelers in the East' in *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East,* Open Court Publishing, 1993, p. 25-41; "The Muslim View of the World" in *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, London: Phoenix Press, [1982] 2000), p. 59-69; and "From Pilgrims to Tourists: A Survey of Middle Eastern Travel" in *From Babel to Dragomans*, p. 137- 151

[10]   Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 25; Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans*, p. 142.

[11]   Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 82.

governments started sending their students on "missions to Europe".[12] Before this time, Muslims

essentially "knew nothing" about the geography or history of Europe.[13] Altogether, according to

Lewis, early modern Muslims did not see any learning opportunities in Europe; their ignorance and

lack of curiosity resulted in the deterioration of the Muslim civilization and the rise of Europe.[14]

This dualistic narrative, according to William Dalrymple, is "dangerously defective".[15] Lewis' ideas

are defective because they are based on a cherry-picking method. Lewis never contextualizes any of

his sources; he typically wrenches a quotation, a Qur'anic verse, or episode out of its context in

order to construct his historiography of early modern Muslim-Christian relations. His ideas are

dangerous because, simply, they advocate a history of hatred between Islam and Christendom. This

reading of hate has gratified Islamic fundamentalism and right-wing politics in the US and many

European countries, especially in the aftermath of 9/11.[16] Most dangerous is that Lewis' reading

prescribes "that the clash between 'Islam' and the 'West' has always been there, that it is inevitable,

that there is normality to the confrontation; that we are merely born into it and so on".[17]

Lewis' reading of Muslim-Christian premodern encounters is now superannuated. Nevertheless, it

has urged many scholars, up to the present time, to dig in the archives in search of Arabic travel

books and other textual evidence in order to discredit Lewis' claims and his notion of a 'clash of

civilizations' altogether. Layachi El Habbouch,[18] Ahmed Jawad,[19] and many others,[20] have

responded to the inaccuracy of Lewis' claims about early modern Muslims travellers and their

---

[12] Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans*, p. 132.
[13] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 59.
[14] Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans,* p.141.
[15] Dalrymple, "Foreword", *p. xi.*
[16] Moghaddam, *A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations*, p. 5.
[17] Moghaddam, *A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations*, p. 28.
[18] Layachi El Habbouch, "Moroccan Acrobats in Britain: Oriental Curiosity and Ethnic Exhibition", *Comparative Drama* Vol. 45 No. 4 (2011): 381-415 (p. 381).
[19] Ahmed Jawad, "The Great Orientalist Bernard Lewis". (University of South Florida) *Outstanding Honors Theses* . Paper 108 (2012). Available here: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/honors_et/108>
[20] See all the contributors in Gerald MacLean. *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

alleged 'lack of curiosity'. The most important contribution so far has been accomplished by Nabil Matar, especially his two classical anthologies of early modern Arabic *Rihla* to Europe (along with English translations): *In the Lands of the Christians* and *Europe through Arab Eyes*.[21] Matar argues against the "Western historians, cultural analysts, and literary critics" who have projected "early modern travel and exploration as exclusively Euro-Christian, demonstrative of modernity, superiority, and advancement".[22] Matar's archival efforts have mended "the total dismissal of Arab-Islamic travel" in the scholarly response to early modern Mediterranean travel.[23]

Matar focuses on seventeenth-century travellers to argue that the Arab travellers to Europe were curious enough to travel, observe, and write down their "first-hand descriptions of the peoples and customs, the geography and ethnography of the 'lands of the Christians.' No other people wrote more about the Europeans than did the Arabs".[24] In his works, Matar turns his attention to the *Maghrib* (Arab Islamic West), which includes the modern North African states (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya).[25] Matar argues that the study of early modern Arab representations of Europe should combine the "elite sources", which include travel accounts and "royal and *diwan*/court letters"[26] and the "popular sources", which can be found in different text genres, such as "poems, anecdotes, recollections, biographical entries, and letters of Maghribi captives".[27] Both elite and popular sources together exhibit the variation in attitudes among the Arab-Islamic Mediterranean communities regarding the Euro-Christian world.[28]

---

[21] Matar, Nabil. *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 2003; Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

[22] Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians,* p. xiii.

[23] Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians,* p. xiii.

[24] Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians,* p. xxxviii; Matar introduces four seventeenth-century travel narratives written by the following Arab travellers: the Iraqi Catholic priest Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli, who travelled from Baghdad to Europe and then to South America and Mexico in 1668-1683; Mohammad bin Abd al-Wahab al-Ghassani, who traveled to Spain in circa 1690-1691; the Moroccan ambassador Abdallah Bin Aisha, who exchanged letters with his friends in France in 1699-1700; and the Andalusian translator and envoy, Ahmad bin Qasim al-Ḥajarī, who travelled to Holland and France in 1611-1613.

[25] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes,* p. 4.

[26] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes,* p. 27-28.

[27] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes,* p. 38.

[28] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes,* p. 28.

In his discussion of the travel books, Matar answers Lewis' top-priority question, "why did only a few Arabs write about Europe?"[29] He points out the cultural and political forces that might have derailed the Muslims' willingness to travel and trade with the Europeans in the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries. He clarifies the context of some Islamic jurisdiction opinions [*fatwas*] which influenced the frequency of travel from Arabic North Africa to Europe, especially during the Spanish *Reconquista,* as will be further discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Matar further discusses the fear of captivity as a possible reason, and provides support for his argument with many examples from early modern popular proverbs and poems that portrayed captivity to be a very high-risk issue for any traveller. He also explains how these political tension influenced the early modern Muslim representations of Christian Europeans.

Early Modern Orientalism

Another historiographical reading of early modern Muslim-Christian encounters is a derivative from Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).[30] Using Michel Foucault's concept of 'discourse' and Antonio Gramcsi's concept of 'hegemony', Said discusses a large corpus of writings, mainly by French and English travellers, philologists, historians, novelists, artists, and politicians, addressed to the Orient (the Muslim Near East). All of these writings are from the late eighteenth century (particularly from Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798) until the twentieth century, i.e. during the European colonial period in Africa and the Middle East. In Said's definition, Orientalism is a three-fold term. It is an academic tradition which encompasses the teachers, writers, and researchers who take the Orient as their career.[31] It is also a "style of thought" which perceives and

---

[29] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes,* p. 9.
[30] Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London: Penguin Books Limited, [1978], 2003.
[31] Worthy to mention that before Said's book, there were two preceding articles against Orientalism as a scholarly discipline, linking it to the European colonial domination in Africa and Asia: Anouar Abdel-Malek, "Orientalism in crisis", *Diogenes,* No. 44 (Winter 1963): 104-12, also published in A.L. Macfie (ed.), *Orientalism: A Reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, 48-56; and A.L. Tibawi, "English-speaking orientalists", *Islamic Quarterly* Vol. 8, No. 1-4 (1964): 25-45, also published in A.L. Macfie (ed.), *Orientalism: A Reader,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, p. 66-76.

depicts the differences between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident' not only as cultural but also as

ontological and epistemological. It is also a systematic, superior discourse on the 'imagined' Orient

that is intended to justify the West's colonization and domination over the Orient and the idea that

those Orientalist writers were 'imperial agents'.[32]

Said's discourse-based approach, according to Mary B. Campbell, created an "epistemological

shift" in studying travel writing.[33] Billie Melman argues that *Orientalism* is "the single most

influential paradigm in studies of travel writing and indeed of colonial cross-cultural exchanges".[34]

Said's study was the first work of contemporary criticism to take travel writing as a major part of its

corpus, including three Victorian and two other nineteenth-century travel accounts.[35] Said treats

travel writing "as a body of work which offered particular insight into the operation of colonial

discourses".[36]

Even though Said does not address the Renaissance period in his study, many early modern scholars

have shown a zeal for applying the notion of *Orientalism* to late sixteenth and seventeenth-century

travel books, Renaissance English drama, and other literary genres. Many critics, including

"Jonathan Haynes, Jack D'Amico, Emily C. Bartels, Jean Howard, Virginia Mason Vaughan, and

many others," have used Said's approach in their analysis of the perceptions and demonization of

Muslims and Islam in English Renaissance writings.[37] Hilal Al-Hajri argues that "Said's influence

---

[32] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 2-3.
[33] Mary Baine Campbell, "Travel Writing and its Theory", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 265.
[34] Billie Melman, "The Middle East / Arabia: 'the cradle of Islam'", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 107.
[35] Said used the following travel accounts: (1) *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modem Egyptians* (first published in London by C. Knight, 1836) by the British Egyptologist Edward William Lane (1801-1876). (2) *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, 2 vols (first published in London: Longmans, 1855) by Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890). (3) *Voyage en Orient* (1851) by the French painter and poet Gerard de Nerval (1808-1855). His travel account was translated into English and published under the title *The Women of Cairo: Scenes of Life in the Orient*, trans. by Conrad Elphinstone, Ist edition, 2 vols,London: Routledge, 1929. He also alludes to the nineteenth century travel accounts of Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869) and George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925) on p. 179 and 213, respectively.
[36] Hulme and Youngs, "Introduction", p. 8.
[37] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 8; See for example: Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler: George*

upon students of travel writing on the Middle East is increasingly manifest". He notes: "Several theses and dissertations written in British, American, and Canadian universities after *Orientalism*'s publication have taken up Said's approach".[38] The main objective of these studies is to hierarchise the power relationships found in early modern Mediterranean encounters and identify the misrepresentations of Muslims in English travel texts.[39]

Many scholars have rejected the inaccurate application of Said's argument on post-Napoleonic colonial discourse to a precolonial period in British history.[40] In the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, England was not yet a colonial power.[41] As mentioned earlier, Said does not address the Renaissance Muslim-Christian encounter between England (or the rest of Europe) and the Muslims.[42] Richmond Barbour asserts that the projection of Said's "findings backward, to read precolonial ethnography as if its rhetoric bespoke European dominance of the world, or its defensive tropes necessarily foretold aggressive expansion, is anachronistic".[43] European interest in the Muslim world, at large, was driven more by their ambitions for trade and commercial competition, not for colonization.

Matar argues that the scholarly opinion that early modern representations of Islamic world were Orientalist relies on the heavy use of literary and elite sources as the only conduit for early modern

---

Sandys' Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610, London: Associated University Press, 1986; Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama,* Tampa, Fl.: University of South Florida Press, 1991; Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe,*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993 and her "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race." *Shakespeare Quarterly* No. 41 (1990): 433–54, and "Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa", *Criticism* No. 34 (1992): 517–538.

[38] Hilal al-Hajri, *British Travel-writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised,* Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2006, p.17, footnote 12.

[39] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, "Introduction", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 8.

[40] Peter Burke, "The Philosopher as Traveller: Bernier's Orient", in Jaś Elsner and Joan Pau Rubiés, eds. *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel,* London: Reaktion Books, 1999, p. 124-125.

[41] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen,* p.10.

[42] Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.11.

[43] Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626,* Cambridge: University Press, 2003, p. 3.

ideas on Islam.[44] Such literary texts by English dramatists, preachers, and theologians can only be valuable if contrasted against the narratives of the "'small men' of Christiandom – sailors, fishermen, merchants and soldiers".[45] These narratives do not show any evidence of an English 'colonial discourse' about Islam and the Muslims.[46] To the contrary, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "Islam projected an allure" to the "common Briton".[47] This 'allure of Islam' among the 'small men', according to Matar, evoked a rhetorical counter-attack from the leading intellectual and religious writers in Europe.[48] Therefore, in their "imaginatively controlled" texts, dramatists and preachers "converted the unbelievers, punished the renegades, and condemned the Saracens. As long as the sphere of action was fabrication, the victory was won by Christians. Outside that sphere, however, Englishmen and other Britons treated Islam as a powerful civilization which they could neither possess nor ignore".[49] Therefore, literary texts alone cannot give an accurate reading that the early modern attitude towards the Islamic world was Orientalist.

In addition, Matar argues that Said's definition of Orientalism entails an intention towards or justification for colonialism; however, "what the Renaissance English writers produced was merely a discourse — without colonialism".[50] What may appear to many scholars as a 'colonial discourse' on Islam in the early modern literary texts has a specific historical context; the encounter between the English and the Muslims in the Mediterranean was simultaneous with their encounter with the American Indians, or what Matar calls 'the Renaissance Triangle'.[51] During these synchronous encounters, "British and other European writers turned to their discourse about America and the Indians during the Age of Discovery and imposed it on Islam".[52] In this way, the early modern

---

[44] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 7.
[45] Matar, *Islam in Britain, p. 19.*
[46] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 7.
[47] Matar, *Islam in Britain, p. 15.*
[48] Matar, *Islam in Britain, p. 19.*
[49] Matar, *Islam in Britain, p. 20.*
[50] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 17.
[51] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 99.
[52] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 18.

English discourse on Islam within this triangle was "a representation of a representation"; it was a 'colonial discourse' in appearance only.[53] If Europe had not colonized parts of the Muslim world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these representations "might well have remained a symptom of cultural stereotyping and ignorant representation,"[54] and nothing more.

In most of his books on early modern English travellers to the Ottoman Empire, Gerald MacLean argues that 'the Orientalist paradigm' has created a "dilemma" for researchers on early modernity.[55] He points out that the discourse of "the earliest visitors both did and did not conform to the attitudes and prejudices of later Orientalists".[56] On the one hand, their travel narratives did not exhibit Orientalist attitudes because those travellers went to the Ottoman empire "at a time when the Ottomans were a powerful empire and the English insular and insignificant".[57] Therefore, their narratives on the Ottoman empire were syntheses of "fear and fascination" on the part of the English. As much as there were hostile English writings against the Ottomans during the Elizabethan era, "there was also enormous admiration and great envy of the magnificent courtliness, immense wealth and exquisite splendour of Ottoman culture. And there was widespread fascination with the far-reaching military authority of a mighty Ottoman army".[58] On the other hand, the travel narratives of early English travellers to the Ottoman empire did conform to the later Orientalist attitudes because they attempted to surpass the Ottomans in their narratives; their superior self-representations were mere rhetorical strategies, in order to manage the fear that surrounded their encounters with the Muslims. Nevertheless, they never approached the Islamic Orient as a "space awaiting western penetration and dominance".[59] MacLean has proposed the catchphrase: "Before

---

[53] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 15.
[54] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. x.
[55] Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.10 and p.19
[56] Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. xv.
[57] MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p. xv.
[58] MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p.xiv.
[59] MacLean, "Ottomanism before Orientalism?", p. 94.

empire, there was imperial envy. Before Orientalism there was Ottomanism" as a guide to reading early modern Anglo-Ottoman travel writing.[60]

Early Modern Affective Cosmopolitanism

The above-discussed historiographical revisions, which have occurred both on Bernard Lewis' obsolete notion of *Clash of civilizations* and the improper application of Edward Said's *Orientalism* to precolonial contexts, have resulted in new theoretical paradigms for understanding Anglo-Ottoman and Euro-Arab relations during the early modern period. Not only early critics, like Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean, but also later critics like Daniel Vitkus, Richmond Barbour, Matthew Dimmock, and many others, have pointed out the diplomatic, commercial, and political interplay between Europe, with a particular focus on England, and the Muslim world at large, namely, al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), the Sa'dian Maghreb (Morocco), Mughal India, and Safavid Persia, and the Ottoman Empire, including Algiers, Tunisia, the Levant, and Egypt.

These studies point out the sociocultural interplay and exchange between the monarchies, communities, and individuals of these cultures. Through textual evidence and contextual readings of early modern travel books and other genres, these studies bring a more thorough understanding of the complexities of co-existence that have marked these encounters: the conflicts and friendships, fear and fascination, gifts and letter exchanges, just to name a few. They also pinpoint various forms of cosmopolitanism, or rather, as some scholars suggest, cosmopolitanisms, in the plural.[61] Studies on early modern contexts have addressed Protestant, Catholic, and Sufi-mystic cosmopolitanisms.[62]

---

[60] Gerald MacLean, "Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant", in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.)*, Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in The Early Modern Period*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p. 94.

[61] Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Cosmopolitanisms," *Public Culture* Vol. 12, No. 3, 2000: 577–89 (p. 577). Available from: <http://publicculture.dukejournals.org.chain.kent.ac.uk/content/12/3/577.full.pdf+html?sid=9363e2ca-4610-40c9-94db-ccb2fe79b7e4>

[62] Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian*

The notion of cosmopolitanism is one of the most challenging concepts in academia because it has been availed by many social and political theories.[63] Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen have surveyed the different approaches and definitions of cosmopolitanism.[64] They argue that there are "six perspectives on cosmopolitanism": "(a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or worldview; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence".[65] In this thesis, cosmopolitanism is approached according to the last two perspectives: as an attitude and a mode of practice.

As an attitude, cosmopolitanism means how the person perceives himself in relation to the world.[66] The classical definitions of a cosmopolitan reinforce that cosmopolitanism is an attitude towards the Other and the world; the Stoics defined cosmopolitans as "citizens of the world";[67] and the eighteenth-century philosopher Denis Diderot defined them as "strangers no where in the world".[68] Ulf Hannerz argue that there are two senses or levels for cosmopolitanism as an attitude. The first is "a stricter sense" which entails how the person thinks about cultural diversity and coexistence. The second is "a more genuine" sense which entails "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity".[69] As a mode of practice, cosmopolitanism is not only

Commonwealth, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015; Daniel Riches, _Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century,_ Leiden: Brill, 2013.

[63] Pauline Kleingeld, 2013. Cosmopolitanism. _The International Encyclopedia of Ethics._ Hugh LaFollette (ed.), Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2013, pp. 1134–1144

[64] Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen "Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism", in Vertovec S and Cohen R (eds) _Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice._ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.1–22.

[65] Vertovec and Cohen, "Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism", p. 8.

[66] Steven Vertovec, "Berlin Multikulti: Germany, 'foreigners' and 'world-openness'", _Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies_, Vol. 22, No.3 (1996): 381-399

[67] "cosmopolitan, adj. and n." _OED Online._ Oxford University Press, September 2015. Web. 27 October 2015.

[68] Margaret C. Jacob, _Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe,_ Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, p. 1

[69] Ulf Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture", _Theory, Culture & Society,_ vol. 7 no. 2 (June 1990): 237-251

about the intention or the desire to engage with the other, it is about the skill to manage cultural differences. Hannerz maintains that cosmopolitanism is a day-to-day performance which relies on "a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting".[70]

However, cosmopolitanism, according to many scholars, is not only an attitude towards the Other and the world. It also involves an attitude towards the self; it involves rootedness and loyalty to one's home.[71] Ulrich Beck argues that "cosmopolitanism means: rooted cosmopolitanism, having 'roots' and 'wings' at the same time. [...] there is no cosmopolitanism without localism".[72] Kwame Anthony Appiah refers to this view of rooted cosmopolitanism as "cosmopolitan patriotism". He argues that any individual has a share of both attachment to home and pleasure in experiencing the outer world.[73] The idea that a cosmopolitan person is completely detached from any social bonds and without any cultural or national affiliation is theoretical. Cosmopolitan identities are medleys of both local and global affiliations; therefore, they vary across cultures and historical periods.[74]

Emotions and affective practices are important keys to reading cosmopolitan attitudes and mentalities. Emotions, even though they have natural biological aspects, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, are relational concepts that can only be understood in terms of interactions between the person, their community, and the outer world. As Martha Nussbaum argues, cosmopolitanism entails compassion, empathy, and solidarity with the Other.[75] Alexa Weik von

---

[70] Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture", p. 239

[71] Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism", in Joshua Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston: Beacon Press, [1996] 2002; Pnina Werbner (ed.), *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, Oxford; New York: BERG, 2008

[72] Ulrich Beck, "The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies", *Theory, Culture & Society* (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 19, No. 1–2 2002: 17–44. Available from <http://tcs.sagepub.com/content/19/1-2/17.full.pdf>

[73] Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots", *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring) 1997: 617-639

[74] Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, p. 3

[75] Martha Nussbaum, "Cosmopolitan Emotions?" *New Humanist* Vol. 116, no. 4, 2001, Available from <http://www.newhumanist.org.uk/470.>; Graham Long, "Moral and Sentimental Cosmopolitanism". *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 40, 2009: 317–342.

Mossner classifies fear and anger as contradictions to cosmopolitanism, while disgust and horror are limitations to cosmopolitanism.[76]

The aim of this thesis is to adapt these insights on affective cosmopolitanisms in relation to early modern Mediterranean travel books. The epigraph of this introduction is an example of how travellers' narratives on emotions reveal the early modern Mediterranean world The dialogue is from *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb 'ila Liqāʾ al-Aḥbāb* (The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels: A Summary of my Book 'the Journey of the Meteor to Meet the Loved Ones'). The dialogue is between the narrator, a seventeenth-century Andalusian [Morisco] traveller, Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, and "a girl from among the circle of the French notables from the city of Funtani [Fontenay]".[77] In the dialogue, the traveller talks about an emotional encounter between himself and the female interlocutor: "*looked at me askance*", "*her face showed anger*"; most importantly, they discuss two different ideologies and perceptions of "*love*".

The two interlocutors evaluate love and the modes of its expression from two perspectives that match the norms of their sub-cultures, or their "emotional communities".[78] The openness and concealment of love are projected as a main cultural question which sets two ʿemotional communities' apart. For the 'French elite girl', as portrayed by the traveller, the invisibility and phantom-like presence of a woman makes the question of love and self-expression necessary. She is unable to understand how concealment might be able to play a part in love, which is all about openness. Rendered in the traveller's words, the girl enquires about the absence of the bodily

---

[76] Alexa Weik Von Mossner, *Cosmopolitan Minds: Literature, Emotion, and the Transnational Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Von Mossner addresses the modern American context, yet her classification of emotions and their relations to rooted cosmopolitanism is reasonable enough to be applied to the early modern period.

[77] al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 141.

[78] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, [2006] 2007.

interaction and eye-contact channel through which emotions are communicated. From another perspective, the traveller/narrator argues for the irrelevance of such a channel for emotional communication. For him, love and marriage are not about exposing the physical body. Concealment, honour, 'purity' and chastity are more important values than the expression of love.

The traveller/narrator projects certain emotions, which are, using Martha Nussbaum's definition of emotions, "part and parcel of [his] system of ethical reasoning"; emotions that "include in their content judgments that can be true or false, and good or bad guides to ethical choice".[79] In his assessment, the narrator uses his "values, goals, and presuppositions – products of [his] society, community, and individual experience, mediators all".[80] Precisely, the dialogue speaks of the "norms, codes, and modes of expression"[81] of love, in both the narrator's and the girl's cultural contexts, in the seventeenth century.

The intriguing trope of the dialogue is the traveller's polemical "emotional style".[82] The juxtaposition between the Muslim and Christian ideas about love and marriage and the traveller's judgmental statements about "*the purity of the religion of Islam*" may seem dogmatic and insular (not cosmopolitan). Nevertheless, if the text is read against its context of production and readership, one would find that such a polemical emotional style was dominant among seventeenth-century Andalusian (Morisco) writers and served as a strategy for emotional "self-fashioning".[83]

Nevertheless, this dialogue, and similar stories on emotions that are very often embedded in travel books can

---

[79] Martha C. Nussbaum. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions,* Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001*,* p. 1.
[80] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p. 191.
[81] Rosenwein*, Emotional Communities,* p. 193.
[82] Dewight R. Middleton, "Emotional Style: The Cultural Ordering of Emotions", *Ethos*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (June 1989), 187-201.
[83] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1980] 2005.

tell us at least what people thought other people would like to hear (or expected to hear). Most do not pretend to be expressions of emotion; they are accounts or descriptions – imagined and otherwise – about human behavior, and that includes the ways in which emotions must be (and to some degree were) expressed.[84]

The epigraph is just one example of many such early modern travellers' stories and comments on emotions and emotional encounters. It illustrates the way in which traveller's narratives about their emotions and his emotional encounters offer insights into the individual traveller's perception of himself in relation to the world of the Other, into his 'local' context, and into the wider Mediterranean culture.

The present study endeavours to analyse these discourses on emotions by taking in context three travel books, written by three travellers, who traversed the Mediterranean Sea, from al-Andalus (Iberian peninsula), England, and the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. Therefore, they will be referred to, hereby, as the Mediterranean travellers. The three travel books are:

1. *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Wa huwa al-Saif al-'ash.har 'alā kul man kafar: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb 'ila Liqā' al-Aḥbāb* (The Book of the Supporter of Religion against the Infidels: Or the Unsheathed Sword against Everyone who Disbelieves: A Summary of al-Shihāb's Travels to meet the Dearly Beloveds) by Andalusian Ahmad ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī (1570- after 1641). The text records two journeys, one from Granada to Marrakech in 1599, and the second from Marrakech to France and the Netherlands, from 1611 to 1613. The text was written between 1637 and 1641, in Cairo and Tunisia.

2. *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam,* by English organ-maker Thomas Dallam (1575-1630). The text records his journey from London to Istanbul, from 1599 to 1600.

3. *Seyahâtnâme* (The Book of Travels) by Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685). His 10-volume text covers his 40-year travels to parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, from 1640 to

---

[84] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 193.

c.1680.

These three texts are deliberately selected to reveal different shades and horizons of cosmopolitanisms, in the plural. These shades rang from a polemical, Maliki orthodox view of the world in the case of al-Ḥajarī', to entangled shades of pragmatic and secular cosmopolitanism in the case of Dallam, to an Ottoman Sufi worldliness in the case of Evliya. The travellers' discourses and narratives on emotions in these three case studies summon up several methodological and conceptual questions: how should we interpret al-Ḥajarī's, Dallam's, and Evliya's narratives on their emotions and emotional encounters in their travel books? What cultural norms, scripts, and genre traditions have shaped their narratives on fear, love, anxiety, envy, longing for travel, or disgusting humour? How do they use emotions as strategies of inclusion or exclusion within their communities or the world? And, what can these narratives tell us about the early modern interplay among the cultures and communities that co-existed around the Mediterranean shores?

In this respect, travel books can be valuable sources for learning about early modern history and culture, and for learning the early-modern language of selfhood and emotions. Stories on emotions summon up a scholarly discussion among historians, philosophers, anthropologists, sociolinguists, and cognitive psychologists on the nature of these emotions, histories, and social roles. These subjective stories in a travel book foreground the role of emotions in constructing the 'Self' and in negotiating the world of the 'Other' during the journey.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has five chapters. The two opening chapters situate the thesis critically and methodologically. Chapter 1 focuses on the early modern travel as a subjective literary text. The study of travellers' discourse on emotions and their perceptions of the world requires a focus on travel books as *self-narratives,* texts whichh relate the subjective realms of human experience –

emotions, humour, dreams, and mystic visions, rather than as mere sources of factual ethnographic and historical information about exotic cultures which relate historical events. The discussion is focused on the methodological and conceptual approach to the travel book as ʿa communicative actʾ and ʿa social practiceʾ. This approach focuses on the historical and cultural context, as well as its context of production, including the traveller's authorial intent and the meaning of his travel book to its intended/expected audiences.[85] The discussion also considers the works of scholars who have addressed the English, Arabic and Ottoman early modern self-narratives, including the formal and structural aspects: text elements, genre conventions, social practices, and the manner in which the factual and/or the fictional are coded into the text.[86]

In Chapter 2, "Emotions in Early Modern Travel Books", two points are discussed. Initially, an introduction is given to the theories on emotions used to approach the narratives and discourses on emotions in the case studies. The works of scholars in history, anthropology, and the language of emotions are of particular interest. Barbara Rosenwein's concept of 'emotional communities' constitutes the take-off point for the present study.[87] The notion of 'emotional style' indicates the way in which the emotional community organizes "modes of thinking about, handling, generating and expressing emotions,"[88] or "the cultural ordering of emotions".[89] The two notions are products of the socio-constructionist theory of emotions. As Clifford Geertz states, "not only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artefacts" and "cultural products".[90] The theory accepts that emotions are

---

[85]   Paul Strohm. *Theory and the Premodern Text,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. xv.
[86]   Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe", *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*. Vol.1, No. 1/2 (2000) NY: Berghahn Journals. 5- 35; Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in Glenn Hooper and Tim Younges (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing.* Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003, p. 13-26; Z. R. W. M. von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, Leiden: Brill, 1994; C. F. Beckingham, "The Rihla: Fact or Fiction?" in Ian Richard Netton (ed.) *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, Richmond: Curzon, 1993, p. 72.
[87]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities.*
[88]   Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles - Concepts and Challenges." *Rethinking History*. Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 201): 161-175 (p. 161).
[89]   Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 187.
[90]   Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 81, p. 50, respectively.

natural bio-physiological phenomena across different cultures, and it further stresses that emotions are "sociocultural constructs".[91] Emotion concepts are not mere "labels for internal states,"[92] but they derive their meaning and definition from "the full range of a people's cultural values, social relations, and economic circumstances. Talk about emotions is simultaneously talk about society – about power and politics, about kinship and marriage, about normality and deviance".[93]

The cultural-constructionist theory also reinforces emotions as a social practice, whereby an emotion may enact various communicative functions. Studying the social roles of emotions in a travel book explains how the early modern travellers found their stories of fear, love, desire, disgust, anxiety or envy 'tellable'.[94] It illuminates the complex interrelation between the traveller and his intended audience, and the way in which the enactment of emotions in the travel book reflects the traveller's modes of self-fashioning and self-representation.[95] Furthermore, in Chapter 2, the structure of the present study is explained, discussing the methods of finding and reading emotions in the text. The rationale for the focus on the Mediterranean context of the seventeenth century and for choosing the texts of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam and Evliya is provided.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 present the three case studies of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya. Chapter 3 is dedicated to Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb Nāsir Al-Dīn 'alā 'l-Qawm Al-Kāfirīn*, where the focus is on al-Ḥajarī's discourses on fear during his escape from al-Andalus to Marrakech in 1599, and his love story with a French Catholic girl who he meets on his journey to Europe in 1611-1613. The analysis unfolds the way in which al-Ḥajarī embeds his emotions in cultural scripts, historical

---

[91] Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 7.

[92] Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*, University of Chicago Press, 1988 , p. 5.

[93] Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, p. 6.

[94] Raphaël Baroni, "Tellability", Paragraph 1-27. In: Peter Hühn, et al. (eds.), *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, Hamburg: Hamburg University Press.
URL = hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/lhn/index.php?title=Tellability&oldid=2035. [view date: 03 Dec 2014]

[95] Goffman Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.

events, Maliki jurisprudence, and Sufi discourses. He narrates his emotions in a polemical style, in order to fashion himself to his intended audience, namely the *Maliki* jurists in Egypt and North Africa. Chapter 4, on Thomas Dallam's *Diary*, reveals how emotions such as anxiety and envy play out within a skilled artisan's emerging sense of English identity as constructed in relation to Ottoman difference. Chapter 5, on Evliya's *Seyahatname,* shows the mind-set from which an Ottoman cosmopolitanism might emerge through emotional investments in a longing for travel, on the one hand, but also in the possibilities of disgust and outrageous humour generated by cultural difference, on the other.

Chapter One

Early Modern Travel Books as Self-Narratives

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the travel book genre closely interacted with other fictional and non-fictional related genres including "chronicles and histories, geographical and cosmographical treatises, and political reports. This is as true of travel within Europe as it is of travel outside Europe. More subtle, but also important, were the links with chivalric and picaresque romances, with utopian and anti-utopian literature, philosophical works, and educational treatises".[1] The travel book borrowed from the genre conventions of the private diary, the essay, the short story, and the prose poem.[2] Early modern travellers used the tropes available to them in the poetry, drama, theological and political prose of the period. They embellished their narratives with imagery, metaphor, allusion to myths, and symbolism to enhance the rhetorical modes of their travel journals. They freely braided their travel experiences into any generic form that they chose: interfaith polemics, mystic anecdotes, folk stories, or dream narratives, as will be shown in the case studies in this thesis.

Paul Fussell has defined the travel book as "a sub species of memoir in which autobiographical narrative arises from the speaker's encounter with distant or unfamiliar data and in which the narrative – unlike that in the novel or romance – claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality".[3] Sabine Schülting specifies the manner in which sixteenth-century travellers, and to a higher degree seventeenth-century travellers, emphasized their self-narration through various rhetorical and narrative strategies. They "embellished the chronological accounts of their journeys

---

[1] Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.10.

[2] Jonathan Raban, *For Love & Money:Writing – Reading - Travelling 1968-1987*, London: Picador, 1988, p. 253-54.

[3] Paul Fussell, "Travel books as Literary Phenomena", in Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p, 203.

by adding details and providing background information [...], by autodiegetic anecdotes or by embedded narratives of vicarious experiences. Additionally, the traveller/narrator becomes increasingly prominent and more self-conscious. The record of events recedes and makes way for the traveller's consciousness, his emotional reactions to the events, and, frequently his metafictional remarks on the narrative itself".[4] According to Joan-Pau Rubiés, the pre-modern travel book is a "genre of genres".[5]

This "hybrid"[6] generic nature has made the early modern travel book a text with several functions: a historical document, an ethnographic record, a literary text, and a self-narrative. However, a review of the scholarship on Western and non-Western pre-modern travel genres reveals more scholarly attention to their functions as historical and ethnographic documents, compared to their being literary and self-narrative texts.[7] The genre is approached as largely factual, rather than fictional, with the opinion that the travellers themselves were generally reliable, objective, and well-organized sightseers.[8] As a historical document, the travel book is very often seen as a valuable eye-witness account for empirical, or even raw, data on the culture about which it speaks or the time of which it is a trace.[9] The authenticity of the journey and the truth of its events can supposedly be verified by making a comparison to other related historical evidence. Once verified, those events become a window onto the past. As ethnographic documents, early modern travel books are read as primary sources of information on exotic cultures, or particular ethnic groups.[10] They provide descriptions of peoples, their habitations, fashion, customs, religion, forms of government, and

---

[4]   Sabine Schülting, "Travellers' Tales: Narrativity in Early Modern Travelogues", in Bernhard Reitz and Sigrid Rieuwerts (eds.), *Anglistentag 1999 Mainz. Proceedings of the Conference of the German Association of University Teachers of English,* Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2000. 429-438 (p. 430).
[5]   Rubiés, 'Travel Writing as a Genre', p. 6.
[6]   Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in Glenn Hooper and Tim Younges (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing,* Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003, 13-26 (p. 13).
[7]   Valerie Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales: Observations on the Travel Book and Ethnography". *Anthropological Quarterly* 59.2 (1986): 52–63.
[8]   Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing", *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol.16. No.1 (1989): p. 7-29.
[9]   Hayden White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", in Kuisma Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past, Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate,* Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2006, p. 26.
[10] Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 243.

language, among other cultural phenomena.[11] Those ethnographic descriptions are "valued parts of the narratives of travel that proliferated after the Renaissance".[12]

Nevertheless, this hybridity between fact and fiction has made the pre-modern travel book a problematic document for many "scientifically motivated historians"[13] and "realist anthropologists".[14] The question as to whether the travel book is a 'fictional text' or a 'factual document' appears in several major analyses of early modern travel books.[15] Hayden White argues that such deliberate eschewal of the fictional aspects of pre-modern texts in general is a purely modern phenomenon.[16] It started in the nineteenth century among Western scholars when "the concept of history was reformulated, historical consciousness was for the first time theorized, and the modern scientific method of historical inquiry was inaugurated".[17] According to White, scientific historians consider rhetoric and fiction to be the "enemies" of historical objectivity: "Rhetoric because, according to the doxa philosophica, it seeks to seduce where it cannot convince by evidence and argument; and, fiction, because, according to the same doxa, it presents imaginary things as if they were real and substitutes illusion for truth".[18]

Similarly, many twentieth-century anthropologists have disputed the status of the travel book genre as "a species of ethnography".[19] They quibbled about the centrality of the autobiographical element in the travel book and about the travellers' subjective, unsystematic observations.[20] Just like

---

[11]   Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 242.
[12]   Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 243.
[13]   White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.
[14]   Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales", p. 52.
[15]   Percy Adams. *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, p. 11-12.
[16]   Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation", in Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 121- 134 (p.122). Roxanne L. Euben, however, argues that the question of the fictionality of the travellers' tales was an issue during Classical and late Medieval times, in both the Western and Islamic contexts. She argues that both Herodotus's *Histories* (c.440 BC) and Ibn Battuta's *Rihla* (c.1354) were judged as lies and largely fictional by their contemporary scholars. See Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore,* Chapter 2 "Liars, Travelers, Theorists: Herodotus and Ibn Battuta".
[17]   White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.
[18]   White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.
[19]   Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales", p. 52.
[20]   Mary Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing*

nineteenth-century historians, anthropologists aspired to an ethnographic document with "a neutral, tropeless discourse that would render other realities 'exactly as they are,' not filtered through [the traveller's] own values and interpretive schema".[21] This positivist attitude towards pre-modern travel books led many scholars "to peel away the fictive elements in [their] documents so [they] could get the real facts"[22] and to undermine the significance of the subjective, the symbolic, the mythic, and the literary narratives.[23] Therefore, 'the marvels and the miracles' as well as the subjective narratives in the travellers' tales were "killed by Science".[24]

Nevertheless, many social and cultural historians, who are interested in the history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self, have reversed this positivist attitude towards the study of early modern travel books. The works of Hayden White,[25] Natalie Zemon Davis,[26] Carlo Ginzburg,[27] Quentin Skinner,[28] Jonathan P. A. Sell,[29] and many others have introduced "methodologies that have arisen in philosophy, literary criticism, and linguistics and that offer new ways of conceiving the

---

Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p. 35.

[21] Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", p. 27. For an unequivocal example of this opposition between ethnography to travel writing, See Claude Levi-Strauss' seminal book, *Tristes Tropiques,* on the Amerindian tribes in Brazil. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, John Russell (Trans.) London: Hutchinson & Co, 1961, p. 17.

[22] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Introduction", in *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, Revised Edn. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 199, p. 3.

[23] Ian Richard Netton, "Myth, Miracle and Magic in the Rihla of Ibn Baṭṭūta", *Journal of Semitic Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1 (1984): 131-40 (p. 131); Ian Richard Netton (ed.). *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam,* London: Routledge, 2005, p.xiii; C.F. Beckingham, "The Rihla: Fact or Fiction?", in Ian Richard Netton (ed.). *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam,* London: Routledge, 2005, 72-79.

[24] Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", p. 27; Pratt quoted this phrase from Bronislaw Malinowski. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E. P. Dutton, [1922] 1961, p. 11.

[25] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism,* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978; and *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

[26] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Redwood City, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1987; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus*, England: Mackays of Chatham Ltd, [2006] 2008.

[27] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. John and Anne Tedeschi (Trans.). Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, [1980]1992.

[28] Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", *New Literary History* Vol.3. No.2 (1972): p. 393-408; Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", *History and Theory* (1969): p. 3-53.

[29] Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006; Jonathan P. A. Sell, "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing", *Studies in Travel Writing* Vol. 16, No..3 (2012): 227-41 (p. 227).

tasks of historical [cultural and textual] hermeneutics".[30] These research methodologies have illuminated the textual and sociocultural significance of the fictional events, the figurative language, the cultural constructs, as well as the subjective elements of emotions, dreams, companionship, and humour. The main interest in these methodologies has shifted from constructing the past "as it actually happened", using Leopold von Ranke's famous phrase ("wie es eigentlich gewesen"),[31] to interpreting "what the individuals thought was happening, and the ways in which their feelings, perceptions, and narratives of events either influenced, or were influenced, by the realities they faced".[32] The 'fictional' aspects of these documents became the focus of analysis by emphasizing the meaning of literary tropes and the "crafting of the narrative" in pre-modern texts.[33] The 'subjective' aspects can still bear a "consensual truth"[34] value because they tell about the shared values in the traveller's community and the expectations of his readers.[35] The travel book, or any early modern text, becomes a 'quasi-fiction' and a 'quasi-history' text.[36]

This thesis focuses on subjective and autobiographical elements in the early modern travel books. It is a form of 'self-narrative' or "a source or 'document' — understood in the widest sense — providing an account of, or revealing privileged information about, the 'self' who produced it".[37] In doing so, the present study follows a recent wave of research by a group of German historians working under the title *Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive* (*Self-narratives in transcultural perspective*). This group was founded in 2004 at Freie Universität Berlin, and is henceforth referred to as the Berlin Self-narratives research group.[38]

---

[30] Hayden White, "The Context in the Text", in *The Content of the Form,* p. 185.

[31] Elizabeth A. Clark, "Defending and Lamenting History", in her *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009 , p. 9. Clark discusses the nineteenth-century debate over historical positivism.

[32] Brian Stock, "History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality", *Yale French Studies* (1986): 7-17 (p.7).

[33] Davis, *Fiction in the Archives,* p.3.

[34] Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder*, p. 23.

[35] Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder*, p. 32; Sell, "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing", p. 227.

[36] Kuisma Korhonen, "Introduction", in Kuisma Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate,* Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2006, 9-20 (p.16).

[37] Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (date):263–272 (p. 263).

[38] Gabriele Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive", Zeitenblicke Vol. 1, No. 2 (2002) [20.12.2002],

The present study adopts the methodological and critical approach of this *Self-narratives* group, especially the ideas of Claudia Ulbrich and Gabriele Jancke,[39] for three reasons. First, they "use the broad term 'Selbstzeugnisse' to encompass writing about oneself, about one's own experiences and observations relating to oneself in all literary forms and traditions".[40] So, instead of segregating the travel book from other related literary and non-literary genres, their projects have teamed up the travel book with other self-narrative genres including autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, personal letters, records of dreams, marginalia, chronicles, family histories, diplomats' accounts, etc. Accordingly, their work has opened up new possibilities for the early modern travel books[41] and diplomatic accounts[42] to be studied as sources for the histories of the self and emotions.[43]

Second, as will be further discussed below in Section 1.1, besides their use of the traditional inventory, and the generic approach to *self-narratives*,[44] the *Self-narrative* research group have endorsed an interdisciplinary approach which draws upon social history, linguistics, and anthropology for the study of self-narratives. Their method of text analysis is a step-by-step guide to how to contextualize a pre-modern self-narrative. This systematic methodological approach has helped the present study to be consistent in its analysis of the three case studies, even though each case study is from a different cultural context.

URL: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2002/02/jancke/jancke.pdf>; see also the official website of the Berlin research group on <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/fg530/index.html>

[39] Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer, *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland,* Leiden: Brill, 2014, p. 3.

[40] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. 5.

[41] Gabriele Jancke, "Exchanging, Protecting, Collecting, Signifying: Clothes, Person, and Civilisation in Georg Forster's 'Voyage Round the World' (1777)", in Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives.* Würzburg: Ergon Verlag. 2015. 45-70

[42] One of the Berlin group projects is *The Diplomatic Persona in Political Ritual* <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/fg530/projekt_2.html>. It deals with both Ottoman and Western diplomatic accounts in the seventeenth century. *S*ee Abdullah Güllüoğlu, "The First Ottoman Delegation to Prussia in 1763-1764 and its Representation in the Berlin Costume Book", in Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (ed.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives,* Würzburg: Ergon Varlag, 2015, pp. 223-260. An early version available online at <https://independent.academia.edu/AbdullahGüllüoglu> .

[43] Claudia Ulbrich*, "*Self-Narratives as a Source for the History of Emotions", in Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley (eds.), *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures 1450-1800*, London: Routledge, 2014, 59-71.

[44] Gudrun Wedel, *Autobiographien von Frauen. Ein Lexikon*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2010.

Third, as will be further discussed in Section 1.2, the Berlin research group encompasses a

transcultural perspective on self-narratives focusing on both European and non-European cultural

and historical contexts. Within the European context, their critical approach is tightly connected to

the studies of a wider scholarly circle of historians in the Dutch, Swiss, English, and other European

research contexts who use the term *ego-document* (Gr. *Egodokument*) as an umbrella term for all

kinds of self-narrative genres.[45] These projects on *ego-documents* have paid special attention to

travel books.[46] Therefore, in many recent studies, the term *self-narrative,* and its variants, *ego-*

document, personal narrative, and sometimes, *self-testimony,* are used interchangeably.[47] Within the

non-European context, the Berlin research group has given great attention to Ottoman and Arabic

self-narratives.[48] The scholarly work done so far on all forms of English, Arabic, and Ottoman self-

narratives, including travel journals, memoirs, autobiographies, personal letters, and marginalia, has

encouraged the present study to use the same approach in contextualizing the three case studies in

---

[45] The term *ego-document* was originally coined by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the 1950s. After Presser, the notion found less acceptance among historians until the late 1980s, when Rudolf Dekker and a group of Dutch historians launched a project to inventory Dutch early modern ego-documents (1500 to 1814). See Rudolf Dekker, "Introduction", in Rudolf Dekker (ed.), *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002, 7-20 (p.7); Rudolf Dekker, "Egodocuments in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century", in Erin Griffey (ed.), *Envisioning Self and Status: Self Representation in the Low Countries, 1400–1700*, Hull: Crossways, 5, 1999. 255-284, available online at <http://www.egodocument.net/pdf/Egodocuments_in_the_Netherlands.pdf >

[46] Rudolf Dekker, "Dutch Travel Journals from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries", Trans. Gerard T. Moran, in Lias. *Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 22 (1995): 277-300); online edition available at <http://www.egodocument.net/egodocument/publications.htm l> . Dekker's study is a special report on his inventory of travel journals in the Dutch archives and the libraries of the period, c. 1500-1814. In this report, Dekker differentiates between 'impersonal' travel writings, such as travel guidebooks or ship's logs, and 'personal' travel books which were written on personal initiative. He also draws some unique comments on the form, language and style of the personal travel books he has surveyed. He points out the innovative manners in which the early modern travellers wrote their journeys in rhyme, comic vein, or biblical style. Likewise, he observes that these personal travel books "often begin by introducing the travelling companions, in one case even listing a pet, […] a baggage list, [...] a list of the clothing and books […], a list of the ladies [the traveller] had met" (p.4). Dekker's observations have been an eye-opener to similar personal features in many English, Ottoman, and Arabic self-narrative travel books. For example, as will be further explained in the course of the thesis, the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi informed the reader of the name of one of his horses, "Hamis", the English traveller Thomas Dallam listed his clothing and food, and the Morisco traveller, Ahmed bin Qasim al-Ḥajarī's gave surprising accounts of the French women he met.

[47] Many early modern historian reject the term *ego-document* because "[t]he lexeme *ego* evokes "the inevitable association with Sigmund Freud's work". See: Kaspar von Greyerz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010):273-282 (p. 275).

[48] A list of their publications is available on <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fg530/_media/pdf/Literaturliste_FG1.pdf>. The list shows an impressive number of research projects on Arabic and Ottoman self-narratives.

this thesis.

1.1. A Methodological Approach to Early Modern Self-narratives

In her seminal study on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century autobiographical texts from the German-speaking regions,[49] Gabriele Jancke argues that any self-narrative is a reaction to a certain social situation.[50] She approaches self-narratives

> as a special form of agency, practiced by autobiographical writers in their respective personal situations and cultural contexts. In this way, the focus lies on the writing and producing of these texts, and *egodocuments* are seen as ways of communicating and acting in society. Consequently, we [i.e. the Berlin research group] try to develop an understanding of *egodocuments* as a social and cultural practice.[51]

Within this approach, the analysis takes into consideration three main steps. First, a self-narrative is a social practice in which narrators display their membership and affiliations to one or more network of social relations. Second, the self-narrative is a communicative act between the narrator/author and these network of relations.[52] Third, the self-narrative does not display the inner self of the narrator; rather it is a deliberate representation of the narrator's ʿsocial selfʾ or *person*. Therefore, before asking any questions about the construction of the self, mentality, or emotions in a text, the textual analysis should start with a close reading of the author's respective networks and his/her social relations when s/he was writing his/her autobiographical text.[53]

---

[49] Gabriele Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts: Acting within a Network Observations on Genre and Power Relations in the German-Speaking Regions from 1400 to 1620", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the'I'*, p. 118-165. The study's first publication was in German in 1996: "Autobiographische Texte – Handlungen in einem Beziehungsnetz berlegungen zu Gattungsfragen und Machtaspekten im deutschen Sprachraum von 1400 bis 1620," in Winfried Schulze (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherungen an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit, vol. 2, Berlin, 1996, 73–106. Cited here is the English version.

[50] Jancke uses a corpus of 200 autobiographical texts. This large corpus includes autobiographies, chronicles, diaries, and travel narratives. She emphasizes the manner in which "the authors prove to be highly creative in the way they draw on various genre models for their autobiographical undertakings". See Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.120.

[51] Jancke, 'Selbstzeugnisse', para. <5>.

[52] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.119.

[53] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.160; Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <24>.

a. A Self-narrative is a Social Practice

Jancke maintains that autobiographical writers should be seen as "social beings, belonging to certain social, professional, religious and gender groups, moving in certain contexts and relationships".[54] Therefore, the first step in contextualizing any self-narrative is to closely look at these relational networks. She asserts that "the sources reveal which relationships provided the decisive impetus for each author to undertake writing her or his autobiographical text".[55] In order to interpret early modern self-narratives, it is necessary to contextualize the sources not only in their larger historical and sociopolitical context, but also looking at the author's immediate culture and the social situation in which s/he wrote his/her text.[56]

This view on the relationship between the self-narrator and their social networks goes back to a study on the construction of the self in sixteenth-century French self-narratives by Natalie Zemon Davis.[57] In this study, Davis argues against Jacob Burckhardt's claims that the Renaissance witnessed a development in the concept of individuality; that the Renaissance man stopped defining himself as a member of a social group (a race, a family, or a religious group); and that the development of the Renaissance individual led to a rise in the individual's ability and willingness to write his life.[58] Contrary to Burckhardt's thesis, Davis maintains that sixteenth-century French self-narratives were mostly written with "conscious relation to the groups to which people belonged".[59] She argues further that "virtually all the occasions for talking or writing about the self involved a relationship: with God or God and one's confessor, with a patron, with a friend or a lover, or

---

[54] Jancke, "Autobiography as Social Practice", p. 70.
[55] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.
[56] Jancke, "Autobiography as Social Practice", p. 72.
[57] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France", in T.C. Heller, M. Sosna and D.E. Wellbery (eds.), *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1986, 53–63.
[58] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, Vienna: The Phaidon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, [1860] 1937. Cited here is the Etext, available on: <https://archive.org/details/civilizationofth005644mbp>, p. 70, p. 147, and p. 173-176.
[59] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 53.

especially with one's family and lineage".[60] Davis focuses her discussion on "the family's role in shaping the individual".[61] However, she points out that the "line drawn around the self was not firmly closed",[62] but still, early modern self-narrators found creative ways through which they represented themselves as unique members of their communities, i.e. "embeddedness did not preclude self discovery, but rather prompted it".[63] Therefore, Davis' ideas have inspired Jancke, as well as other scholars,[64] to approach early modern ideas of the self as a social practice in which the author/narrator registers, negotiates, and constructs, his/her community and group affiliation.[65]

b. A Self-narrative is a Communicative Act

Jancke further looks at the social functions of autobiographical texts. She comments that any form of self-narrative, be it a diary, an autobiography, a family chronicle, a letter, a journey account, etc., is "a discrete communicative act".[66] She views autobiographical writing through the lens of "speech act theory".[67] She therefore draws upon the ideas of J. L. Austin[68] and John R. Searle,[69] and defines autobiographical writing as "a social practice that has an audience in mind, the action itself occurring at a certain time, in a certain personal situation and being part of a certain social context".[70]

The analysis of 'the autobiographical communicative act' focuses upon several aspects of the text.[71]

---

[60] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 53.
[61] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 54.
[62] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 56.
[63] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 63.
[64] Kaspar von Greyerz, "Observations on the Historiographical Status of Research on Self Writing", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the 'I'*: 34-57.
[65] Greyerz, "Ego-Documents", p. 277.
[66] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.122.
[67] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.121, footnote no. 8.
[68] John Langshaw Austin, *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1962] 1975.
[69] John R. Searle, *Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.
[70] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <13>.
[71] Janke identifies the components of "the autobiographical communicative act" in a close textual analysis of three texts in three different languages: "The Hebrew memoir of the Jewish politician Josel of Rosheim, of the German-language 'Letter to the Entire Citizenry of the City of Strasbourg' by the clergyman's wife and Strasbourg resident Katharina Zell, and of the Latin autobiography "Vita Jacobi Andreae" by the theologian and church politician Jakob Andreae of Württemberg", Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.124.

The analysis identifies that the topic of the communicative act is where "the writer's person appears as a subject being described, not just as narrator or commentator".[72] It also identifies "contexts, then languages and audiences, and finally ways of acting in relationships".[73] By context, Jancke refers to "the situation of writing and communicating" which urged the writer to produce a text of him/herself.[74] The context also involves the social networks of the autobiographical writers, "as well as the concepts they make use of in perceiving themselves".[75] The "language and audience"[76] of the text are supposed to be the keys to understanding the autobiographical performative act. The language that the writers use reveals "the social group they belonged to as well as the audience they addressed".[77] The form of the language with which they wrote their texts, that is, a high form, such as Latin or Classical Arabic, or a vernacular, such as German, English, Aljamiado (Spanish language in Arabic script), etc., reveals some information on the writer's education, knowledge of languages, and social networks. It also tells about the writer's intended or expected audiences.[78] The audience of a text is sometimes also a part of the writer's social network, for example, for those who write for their families, or their patrons.

Finally, the analysis looks at the ways in which the author used his/her text to integrate him/herself into the social contexts of their time, into their social networks, and into their communities.[79] The three case studies in this thesis exhibit how autobiographical writers produced their texts to perform certain social roles within their communities.[80] As examples, some autobiographical writers, as will be discussed in al-Ḥajarī's case study, aimed "to influence the collective memory of those to whom the text is passed on, and hence also their social relationships".[81] Other self-narrators wrote their

---

[72] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <17>.
[73] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <14>.
[74] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.160.
[75] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <7>.
[76] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <20>.
[77] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <21>.
[78] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <22> and <23>.
[79] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.122.
[80] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.
[81] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.

texts to fulfil their social roles as fathers or heads of family households. Their texts were written "from a position of authority" and were meant to "to communicate useful information as well as an exemplary life to the next generation".[82] Others, like Master Thomas Dallam, wrote to document and reinforce their professional/career roles within society. Meanwhile, those who wrote for and about their patrons, like Evliya Çelebi, did so in order to describe their patronage relationship, to project their indebtedness to their patrons, and to "honor" them.[83]

c. A Self-narrative is a Display of the Narrator's Social Self

The key element in studying early modern self-narratives, according to many social historians, is to acknowledge that the texts reveal neither "an autonomous individuality", nor "an authentic experience", but rather the author's "social self" or a socially constructed image of the author's *person*.[84] Drawing upon anthropological studies, these historians argue that the notion of 'the person' is a historical, sociopolitical, and ideological construct, while the notion of 'the self' is a bio-psychic entity and philosophical category.[85]

Accordingly, Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich suggest that the best way to define a self-narrative comes from the Arabic word *Tarjama*, which literally means translation or interpretation. *Tarjama* also refers to the Arabic self-narrative genre (Biographical Notice), which will be further discussed below in Section 1.2.[86] Accordingly, self-narratives should be approached as "interpretations or translations (of life as experienced physically and psychically), transferred into

---

[82] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse', para. <25>.
[83] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse', para. <26>.
[84] Fulbrook and Rublack, "In Relation", p. 267; Claudia Ulbrich, "Person and Gender: The Memoirs of the Countess of Schwerin", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010): 296–309 (p. 297).
[85] Ulbrich, "Person and Gender", p. 299-300; Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.123, footnote 11. Jancke is referring to the following anthropological studies: Michael Carrithers, Steven Collins and Steven Lukes (eds.), *The Category of the Person. Anthropology, Philosophy, History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice,* Cambridge: Polity, 1990; Grace Gredys Harris, "Concepts of Individual, Self, and Person in Description and Analysis", *American Anthropologist*, (1989) 91:599–612.
[86] Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich, "From the Individual to the Person: Challenging Autobiography Theory", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the'I'*, 15-33 (p. 33).

another medium, that of (verbal) language and writing".[87] The authors' self-portrayals in a text are social performances and cultural practices in which they present themselves within their own communities and network of relationships.[88] Within this anthropological understanding of the concept of a person, emotions, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, become an aspect of a person or social self, a rhetorical strategy for his/her self-presentation to his/her community, and a key to reading the social networks in which he embeds himself.

1.2. Transcultural Perspective on Early Modern Self-narratives

The most important aspect of the above-discussed approach to early modern self-narratives is its "shift away from a more diachronic approach to a more synchronic one".[89] So, instead of tracing the changes in the notion of the person from one historical period to another, the analysis focuses on the sociocultural variations and meanings of personhood, within the same culture, and across cultures and communities.[90] This transcultural perspective is critical to the design of the present study. The three travel books under study in this thesis provide various possibilities of describing the self across cultures; the travel books are from three cultures and languages: Arabic Andalusian, English, and Ottoman. This focus on the diversity in Western and non-Western conceptions of the self and person refutes the Burckhardtian fallacy of the uniqueness of the Western notion of individuality.[91] Recent studies acknowledge that "autobiographical writing has been existing in various forms and literary traditions since well before modern times".[92]

This section is a discussion and survey of the studies which have addressed English, Arabic, and

---

[87] Dwight Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Univ of California Press, 2001, p. 42.
[88] Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 31.
[89] Greyerz, "Ego-Documents", p. 277.
[90] Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 30-31.
[91] Greyerz, "Observations", p. 56-57.
[92] Jancke, 'Selbstzeugnisse', para. <5>; See for examples: Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2012; Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (eds.), *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 6). Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007.

Ottoman early modern self-narratives. The review is further narrowed down to specific studies which employ textual and sociocultural approaches to self-narratives, particularly the studies by Peter Burke on self-presentation in English Renaissance autobiographies,[93] Cemal Kafadar on Ottoman self-narratives,[94] and Dwight Reynolds on Arabic *Tarjama* and *Sira* (autobiographies). These previous studies have enlightened the present study with observations on the recurrent themes, social and textual conventions, and culturally specific issues which are related to autobiographical writings in the English, Andalusian and Arabic West, and Ottoman cultures.

I.2.i. English Renaissance Self-narratives

In his studies on Anglophone and European self-narratives in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Peter Burke pays particular emphasis to rhetorical strategies of self-presentation in English autobiographical writing.[95] In his list of sources, Burke includes plays, essays and dialogues, as well as "biographies, autobiographies, diaries, travel journals, [and] letters".[96] He also includes material culture objects, such as "portraits and self-portraits".[97] In his studies, Burke traces the changes in ideas about the self in the English Renaissance culture.[98] Burke's observations and analyses of early modern English self-narratives are tightly connected to the present study's close textual analysis of the *Diary of Master Thomas Dallam* (Chapter 4).

Parallel to the discussed-above studies by Davis, Jancke, and Ulbrich, Burke's work argues against Burckhardtian assumptions "that this modern idea of the self goes back to the Renaissance" and

---

[93] Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes" in Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, London: Routledge, 1997, 17-28.

[94] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamica* (1989): 121-50.

[95] Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes", in Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, London: Routledge, 1997, 17-28; Peter Burke, "The Rhetoric of Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century", in Marijke J. van der Wal and Gijsbert Rutten (eds.), *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-documents*. Amesterdam: John Benjamin Publishing. 2013. 149-164.

[96] Burke, "Representations", p. 20.

[97] Burke, "Representations", p. 24.

[98] Burke, "Representations", p. 20.

"that autobiographies and diaries are a uniquely occidental genre".[99] Burke finds these claims to be "problematic from at least three points of view: geographical, sociological and chronological".[100] From the geographical perspective, these claims overlook non-Western traditions.[101] From the sociological perspective, Burckhardt derived his sweeping generalizations from the self-narratives of "a tiny minority of Italians, generally upper-class males".[102] From a chronological perspective, Burckhardt's comparison between the notion of individuality in Middle Ages and the Renaissance was overplayed;[103] he "underestimated" the sense of individuality in the Middle Ages, and "exaggerated" it in the Renaissance.[104] Burke argues that in the Renaissance, people defined themselves as members of communities and social groups "as Florentines (say), as Italians, as Chinese, as males, as soldiers and so on. Identities were not single but multiple".[105]

Although Burke agrees with Burckhardt's observation on the rise of autobiographical writing during the Renaissance, he dismisses Burckhardt's correlation between this early modern upsurge in autobiographies and self-portraits and "the rise of self awareness or subjectivity".[106] He explains this increase in "the autobiographical habit" as the result of social and political factors: "The sixteenth century was an age of urbanization. It was also an age of travel, and travel encourages self-consciousness by cutting off the individual from his or her community [...] The sixteenth century was also the first century in which print became part of everyday life".[107] He also lists religion as a possible factor, because Renaissance autobiographical writers in England "sometimes evoked the spirits of Protestantism and Puritanism"; autobiographical writers confessed their "pride, cowardice and other sins and weaknesses".[108] These "introspection and self-examination" narratives were also

---

[99]   Burke, "Representations", p. 27.
[100] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[101] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; See also Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[102] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[103] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[104] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[105] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[106] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[107] Burke, "Representations", p. 22.
[108] Burke, "Representations", p. 27.

common among Catholic writers, but to a lesser degree.[109] These sociocultural factors are keys to the historical contextualization of early modern English self-narratives.

Burke maintains that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English self-narratives reveal a large diversity in the English Renaissance conceptions of the self. These self-narratives were not limited to "social elites", as Burkhardt had assumed. They come from a variety of social groups, including "northerners and southerners, men and women, nobles and commoners"; a significant number of these self-narratives come from the merchant and artisan classes, including "apothecaries, tailors, carpenters and even peasants".[110] Self-narratives coming from these non-elite social groups have invited questions on early modern autobiographies as a popular culture phenomenon.[111] This wider currency of self-writing among English artisans is a hint not to view the travel journal of *Master Thomas Dallam,* the English clockwork organ-maker, as an exceptional case. Rather, it is one text closely linked to a larger self-narrative repertoire within the artisanal community in late sixteenth-century London. Taken as a whole, these self-narratives coming from the artisan community, or any other social group, can be "valuable testimonies to the kind of self image current in [this] particular milieu".[112]

Early modern English self-narratives, according to Burke, were meant to be outward expressions of the writers' social selves. Most writers display deliberate "strategies and conventions of 'self-presentation', 'self-stylization' and 'impression management'. They are not only interested in the person but also in the 'persona', the mask which the individual wears in public, the role which he or she is playing".[113] Therefore, Burke draws upon several analytical notions which have addressed these early modern strategies of self-invention, including Stephen Greenblatt's concept of *self-*

---

[109]   Burke, "Representations", p. 27.
[110]   Burke, "Representations", p. 26-27.
[111]   Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* Reprint edition, Hants, England: Wildwood House, 1988.
[112]   Burke, "Representations", p. 21
[113]   Burke, "Representations", p. 18.

fashioning,[114] Erving Goffman's concepts of *self-presentation* and *impression management*,[115] and Michael Mascuch's concept of the autobiography as *performance*.[116] All of these notions, in different ways, argue that the concept of the self is a historical, cultural and linguistic construct, and that the early modern English writers reconstructed and invented themselves according to the sociocultural norms of their time and social milieus. These notions about Renaissance self-fashioning have helped the present study to better see the rhetorical function of emotion narratives in travel books, as will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Burke maintains that this diversity in the notions of the self sometimes exhibits itself in individual texts. Most, if not all, English Renaissance self-narratives are polyphonic, in Mikhail Bakhtin's term: they display different *voices* in the same text and different conflicting egos among which the writer moves.[117] These voices are not limited to the fictional or historical characters in the narratives; they also include the participants in the autobiographical communicative act, including those who may have helped in writing the text, such as editors, confessors, secretaries, scribes, and intended/expected audiences. This polyphonic structure is evident in Dallam's travel journal, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, Dallam invents himself within a web of characters who hold different principles, political ideologies, and personalities from his own.

It is conventional among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English autobiographical writers to explicitly state their authorial motivations for self-writing.[118] "Occasions for writing are often described in the opening passage, taking the form of what rhetoricians describe as the *captatio*

---

[114] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.*
[115] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p. 152; Goffman Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.
[116] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152; Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.
[117] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150; Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays.* Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1981.
[118] Burke, "Representations", p. 22

benevolentiae".[119] Burke classifies these authorial motivations into two types. A very common one is what Burke calls the "modesty formula", where the writer professes that he wrote his text upon the request or the order of someone, a son, a disciple, or a patron.[120] The second type is the "immodest formula": it is rare among English writers to state that they wrote their texts out of pride in their abilities or achievements.[121] In the memoirs of prisoners, or those living in the country, "life writing is justified by the need to avoid boredom or pass the time".[122] A significant motive in many texts is writing for family and children. Burke interprets these authorial "formulae" as the signs for "the survival of a prejudice against writing about oneself". Writers, especially those from marginalized groups, like "the case of artisans" and "that of women", had to provide strong reasons for writing down their lives. This also explains why "so many texts remained in manuscript and circulated only among family and friends".[123] The case study on Dallam's travel journal in this thesis stands as a counter-example to Burke's observations on authorial motivation statements. Dallam does not provide any explicit statement on his motives for writing his text.

Burke argues that self-representations in English texts are neither "transparent" nor "self-revealing".[124] He claims that the language and rhetoric of the text are essential cues to reading the notions of the self in an autobiography.[125] Therefore, he asserts that historical contextualization is not sufficient to unfold the self-representation patterns in early modern English self-narratives. Linguistic contextualization, by looking closely at rhetorical strategies and "the language used

---

[119] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.154; The definition of the term *captatio benevolentiae* is "Of the rhetorical methods essential to convince and persuade listeners, the *captatio benevolentiae* is one of the most effective. Cicero saw it as one of the pillars upon which the entire edifice of oratory art is based (De or. 2,115). It is concerned with a moderate incitement of feelings, with particular emphasis on the ethical qualities of the orator and his *cliens*". Source: Lucia Calboli Montefusco, "Captatio benevolentiae", *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. 18 February 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/captatio-benevolentiae-e226810>
[120] Burke, "Representations", p. 22; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.154
[121] Burke, "Representations", p. 22.
[122] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155.
[123] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155.
[124] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152.
[125] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.

during the period itself", is a necessity as well.[126] In the early seventeenth century, there was a wide circulation of "manuals teaching readers how to write a good letter", and "books on the art of travel explained how to keep a record of new experiences", but "there were no treatises on the art of self-writing".[127] This left autobiographical writers with a space for literary creativity. They chose between a variety of styles of "prose" or "verse"; "formal" or "private"; "elaborate" or "plain".[128]

According to Burke, "the teaching of rhetoric formed an important part of education in the seventeenth century" in England.[129] Therefore, one should be attentive to the rhetoric of self-representation in English autobiographies which exhibit elaborate narrative structures and convoluted plots.[130] Burke distinguishes four popular narrative models in the seventeenth century: (1) "the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar" model; (2) "the book-keeping" model, which was common among merchants and artisans; (3) "the romance" model, which includes chivalric and picaresque romances; and (4) the "religious" model, which was influenced by the lives of saints, monks, and the biblical narratives on Job, Jesus, and Paul, as the models for "suffering".[131] These narrative models influenced the seventeenth-century English writers' self-representation modes in two ways. First, they complicated the plots of their life-stories.[132] For example, in the "spiritual" texts, "the most common plots included conversion, the progress from sinner to saint, and the overcoming of trials and tribulations";[133] "in secular texts, the plot of unjust disgrace is a recurrent one; while the movement from captivity to freedom is a major theme in [...] the sub-genre of captivity narratives".[134] The case study of Dallam will exhibit the fact that some, or all, of these narrative models can work together in one text. Second, writers idealised and mythologised their self-

---

[126]   Burke, "Representations", p. 19; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[127]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155, he cites one "possible exception of John Beadle's *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian*, published in 1656".
[128]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.156.
[129]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[130]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.157.
[131]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.157-8.
[132]   Burke, "Representations", p. 23.
[133]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.158.
[134]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.158.

representation, "in terms of a more general model, of glory, disgrace, innocence and so on [...], or even of the life of another individual in history or fiction".[135] All of the above-reviewed observations on the genre conventions, language, and rhetorical strategies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English self-narratives have provided the present study with cues for the analysis of Thomas Dallam's travel journal.

I.2.ii. Arabic Self-narrative Genres: *Tarjama* and *Sira*

The work of Dwight Reynolds is very important for the study of Arabic self-narratives.[136] His work is now seen to be the classic study of Arabic autobiographical literary genres, of the *Sīra* (Exemplary Life Story), *Ṭabaqāt* (Biographical Dictionary), and *Tarjama* (Biographical Notice).[137] Contrary to all the above-mentioned studies on self-narratives, Reynolds uses a narrow definition of autobiography, whereby "the text presents itself as a description or summation of the author's life, or a major portion thereof, as viewed retrospectively from a particular point in time".[138] So, in his studies, he excludes any other self-narrative genres. However, recent studies by Torsten Wollina, Ralf Elger, and many others, have broadened the definition of Arabic autobiography to include travel books within their scope of interest, as will be reviewed in this section.

Arabic autobiographies, according to Reynolds, are 'orphan texts'.[139] Compared to other literary and non-literary genres, they have received less scholarly attention and have been disfigured by several uncultivated assumptions. First is the assumption that "autobiography is extremely rare in Arabic literature".[140] Consequently, scholars stopped their search for new sources, and treated the already better-known Arabic autobiographical texts as "anomalies rather than as part of a literary genre or

---

[135] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152.
[136] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self.*.
[137] See Chapter 2 "The Origins of Arabic Autobiography", in Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 36-51.
[138] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 10.
[139] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 26.
[140] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 26; for example, see: Edward Said, *Beginnings,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987, p. 81.

historical tradition".[141] Second is the repeatedly mentioned Burckhardtian assumption that autobiography is "a cultural product unique to modern western civilization".[142] However, Reynolds argue that this assumption has not only emerged from the Burckhardtian paradigm, but has also been reinforced through the works of Georges Gusdorf, Georges May, and Roy Pascal in the mid-twentieth century.[143] Reynolds also attributes this fallacy to two studies by Georg Misch and Franz Rosenthal.[144] These two serious studies on pre-modern Arabic autobiographies were never "superseded in more than half a century of subsequent scholarship".[145] Misch and Rosenthal introduced the Arabic autobiography genres to the European academia; the texts which they collected, translated, and analysed in their studies "became an accepted canon in scholarly circles".[146] However, they both argued that Arabic autobiographical writing lacks any sense of individuality or depictions of the writers' personal lives.[147] These scholars created what Reynolds call "the Fallacy of Western origin".[148]

So, in response to this fallacy, Reynolds worked collaboratively with nine co-authors. He compiled "a corpus of roughly one hundred forty Arabic autobiographical texts drawn from a period of just over one thousand years, from the ninth to the nineteenth century".[149] This relatively large corpus enables him to draw a solid historical study on the autobiographical genre and sub-genres in the Arabic literary tradition, and to identify its significant generic and sociocultural conventions. Out of

---

[141]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 28.
[142]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 17.
[143]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 17; See: Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography", in James Olney (ed.), *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 29; Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 22; Georges May, *L'autobiographie*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979, p. 17-25.
[144]   Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, Trans. E. W. Dicks, 2 vol. London: Routledge [1950], 2002. Original study in German is Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4 vols, Bern and Frankfurt: A. Francke and Gerhard Schultke-Bulmke, 1949–69; Franz Rosenthal, "Die Arabische Autobiographie", *Analecta Orientalia* 14 (1937):. 1–40. Misch was interested in the ancient Middle-Eastern self-narrative genres, including "the tomb-inscriptions of the Egyptians" (p. 20), the "records of deeds of Babylonian and Assyrian rulers" (p. 30), and the "first-personal narrative in ancient Oriental Tales" (p. 46). Rosenthal presented the first extensive study on Arabic autobiography.
[145]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 25.
[146]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 25.
[147]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 23; Misch, *A History of Autobiography*, p. 19.
[148]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 17.
[149]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 6.

this corpus he focuses on "a selection of thirteen previously untranslated Arabic autobiographical texts that represent a variety of historical periods and literary styles".[150] He closely studies the textual features and the genre conventions of each text.

Reynolds' survey and analysis of the Arabic autobiographies have largely contributed to the present study in several ways. Initially, he gives significant attention to four late medieval and early modern autobiographies by Fray Anselmo Turmeda, 'Abd Allāh al-Turjumān (1352–1432?),[151] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445–1505),[152] al-'Aydarūs (1570–1628),[153] and Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (1696–1772).[154] His observations on these texts are relevant to the historical period under study in this thesis.

Furthermore, he attends to the writings of Andalusian and Magharibi autobiographers. His corpus includes the eleventh-century autobiography of Prince Ibn Buluggīn, "the last member of the Berber Zīrid dynasty to rule the kingdom of Granada in southern Spain",[155] in the fourteenth-century autobiography of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī.[156] His observations on the Andalusian texts are an eye-opener in terms of the recurrent themes, social and textual conventions, and culturally specific issues which are related to al-Andalus and the Arabic West, the sub-culture which is focused on in the course of the case study on al-Ḥajarī (Chapter 3).

For example, he discusses the autobiography of the Spanish Catholic, Fray Anselmo Turmeda, who converted to Islam with the name Abd Allāh al-Turjumān (1352–1432?). Turmeda's *Tuhfat al-arīb*[157] *fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb* (A Treatise of Riposte to the People of the Cross) exhibits similar

---

[150]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 6.
[151]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 194.
[152]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 202.
[153]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 208.
[154]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 216.
[155]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 74.
[156]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.
[157]   In Reynolds, the title is transliterated as *al-adīb*. The title of the book is listed in *http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009031751*, and in the British Library catalogue as *al-arīb*

textual strategies of self-representation as al-Ḥajarī's travel book. Both texts, as will be further studied in Chapter 3, are polemical works "that reaffirm in different rhetorical terms the transformation undergone by the author in the conversion narrative itself. Conversion autobiographies have a very intimate engagement both with convincing the reader that the story told is true and with persuading the reader that the path taken is the path of truth".[158] Although al-Ḥajarī was not a convert from Christianity to Islam, he was an immigrant from the abode of Christianity to the abode of Islam, and this might be seen as a form of conversion, and may explain his polemical strategies of self-fashioning.

In addition to his focus on early modern Arabic autobiographies, particularly Andalusian texts, Reynolds approach to study "personality and self" in Arabic autobiographical writing is deemed sociological. He reaches a conclusion similar to that of all the above-surveyed studies by Davis, Jancke, Ulbrich, and Burke on the European self-narratives. His analysis illuminate the relation between the concept of the 'person' and social networks. Early modern Arabic autobiographical writers also "portray themselves both as distinct individuals and as participants in various significant relationships".[159] Among these relations, person-family and teacher-student are the most dominant "vertical" relations in the texts. However, "'lateral' relationships with one's siblings, fellow students, friends, and colleagues" are very few, and the client-patron relationship is the rarest.[160] A husband-wife relationship is portrayed in the ninth-century text of al-Tirmidhī's.[161]

Moreover, Reynolds' analysis focuses on the modes of self-representation and the authors' use of rhetoric to construct their selves.[162] He points out four "recurring" devices: "portrayals of childhood failures, portrayals of emotions through the description of action, dream narratives as reflections of

---

[158] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 194.
[159] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 244.
[160] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 244.
[161] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 79 and p. 119-131.
[162] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 243.

moments of authorial anxiety, and poetry as a discourse of emotions".[163] Reynolds points out that

pre-modern Arabic autobiographical writers displayed their emotions as an aspect of their persona.

Several examples project "overt portrayals of dramatic moments in [the authors'] emotional

lives".[164] Most of these examples involve the death of a son, a daughter, or a parent.[165] Other

examples include the autobiography of Al-'Aydarūs, who cites his own poetry on sorrow, pain, and

love,[166] and the autobiography of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, which has several narratives on anxiety,

fear, and grief.[167]

These four emotion devices for self-presentation are closely connected to the core of this thesis, the

use of emotions in fashioning and negotiation the self in early modern travel books, as will be

further discussed in the next chapter. They have illuminated not only the case study on al-Ḥajarī,

but also the analysis of Evliya Çelebi's use of dream narratives to fashion his yearning to travel

(Chapter 5).

Reynolds argues that emotions in the Arabic autobiographical texts are not limited to vocabularies;

writers act out and perform their emotions in the text. For example, sending for "a holy man to

come and pray for [someone's] recovery [is] a testament to the state of fear prevailing in the

household";[168] visiting a shrine or reciting a specific Sura (chapter) in the Qur'an are all

performative evocations of emotions.[169] In this respect, emotions, as will be discussed in detail in

Chapter 2, are presented as 'performances' and 'rituals', and their interpretations require a shared

understanding among the members of the authors' communities, as well as the readers.

---

[163]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 243.
[164]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.
[165]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.
[166]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 209.
[167]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 88.
[168]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 88.
[169]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 87.

In all of the above points, Reynolds, more or less, touches upon the same issues raised by Jancke, Ulbrich, and Burke. However, he only addresses the autobiographical communicative act from the authorial perspective. He does not address the roles of the intended audience, the historical context, or the situation of writing the text in shaping the autobiographical text. He treats literary conventions and textual strategies in isolation from their communicative functions. He acknowledges that his study "has not attempted to situate each text deeply within the specific context of the individual life and literary production of each author".[170]

A decade after Reynolds' pioneering and classic study, a group of researchers, most of them affiliated to Dutch and German institutes, introduced the terms 'ego-document' and 'self-narratives' to Turkish, Arabic, and Persian self-narratives.[171] Their definition of the term 'autobiography' is broad; they encompass "all kinds of texts: stories of a whole life, short personal notices, and everything in between. Authors and narrators who seemingly displayed deep emotional insights were presented along with those who described simple outward aspects of their lives".[172] Their studies address different Oriental self-narrative genres, including *Tarjama*, travel books, "autobiographical *maqāmāt* (little anecdotes in a highly refined style)", and marginalia.[173] They maintain that individuality should encompass "all kinds of egos speaking" in all forms, styles, or genres.[174] Their edited volume includes four studies on Arabic self-narratives, but none of them addresses the early modern period. Elger's study on the medieval Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue discusses the rhetoric and the communicative function of 'lying' in travel writing and the way in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa' used his 'skill as a plagiariser' to fashion himself to his audience, including the Sultan of Fez.[175] The other three studies are on late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts, and fall beyond

---

[170] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 241.
[171] Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010.
[172] Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse, "Introduction", in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self*, p. 7.
[173] Elger and Köse, "Introduction", p. 8-9.
[174] Elger and Köse, "Introduction", p. 8.
[175] Elger, Ralf, "Lying, Forging, Plagiarism: Some Narrative Techniques in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travelogue," in Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self,* p. 71–87.

the scope of the present study. The studies also do not focus on emotion narratives or emotions as a rhetorical device for self-fashioning.

One recent study by Torsten Wollina is on the late fifteenth-century diary of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq. The title of his text is *al-Taʾlīq*.[176] Wollina states that the narrator constructs himself by showing his involvement with and affiliation to certain social, religious, and political groups. Wollina also points out that these self-representations are intentionally crafted to conform to the norms, values, and conventions of the author's intended audience.[177] He studies Ibn Ṭawq's self-representation, in relation to three social networks: the community of the ʾulamā in Damascus, the author's neighbourhood, and the household. Wollina's study, as well as the above-reviewed studies by Reynolds, Elger and Köse, serve to illustrate how methodological approaches and scholarly attitudes towards Arabic self-narratives have begun moving towards a more sociocultural and textual focus. They also project the cultural diversity of concepts such as 'self' and 'individuality' in Arabo-Islamic cultures, a topic that needs more scholarly attention.

I.2.iii. Ottoman Self-narratives

In relation to the third case study on Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme* (the Book of Travels), this section is a review of the works of scholars on Ottoman self-narratives in the early modern period, which is chronologically part of what is known among the Ottomanists as the pre-*Tanzimat* period.[178] The classical works of Cemal Kafadar and Suraiya Faroqhi on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century self-narratives employ sociocultural concepts and textual approaches which correspond to the methodological approaches of the above-reviewed studies on German, English, and Arabic self-

---

[176] Ibn Ṭāwq, Shihab al-Dīn Ahmad, At-Taʿlīq, ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhajir, 4 vol., Damascus 2000–2007.

[177] Torsten Wollina, "Ibn Tawq's Taʿlīq. An Ego-Document for Mamlūk Studies", in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus?: Mamluk Studies–State of the Art*, Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2013, p. 337-362.

[178] "[T]he Tanzimat (1839-1876, literally the "ordering" of the empire), a period when the Ottoman state sought to redefine itself as more than an Islamic dynasty, as a modern, bureaucratic, and tolerant state – a partner of the West rather than its adversary" (p. 770) , Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 3 (June 2002): 768-796, Available on <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532495>

narratives. Following Kafadar and Faroqhi, a number of recent studies of Ottoman self-narratives by Jan Schmidt, Aslı Niyazioğlu, Hatice Aynur, and Michael Nizri have appeared.[179] These studies have paid attention to self-representations in mystic dream narratives, emotions, and humour in Ottoman self-narratives. They also address self-representations and the networks of power in early modern Istanbul.

Cemal Kafadar argues that the study of Ottoman self-narratives were, for a long time, treated with "neglect" and "disdain", for three reasons.[180] First, most researchers approached early modern Ottoman texts using a "traditional dualistic framework".[181] Within this approach, texts were treated as either "courtly" or "popular".[182] Courtly texts were seen as "high, learned, orthodox, cosmopolitan, polished, artificial, stiff, inaccessible to the masses",[183] while popular texts were seen as "folk, tainted with unorthodox beliefs-practices and superstitions, but pure and simple in the sense of preserving 'national' spirit, natural, honest".[184] This approach has helped in identifying the linguistic and literary practices among the two extreme groups in the early Ottoman culture.[185] However, Kafadar objects to the excessive use of this approach because it has overshadowed the textual richness of the Ottoman self-narratives, and "the variegated spectrum of expressive dynamism lying between those two poles".[186]

Second, the study of self-narratives was deeply influenced by two forms of positivism: the historical and the Kemalist. The historical positivist attitude towards self-narratives emerged in the 1940s when the Turkish government opened its National Archives to scholars. This opening, according to

---

[179] See Elger and Köse, *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self.*
[180] Cemal Kafadar. "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature". *Studia Islamica* (1989): 121-150 (p. 123).
[181] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.121,122.
[182] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.121.
[183] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.121.
[184] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.121.
[185] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.122.
[186] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.122.

Kafadar, led to a scholarly zeal for "hard, statistical data".[187] Historians overlooked self-narrative texts and focused on official, political, and military documents. Literary critics focused on the "formal aesthetic issues at a descriptive level" and neglected the sociocultural and historical contextualization for their texts.[188] The Kemalist positivist attitude emerged when the intellectuals and scholars who supported the ideologies of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made efforts to detach modern Turkey from its Ottoman past by undermining the Ottoman era.[189] Historians focused on particular "topics and sources" which served the purposes of "the Westernizing elite".[190]

The third reason why early modern Ottoman self-narratives were neglected by academics was the Burckhardtian claim that Ottoman literature, like Arabic or any non-Western literature, did not produce a body of personal writings and that the pre-modern Ottoman person lacked a sense of individuality.[191] Similarly, Suraiya Faroqhi argues that the Burckhardtian claim was an "ideological" factor for such long scholarly neglect of Ottoman self-narratives.[192] She argues that Burckhardt's concept of Western individualism has not only influenced European scholars, but also "Turkish writers, many of whom until recently also regarded values such as religion, nationalism or left-wing opinions much more highly than the expression of personal experiences".[193]

To these three reasons, Faroqhi adds a "technical reason", related to the hard archival work that a researcher has to put in, in order to locate Ottoman first-person narratives. She argues that self-narrative texts "have rarely been copied, and therefore in most cases are available only in a single manuscript. Even worse, such a manuscript may not be extant as a separate volume, but form part of

---

[187]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.122; Cemal Kafadar, "The New Visibility of Sufism in Turkish Studies and Cultural Life", in Raymond Lifchez (ed.), *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, no. 10)* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 307- 322 (p. 307).

[188]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.122.

[189]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.123.

[190]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.123.

[191]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 124.

[192]   Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 164.

[193]   Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History,* p. 164.

a set of miscellanea bound together (*mecmua*)".[194] Very often scholars find self-narrative texts hidden in these *mecmuas* by chance.

In an effort to discredit reductive and positivist approaches and claims, Kafadar, like Faroqhi, gears his attention to Ottoman self-narrative genres to pinpoint examples from seventeenth-century self-narratives and study their sociocultural context.[195] He uses "a selected group of original narrative sources of a personal nature produced in an urban milieu that defy being classified either as courtly or popular".[196] Kafadar's corpus includes different literary genres: diaries, travel books, *hatirat* (memoirs), autobiographies, captivity narratives, *Düşnāme* (dream books), *'arīẕas* (petitions to the Sultan), *menāḳibnāme* (Sufi and Saint hagiography genre), and *Tecelliyāt* (manifestations, revelations). Kafadar focuses his analysis on the shared textual features, themes, and conventions in these self-narrative genres. As mentioned earlier, the travel book is a 'genre of genres'; therefore, most of these genres exhibit themselves in Evliya's *Seyahatnâme.*

Kafadar clusters the analysis of his corpus around a diary by Seyyid Ḥasan, a dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul and a contemporary of Evliya Çelebi; they even studied Qur'an recitation under the same tutor.[197] The diary is titled *Ṣoḥbetnāme* and covers a period of four years of Seyyid Ḥasan's life (27 August 1661 to 13 July 1665).[198] Kafadar addresses Ḥasan's "social networks", his "web of spaces and forms of sociability", and his "day-to-day attitude to life".[199] Kafadar also compares Ḥasan's diary to the other Ottoman self-narrative genres to feature social variation in self-representation modes, which "reveal that others in Seyyid Ḥasan's milieu recorded their personal experiences with different emphases and in different form".[200] However, Kafadar

---

[194]   Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History,* p. 164.
[195]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 124.
[196]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 122.
[197]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 126
[198]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 124.
[199]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 125.
[200]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 127.

does not comment much on the authorial motivations for autobiographical writing. He only refers to their conventional place in the text as "an introductory chapter on the reasons and circumstances of its composition, called *sebeb-i te'lif*".[201] He also does not address the role of the intended/expected audience on the authors' self-representation strategies.

Kafadar's analysis of *Ṣoḥbetnāme* and other self-narrative texts has illuminated the reading of Evliya Çelebi in the present study. His brief comments on Sufi practices, dreams, emotions, humour and other sociocultural elements have shaped the arguments on Evliya's travel book. Kafadar observes several recurrent "themes related to Sufism", such as "mystical visions and experiences involving communication with God or the Prophet Muhammad",[202] and narratives on "the worldly and miraculous deeds, the words and visions of one's Şeyh [Sufi teacher]".[203] The influence of Sufism is, therefore, not only evident in the themes of the texts, but also in the social networks of the authors. Seyyid Hasan's self-presentation in *Ṣoḥbetnāme* evolved around his Sufi *Halveti-Sünbüli* order. His text "is a log of companionship",[204] where he registered his social activities as a member of a Sufi order: his dinner parties with fellow *Sünbülis,* "post-dinner get-togethers; festivities such as weddings and circumcision ceremonies; or sad ones like funerals inevitably followed by ritual *helvā*-eating and prayer ceremonies; joint visits to graveyards; friendly walks; coffee parties; social calls to other Sufi orders; visits to shops for errands or socializing; and certainly *zikir* sessions".[205] In his narrative, he tends to "overemphasize the sense of intimacy and of the close-knit character of this community of brethren (*ihvān*).[206]

In Kafadar's corpus, "dream-logs appear to constitute a sub-category in their own right in Ottoman

---

[201]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 137.
[202]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 127.
[203]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 127-128.
[204]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 141.
[205]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 142.
[206]   Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 141.

personal literature".[207] Two examples are from early eighteenth-century texts; one is from a fragment of a diary by "a *sancakbeyi* [governor of a *sanjak*]", who recorded "his travels or appointments", and "the alms he distributed".[208] He also "kept a record of his dreams, naming that part of his book 'Dream Book/*Düşnāme'*. In this section, he not only described his dreams, but also reported those that he claimed to have 'come true'".[209] Another example comes from the narrative of 'Asiye Hatun. She was "a woman from a Balkan town, records her dreams in the form of letters to her *Şeyh*. Feeling guilty about her loss of allegiance to a former *Şeyh*, and frequently dreaming of being married to a new one, she penned one of the rare Ottoman texts with a confessional bent".[210] The topic of mystical visions has been thoroughly studied by Aslı Niyazioğlu, who addresses the construction of the Sufi self by the means of mystical dreams.[211] Her work is thoroughly reviewed and linked to the analysis of Evliya Çelebi's Sufi dream in Chapter 5.

Emotions and humour are briefly addressed in Kafadar's analysis. He comments on "one of the rare passages where our diarist explicitly expresses his emotion".[212] When Seyyid Hasan wrote his diary, a plague was rife in Istanbul, and it caused the author to lose his "wife, two sons and a daughter in addition to various more distant relations and acquaintances".[213] Kafadar also foregrounds Seyyid Hasan's "funny shifts between the serious and the frivolous, between the solemn and the mundane"; these humorous shifts should be interpreted within the author's Sufi experience; they should be "read as signs of an inner harmony or of a stoic sensibility that does not make such distinctions".[214] However short these two comments may seem, they were, indeed, two of the most important inspirations for my analysis of Evliya Çelebi's text.

---

[207] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 130.
[208] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 129
[209] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 130.
[210] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p.130, See also Cemal Kafadar, "Mütereddit bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküp'lü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641–43", Topkapı Sarayı Mu¨zesi, Yıllık 5 (1992): 168–222.
[211] Niyazioğlu, "Dreams, Ottoman Biography Writing, and the Halveti-Sünbüli Şeyhs of 16th-Century Istanbul", in Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self,* 171-184.
[212] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 144.
[213] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 143.
[214] Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 145-146.

Other recent studies have focused on the representation of the self and its relation to the networks of power in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Suraiya Faroqhi explores the "autobiography of the Chief Architect Mimar Sinan", who projected his personality through his "disputes with powerful personages", including his patron the Grand Vizir when he was a janissary.[215] He also had several arguments with Sultan Süleyman during his work on the Süleymaniye mosque. Faroqhi uses Sinan's autobiography to reconstruct the social relationship between an artisan and the palace.[216]

Another example of the relation between self-representation and networks of power comes from a study on a seventeenth-century memoir, written by *Şeyhülislam* Feyzullah Efendi "the head of the Ottoman *'ulema* [Muslim theologians and scholars] hierarchy".[217] Feyzullah wrote his memoir in two texts, a year before his execution in 1703. Faroqhi uses the texts to explore the manner in which Feyzullah projects himself in relation to the Ottoman elite households and to Sultan Mustafa II, his former student. She points out the practices of "nepotism" through "marriage arrangements, family pride and the ways by which the careers of sons and protégés could be advanced by a high Ottoman official".[218] In a different study on the memoirs of *Şeyhülislam* Feyzullah, Michael Nizri contextualizes the text by looking at the sociopolitical dynamics which led to the rise of Feyzullah's household in elite Ottoman society.[219] Nizri identifies the power-based relations between the head of a household and his extended family, his in-laws, his Sufi order, and his community of the *'ulema*. Networks of power were also crucial for Evliya Çelebi, who was raised in the Ottoman court and served within these circles of power, as is further studied in Chapter 5.

---

[215] Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History,* p. 164.

[216] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*, London: I. B.Tauris, 2009. p 59-60.

[217] Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History,* p. 165; See also Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Ulema Grandee and His Household", *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 9 (1989): 199-208.

[218] Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History,* p. 165.

[219] Michael Nizri, "The Memoirs of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi (1638–1703): Self, Family and Household", in Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self,* pp. 27-36; see also Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Conclusion

The main argument in this chapter is that early modern travel books, besides their functions as historical and ethnographic documents, can productively be read as self-narratives. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travellers enriched their travel books with personal narratives on their emotions, mystic dreams, humour, companionship, family relations, etc. These embedded subjective experiences qualify travel books to become sources for the study of the early modern history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self.

The chapter has focused on two issues. First, in Section 1.1, is a discussion on a methodological and conceptual approach to reading self-narratives as social practices and as communicative acts. The present study has relied on this approach to contextualize the three early modern texts which focus on the Mediterranean world: al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, Thomas Dallam's *Diary*, and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*. As will be illustrated in each case study, the textual analysis starts with a close reading of the travel book as a communicative act, including the traveller's authorial intention, his intended/expected audience, and the social situation in which he wrote his text. In addition, the analysis involves a close reading of the traveller's respective social, professional, religious, and gender networks. This step helps to pinpoint the social relationships and power networks within which the traveller embeds himself, as well as the social networks from which the traveller distances himself. This approach situates the travel book's context of production and its larger historical and sociopolitical context. It also illuminates the traveller's modes and strategies of self-representation.

Second, in Section 1.2, is a discussion on the sociocultural variations and meanings of personhood across cultures and communities. Studies on early modern English, Arabic, and Ottoman self-narratives, particularly the classical works of Burke, Reynolds, and Kafadar respectively, highlight

that autobiographical writing has existed in various forms and literary traditions. These studies have presented the main keys to reading self-narratives in each cultural context that will be discussed in the course of the thesis. Their discussions on recurrent themes, genre conventions, rhetorical and narrative devices, authorial motivations, and possible social and power networks in each culture have enlightened the reading of al-Ḥajarī's, Dallam's, and Evliya's travel accounts.

This transcultural approach to reading travel books as self-narratives is an essential step before raising questions about the travellers' self-consciousness or their use of emotions as strategies to self-representation. However, there is still a list of methodological and conceptual questions on the ways to approach emotions as an aspect of "a person" in a self-narrative to be answered. As examples, What are emotions? How should we read structures and patterns of emotions in the three case studies?[220] What are the roles played by the authors' bodies, objects, relationships, and bonds? Do they use emotions to construct themselves according to ideal-typical models and hence tell us something about the values and the norms of their communities, or do they present themselves as the antithesis to the existing order in their cultures?[221] In the next chapter, answers to these questions emerge from the studies of several historians, anthropologists, and linguists on the textual and cultural construction of emotions.

---

[220]   Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 32.
[221]   Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 31-32.

Chapter Two

Emotions in Early Modern Travel Books

The literature on the early modern rihla, travel, and seyahat genres, as reviewed in the previous chapter, shows a number of predominant research strands. Scholars have mostly addressed the journeys 'as having actually happened' and the travellers' accounts as being of objective, historical, and real events. They read the travellers' accounts for information on food, fashion, houses, gardens, furniture, art objects, and other forms of material culture. They also discuss the travellers' collectivist attitudes and perceptions of other cultures and cultural groups. In all of these research trends, less scholarly attention is paid to emotions and other subjective elements like dreams, humour, social networks (travellers' relation to their families, patrons, fellow Sufi seekers, or fellow crewmen, etc.), or social roles (the traveller as a father, as a travel companion, as a host, as a lover, etc.). The focus on objective elements has overshadowed travel as a subjective experience and travel writing as a self-narrative, a communicative act, and a social practice.

In this thesis, I join forces with a recent wave of studies on self-narratives and ego-documents as sources for the history and cultural diversity of emotions in the medieval and early modern periods.[1] I argue that early modern travel books have the potential to be sources for the study of emotions. Early modern travellers narrate their journeys as emotionally protean experiences. They associate emotions with the contexts of their journeys, their volition to travel, and their authorial motives to write about their journeys. Their varied forms of travel experiences, including expulsion, emigration, captivity, diplomatic missions, trade journeys, spiritual pilgrimage, or mystic vagabondage, reveal varied forms of emotions. In addition, travel books, as the three case studies in

---

[1]   Claudia Ulbrich, "Self-Narratives as a Source for the History of Emotions", in Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley (eds.), *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures 1450-1800*, London and New York: Routledge, 2014, pp, 59-71; Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson(eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

this thesis should exemplify, have the merit of yielding uncommon notions of emotions, namely the emotions of encounter. A love story between a Muslim traveller and a Catholic girl, an English craftsman's anxiety at the court of an Ottoman Sultan, a disgusting meal in a foreign land, are just a few examples of emotions which are unlikely to be read in any genre but a travel book. In all of these forms of emotionalities, travellers act as lovers, enviers, desirers, disgusting fools, and passionate travellers. They narrate themselves as the protagonists of emotional interactions with threatening enemies, enticing beloveds, faced with menacing events, or in stomach-turning situations both within and across their cultures. Their narratives are 'emotions in motion'.[2]

However, the questions around these displayed emotions in the travel books are not, and can never be, about the travellers' sincerity. These narratives say more about the role of the traveller's culture in defining emotion and in regulating emotion display than about how the traveller 'really' felt.[3] We can only describe and unfold the "norms, codes, and modes of expression rather than feelings".[4] And in this sense, a traveller's culture shapes his emotional discourse: how he defines, categorizes and constructs emotions, which emotions are to be expressed, and which expressions are acceptable. A close textual analysis of these narratives reveals that the meaning and function of these displayed emotions revolve around the traveller's community affiliation, religion, and ideology and other culture-specific discourses and practices such as Sufism, folk medicine, myths, folk traditions, natural and geographical phenomena, cultural scripts, social norms, and power relations.[5] In a nutshell, reading the travellers' discourses on emotions means reading many cultural aspects of the early modern world.

---

[2]   Michael A. Di Giovine and David Picard, 'Conference Review: Emotions in Motion: The passions of Tourism, Travel and Movement', *Journeys*, Vol.11, No. 2, 2010: 99-102.

[3]   Gretchen Peterson, "Cultural Theory and Emotions", in Jan E. Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*, New York: Springer, 2006, pp.114-134; Illouz, Eva, Daniel Gilon, and Mattan Shachak, "Emotions and Cultural Theory", in Jan E. Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*, Vol. 2, Springer, 2014, pp. 221-244.

[4]   Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle ages*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, [2006] 2007. p. 193.

[5]   Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotions*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

In this chapter, I discuss how the present study approaches emotion in the travel accounts of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya. In Section 2.1, Emotion, History, and Culture, I give a brief survey **of** the major paradigms and approaches to historical and ethnographic research on emotions. I focus on how these approaches have responded to several issues on the historical and cultural nature of emotion. Then, in Section 2.2, Communities, Styles, and Selves, I draw on three analytical notions: 'emotional communities', 'emotional styles' and 'emotional self-fashioning'. These notions have been coined and developed by a number of historians and anthropologists to organize and guide the analysis of "emotions in the texts of the past".[6] The present study has relied on these three notions in developing the research questions and organizing the textual analysis of the three case studies.

Then, in Section 2.3, Emotions and Language, I describe the text analysis method employed to interpret emotion representations in the text. The present study uses a close textual analysis of the parts of language where emotions are displayed and the narrative construction of emotions. Analysis of emotion vocabularies is probably the most common method in historical and ethnographic research on emotions.[7] In the present study, I also integrate narrative, intertextual, and contextual analyses of texts into the analysis of emotions. Lastly, in Section 2.4, I state the rationale for focusing on the seventeenth-century Mediterranean and for selecting al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya as the three case studies.

2.1. Emotion, History, and Culture

Emotions, according to many scholars, are "a notorious problem"[8], "one of the most elusive

---

[6]   Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions", *History Compass* Vol. 8, No. 8 (2010): 828-842 (p. 828).
[7]   Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", *Passions in Context* Vol. 1, No. I (2010): pp. 1-32, online at < http://www.passionsincontext.de/>.
[8]   Klaus R. Scherer, "What are Emotions? And How can they be Measured?" *Social Science Information* Vol. 44 No. 4: 695–729(p. 695), online at: http://ssi.sagepub.com/content/44/4/695

concepts",[9] and "virtually impossible to define, except in terms of conflicting theories".[10] Despite this common complaint, the study of emotions has occupied scholars from various disciplines in the humanities, social, and natural sciences. Scholars within each discipline have brought out the biological, neurological, philosophical, psychological, cognitive, cultural, and historical aspects of emotions.[11] In each discipline, scholars offer varied views on the nature of emotions.[12] The result of this multi-disciplinary attention is a tremendous amount of theories on emotions.[13]

Similarly, within the historical and ethnographic research on emotions, different paradigms have emerged, and are still emerging, to resolve theoretical issues on how to approach emotions in cultures and texts from the past. These paradigms are united in some respects and conflicting in others. They all unite against the 'universalist' assumption that emotions are biological phenomena shared by all human beings.[14] These paradigms also unite against the 'presentist' view which claims that humans' experience of emotions does not change across history, that "today's emotions were the emotions of the past and will remain those of the future".[15] Joining forces with anthropologists and cultural theorists, "historians of emotions share the conviction that culture gives some shape to emotional life and that consequently, feelings vary across time and culture".[16] Research efforts have been geared towards "subjecting discourses on emotion, subjectivity, and the self to scrutiny over time, looking at them in particular social locations and historical moments, and seeing whether and

9   Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles - Concepts and Challenges", *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 2012):161-175 (p. 161).
10   Paul R. Kleininna Jr., and Anne M. Kleininna, 'A Categorized List of Emotion Definitions, with Suggestions for a Consensual Definition', *Motivation and Emotion*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1981): 345- 379 (p. 345).
11   Rom Harré and W. Gerrod Parrott (eds.) Parrott, *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions*, London: Sage, 1996; Robert Solomon (ed.), *What is an Emotion?: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition.
12   See for example the different theories and approaches in psychology and sociology in Randolph R. Cornelius, "Theoretical Approaches to Emotion", *ISCA Tutorial and Research Workshop (ITRW) on Speech and Emotion*, 2000; Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets, "Sociological Theories of Human Emotions", *Annual Review of Sociology* (2006): 25-52 (p. 25).
13   Robert Solomon (ed.), *What is an Emotion?*
14   Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", p. 1.
15   Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", p. 4.
16   Susan J. Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History, Or, Doing History from the Inside out", *Emotion Review,* Vol. 3, No. 1 (2011): 117–24 (p. 117).

how they have changed".[17]

However, these historical paradigms take two different stances on the claim that the history of emotions in the West is 'progressive',[18] as this only accounts for how the European individual developed from a premodern emotionally irrational person into a modern emotionally self-disciplined person.[19] This progressive view has dominated historical and ethnographic research on emotions "from the time of Jacob Burckhardt in the late 19th century until the 1970s".[20] This paradigm has been augmented by a series of studies by canonical scholars. For example, historian Johan Huizinga has suggested that the middle ages were a period of "childish emotional maturity",[21] while late medieval period and early modernity "constituted a kind of apprenticeship for modern individualism".[22] Historical sociologist Norbert Elias, in his seminal study *The Civilizing Process,[23]* argues that the European individual learned "to control and restraint" his manners and his emotions.[24] Moreover, the progressive view has been reinforced by the French historian, Lucien Febvre, "the so-called father of the history of emotions",[25] and his fellow historians of the French *Annales* school during the 1940s.[26] They focus on the history of *mentalités* and "pioneered the historical investigation of emotions".[27] However, Reddy pinpoints that some of their works reverse the direction of progress, arguing that modernity was "an awakening of feeling rather than its mastery". For example, Philippe Ariès argues that premodern families did not express love of their

---

[17] Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotions,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 5.
[18] William M. Reddy, "Historical research on the self and emotions", *Emotion Review* Vol.1, No. 4 (2009): 302-315 (p. 302).
[19] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History", *The American Historical Review* Vol. 107, No. 3 (2002): 821-845 (p. 827).
[20] Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", p. 302.
[21] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions", *History Compass* Vol. 8, No..8 (2010): 828-842 (p. 828).
[22] Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", p. 302.
[23] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Edmund Jephcott, Trans., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers [1939], 2000.
[24] Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions", p. 829.
[25] Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley, *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures 1450-1800*, London: Routledge, 2014, p. 3.
[26] For a survey on the *Annalist* school see Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* pp. 62-70.
[27] Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History", p. 118.

children or sorrow over their death and that "the love of children" was invented by modern elite families in the late eighteenth century.[28]

Rosenwein explains that the view on emotions as inner entities that can be controlled and restrained derives from "the hydraulic view" of emotions. This hydraulic perspective holds that "emotions are like great liquids within each person, heaving and frothing, eager to be let out".[29] This view, which was popular during the times of Huizinga, Elias, Febvre, and the *Annales* historians, is a twofold model. It has a folk side coming "from medieval medical notions of the humors" and an academic root in the Darwinian and Freudian views of emotions "as energy" and as "impulses" that can be controlled.[30] The influence of this view still has traces in the emotion metaphors of many languages.[31]

However, this progressive 'grand narrative' has fallen out of fashion since the 1970s.[32] Reddy attributes this dramatic change to several factors including the rise of the ethnographic micro-historical approach, the advent of gender studies, the Foucauldian concept of discourse, Stephen Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning, and Jurgen Habermas' theory of public/private spheres.[33] Reddy argues that these factors have deeply influenced the methodologies and conceptualization of emotions and self in historical studies.

Rosenwein, however, attributes the change to the social construction theory of emotions.[34] This theory postulates that "each culture has patterns of emotions that are somewhat distinctive, that derive from societal practices, and that convey meanings and effects to members of that culture".[35]

---

[28]   Jarzebowski and Safley, *Childhood and Emotion*, pp. 1-3.
[29]   Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", p. 834.
[30]   Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", pp. 834-35.
[31]   Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", p. 836.
[32]   Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", p. 303; Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", p. 836.
[33]   Reddy, "Historical research on the self and emotions", pp. 303-304.
[34]   Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", p. 9.
[35]   Keith Oatley, "Social Construction in Emotions," in Michael Lewis and Jeanette M. Haviland (eds), *Handbook of*

This constructionist view acknowledges the bio-psychological aspects of emotions; however, it reinforces the idea that emotions are socially constructed and historically situated discourses. Although the theory emerged in the realms of cognitive psychology and the sociology of emotions, it has taken "new directions from cultural theory".[36] Clifford Geertz's interpretive theory of culture as interrelated systems of meaning has turned emotions into signs and symbols which derive their definitions, expressions, and functions from their relations to other cultural domains.[37] Scholars emphasize "the critical role that culture plays in basic processes of labelling or defining our emotional experience".[38] Culture also regulates the display and performance of emotions and provides a framework for interpreting the meaning and social function of an emotion. The works of Cathrine Lutz, Lila Abu-Lughod and many other cultural anthropologists on emotions in non-Western cultures have established the study of emotions as a sociocultural phenomenon that varies across cultures.[39]

This socio-cultural turn and the interdisciplinary approaches in the study of emotions in history have resulted in many new paradigms and analytical notions within the historical and ethnographical research on emotions.[40] Three of these paradigms currently dominate the field,[41] providing analytical notions for approaching emotions in history and historical texts. Peter Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns coin the term "emotionology".[42] William Reddy proposes, in an analogy to Austin's performative utterances, the concept of "emotives" as a category of text analysis and the

Emotions, New York and London:Guilford Press, 1993, p. 341-352 (p. 341).

[36]   E. Doyle McCarthy, "The Social Construction of Emotions: New Directions from Culture Theory", *Sociology Faculty Publications,* Paper 4. (1994), online at http://fordham.bepress.com/soc_facultypubs/4

[37]   Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White, "The Anthropology of Emotions", *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1986): 405-436 (p. 405); Clifford Geertz (ed.), *The Interpretation of Cultures*,New York: Basic Books, (1973).

[38]   Peterson, "Cultural Theory and Emotions", p.114.

[39]   See Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*, Univ of California Press, 1999; Lutz and Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotions;* Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, p.8.

[40]   Matt, "Current emotion research in history", pp. 118-119?

[41]   Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns", *History and Theory* No. 49 (2010): 237–65.

[42]   Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards", *The American Historical Review* (1985): 813-836.

notion of "emotional regimes".[43] Barbara Rosenwein coins the notion of "emotional communities".[44] The three paradigms revolve around the relation between the cultural norms and standards of a society and emotion. Both Reddy and the Stearnses focus on emotions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and trace down the diachronic change in emotional norms, while Rosenwein focuses on synchronic variation in medieval emotions. The present study, as will be further discussed below, endorses Rosenwein's concept of 'emotional communities' as she focuses on emotion variation over "short time spans".[45]

2.2. Communities, Styles, and Selves

In this section I focus on three analytical notions for observing and approaching emotions in historical texts. The first is the notion of 'emotional communities, coined and developed by historian Barbara Rosenwein. This refers to "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value - or devalue - the same or related emotions".[46] The second is the notion of 'emotional styles' which refers to the social norms and the discourses that regulate the display, performance, and enactment of emotions among members of a community. In addressing this notion, I have relied on the definitions of the anthropologist Dewight Middleton, and the historians William Reddy and Benno Gammerl. The third notion is a modest variant of Stephen Greenblatt's notion of "self-fashioning".[47] It focuses on the role of emotions in constructing and dramatizing identities in texts. This variant is "emotional self-fashioning".[48]

I use these three notions together to form the following hypothesis: early modern travellers were

---

[43]   William M. Reddy,*The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
[44]   Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions"; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
[45]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p. 2.
[46]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p.2.
[47]   Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1980] 2005.
[48]   Edwina Hagen, "Fashioning the Emotional Self: The Dutch Statesman Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825) and the Cult of Sensibility," *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* [Online], Vol. 129, No. 2 (2014): 138-162.

members of one, or maybe more, 'emotional communities', and in their journeys they moved between other emotional communities, as well. The travellers constructed and displayed their emotions according to the cultural norms of their communities. In constructing their discourses on emotions, they adhered to the 'emotional styles' which were privileged by their communities or by their intended audiences. In their narratives, the travellers deliberately articulated these emotional styles in order to construct their public persona and to dramatize their identity, i.e. to achieve 'emotional self-fashioning'. The following sub-sections give more details on these three notions and better explain this argument.

2.2.1 Emotional Communities

The present study employs the notion of 'emotional communities' to interpret the variation of emotional patterns and practices in three seventeenth-century early modern Mediterranean travel books. The notion has been coined and developed by historian Barbara Rosenwein as an interpretative and analytical category to study emotions in history. The notion refers to "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value - or devalue - the same or related emotions".[49] Rosenwein proposed the notion for the first time in 2002 in her article "Worrying about Emotions in History".[50] In 2006, she published a seminal book titled *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*.[51] She has also published several articles identifying several "methodological tools to help historians more rigorously assess and work with emotions in the texts from the past".[52] She calls on scholars to use emotions as a category of analysis, just like "gender and ecology".[53]

Rosenwein defines emotional communities as:

---

[49]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p.2
[50]   Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History".
[51]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities.*
[52]   Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically", p.828; Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods".
[53]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* pp.1-2.

largely the same as social communities—families, neighborhoods, syndicates, academic institutions, monasteries, factories, platoons, princely courts. But the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling, to establish what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them (for it is about such things that people express emotions); the emotions that they value, devalue, or ignore; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.[54]

Rosenwein developed this definition of emotional communities to respond the universalist, the presentist, the progressive grand narrative, and the hydraulic views of emotions, as mentioned above.[55] Her definition asserts the sociological, cognitive, and linguistic aspects of emotions. She reinforces the idea that emotions are socially and culturally constructed, "norms within an emotional community".[56] She adopts Martha Nussbaum view on emotions as "upheavals of thought"[57] involving judgments and evaluations, and that emotion displays are subject to the community's rules.[58] The cultural norms and values of the community define, organize, and regulate the emotional life of the community. The phrase 'systems of feelings' is key to the notion of emotional communities. Rosenwein argues that interpreting emotional community goes "beyond any single emotion".[59] A community should be approached as a 'script' or web of emotions. Looking at clusters of two or more emotions unfolds the cultural norms and the privileged emotional styles in the community.

Rosenwein identifies a few qualities of emotional communities. First, she proposes that emotional communities are diverse. Within the larger sociocultural context, one may observe several heterogeneous emotional communities. Also, communities are versatile entities; they "may change over time. Some come to the fore to dominate our sources, then recede in importance. Others are almost entirely hidden from us, though we may imagine they exist and may even see some of their

---

[54] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", p. 11; Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", pp. 842-843.
[55] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", p. 2-5.
[56] Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically", p. 1
[57] Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
[58] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p. 193.
[59] Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically", p. 832.

effects on more visible groups".[60] An example of these hidden communities is evident in Evliya's frequent references to the "religious fanatics" of his time. Evliya's frequent references to these "humorless fanatics" lead us to speculate that they, compared to the Sufis, were not a dominant group, yet had influenced Evliya's larger sociocultural context. Such diversity, versatility, and interactivity of emotional communities opens the way for both diachronic and synchronic approaches to the study of emotions.

Rosenwein also suggests that emotional communities can fall into two types: pre-existent communities sharing one or more social feature (ethnicity, class, geography, etc.) or border-crossing communities. Examples of these types of emotional communities are evident in the travel accounts of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam and Evliya. In al-Ḥajarī's case study, one finds manifestations of the Maliki jurisprudence community which cuts across geography and bonds all Maliki followers in al-Andalus, North Africa, Egypt and the rest of the Islamic world. Sufi emotional communities also cut across geography, gender, class, and ethnicity. In Dallam, one observes the community of English working-class craftsmen. However, given their versatility, the status of a community may change from a pre-existent to a border-crossing one or conversely. For example, the Andalusian community in early modern Spain was a pre-existent emotional community that shared a religion, a nationality, and a historical experience. However, after the expulsion of Muslims from Spain in 1614, the community ceased to have the same geography and turned into a semi border-crossing community. The Andalusian community split into smaller groups scattered all over North Africa and Europe, each of which started a new historical and emotional experience. In the opposite direction, early modern metropolitan centres such as London, Istanbul, or Algiers in time turned into pre-existent communities for groups coming from all walks of life, ethnicities, religions, classes, and rural areas.

---

[60]   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p. 2.

Rosenwein proposes two strategies for discerning the cultural norms of an emotional community: first, "compiling a dossier" of canonical texts by "several different voices from the group".[61] The texts produced by the members of an emotional community exhibit the norms of and its privileged style(s). A second strategy, used in the present study, is to depend on one or several texts by the same author.[62] The author, after all, is part of his context, and "whatever [the author] wrote he addressed to others; and in those writings he evoked a whole universe of human behavior, obligations, ideals, follies, relations — and, at times, feelings".[63]

The concept of emotional communities has helped the present study to view early modern travel books in a different light. Al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya, like all people, are members of emotional communities and had the chance to travel through other emotional communities within and across their cultures. As they moved, they encountered and negotiated different emotional norms. Their discourse on emotions reflects these cultural norms. Tracing the diverse emotional communities in each case study breaks down the normative view of early modern travel as a mere move between two blocs: East and West; Islam and Christianity; Orient and Occident. The manifestations of 'hidden', 'dominant', 'pre-existent' and 'border-crossing' emotional communities in al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya exemplify the complexity of early modern emotional life.

2.2.2 Emotional Styles

Insofar as the cultural norms of an emotional community define, label, and categorize emotions, they provide a framework for the display, performance, and enactment of emotions among the members and social groups of the community. Culture regulates which emotions should be projected at a certain event (funeral, wedding, travel) or at a certain place (a courtroom, a royal court, a worshipping house, etc.). It also organizes the orientation of emotion display within a

---

[61] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", p. 12.
[62] See the case study on Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* pp. 79-99.
[63] Rosenwein,*Emotional Communities,* p. 80.

particular social group (a hierarchical family, an elderly-centred community, or a Sufi order) or a social relationship (student-teacher, husband-wife, patron-client). To describe such "formative and regulative role of culture in furnishing us with ordered emotional experiences", scholars have developed the notion of 'emotional style'.[64] Their interest is mainly in the social norms and discourses which govern the "overt, public side of emotions".[65]

There are several definitions of 'emotional styles'. They all share one fundamental idea that emotional styles are historically and culturally specific. However, each definition highlights a different angle of the notion. Dewight Middleton defines an "emotional style [as] the normative organization of emotions, their indigenous classification, form of communication, intensities of expression, contexts of expression, and patterns of linkage with each other and with other domains of culture".[66] For Eva Illouz, an emotional style is "the combination of the ways a culture becomes 'preoccupied' with certain emotions and devises specific 'techniques'—linguistic, scientific, ritual —to apprehend them".[67] Benno Gammerl defines emotional styles as the "diverging modes of thinking about, handling, generating and expressing emotions".[68] For William M. Reddy, emotional styles are "the enactments of a hegemonic discourse".[69] These four definitions combined illuminate how emotion display and performance are responsive to a community's discursive practices, power relations, and social norms.

There are two prevalent approaches to the historical and ethnographical study of emotional styles. The first focuses on the diachronic change or continuity of emotional styles.[70] Reddy, for example,

---

[64] Dewight R. Middleton, "Emotional Style: The Cultural Ordering of Emotions", *Ethos* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1989): 187-201(p. 188).
[65] In psychology, the term emotional style refers to the personal styles. In literary studies, it refers to the aesthetics of expression.
[66] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 188.
[67] Illouz, "Emotions and Cultural Theory",p. 227.
[68] Gammerl, "Emotional styles–concepts and challenges", p. 161.
[69] William M. Reddy, "Emotional Styles and Modern Forms of Life", in Nicole C. Karafyllis and Gotlind Ulshöfer, *Sexualized Brains: Scientific Modeling of Emotional Intelligence from a Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2008: 81-100 (p. 84).
[70] See Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History", p. 119-120.

argues that "emotional styles come and go, develop or decay, according to whether they work for communities".[71] The second, which is adopted in the present study, investigates the synchronic variation of styles within the same sociocultural context at a specific historical period.[72] Scholars study the interaction between "conflictual, competitive or otherwise mutually interdependent" emotional styles.[73] They also study the ways in which individuals and groups negotiate and adjust their emotion display within and across their communities.

The variation of these "simultaneous" emotional styles, as Gammerl suggests, is observed in categories: spatially defined and community defined styles. The former considers the relation between emotion display and space/place. Courtrooms, royal courts, prisons or any space of captivity, for example, demand and enhance different emotional patterns and performances.[74] The latter is tied to Barbara Rosenwein's notion of emotional community (discussed above). In travel narratives, there is a wide spectrum of both community based and spatially based emotional styles. The physical journey of the traveller between different communities (Muslim, Christian, aborigine, elite, working class, Sufi, and folk) and different spaces (royal courts, shipboard, prisons, markets) demands variations in styles.

The present study focuses on community based emotional styles and how the travellers employ these styles. Rosenwein suggests that emotional communities vary in their styles of emotion display and performance:

> Certain of these [communities] applauded histrionic expression, some privileged gestures or bodily symptoms. Certain communities gendered emotions. Some emotional communities overlapped (or were perceived by those living in them to overlap) with others nearby; others called forth very different, sometimes even antithetical, emotional configurations.[75]

---

[71] Reddy, "Emotional Styles", p. 85.
[72] Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", p. 162.
[73] Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", p. 162.
[74] Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", p. 164.
[75] Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", pp. 844-845.

However, the existence of a privileged or a dominant emotional style in a community does not deny the existence of other subordinate ones. An emotional community may hold competing values and discourses from which different emotional styles emerge. Reddy gives as an example the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English context. Analysing magazines and conduct manuals, Reddy observes that "romantic love was endowed with a new prestige".[76] Love became part of a discourse on marriage and "a new consensus emerged: A good marriage was suffused with love, and love enlivened obedience".[77] However, this new belief in love marriages was in conflict with a dominant practice of family arranged marriages. It was also in conflict with the prevalent ideas of the Roman Stoics on emotion control and the supremacy of reason over emotions. The duty to obey one's parents in certain cases clashed with the duty to obey one's heart.

Similarly, in the present study, travellers' narratives portray the interaction between synchronic emotional styles within their communities. Taking the early modern Andalusian emotional community as an example, we find three simultaneous emotional styles which respond differently to the assimilation practices of the Catholic ruling system in the sixteenth century: a Maliki conservative style which argues that no Muslim should live in fear under the rule of non-Muslims, in the face of fear the Muslim should seek security and emigrate from the abode of Christianity to the abode of Islam. Another emotional style conceptualizes fear as a justification for conversion, and a third emotional style perceives fear as a motive for practising Crypto-Islam. The narratives of Evliya also inform us regarding the conflictual interaction between the cosmopolitan Sufi emotional style of Evliya against the rigid fanatic view of the world. These examples manifest how communities encompass multiple co-existent emotional styles.

Accordingly, people adjust their emotional styles as they move between spaces and communities or

---

[76] Reddy, "Emotional Styles", p. 81.
[77] Reddy, "Emotional Styles", p. 81-82.

move within their own community. Rosenwein argues that "people move (and moved) continually from one such community to another - from taverns to law courts, say - adjusting their emotional displays and their judgements of weal and woe (with greater and lesser degrees of success) to these different environments".[78] The move between coexistent and overlapping communities raises the likeliness of hybrid emotional styles carried out by "actors [who] belong to several, maybe even oppositional, emotional communities at the same time" or actors who deal with "a diasporic situation".[79]

To facilitate the analysis and interpretation of an emotional style, Middleton dissects the emotional style into observable basic elements. She argues that any emotional style has "constitutive rules"which"define for people who they are and how their emotional lives are related to their identity. Such rules derive directly from systems of morality and belief that serve as constant points of reference as people act and interpret acts".[80] Several studies on non-Western cultures describe how "anger is part of being male", compassion is part of being a Sufi seeker or mystic, submission to God is part of being a true believer. These constitutive rules assign certain emotions to different gender and social groups in the community. These rules usually identify the expected emotions of the "ideal" member of a certain group. Therefore, they become anchors for self-fashioning. The three case studies of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya exemplify how these constitutive rules were reference points for their public personae.

An emotional style has "regulative rules" which govern the emotion display. Members of a community have varied degrees of competence on when, where, to whom, and with whom an emotion should be expressed, i.e. the proper way of expressing an emotion.[81] Culture also regulates

---

[78] Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions", p. 242.
[79] Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", p. 163.
[80] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 190.
[81] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 190.

how emotions should be communicated and performed in terms of language, facial expressions, body language (gestures, touching, kissing, weeping, falling to the ground), and paralinguistic features (quality of voice, tone, pitch, rate, volume, etc.). These rules on the ideal performance and display of an emotion have 'linkage' to other cultural domains such as religion, hierarchical family, kinship, or clan systems. These cultural domains shape the meaning of an emotion display. Middleton also argues that in each emotional style, there are "hypercognized" emotions, which are relatively more "salient" emotions than others, and "hypocognized" or low salient emotions.[82] Both types are key to the underlying structure of an emotional community. The hypocognized emotions, even though less displayed, may explain the discourses and social norms which urge the members of a community to restrain and "to distance themselves from strong and unacceptable emotions".[83] For example, in certain communities spouses are discouraged from showing affection in public, and females distance themselves from romantic love, while males distance themselves from fear. Interpreting the meaning of an emotional style requires an investigation of the "dynamic interaction" between the emotion display rules and "other cultural domains".[84] In the present study, travellers' narratives show how emotional styles take a variety of lively meanings when interacting with cultural domains such as dreams, humour, and mystic visions. Styles are rarely definite or static; the abstract rules of emotion display take several forms when administered in different contexts. Individuals appropriate their emotion display to fulfil their social needs, as will be discussed in the next section.[85]

2.2.3 Emotional Self-fashioning

The present study does not limit itself to the descriptive analysis of emotion discourses in Mediterranean travel narratives. A further objective is to interpret the functions that emotions serve

---

[82] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 197.
[83] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 199.
[84] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 198.
[85] Middleton, "Emotional Style", p. 198.

in these narratives. Travellers construct and evoke emotions in their texts to convey messages to their intended audience and expected readers. As Rosenwein argues, "emotions are above all instruments of sociability. They are not only socially constructed and 'sustain and endorse cultural systems,' but they also inform human relations at all levels, from intimate talk between husbands and wives to global relations. Expressions of emotions should thus be read as social interactions".[86] In the three texts presented in this thesis, travellers use emotions to serve different social and rhetorical functions: to express group solidarity and communal identity, to negotiate power relations, to relieve the reader from the monotony of the journey description, and to reinforce (or even exaggerate) cultural differences, to mention a few examples.

Nevertheless, the present study focuses on the complex interrelation between the enactment of emotions in travel books and the travellers' modes of 'self-fashioning'. The notion of 'self-fashioning', as coined by Stephen Greenblatt, designates that "there are always selves —a sense of personal order, a characteristic mode of address to the world, a structure of bounded desires— and always some elements of deliberate shaping in the formation and expression of identity".[87] Many recent studies have integrated the analysis of emotions to explore modes of self-fashioning in different genres such as personal letters and public political speeches.[88] The argument in the present study is that travellers' deliberate and articulated choices of specific emotional styles is oriented to construct their public persona and dramatize their identity for their intended audience.

In his ground-breaking book, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt re-evaluates the long-held Burckhardtian claim that the European man as a wilful, modern individual autonomous from any collective spiritual identity never existed before the Renaissance. Greenblatt agrees that

---

[86] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", p. 19.
[87] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 1.
[88] See Edwina Hagen, "Fashioning the Emotional Self"; Susan Foley, "Becoming a Woman: Self-fashioning and Emotion in a Nineteenth-century Family Correspondence", *Women's History Review* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2015): 1-19.

the Renaissance indeed witnessed "a change" of perspective on individualism and subjectivity.[89] However, he disagrees that this change is a sign of increased self-autonomy; rather he argues that it is a sign of "an increased self- consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process".[90] He also argues that the Renaissance self is a "cultural artifact" embedded in the discursive practices of the "family, state, and religious institutions".[91] Greenblatt identifies three significant attributes of the notion of 'self-fashioning': the meaning of the term'fashioning', the social group where self-fashioning is more likely to be practised, and the conventional schema of achieving self-fashioning in a text/narrative.[92] According to Greenblatt, the term "fashioning may suggest the achievement of a less tangible shape: a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving".[93] He defines self-fashioning as a form of theatrical performance and role-playing.

In this respect, emotions and emotional styles can be integral to such a performance of self-fashioning. According to the dramaturgical theory of emotions, "individuals make dramatic presentations and engage in strategic actions directed by a cultural script […] Actors present self in strategic ways, emitting the emotions that are dictated by emotion ideologies and rules. When necessary, actors draw upon the cultural vocabularies and logics that define how emotions should be expressed".[94] In the present study, there are frequent examples of travellers dramatizing their identities through emotional cultural scripts. For example, al-Ḥajarī (Chapter 3) draws on the script of Prophet Muhammed's Hijrah from Mecca to al-Madinah. He employs threat and fear to dramatize his identity as a *muhājir* (spiritual emigrant) from the abode of Christianity to the abode of Islam.

---

89   Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 1.
90   Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 2.
91   Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 2.
92   Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, pp. 1 -9.
93   Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 2.
94   Jonathan H Turner and Jan E. Stets, "Sociological theories of human emotions", *Annual Review of Sociology* (2006): 25-52.

Greenblatt focuses his argument on one social group, namely the sixteenth-century English middle-class and aristocratic men. He uses the writings of six canonical writers: Thomas More, Edmund Spenser, Thomas Wyatt, Christopher Marlowe, William Tyndale, and William Shakespeare, as exemplary models of Renaissance self-fashioning. These authors shared three important criteria. First, they were all from a middle-class background, the sons of lawyers, shoemakers, free journeymen, glovers, etc.; they did not inherit their titles or identities.[95] Second, despite their modest familial background and because of their talents, they all managed to achieve one or more form of social, economic, geographical, and ideological mobility; they "moved out of a narrowly circumscribed social sphere and into a realm that brought them in close contact with the powerful and the great".[96] Third, they all, because of their middle-class roots, had knowledge of the lower classes of society. This 'upward mobility' demanded these authors to reinvent their own identities. It also "explain[s] their sensitivity as writers to the construction of identity".[97] Greenblatt's criteria of sample selection has guided the present study in choosing the texts of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya, who are also middle-class men, as case studies in the present thesis.

Most important to the present study is how to discern instances of self-fashioning in a text or narrative. According to Greenblatt, there is a "set of governing conditions common to most instances of self-fashioning".[98] Any self-fashioning instance has a tripartite schema: a self, one "absolute power or authority", and "something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile".[99] The instance may involve more than one authority and more than one alien. Self-fashioning is achieved when "at the point of an encounter between an authority and an alien",[100] the self submits to the authority and, in the name of this authority, attempts to destroy the alien. Self-fashioning instances

---

[95] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 7 and p. 9.
[96] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 7.
[97] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 7.
[98] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 9.
[99] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 9.
[100] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 9.

also involve an exaggerated attack on the alien. This pattern of self-fashioning manifests itself in the narratives of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya. However, it takes different cultural forms and meanings.

In the present study, I have focused on how emotions interact with Greenblatt's pattern of self-fashioning. The textual analysis has yielded several textual and narrative strategies of emotional self-fashioning. First, the author/narrator attributes certain emotions to any or all the three parts of the self-fashioning scheme: a (loving, envious, or afraid) self, a (merciful, passionate, angry) authority and/or a (threatening, hostile, disgusting) alien. It is worth mentioning that these attributes are usually assigned according to the norms of the emotional community and its privileged emotional style. A second strategy is when an "emotion script"[101] arranges the relation of the self-fashioning scheme. A third narrative strategy is when the traveller fills the settings of his story with emotionally charged events such as a mystical dream, a ship within a storm, a pirate attack. Another strategy is when emotion itself plays the role of the authority or the alien in the self-fashioning instance. These strategies can work separately or jointly.

Consider the following three examples. Al-Ḥajarī's love narrative involves himself as a true Muslim. There are two aliens: a seductive French Catholic girl and the notion of romantic love. There are two authorities: al-Ḥajarī's reason and Allah the merciful. The emotion cultural script dictates that a true Muslim should distance himself from a *harām* (forbidden) woman. If he did fall in love, he should not express, show, or act out his romantic love; instead, he should show regret and ask Allah for forgiveness. Al-Ḥajarī achieves his emotional self-fashioning by both submitting himself to the authority of God and reason and by distancing himself from the notion of the *harām* (forbidden) love and the French girl.

---

[101] Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically", pp. 20-21.

Dallam's narrative includes himself as a proud Englishman, his country, represented by the Queen and her diplomats, as the authorities, and two aliens, the dishonourable Englishmen who cooperate with the Spanish enemies and the Turks. Dallam achieves his emotional self-fashioning by displaying his national pride in submitting himself to the wishes of his Queen, by holding the Englishmen who cooperate with the enemies in contempt, and by envying the Ottoman Sultan and the Turks. In Evliya's longing for travel (Chapter 5), the self-fashioning schema includes Evliya with his desire to travel and two authorities with relatively different levels of power: his *ruya* (mystical divine vision) of Prophet Muhammed granting him the permission to travel; and his parents and family. Evliya displays joy and pride in submitting himself to the authority of the mystical dream and the prophecy of the Prophet. However, he mitigates his joy by displaying pain at leaving his family. Greenblatt concludes his study with a statement that in any text there are "no moments of pure, unfettered subjectivity".[102] This statement applies to the case studies of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam and Evliya. They avail themselves of the cultural repertoires of emotions deliberately to fashion themselves for their emotional communities and their intended audiences.

Putting these three notions together, to achieve a close reading of emotion discourse in al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya can serve two objectives. First, these discourses illustrate the diverse "emotional communities"[103] that co-existed around the shores of the early modern Mediterranean. These communities range from elite to folk, from Muslim to Christian, from ruling to ruled, from fanatic to Sufi. Their narratives also exhibit how emotions in these communities acquired their meanings, social functions, and force.[104] Travellers, as members of these communities, organized their discourses according to the cultural norms and the "emotional styles" which were privileged in their communities. The cultural diversity in these emotional communities and styles testifies against the view of the early modern world as a binary opposition between individualistic Western and

---

[102] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 256.
[103] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p.2.
[104] Lutz and Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotions,* p. 7.

collectivistic non-Western cultures, between Islam and Christianity, or Orient and Occident.

A further objective is to demonstrate that travel writing is a communicative act and a social practice. The traveller's emphasis on specific emotions and his choices of the norms to be used in defining, organizing, and narrating his emotional experience are shaped by the travel book's context of production, the relation between the traveller's web of social networks and his intended audience. A close analysis of travellers' emotional styles accounts for the different communicative functions of emotions in the text. Emotions serve many functions; for example, travellers adjust their emotion display to embed their selves within certain social networks, to raise the credibility of their travels, to complicate their encounter with the religious and cultural Other, to justify their actions and motives, and most importantly, to achieve 'emotional self-fashioning'.

2.3. Emotions and Texts

In the historical realm of emotions, a researcher can never find out 'what people really felt'. The study of emotions in texts and cultures from the past is a study of the displayed emotions of the author/narrator via the language in the text.[105] Even though self-narrators describe some of their psycho-somatic and paralinguistic aspects of emotions, such as voice, facial expressions, heart rhythm, sweating, or blood and body temperatures, these descriptions are still 'verbal artefacts', in Hayden White's phrase, and 'cultural artefacts', in Clifford Geertz' phrase. Therefore, historical and ethnographic studies on emotions always articulate with studies on the language of emotions.[106]

According to Rosenwein, the methodologies of studying emotions in history have to be sensitive to language issues. Over time, communities change their labels and taxonomies of emotions; they even sometimes change their languages. Moreover, the meaning and usage of emotion terms responds to

---

[105] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p.193.
[106] Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

changes in the social and historical contexts.[107] As an example, the word *emotion* itself is debatable among premodern scholars. Many of them object to the use of the word emotion in premodern contexts because in the premodern texts "people spoke more often – and more precisely – of passions, affections, and sentiments".[108] The word emotion entered the English language in the sixteenth century only to mean 'civil unrest' and 'political agitation'; its use to cover all and "any strong mental or instinctive feeling, as pleasure, grief, hope, fear" did not emerge until the nineteenth century.[109] As a solution, many premodern scholars, in full awareness of this etymological issue, very often use the English term 'emotion' interchangeably with passions, sentiments, and affects.[110]

The issue of language augments issues in cross-cultural studies.[111] Finding Arabic and Ottoman equivalents for the English words *emotions, feelings, passions*, *sentiments*, or *affects* is an example of such an issue. Arabic variations, for example, include *ᵓawāṭif* (inclination, compassion), *'ahāsīs* (sentiments), *mashāᵓir* (feelings), *'infiᵓāl* (bodily or mental arousal, agitation).[112] In addition, there are several terms which frequently appear in classical Islamic writings and Sufi compendia to refer to emotions as ethical and medical constructs: *fadā'il* (virtues)*, 'akhlāq* (morals), or *'amrāḍ l qolūb* (sicknesses of the heart).[113] Ottoman Turkish words equivalent to the term emotion include *heyecan* (emotion, excitement) and *hissiyat* (sing. *his*, feelings, sensations, sentiments), *merhamet* (mercy, compassion, tenderness of heart)*, şefkat* (affection, compassion), *atifet* (affection, sympathy).

---

[107] Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically", p. 832-833.

[108] Paster et al. *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, p. 3.

[109] "emotion, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2015. Web. 6 April 2015.

[110] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* p.3.

[111] For problems of the translatability of emotion words across cultures, see Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures*; Wahyu, A. Widhiarso, "Note on Emotion Words Translation on Different Cultures," *Social Science Research Network*, (November 13, 2009) online at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1505307 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1505307

[112] *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qurʾanic Usage.* Al-Saïd Muhammad Badawi and MA Abdel Haleem (eds.), Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008; see pp. 208, 487, 627, 908.

[113] Richard A. Shweder, Jonathan Haidt, Randall Horton, and Craig Joseph, "The Cultural Psychology of the Emotions: Ancient and Renewed," in Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (eds.), *Handbook of Emotions*, New York, London: Guilford Press, 2010, see pp. 422-424.

Modern Turkish variations include *duygular ve hassasiyetler* (emotions and feelings).[114] Some of

these Arabic and Ottoman variations denote temporary or impulsive sensual and physical feelings,

others denote prolonged and strong inner states. Interpreting emotions across languages, cultures,

and historical eras, as Catherine Lutz argues, is "a problem of translation".[115]

2.3.1 Method of Text Analysis

Nevertheless, historians and anthropologists have developed several procedural methods of analysis

that respond to such language issues. In the remainder of this section, I describe how the present

study has applied these historical and textual methodologies to approach the emotional

communities, emotional styles, and modes of emotional self-fashioning in the travel accounts of al-

Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya. To interpret the emotions, one must approach the travel books on the

textual, intertextual, and contextual levels.

a. Textual

On the textual level, I have focused on the emotion-laden vocabularies and the narrative elements in

the texts. Emotion vocabularies are the basic elements that capture the attention to emotions in a

text. Rosenwein's methodology for analysing emotional communities and their cultural norms relies

on a close reading of these emotion words and figures of speech.[116] Words, phrases, metaphors,

puns, personifications, ironies, and similes, among other tropes, are key to the cultural norms and

styles that govern the definition of an emotion. Schemes such as parallelism, antithesis, and rhymes,

should also be considered.[117] Nevertheless, the interpretation of emotion words, tropes, and schemes

has to rely on the original language of the text. Working from translations may jeopardize the

emotion-laden meaning of the trope or scheme. In this thesis, the case study of Evliya's travel book

---

[114] *The Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce sözlük = Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English dictionary,* ed James W. Redhouse, İstanbul: SEV Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1997; James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon: Shewing in English the Significations of the Turkish Terms,* Türbe, İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1978.

[115] Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, p.8.

[116] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", pp. 12-19.

[117] Gert Ronberg, *A Way with Words: The Language of English Renaissance Literature*, London: Arnold, 1992, pp. 148-165.

has been sensitive to this issue. The original language of the text is Ottoman Turkish and due to my limited linguistic competence in this language I have mainly relied on Robert Dankoff's English translation of the text.[118] However, constant consultation of the words in the original text has been necessary to interpret the intended meaning of the emotion vocabularies in Evliya's narratives.

In travel books, emotions appear in form of a story where the traveller is both the narrator and the protagonist. In these narratives, the traveller describes, defines, and complicates his emotions. The settings, characters, plot, and structure of the narrative convey meanings.[119] Who are the characters involved in the emotion episode, how do emotions arrange the relation between the protagonist, the antagonist, and the characters in the narrative, i.e. who initiates the emotion, who receives the emotion, what is the source/cause of an emotion; how does emotion create tension and conflict between the characters in the narrative; how does emotion influence the succession of events; how are emotions resolved at the end? I also read the narrative elements to identify the aliens and the authorities in instance of the travellers' emotional self-fashioning.

b. Intertextual

Moreover, the meaning of these emotion vocabularies and narratives depends heavily on the general textual culture in which the travel book was produced. In describing and narrating their emotions, al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya very often allude to, quote from, and directly refer to the canonical and scriptural texts of their times and cultures. Their vocabulary choices and narrative elements involve drawing upon scriptural sources including the Bible, the Quran, and Prophet Muhammad's *Hadiths* and thus also reflect the vocabularies and taxonomies of emotions in both Christianity and Islam. Biblical and Quranic narratives, as well as hagiographies of saints and Sufi seekers, are also sources from which the three travellers borrow emotion cultural scripts. Vocabularies and narratives also evoke references to the early modern widespread emotion concepts and theories of Aristotle,

---

[118] Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Çelebi* , London: Eland Publishing, 2011.

[119] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 3rd Edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1985] 2009.

the Hellenistic Stoics, Galen, Aveccina, Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi, and leading Sufi thinkers such as Ibn Arabi, Jelal el-Din al-Rumi, and al-Ghazali.

c. Contextual

The meaning of an emotional word, gesture, performance, or ritual depends on the sociocultural context in which the text was produced. Contextualization has been necessary in order to discover the religious, political, and folk discourses of the period which may have influenced the norms of the emotional community and dominated the privileges of certain emotional styles. To contextualize the three case studies in this thesis, I relied on previous studies on the historical and socio-cultural context. In addition, I also considered the context of production, especially the author-intended audience relation in order to identify the communicative situation of the travel writing and the shared discourse between the author and his audience which may have possibly influenced his modes of self-fashioning.

2.4 The Case Studies

The thesis uses three travel books as case studies to demonstrate the diversity of emotional communities, emotional styles, and emotional selves in the very late sixteenth and seventeenth-century Mediterranean travel books. In this section, I explain the rationale for focusing on the seventeenth-century Mediterranean context and for selecting the travel books of the Andalusian traveller Ahmed bin Qasim al-Ḥajarī (1570-c.1640), the Englishman Thomas Dallam (1575-1630), and the Ottoman Evliya Çelebi (1611-c.1683).

Choosing the seventeenth-century Mediterranean basin as the parameter of my research took inspiration from Natalie Zemon Davis's article "Decentering History".[120] In this article, Davis calls on researchers to have better "global consciousness" by focusing on different social and

---

[120] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World", *History and Theory* Vol. 50, No. 2 (2011): 188-202.

geographical areas and by integrating "plural voices into their accounts". She suggests several examples from the Western and non-Western sides of the Mediterranean. On top of Davis' advice and examples, there is Gerald MacLean's concern over the excessive use of the "single-archive approach"[121] in studying early modern Ottoman and English travel books. He warns against focusing on one side of the story. He asserts that "the result of this single-archive analysis is that prejudiced misinformation all too often reappears as fact, past errors resurface as reliable judgments, and before very long fantasy returns as history".[122] Davis's advice and MacLean's concern have encouraged the present study to incorporate three travellers from three different cultures across the Mediterranean.

Focusing on the Mediterranean triangle of al-Andalus, England, and Ottoman Turkey, especially in the seventeenth century, represents the direct impact of the works of Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean on the structure of the present study. As discussed in Chapter 1, these three cultures came into a high cross-cultural "interaction and familiarity along with communication and cohabitation".[123] This cultural interaction enhanced the commercial and social interactions between the communities on both shores of the sea. The rulers of these nations exchanged gifts and amiable letters.[124] They sought military and political alliances. Travel books of this century, or at least those presented in this thesis, project an understanding of this political, commercial, military value of the Other and the complexities of cultural coexistence. Within this busy and lively cultural context, one is more likely to observe more diverse coexistent emotional communities and styles. Therefore, the present study has endeavoured to place an Andalusian, an English, and an Ottoman "as possible figures in the same discourse".[125]

---

[121] Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.5.
[122] MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 6.
[123] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen* , p. 14.
[124] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 9.
[125] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History", p. 194.

Among the large number of seventeenth-century travel books, especially on the English side, the present study decided on al-Ḥajarī, Dallam and Evliya for three reasons. First, as suggested by Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean (reviewed in Chapter 1), these travellers represent three cultures that came into intensive mutual cultural contact during the early modern period: the Moors (the Muslims of al-Andalus and North Africa), the English, and the Ottoman Turks. Second, the three travel books have the criteria of ego-documents or self-narratives, as determined by Rudolf Dekker (reviewed in Chapter 1). The travel books of Evliya and al-Ḥajarī are literally life-narratives, because the travellers tell their readers a great deal about their births, families, friends, and personal details. Dallam's travel book does not tell anything about his life before or after the journey, but his diary on the journey focuses on his thoughts, beliefs and emotions. Third, the three travellers fit into Greenblatt's conventions of self-fashioning scenarios.[126] Al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya were middle ranking men who gained their social status from their skilled labour as artisans (Dallam) and their intellectual skills. Al-Ḥajarī was an Andalusian emigrant with a high education and advanced Spanish-Arabic translation skills; Dallam was a gifted organ maker and craftsman; and Evliya was a palace-educated Qur'an reciter and a Muezzin.

The three case studies are arranged chronologically. Al-Ḥajarī and Dallam are contemporaries, their birth and death dates close and they even traversed the Mediterranean in the same year, 1599, al-Ḥajarī crossed the sea from Granada to Marrakech and Dallam crossed it from London to Istanbul. Evliya is a later contemporary. The emotions addressed in the three case studies when put together resemble a kind of mosaic: an ensemble of two emotions discussed for each of the three travel books; six emotions in all: fear and love in al-Ḥajarī's text, anxiety and envy in Dallam's, and longing for travel and disgust in Evliya's. This mosaic of emotions projects the diverse emotional communities, styles, and selves in the early modern Mediterranean sociocultural context.

---

[126] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 9.

Chapter Three

Polemical Emotions

Ahmed bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī
(c.1570 - c.1641)

> Whenever I exerted myself to refute the Christians during my disputes [Ar. *munādhara*] with them, I experienced a [feeling of] exaltation and exhilaration sent upon me from God, so that I was honoured in their eyes [...]. Whenever I felt unable to [refute them] assailed by fear and worry, a feeling of shame on their part was sent down to me. When I saw this, became fully aware of it and understood that God-praised be He!-wanted from me to fight them powerfully, I told them what they had never heard from any Muslim. God made me victorious over them, so that they said 'Whenever you need something of us, we will do it for you!'.[1]

Introduction

The first case study on early modern Mediterranean travel books as sources for the history of emotions comes from the Ibero-African frontier, particularly from al-Andalus (the Arabic name for Muslim Spain),[2] and al-Maghrib (the Arab Islamic West including Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia). The travel book has the title *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn `alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Wa huwa al-Saif al-'ash.har 'ala kul man kafar: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb ´ila Liqā´ al-Aḥbāb* (The Book of the Supporter of Religion against the Infidels: Or the Unsheathed Sword against Everyone who Disbelieves: A Summary of al-Shihāb's Travels to meet the Dearly Beloveds), henceforth referred to as *Kitāb*.

This travel book was composed by the Needy Shaykh Ahmed ibn Qāsim ibn Ahmed ibn al-Faqih Qasim ibn al-Saykh al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī, henceforth referred to as al-Ḥajarī. He was born in c.

---

[1] Ahmed Ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī (d. c. 1641), *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'L-Qawm al-Kāfirīn. (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel): Historical Study, Critical Edition, and Annotated Translation*, P.S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers (eds., trans.), Madrid: CSIC/AECI. 1997, p. 113-114.

[2] There are several theories on the origin of the name Al-Andalus; the most possible hypothesis is that the Muslims named it after the Germanic tribes of the Vandals (Ar. Wandalos) which dominated the Iberian peninsula and crossed to North Africa in the fifth century. See Pierre Cachia, *Arabic Literature: An Overview*. London: Routledge Curzon. 2002, p. 87.

1570 in Andalucia; then he moved to live in Granada. He voluntarily emigrated to Marrakesh, Morocco in 1597. Like most Muslims who lived under the Catholic rule in early modern Spain,[3] al-Ḥajarī had both a Spanish and an Arabic name. He used the name Ehmed bin Qasim Bejaranos before his emigration to Morocco. After he moved to the Arabic Maghrib, he added the *nisbah*[4] to his name; he added the name al-Ḥajarī in relation to his home village al-Ḥajar al-Ahmar (the red stone) in Spain and the last name al-Andalusī in relation to his Andalusian origins. He also used two nicknames: al-Shihāb (the meteor), as shown in the title of *Kitāb,* and Afuqai (the lawyer).[5] Although the fall of Granada in 1492 was the official end of Muslim Spain, and although all Muslims and their descendants who lived in Spain after 1500 were forced to convert to Christianity and were officially called *Moriscos* (new Christians) by the Spanish authorities, al-Ḥajarī never used such a term or terms like Moors or crypto-Muslims. He identifies himself and his community as 'the Andalusians' and he refers to Spain as al-Andalus.

The title of the text and the full name of the traveller are cited on the first page of the complete manuscript of *Kitāb.* This manuscript was discovered by the Italian orientalist Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua during her work in the Egyptian National Archives (MS No. Ṭ. 1634) in 1964.[6] However, before Sarnelli unveiled the Cairo MS, a few scholars had already known about *Kitāb* from a fragment of another manuscript.[7] This fragment was part of the personal collection of orientalist

---

[3] Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Finding Fatima, a Slave Woman of Early Modern Spain." *Journal of Women's History* Vol.20. No.1 (2008), 151-167, p. 158; Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 15.

[4] *Nisbah* is one way of naming in Arabic. Usually, but not necessarily, it is the relational suffix /i/ added to the name the person's place of origin (e.g. Baghdadi, al-Ḥajarī, al-Andalus), tribal affiliation (e.g.Tamimi, Harbi) or religious affiliation (e.g.Mālikī, Hanafi, Ash'arī). There are other grammatical rules for coining *nisbah*. Very often, people add many nisbah to their names. See Marcia Hermansen, "Genealogy", in Richard C Martin (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA. 2 Vol, 2004, here. Vol. I (A-L), 271-272.

[5] L.P. Harvey, "Ahmad Ibn Qāsim al-Hajarī *c.*1570-*c.*1640", in Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia: Volume 2 G-P*. London: Taylor & Francis Books, 2003, pp. 531-533.

[6] Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua, "Lo scrittore ispano-marochino al-Hagarī e il suo Kitāb Nasir ad-Dīn", *Atti del Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamic*, Revello, 1966.

[7] M. al-Fasi, "Al-Rahala al-Maghariba w 'athāruhum (The Moroccan Travellers and their Works)". *Da'wat alhaqq*, Vol. II, No.2, 1958: 12-18.

scholar Georges Colin[8] and is now in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale (MS Arabe 7024).[9] The Paris

MS "represents a scribal copy of a revised version of the text preserved in the Cairo MS which was

mainly directed towards a Maghribi audience".[10]

Based on the Cairo MS and Paris MS, *Kitāb* has been edited twice. One edition was published in

Arabic by Mohammed Razzuk in 2004.[11] A previous edition included a detailed biography on al-

Ḥajarī and an English translation by P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers in

1997.[12] Other selected English translations of several chapters of *Kitāb* with brief analysis of the

text appear in Nabil Matar's *In the Lands of the Christians* and *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-*

1727.[13] The present study has relied on all of the above-mentioned editions and translations in

addition to a digitized copy of the Cairo MS. However, for matters of consistency, all references to

quotations from al-Ḥajarī's travel book in this chapter are given parenthetically to the Van

Koningsveld et al. edition and to their English translation of the text.

The Storyline of *Kitāb*

Kitāb comprises an introduction, thirteen chapters, and an appendix. In the introduction, al-Ḥajarī

orientates the reader with the context of his travels and the context of writing *Kitāb*, and briefly

outlines the structure of *Kitāb*. In the body, al-Ḥajarī narrates, from memory, an account of two

important journeys in his life.

---

[8] The French Orientalist Georges Séraphin Colin (1893-1977). The author of *Dictionnaire Colin d'arabe dialectal marocain* (Rabat, éditions Al Manahil, ministère des Affaires Culturelles,1993).

[9] For information on this MS see http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000078185&c=FRBNFEAD000078185_e0000015&qid=sdx_q15>

[10] P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers. "Introduction", in Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim (d. after 1640). *Kitāb Nāṣir Al-Dīn `alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel): Historical Study, Critical Edition, and Annotated Translation*. P.S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers (eds, trans.). Madrid: CSIC/AECI, 1997, p. 59.

[11] Ahmed Ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī, (Afuqai). c.1640. *Riḥlat Afuqai al-Andalusī: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb ila Liqā' al-Aḥbāb 1611-1613*. Mohammed Razzouk (ed.). Abu Dhabi: Al-Swaidi Publishing House. 2004. [In Arabic]

[12] Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim (d. after 1640). *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'L-Qawm al-Kāfirīn. (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel): Historical Study, Critical Edition, and Annotated Translation*. P.S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers (eds, trans.). Madrid: CSIC/AECI. 1997.

[13] For translation of Chapters 7-11 of *Kitāb,* see Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the 17th Century*. London: Routledge. 2003,. pp. 8-42; For a translation of Chapter 10 of *Kitāb*, see Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008, p. 200-205.

The first journey is his *hijrah* (emigration*)* from Granada, Spain to Marrakesh, Morocco in c.1597.

This journey covers the first three chapters. The narrative is chronological; it starts in 1595, roughly

one year before al-Ḥajarī's *hijrah*. The three chapters are arranged in spatial order: embarkation

from al-Andalus, road to the abode of Islam, and destination in Marrakesh. In Chapter 1, al-Hajarī

narrates few incidents on his "experience with the Archbishop of Granada" (p. 66), who was at that

time looking for a skilful Arabic-Spanish speaker to translate some Arabic inscriptions. Those

inscriptions were on two archaeological discoveries in the valley of Paradise near Granada in the

late sixteenth century, namely the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana (in 1588) and the Lead books of

Sacromonte (in 1595).[14] The narrative presents several episodes from the everyday life of the

Andalusian community in Granada and its encounter with the Christian authorities. In Chapter 2, he

relates the dangers he faced on the road of *hijrah.* Chapter 3 is on al-Ḥajarī's arrival at his

destination in Marrakesh, where he was "granted safety and prosperity" (p. 102). There, with the

help of some Andalusian friends, he was appointed as an official translator in the court of the

renowned Sultan of the Sa`dian dynasty Mulay Ahmed al Mansour (reg. 1578 -1603).[15] Al-Ḥajarī

kept this court translator position during the reign of al-Mansour's son Mulay Zaydan (reg. 1603-

1627).

The narrative in *Kitāb* then jumps to the second journey, which covers chapters 4 to 11. It was a

three-year journey (from early 1611 until late 1613) to France and Holland for diplomatic purposes.

This journey distinguishes *Kitāb* as "the first [surviving] Arabic account about early modern France

and Holland, as well as an overview of the world".[16] Al-Ḥajarī links the time and context of his

journey to Europe to a critical coincident political event in the history of Islam in Spain, when

> the Christian Sultan in the country of Spain (I mean the country of al-Andalus), called
> Phillip III, ordered all Muslims to be expelled from his country. The beginning of that

---

[14]   See P. S. van Koningsveld and G. A. Wiegers. "The Parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana': The Original Document and its Early Interpreters". *Al-Qantara* Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 2003: 327-358; A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007.

[15]   The Golden al-Mansour was a pen-friend of Queen Elizabeth. Source: Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen,* p. 9

[16]   Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, p.72.

(event) took place in the year 1018 [April 1609-March 1610]. The last of them left in the year 1020 [March 1611-March 1612]. (p.102)

Al-Ḥajarī travelled to Europe in sympathy for a group of the expelled Andalusians who were ill-treated by some Christian French subjects. This was officially supported by the Moroccan ruler, Mulay Zaydan.

> The Andalusians were crossing the sea on ships of Christians which they had chartered. Many of them boarded the ships of Frenchmen who robbed them at sea. Andalusians who had been robbed by French [crews] of four ships came to Marrakesh. An Andalusian man from France was sent to ask from them for an authorization to file a legal claim [for compensation] on their behalf in France. They agreed to send five of the robbed men, while one of the Andalusians who left [Spain] before them was to go with them. They agreed that I would go with them. (p. 102)

The narrative starts from the point of his arrival in France in 1611; it is in chronological and spatial order, with the chapters arranged according to the cities which al-Ḥajarī visited in France, including Rouen, Paris, Bordeaux, St. Jean De Luz, Olonne, and Toulouse; in the Netherlands he visited Leiden, Hague, and Amsterdam. Al-Ḥajarī's journey achieved its diplomatic goal,

> As for the goods deposited in Bordeaux, which had been stolen by the captain from the people of Al-Hajar al-Ahmar, I got hold of them after one and a half years had gone by. Praise be to God that every Andalusian who appointed me as his legal representative, received some money [in compensation]. (p. 190)

Al-Ḥajarī knots the two journeys together using one underlying theme, namely the injustices that he and his Andalusian community had experienced at the hands of the Christians. He had to escape Spain because of the Catholic oppressive measures. Then, he went back to Europe to stand for the victimized expelled Andalusian Muslims.

In the penultimate chapter of *Kitāb*, al-Ḥajarī tells about his one-year stop off in Cairo where he interrupted his return journey of al-*Hajj* from Mecca to Tunisia in 1637. He describes his scholarly connections in Egypt. He continues his narrative on his debates with the Christians, only this time his dispute is with Egyptian Orthodox Christian monks. In the last chapter, al-Ḥajarī concludes with several miscellaneous short narratives of his life in al-Andalus, just as he started *Kitāb* by telling the reader of his life in al-Andalus. In these episodes, al-Ḥajarī writes of his intuitive powers in healing

patients, his ability to communicate with spirits, and his truthful *Ru'iyya* (intuitive dreams). The appendix is a separate book titled "Book of Gifts" (p.248). This is a commentary on the Arabic scripts which appeared on the aforementioned archaeological discoveries (the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana and the Lead books of Sacromonte).

Literary Genres in *Kitāb*

As a historical document, *Kitāb* has been studied as a source for early modern archaeology in Granada,[17] the history of Arabic studies in Europe,[18] and the political and cultural history of Muslims in Spain.[19] The present study approaches *Kitāb* as a literary text and a source on the early modern discourse on emotions. Al-Ḥajarī defines his text as "a rihla" (pp. 63, 65); a genre that conventionally cross-bred with other Arabic narrative genres, such as Masālik wa Mamālik (routes and kingdoms),[20] Maqāmāt (picaresque narrative),[21] and ta'rīkh (historiography). However, there are two salient genres in *Kitāb*. First, *Kitāb* is a self-narrative or an ego-document. It holds many features of the *tarjama* (autobiography, self-interpretation) genre. The storyline of *Kitāb*, as summarized above, evolves around al-Ḥajarī's life. The self-narrator reminisces about the most important junctures of his life with self-admiration: his adulthood in al-Andalus, his *hijrah* from the abode of Christianity to the abode of Islam, his journey to Europe, his later life between Cairo and

---

[17] See Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada", *Arabica,* 56, 2009: 495-528.

[18] See John Robert Jones,. *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)*, unpublished PhD thesis, London University, SOAS, 1988. Available on e-theses online service (EThOS): <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.339901>, pp. 98-119; Gerard Wiegers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands, 1609–1624". In Jens Lüdke (ed.), *Romania Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1996, 405–417; Gerard Wiegers, "Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe", *Al-Qantara (AQ)* XXXI 2, July-December 2010: 587-610, available on UvA-DARE, the institutional repository of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) http://hdl.handle.net/11245/2.145372.

[19] L. P. Harvey, "Crypto-Islam in Sixteenth-Century Spain". *Actas del Primer Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos.* Madrid: Congreso de Estudios Arabes e Islamicos, 1964, 163-178; L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005, pp. 277-287; Abdul-Majid Al-Qaddouri, *Arab Ambassadors to Europe (1610-1922): The Awareness of Disparity,* Al-ahliyya Publishing House, 2006 [in Arabic].

[20] *Rihla and al-Masālik wa l-mamālik* are kin Arabic literary genres. They are classified in most libraries and archives in the Arab world as geographical literature. Both genres describe cities and the habits and customs of peoples. The only difference is in the autobiographical aspect. In the *Masalik wa Mamalik* genre, the author says nothing about himself. See Ch. Pellat, "al-Masālik Wa 'l-Mamālik", in P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition..* Brill Online, 2015. Reference. 02 August 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-masalik-wa-l-mamalik-SIM_4994>

[21] Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre.* (Diskurse der Arabistik Vol. 5). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.

Tunisia. Finally, he concludes the text with a chapter on his memories from al-Andalus. Al-Ḥajarī starts and ends the narrative with a tribute to his days in al-Andalus. He also states that he writes to fulfil the Qur'anic command to people to speak and enumerate God's blessings on them "And as for the bounty of your Lord, speak!" [Q 93:11]" (p.227).[22] He dedicates some chapters to narrating his dreams, emotions, and thoughts. These introspective elements qualify the text to be an exemplary self-narrative and to refute the fallacy that life-narrative is an exclusively Western and modern genre, as discussed earlier in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Second, *Kitāb* draws heavily on the *munādhara dīniyya* (interfaith-polemics) genre conventions.[23] Al-Ḥajarī structures his narrative around several debates and disputes with the *Nasara* (Christians) whom he met in his travels. He uses the term *munādhara* (pl. *munādharat*) to title his chapters. For example, the title of Chapter 7 is "On my return to Paris and the discussions (*munādharat)* I had with the Christian scholars (*'ulama' ul-Nasara*) on religion"; the title of Chapter 9 is "On my arrival to the city of Bordeaux and the discussions (*munādharat*) I had with the Christian priests, monks, and judges"; and the title of Chapter 10 is "On the discussions (*munādharat*) with the Jews in France and the Netherlands". In these polemics, al-Ḥajarī exposes his opinions and attitudes in monological discussions of the Qur'an, the Bible, and the Torah. He gets into fictive dialogues in which he is in full control over the replies of his European Christian and Jewish contenders. The themes of these disputes are mainly religion and politics. He takes issues with forced Catholicism, the burning and confiscation of Arabic books, the expulsion of Muslims from Spain, the trinity, indulgence and inter-faith marriages. He argues for polygamy in Islam and the prohibition of drinking wine. He defends Islam against the accusations of some priests that homosexuality, which was not supported in Christian Europe, was freely practiced in Muslim countries. These debates and

---

22 Dwight Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Traditions*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: : The Regents of the University of California. 2001, p. 3.
23 M. Dascal. "Types of polemics and types of polemical moves". In A. Capone (ed.), *Perspectives on Language Use and Pragmatics: A Volume in Memory of Sorin Stati*, Münich: Lincom, 2010, pp. 77-97.

disputes with Christians and Jews run constantly through the text, turning the rihla narrative into a polemical treatise par excellence.[24]

In these debates, al-Ḥajarī, who "read the books of the three religions" (p. 227), invests in his knowledge of the Qur'an, the Torah, and the Bible to show his capability of rational and learned disputation.[25] In addition to such rationality, as the epigraph of this chapter shows, he maps out his polemics as an emotional enterprise.[26] The willingness to dispute over religion is projected as either a powerful emotional force or a sign of emotional weakness. Positive emotions of 'exaltation and exhilaration' are 'sent down' from God as rewards for winning a debate, while negative emotions of 'fear, worry, and shame' are punishment for losing a debate to the Christians.

Besides this emotional energy which suffuses his disputes, al-Ḥajarī embeds two coherent narratives, in terms of structure and content, into his emotional encounter with the *Nasara*. In the first narrative, he recounts his fear of the Christian authorities in his early life in al-Andalus. He also relates his fears during his *hijrah* (emigration) from 'the abode of infidelity' to the 'abode of Islam'. These episodes of fear pervade the first two chapters of *Kitāb*. In the second narrative, he narrates a love story between himself and a Christian French girl whom he met in Olonne during his journey to Europe (1611-1613). This love story dominates Chapter 8 of *Kitāb*. In these narratives, al-Ḥajarī shapes fear and love into rhetorical and polemical constructs. He plays the role of "the polemicist [who] must stage an unequal battle between a polemical self and the polemical target vis-à-vis an anticipated audience, skilfully handling, through his or her words, the emotions ascribed to each of

---

[24] These polemical debates have overshadowed the *rihla* and *tarjama* features so that several libraries in Egypt and the Arab world have classified *Kitāb* as an anti-Christian *Munādhara.* See for example this online library of Arabic books. It classifies *Kitāb* within *rudud wa munādharat* genre http://www.al-maktabeh.com/catplay.php?catsmktba=42&page=5 [In Arabic].

[25] M. Dascal, "On the Uses of Argumentative Reason in Religious Polemics". In T. L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *Religious Polemics in Context*. Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2004, pp. 3-20.

[26] Andreas Dorschel. "Passions of the Intellect: A Study of Polemics". *Philosophy/ FirstView Article*, Cambridge Journals-CJO. May, 2015: 1-6. Available on http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0031819115000224.

them".[27] He fashions a polemical emotional style.

These two narratives have received the attention of few previous studies. Sarnelli, as well as many Arab historians, focuses on al-Ḥajarī's escape story only to describe the socio-political situation in early modern Spain.[28] Nabil Matar is probably the only scholar who has briefly studied al-Ḥajarī's love story.[29] Yet in these studies, al-Ḥajarī's emotions have been approached as real and genuine inner states. In the present case study, the close textual analysis treats al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear and love and his polemical emotional style as textual and cultural constructs.

The interpretation of al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear and love starts, in Section 3.1, with a close reading of *Kitāb* as a 'communicative act' whose meaning and function were created in a specific situational context. This section focuses on *Kitāb's* context of production, al-Ḥajarī's authorial motivations for writing the text. It also searches into al-Ḥajarī intended audience. Following, in Section 3.2., is an analysis of the socio-cultural context of *Kitāb* in order to map out the diverse coexistent emotional communities of al-Andalus during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This section entails an investigation of the dominant religious discourses and historical events which crafted several coexistent emotional communities and styles within the larger Muslim community in al-Andalus.

Sections 3.3 and 3.4 provide a textual and intertextual analysis of al-Ḥajarī's narratives on fear and love, respectively. These two narratives brim with emotionally loaded vocabulary. Fear and love are also constructed via the characters, the narrative discourse, and the allusion to Sufi and theological

---

[27] Dorschel. "Passions of the Intellect", p. 1.
[28] Cl. Sarnelli Cerqua,, "La fuga in Marocco di as-Shihab Ahmad al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusi", *Studi Maghrebini,* Vol. I, 1966: 215–29; Cl. Sarnelli Cerqua, **"**al-Ḥajarī in Andalusia"**,** *Studi Maghrebini,* Vol. III, 1970: 161-203; Muhammad 'Abd Allah 'Inan [Mohamed Abdulla Enan], *Nihayat al-Andalus wa tārikh al-'Arab al-Mutanaṣṣirīn (The End of al-Andalus and the History of the Christianized Arabs).* 3rd ed. Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa 'l-Tarjama wa 'l-Nashr, 1966. [In Arabic]; Sa'id bin Sa'id Al-'Alawi, *Europe in the Mirror of the Era: The Image of The Other in the Contemporary Moroccan Riḥla.* Abu Dhabi: Al-Swaidi Publishing House. 2006 [In Arabic].
[29] Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes,* pp. 106-109.

discourses. The analysis aims to identify how, in the text, the emotions of fear and love are defined,

constructed, disseminated, and generated from the emotional communities and styles which

dominated al-Ḥajarī's sociocultural context. Finally, in Section 3.5, the case study concludes with

an analysis of al-Ḥajarī's modes of emotional self-fashioning strategies in *Kitāb*. The main

hypothesis here is that even though al-Ḥajarī takes up polemical emotional stances, his discourse on

fear and love is embedded in the norms, the scripts, and the dominant religious discourses of these

several coexistent emotional communities. He negotiates his polemical self and adjusts his display

of emotions along the rhetorical conventions appreciated by his intended audience.

3.1. *Kitāb* as a Communicative Act

Reading *Kitāb* as a communicative act searches into the situational context of *Kitāb* and the relation

between the traveller-author and his intended audience. This reading is a preamble to the

interpretation of al-Ḥajarī's writing style, his discourse on emotion, and his modes of self-

fashioning.

Kitāb's Situational Context

In the introduction and the last few pages of *Kitāb,* al-Ḥajarī describes the situational context of

writing his text. He informs the readers about the time, the settings, the motivation, and the process

of writing and revising his travel book. Al-Ḥajarī explains that he wrote two texts about his travels.

Both texts were written during his stay in Cairo in 1637 upon a request from the grand Mufti (jurist)

Shaykh Ali al-'Ujhūrī (1559-1656), "a famous faqih of the Mālikite law school, who is praised in

Egypt and in many lands and regions elsewhere" (p. 241). Al- Ḥajarī stresses that this request was

too exceptional and too momentous to be denied.

> Several Muslim scholars asked me to compile a book about that [journey], but the work did
> not materialize until our blessed Shaykh in the country of Egypt-may God protect it!-viz.
> The great scholar whose learning is widely praised in various countries, Shaykh 'Ali ibn
> Muhammed called Zayn, son of the great scholar Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ujhūrī al-
> Mālikī, ordered me [to do so] I compiled with his [order] by [writing] more than he had
> asked and I compiled the book in the form of a travel account which I entitled *Riḥlat al-
> Shihāb ′ila Liqā′ al-Aḥbāb* 'The Journey of Al-Shihāb towards the Meeting with the

Beloved ones'. (p.63/64)

Al-Ḥajarī fulfilled the order of Shaykh al-'Ujhūrī and finished the first lengthy travel account,

Riḥlat.[30] He read his *Riḥlat* to al-Ujhūrī. However, al-'Ujhūrī ordered al-Ḥajarī "to make a concise

extract of it", and asked for this extract to focus only on "the religious disputes [he] had with the

Christians" (p. 65). Therefore, al-Ḥajarī started writing his second text, *Kitāb*, which is an abridged

version of his *Riḥlat*. This explains why he added the subordinate title of *Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-*

Shihāb to his second text. He finished the first draft of *Kitāb* and read it to al-Ujhūrī. He

summarizes the meetings with Shaykh al-Ujhūrī as follows,

> The first time, I read to him the travel account mentioned in the beginning of this book [i.e.
> *Riḥlat]*. Then, the second, [I read to him] this book which I extracted from it, by his order. I
> asked him to order me to remove anything he might not deem proper. He advised me and his
> science and good intentions were of great use to me. (p. 241)

Al-Ḥajarī returned to Tunis and, according to al-Ujhūrī's advice, he added the last chapter of Kitāb

and an appendix.

> I added in Tunis what I thought to be useful. The writing was completed on the twenty-first
> day of the month of Rabiʹ II of the year 1047, on Friday [12 September 1637]. After I had
> written the last letter of it, I heard the muezzin say: '*Allahu akbar*' in the first prayer-call for
> Friday prayer. So I regarded this as an auspicious sign that the book would be well received.
> (p. 241)

In Tunis, al-Ḥajarī showed his *Kitāb* to the mufti of Tunisia, Shaykh Ahmed al-Ḥanafī, who also

approved and praised the text (p. 241). Later al-Ḥajarī made several edited copies of *Kitāb*. The

Cairo MS is one of these later copies, because al-Ḥajarī states,

> I am adding to this copy [of my book] something that was not found in the copies I wrote
> earlier. In the year 1050 [1640/1641] I was living in the city of Tunis … (p.234)

The above quotation indicates that the Cairo MS was written sometime after 1640. As for the Paris

MS, it is believed to have been copied after 1655 because the phrase '*rahimahu Allah*' (May God

---

[30] This original *Riḥlat* is now lost, while *Kitāb* survived. However, it is believed that *Riḥlat* was circulating among
eighteenth-century biographers who used it as a source for their *ʹansab* (genealogy) dictionaries on the sixteenth-
century Moroccan dynasty al-Ashraf al-Saʻdiyyin (the Saʻdids). See Muhammed al-Saġīr al-Ifranī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī
bī Akhbār Mulūk al-Qarn al-Ḥādī*, [1724], in O. Hadous (ed.), 1 Vol., Paris, 1888-1889, p.118 [in Arabic]; See
Thomas K. Park and Aomar Boum. *Historical dictionary of Morocco*. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press, 2006,
perspective. 179-189.

have mercy on him) occurs after each mention of Shaykh al-Ujhūrī, who died in 1655.[31] The Cairo MS has several marginalia, on the title and last pages, which celebrate the text and the author. One of these marginalia, which is undated, on the last page of the manuscript states, "al-ḥamdu lillah [Thank God] I finished reading this book and I prayed for the author. I am al-Faqīh Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad l-ʿAṭṭār the appointed Shaykh of al-Azhar Mosque". Shaykh l-ʿAṭṭār (1766 -1835) was the grand Imam of al-Azhar (1830-1835).[32] Another marginalia dated 1317 [1899] is signed by an unidentified Libyan scholar named Muhammad ibn al-Shaykh ʿOmar al-Qāḍī al-Musrātī. There are other marginalia which are neither signed nor dated. This indicates that the text was circulating among wide scholarly networks in Egypt and the Maghrib.

Intended Audience

This situation of writing conveys several important details about *Kitāb*. First, writing *Kitāb* was not a solitary act; rather it was an intensely social act involving an exchange of views between al-Ḥajarī and the Mālikī scholar al-Ujhūrī and other scholars in Tunisia. This reveals an obvious intended audience and an influential social network within which al-Ḥajarī interacted, namely the scholars of the Sunni Mālikī school of Jurisprudence (*maddhab fiqhī*), which was predominant in early modern al-Andalus and North Africa.[33] Coupled with this Mālikī network are other intersecting Sufi and theological scholarly networks. Second, al-Ḥajarī's decision about the polemical content, structure, tone, and style of *Kitāb* was determined by this scholarly network, which represented a higher religious and social authority.

One may speculate that al-Ḥajarī deliberately tells the reader about the Mālikī jurist involvement in revising *Kitāb* in order to achieve certain rhetorical functions: he authorizes his text; he holds

---

[31] Van Koningsveld et al., "Introduction", p. 54.

[32] Peter Gran (2009). "Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār", in Joseph Edmund Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (eds.) *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1350-1850*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag. 2009, pp. 56–68.

[33] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 59; See Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th-10th Centuries,* Leiden: Brill. 1997, pp. 164-169 for a history of the Mālikī school in the Arabic West and al-Andalus.

himself as an accountable and learned Andalusian writer; and he embeds himself into a close
relationship with the eminent grand Mālikī Mufti of Cairo. Al-Ḥajarī's statement that *Kitāb* was
written upon the request of al-Ujhūrī may seem to be a 'modesty formula', in Peter Burke's words
(see Chapter 1); however, it has the illocutionary force of self-promoting, or rather showing off.
Nevertheless, these details support the hypothesis of the present study that the emotions exhibited in
Kitāb are cultural constructs. They tell more about al-Ḥajarī's awareness of an eventual readership
in the scholarly religious circles in North Africa. This scholarly network draws the attention to an
overarching community that may have shaped al-Ḥajarī's discourse of emotions and his modes of
emotional self-fashioning.

Al-Ḥajarī's Writing Style

Moreover, this formal and scholarly situation of writing *Kitāb* explains other details about al-
Ḥajarī's writing style, particularly his voice and his word choice. In terms of his voice, even though
al-Ḥajarī embeds narrative episodes on his life and his emotions, his narrative voice is impersonal
and discreet. He excludes any details on his private life: his wife, children, or family. In other texts
of his, al-Ḥajarī is more liberal on these private matters. For example, during his stay in Paris, al-
Ḥajarī wrote two texts. In April 1612, he wrote a poem in Spanish and Arabic to his wife "la blanca
paloma" (the white dove).[34] In May 1612 he wrote a letter to the exiled Andalusian community in
Istanbul, in which he mentions details about his children, his life in Morocco, and his journey to
Europe.[35]

Nevertheless, in *Kitāb*, al-Ḥajarī keeps his self-image at a professional level: his education, his
inter-personal scholarly acquaintances, and his Andalusian identity.

> I speak Arabic, the language of Spain, the language of the People of Portugal. I also
> understand the French language, but I cannot speak it. (p. 200)

---

[34] Van Koningsveld et al., "Introduction", p. 36. They are referring to MS Arabe 4119, Bibliotheque Nationale in
Paris.
[35] This letter is published and analyzed in Gerard Weigers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintances of Erpenius and Golius.
Ahmed b. Kasim al-Andalusi and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands.* Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-
Christendom, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit. 1988, pp. 30-44.

He presents his multilingual skills as his only means to the upwardly social mobility which he achieved in his life. In the Maghribi community, these qualifications earned him the position of the official translator in the court of Mulay al Mansour and his son Mulay Zaydan.[36] Al-Ḥajarī's career as a translator in the Sa'did Moroccan court is evident in several surviving works.[37] Al- Ḥajarī describes himself thus:

> I am the Interpreter of the Sultan of Marrakesh. He who occupies that post must study the sciences, as well as the books of the Muslims and Christians, in order to know what he is saying and translating in the court of the Sultan. But when I am in the presence of the Scholars of our [own] religion, I am not able to talk about the [religious] sciences. (p. 133)

It also qualified him to be Mulay Zaydan's envoy to Europe. When the robbed Andalusians were asked to decide on someone to represent them in France, they suggested two names, including al-Ḥajarī and another Andalusian officer named Ibrahim al-Qal'i. Mulay Zaydan favoured al-Ḥajarī and told him,

> Al-Qal'i should not go because he is an uneducated man. The priests and the Christians will doubt [the sincerity of] his religion. The only person who should go is you. (p. 243, footnote 44)[38]

Once among the Europeans, al-Ḥajarī managed to embed himself in a leading scholarly network of Arabic scholars because of his multilingualism and his education. In France, he befriended the physician and Arabist Etienne Hubert (d. 1614), and they reached the following agreement,

> In that city [i.e. Paris] I met one of their learned men who was studying Arabic. His name was Hubert. He said to me: 'I will serve you in your needs, by talking on your behalf with the important people etcetera, and I do not want anything from you in return other than to read with you the books I have in Arabic and that you explain some of their contents to me'. (p. 109)

---

[36] L.P. Harvey, "The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter", *Miscelánea de -Árabes y Hebraicos*, 8, 1959: 67-97.

[37] He translated a book on artillery warfare and ballistics from Spanish to Arabic. The book was written in 1631 by an Andalusian sea-captain nicknamed al-Rayyash (1570- ?). See Ibn Ghanim al-Rayyash al-Andalusi, *Kitāb al-`Izz wa al-Rif`a w al-Mānāfi` lil-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl-illah bil Madāfi`a*: tarjamahu la-hu bi-al-'Arabīyah Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī (the Book of Glory, Greatness, and Benefits for those who Fight for Allah's Path using Artillery; Translated into Arabic by Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī), Iḥsān Hindī (ed.), Dimashq: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-'Askarīyah, 1995 [in Arabic]. His other surviving work is *Al-Risāla al-Zakutiyya* (The Treatise of Samuel Zacuto). This is an Arabic translation of a Latin translation of an astronomical treatise originally written in Hebrew in the fifteenth century by the Jewish Portuguese scientist Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto. There are several manuscripts of *al-Risāla al-Zakutiyya;* one copy is in the Egyptian National Archives in Cairo (DM 1081); See Wiegers, "Learned Moriscos", p. 414.

[38] This passage is absent from Cairo MS.

In Leiden, al-Ḥajarī associated with two Dutch Arabists: Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) and

Jacobus Golius (1596-1667).[39] He describes Erpenius as follows,

> I [also] met a man there [i.e. Leiden] who was studying Arabic and teaching it to others,
> receiving a salary for this. I had already made his acquaintance in France. He took me to his
> house while speaking Arabic with me, thereby inflecting the nouns and the verbs. He had a
> lot of Arabic books, among them the noble Quran. (p. 195)

He also extended his friendly relations to one of Erpenius' friends, the Dutch diplomat and traveller

Pieter Nuyts (1598-1655). Al-Ḥajarī' wrote an Arabic entry in Nuyts' *Album Amicorum*.[40]

This scholarly situation of writing *Kitāb* is reflected in al-Ḥajarī's vocabulary choice. As will be

exemplified in the analysis of fear and love narratives, al-Ḥajarī draws heavily on Qur'anic and

scholarly vocabulary in his emotion narratives. To emulate his erudite intended audience, al-Ḥajarī

immerses his *Kitāb* in a large number of direct quotes and textual references to canonical Arabic

literary, Sufi, and theological texts. Just to mention a few, he refers to Imam al-Busairi and his Sufi

poem of *al-Burda* (the Mantle)[41] (p. 82,140), Imam Abu Ḥamid al-Ghazālī and his Sufi

Compendium *Ihya` 'Ulum ad-Dīn* (Revival of Religious Learning)[42] (p. 74), Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-

Suyūṭī and his book *al-Khasā`is al-Kubrā* (The Miracles and Characteristics of Prophet

Muhammed) (p.48, p.146), and al-Qāḍi 'Iyāḍ (d.1149) and his book *Kitāb Al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf Ḥuqūq

al-Muṣtafā* (The Book of Healing through the Knowledge of the Rights of the Chosen One, Prophet

Muhammed) (p. 196, 270).

Moreover, al-Ḥajarī references several Arabic polemical texts which were widely circulating at his

time,[43] such as: *al-Risala* (The Treatise) by Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (p.151), *Irshād al-Ḥayārā fī*

[39] Wiegers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic studies in the Netherlands", pp. 413-415.
[40] Wiegers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands", p. 412.
[41] Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad,* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010, pp. 70-150.
[42] Abū Hāmid Al-Ghazālī, *'Ihya' 'Ulum al-Dīn (Revival of Religious Learning).* Fazl-ul-Karim (Trans.). 4 Vol. Karachi, Pakistan: Darul-Ishaat. 1993.
[43] Gerard Wiegers, "The Expulsion of 1609-1614 and the Polemical Writings of the Moriscos Living in the Diaspora", In Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wiegers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A*

rad' man mārā fī adillat al-tawḥīd wa'l-radd 'ala 'l-Naṣārā (A Guide for the Confused, in

Restraint of those who Dispute about the Proofs for God's Unity and Refutation of the Christians)

by 'Izzadin bin Ahmed al-Dirini (p. 225), *al-Sayf al-Maḥdūd fī 'l-Radd 'ala al-Yahūd* (The Sharp

Sword for Refuting the Jews) by 'abd al-Haqq al-Islami, a late fourteenth-century Jewish convert to

Islam (p.165), and *Tuḥfat al-Ar ī b fi 'l-radd 'ala Ahl al-Ṣalīb* (The Gift to the Intelligent for

Refuting the Arguments of the Christians) by Abdullah al-Tarjuman, a fifteenth-century convert

from Christianity to Islam (p. 216). As is obvious, al-Ḥajarī fashioned the title of his *Kitāb* (*Nāṣir*

al-Dīn `alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn - The Book of the Supporter of Religion against the Infidels) to be

as bellicose as the titles of these orthodox polemical texts.

These intertextual references in *Kitāb* are significant to the analysis of al-Ḥajarī's discourse on

emotions. Texts, as Rosenwein suggests, play critical roles in shaping emotional communities and

emotional styles; She argues that an emotional community

> is also possibly a 'textual community': created and reinforced by ideologies, teachings, and
> common presuppositions. With their very vocabulary, texts offer exemplars of emotions
> belittled and valorized. In the Middle Ages, texts were memorized, made part of the self, and
> 'lived with' in a way analogous to communing with a friend. Hagiography (the lives of
> saints) was written so that men and women would have models of behavior and attitude. The
> readers of these lives took that purpose seriously.[44]

The intertextual network between *Kitāb* and other Sufi and theological Arabic texts gives a vivid

sense of the sorts of text al-Ḥajarī read and accessed, whether before or after his emigration. They

also tell about the written/textual culture of his Andalusian community, which is a major source for

the emotional norms and values in al-Ḥajarī's context.

The above analysis of *Kitāb* as a communicative act has established several important textual and

---

Mediterranean Diaspora. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014, pp. 389-412.

[44] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 25; See also Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', p. 11/12. Rosenwein uses the notion of 'textual community' as defined by Brian Stock in his books: Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983; Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, pp. 140-158.

cultural cues for interpreting al-Ḥajarī's discourse on emotion. First, Kitāb was written as a social activity. Second, the Mālikī scholarly network and the Sufi/theological Arabic textual community are the most likely cultural sources from which al-Ḥajarī derived his vocabulary and narrative on emotions, as well as his modes of emotional self-fashioning. However, these two communities are border-crossing and far from being monolithic. Therefore, they invite further questioning into the larger socio-cultural context of *Kitāb.*

3.2. *Kitāb* as a Map of Andalusian Emotional Communities

Before delving into *Kitāb* as a source on emotional communities and styles in early modern al-Andalus and North Africa, there are three points at stake. First, as Pierre Cachia argues, "Iberia was never completely Islamized or Arabized".[45] Before the advent of Islam in Spain, the Iberian Peninsula was a culturally diverse civilization of multiple faiths and ethnicities, mainly Roman Christian, Visigothic, and Jewish communities.[46] When the Muslims took over Spain in 711, the spectrum of cultural diversity opened up to include Arabs, Amazigh Berbers, and other minorities such as Slavs and Eastern Christians.[47] All these ethnic and religious groups meant that Islamic Spain/al-Andalus accumulated different inseparable layers of cultural exchange among these communities. Muslim communities, as will be discussed below, were never completely cut off from the norms, the beliefs, and the traditions of the other non-Muslim communities.

Second, as much as premodern Spain offers shining examples of cultural exchange, symbiosis, and innovation in science, art, architecture, literature, and many other cultural domains, it also offers dramatic episodes of cultural tension, religious violence, puritanical disdain, forced expulsion, and ethnic cleansing. Therefore, recent historical and cultural studies on early modern Andalusian and

---

[45] Pierre Cachia, *Arabic Literature: An Overview*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002, p. 87
[46] Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409-711*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
[47] Sayyid Muhammad Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain: 711-1492 AD: A Sociological Study*. Leiden: Brill, [1965] 1976, pp. 23-45.

Spanish texts show careful awareness never to exclusively celebrate or deny any one aspect of the story.[48] With these two points in mind, al-Ḥajarī and his *Kitāb* are approached as products of such a complex socio-cultural context. Third, the ultimate goal of reading the diversity in emotional communities and emotional styles in *Kitāb* is to castigate the commonplace dichotomous concepts lying behind the historiography of Christian-Muslim conflict in al-Andalus. Emotional communities and styles are analytical concepts by which we can re-evaluate Muslim–Christian relations in the early modern Mediterranean world.

Al-Ḥajarī embeds *Kitāb* in the politics of religion of sixteenth-century Catholic Spain. His narrative accounts for the last century of Muslim existence in al-Andalus, literally from the fall of Granada, the last Andalusian kingdom, to the Christians in 1492 until the final expulsion of Muslims from Spain in 1614. This period was the abyss of what many historians have termed as the *convivencia* (living together)of Medieval Spain.[49] After nearly eight centuries (711-1492) of coexistence among Muslim and non-Muslim communities, the sixteenth century brought about a drastic "decline of co-existence" and a dramatic rise of political absolutism and religious extremism.[50] Spain became a stage for the interplay and conflict between Catholicism on one hand and Islam, Judaism, and Protestantism on the other. Religion became the expressed reason for Spain's conflicts with the Protestants in Northern Europe and with the Ottomans in the Mediterranean.[51]

Maribel Fierro has studied several examples of Andalusian texts written shortly before the end of the *convivencia.* They project "Christians as aggressors towards whom the normal feelings are fear and hatred [...] Christians portrayed almost exclusively as enemies who stimulate feelings of

---

[48]   Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
[49]   Vivian Mann Thomas Glick and Jerrilyn D. Dodds, eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, New York: Braziller, 1992; L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 110.
[50]   James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain*, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013.
[51]   Jan Glete, *Warfare at Sea, 1500-1650: Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 103-106 and 147.

hostility, suspicion and disapproval".[52] *Kitāb* shows these typical emotional tropes. Al-Ḥajarī gives

an account of the historical events that he witnessed, such as the Inquisition courts and the

expulsion of Muslims in 1609-1614. Just to mention a few examples, he gives a direct commentary

on historical events:

> Allah released the Muslim Andalusians who were [still] under the oppression and injustice
> of the Christians, when the Sultan of the country called Philip III ordered all of them to
> leave his country. (p. 62)

He elaborates and interprets certain historical incidents which were being kept under wraps,

> Before I left this country [i.e. Spain], this Philip the Second ordered all the Andalusian
> inhabitants, both adults and the children, to register. Even those who were only found in the
> wombs of women, by the appearance of their pregnancy [were to be registered]. No one
> knew the underlying reason for that [registration]. Then, after about 17 years, they arranged
> another registration like the first one, as I was told in Marrakesh, without anyone knowing
> the real reason for that [either]. But it was said at the time that they wanted to know whether
> they increased in number or not. When they found that their [number] was in fact increasing
> tremendously, they ordered them to be expelled shortly afterwards (p. 205).

In addition, he embeds an Arabic translation of Philip III's edict, issued in 1609, to the governor of

Valencia (Marques de Caranzena), ordering him to start expelling the Andalusians (pp. 206-209).

One item in this edict, according to al-Ḥajarī's translation, is concerned with the children of inter-

faith marriages,

> Youngsters who are children of Christians should not be expelled, or their mother with
> them, even though she is an Andalusian. If their father is an Andalusian and their mother a
> Christian, the wife should remain with her children, of six years and younger, but he should
> go away and leave. (p.209)

He also informs the reader of the consequences of this edict, to exemplify the injustices done to the

expelled Andalusians,

> Whoever rented a ship to go to the lands of the Muslims should be bereft of their sons and
> daughters younger than seven years. [...] Of the inhabitants of Al-Hajar al-Ahmer [his home
> village], they took about a thousand children. They took the children of all those who
> crossed to Tangier and Ceuta, like they did with the others. But the Exalted God is able to do
> justice to them, through the hands of the Sultan of the Muslims who were chosen and
> favored by God. (p. 210)

---

[52] Maribel Fierro, "Christian Success and Muslim Fear in Andalusi Writings during the Almoravid and Almohad
periods", in Rubin, Uri, and David Wasserstein (eds.), *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of
Classical Islam*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1997, pp. 155-178 (p. 162).

Moreover, al-Ḥajarī's narrative draws on the collective memory of his community; he refers back to historical events which he had not lived through, such as the edict of forced Catholicism, issued in 1501, which compelled all the Muslims in Spain to be baptized and become Moriscos (new Christians). He also refers to the several royal ordinances, issued in 1508, 1526, 1566, which prohibited the Moriscos from using the Arabic language or showing any manifestation of Moorish/Islamic culture. He tells how the Andalusians of his generation experienced the outcomes of those past events.

To the interest of the present study, al-Ḥajarī's narrative on this socio-political context is not limited to reporting on historical events per se. As will be discussed below in Section 3.2.2, it also exhibits how these events, especially the edict on forced conversion and the ban on using the Arabic language, divided the larger Andalusian community into multiple coexistent emotional communities. Each sub-community developed an idiosyncratic emotional style of responding to cope with the political pressures practiced by the sixteenth-century Spanish Catholic regime. These emotional styles oscillated between tolerance and violence, between dissimulation and resistance, between radical and less radical Mālikī ideologies, and between Arabic literacy and Spanish literacy. In addition, the attitudes of the Spanish Christian community towards the Moriscos' cultural disempowerment were oscillating between empathy and antipathy. This discussion relies on several studies which have raised textual evidence that the Jewish, Muslim, and Christian communities were far from being monolithic in coping with the deterioration of the *convivencia*.[53] However, the discussion on this cultural breakdown of multiple emotional communities and styles in sixteenth-century al-Andalus would not be complete without background information on the larger Andalusian community during the *convivencia* (711-1492).

3.2.1. Collective Memories: Emotional Communities in *Convivencia* (711-1492).

---

[53] Alisa Meyuhas Ginio (ed.). *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492*, New York: Routledge, [1992] 2002.

The *Convivencia* was one of the major reasons for the rise of al-Andalus during the period 711-1086.[54] Al-Andalus progressed from a peripheral emirate affiliated to the Islamic Umayyad Dynasty in 711, to an independent Islamic Emirate in Cordoba in 755, then, to an Islamic Caliphate in 929. During this 'golden age of al-Andalus', Cordoba was a pre-eminent cultural centre for arts, music, mathematics, medicine, and sciences. During the tenth century, al-Andalus was a cultural rival to the Abbasids in Baghdad and the Shi'ite Fatimid dynasty in North Africa and Egypt.[55] During this period, "the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus transformed Mālikīsm into an 'official' legal school that was a crucial factor in the creation and maintenance of an Andalusi identity".[56] Mālikī *faqihs* (jurists) were given positions of power for their significant role in legitimizing the Umayyad rule with the populace.[57]

Al-Andalus remained an active Arabo-Islamic cultural centre even when it was beset with civil strife (*fitna)* among the Muslim ethnic groups, including Arab elites, descendants of neo-Muslim (*muladis)*, and Berbers. This *fitna* dissolved the united Caliphate of Cordoba into more than thirty independent and competing city-states under the rule of the Petty Kings (*Muluk al-Tawa'if*).[58] Paradoxically, this time of division brought about better cultural conditions, as each local ruler aimed to emulate Cordoba and the Caliphate's golden age by patronizing scientists, poets, philosophers, and physicians regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliation.[59] The cultural interplay among the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic communities generated several hybrid

---

[54]   Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2002.

[55]   Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975, pp. 89-190 (p. 119).

[56]   Maribel Fierro, "Proto-Malikis, Malikis, and Reformed Malikis in Al-Andalus", In Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (eds.), *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005, pp. 57-76 (pp. 57-58).

[57]   Fierro, "Proto-Malikis", p. 62.

[58]   Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*, New York: Routledge, [1996] 2014, pp. 130-149.

[59]   Cynthia Robinson, "The Arts of the Taifa Kingdoms", in Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise (ed.), A*l-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, pp. 49-61.

communities such as the *Muladis* (neo-Muslims of Hispanic origin),[60] the Arabized Jews,[61] and the *Mozarabs* (Christians who maintained their faith but embraced the Arabic language and culture).[62] Multiculturalism inspired new poetic and musical genres, such as the hybrid Romance-Arabic *muwashshah, zajal,* and *Kharja,*[63] the hybrid Judeo-Arabic literature (Arabic texts written in Hebrew script),[64] and the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy and rite.[65]

However, during the period from 1086 to 1492, the *convivencia* in al-Andalus endured a turn towards a political struggle disguised as a religious one between the northern Christian kingdoms (Navarre, Aragon, Leon, and Castile) and the southern Muslim kingdoms (Cordoba, Valencia, Seville, and Granada). On the one hand, the Christian kingdoms employed the rhetorics of *Crusading* to launch their *Reconquista.* They aimed to win back a united Roman Catholic Spain. They took over major cities: Toledo in 1086, Saragossa in 1118, Cordoba in 1236, Valencia in 1238, and Seville in 1248.[66] On the other hand, the religious Mālikī authorities in the heartland of Islam declared al-Andalus a *Dar-ul Jihad* or *Dar-ul ḥarb* (a holy war zone) and heightened the rhetorics of *Jihād* in southern Spain and North Africa. The Berber Muslim dynasty of the Almoravids (*al-Murābiṭṭūn*) (1086-1145) crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and annexed al-Andalus to their kingdom in North Africa.[67] They united the Andalusian petty kingdoms under their central

---

[60] Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain,* pp. 26-31; David J Wasserstein, "The Muslims and the Golden Age of the Jews in al-Andalus". In Rubin, Uri, and David Wasserstein (eds.), *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1997, pp. 179-196.

[61] Ross Brann, "The Arabized Jews", in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.), *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 435-454.

[62] H. D. Miller, "The Mozarabs", in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.), *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 415-434.

[63] James T. Monroe, "Zajal and muwashshaha: Hispano-arabic Ooetry and the Romance Tradition", in Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (eds.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: Brill [1992] 1994, pp. 398-419; Samuel Miklos Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies. S*elected and edited by L.P. Harvey, Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1974.

[64] Yom Tov Assis, "The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain", in Daniel Frank (ed.), *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and identity* (Proceedings of an International Conference held by the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London 1992), Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 111-124. See an example on canonical Judeo-Arabic texts by Moses Maimonides (d. 1204), *The Guide for the Perplexed (c.1190),* S. Pines (tr.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

[65] Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics and Cross*, New York: Orbis Books, 2014.

[66] Joseph F. O´Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain,* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

[67] Ronald A. Messier, *The Almoravids and the Meanings of Jihad*, Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2010, p. 76.

power and sought to slow down the *Reconquista*. The rhetorics of Jihad continued after the Almoravids were deposed by the Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*) (1145-1212).[68]

During the centuries of the *Reconquista*, all religious communities suffered one way or another. In southern Spain, the Almoravids ('Those Dwelling in Fortified Convents,' or 'Warrior-Monks') and the Almohads ('Those Who Affirm the Unity of God'), as their names denote, were reformist and puritanical movements that emerged in North Africa.[69] They aimed at transferring the open and diverse al-Andalus into a purely Muslim state. They adopted an intolerant policy towards the *Dhimmis* (the Jews and the Christians). Christian Mozarabs were deported and forced to convert to Islam.[70] Jewish communities (Arabized Jews) were dismantled and forced either to convert or to emigrate.[71] Moreover, Muslim communities were not immune from these radical regimes. The Muslims of al-Andalus were accused of religious deviance. The Andalusian poets, philosophers, and courtier classes were accused of extravagance and indulgence.

Both Almoravid and Almohad amīrs (rulers) relied, in varying degrees, on the Mālikī orthodox *faqīhs* to authorize their rule and legitimize their puritanical a attitudes. In return, Mālikī *faqīhs* gained more power and dominance in al-Andalus and North Africa.[72] This power continued until the time of al-Ḥajarī.[73] The amīrs also allied with many Sufi scholars and leaders in al-Andalus. However, when Almoravid amīrs saw that Sufi leaders were becoming "rival figures of authority",[74]

---

[68] Allen James Fromherz, *Almohads: The Rise of an Islamic Empire*, London, New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010.

[69] *Encyclopedia of World Religions,* Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2006, p. 35.

[70] Maribel Fierro, "A Muslim Land Without Jews or Christians: Almohad Policies regarding the 'Protected People'", In Tischler, Matthias M. and Alexander Fidora, (eds.), *Christlicher Norden- Muslimischer Süden: Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch-und Spätmittelalter*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011, pp. 231-247.

[71] Esperanza Alfonso, *Islamic Culture through Jewish Eyes: Al-Andalus from the Tenth to Twelfth Century*, New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 1-2, and 35.

[72] Maribel Fierro, "Proto-Malikis, Malikis, and Reformed Malikis in Al-Andalus". In Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (eds.), *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005, pp. 57-76.

[73] Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

[74] Maribel Fierro, "The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs and Ibn Rushd's *Bidayat Al-Mujtahid"*, *Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 10 No. 3, 1999: 226-248 (229).

they hunted down many of the Andalusian Sufi leaders, such as Ibn Barrajan (d. c. 1141), Ibn al-'Arif (d. 1141), and Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1148). They also banned and burned the books of Sufi scholar al-Ghazali because "he criticized [the Mālikī *faqīhs*] for meddling in politics".[75] This act of burning al-Ghazali's *Ihya` 'Ulum ad-Dīn* (Revival of Religious Learning) in 1143, outraged al-Ghazali himself and the Andalusian Sufi seekers. Their "voices of dissent" encouraged Almohad amīrs to depose the Almoravids in al-Andalus. The Almohad amīrs were as puritanical as the Almoravids, yet they learnt not to intermeddle with Sufi orders or Sufi texts. The Almohad amīrs restored the status of the Sufi orders, which continued to shape the norms and beliefs of the Andalusian community, as will be discussed in al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear and love.

Seeing such a radical situation in southern Spain, larger communities of Muslims in Castile, Aragon, Valencia, and Navarre accepted the Christian rule. In return, the Christian authorities kept, to a great extent, a state of coexistence.[76] Those Muslim communities were labelled by most orthodox Mālikī scholars as *ahl al-dajjan* or the *Mudajjan,* a derogatory Arabic adjective which means the tamed/domesticated. This adjective was then modified into Spanish as the *Mudejars*.[77] The *Mudejars* had a relatively lower social status than the Christians in terms of jobs, education, and ghetto habitation. However, they enjoyed recognition from both the Christian authorities and the public to practise Islam. They also maintained their Moorish identity in terms of using Arabic language, dress, education systems, etc. *Mudejar* scholars were free to write and publish theological and literary texts in both Arabic and Spanish. Ice de Jebir of Segovia, the grand Mufti of the Muslim *Mudejars* in Castile*,* translated the Qur'an into Castilian Spanish in 1455, and in 1462, he wrote his *Breviario Sunni* which includes the basic Islamic teachings for the non-Arabic speaking

---

[75] Messier, *The Almoravids,* pp. 127-128 and. 163-164.
[76] Christian rulers, such as Alfonso VI (reg. 1077–1109), fostered cultural exchange and knowledge transfer by turning Toledo into a busy centre for translation and scholarship cooperation among Jews, Christians and Muslims. He encouraged the translation of Arabic literary and scientific texts into Latin. Alfonso X of Castile and León (reg.1252-1284), for example, was nicknamed 'the learned' because he fostered a tolerant atmosphere for both the Muslims and the Jews.
[77] L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp. 3-4.

Mudejars.[78] However, the context was not completely free from hostility, heavy taxation, and relocation.

By the mid-thirteenth century, the *Reconquista* had taken over all of the Muslim cities except for Granada, the homeland of al-Ḥajarī; it was the only and last surviving Muslim state in Spain. The Nasirid Dynasty (1238-1492) signed a treaty (in 1240) upon which Granada became a vassal state of Castile obliged to pay tribute on conditions of homage and alliance. The Nasirids restored the prosperity of Granada. The economy flourished as Granada and Castile maintained friendly diplomatic and trade relations, especially during the reigns of Pedro of Castile and Muhammed V of Granada. The hospitals of Granada became centres for the study of medicine. Skilful, yet cheap Muslim artisans and labourers excelled in the arts, architecture, silk and textile industries. The Nasirids also restored the state of *convivencia* in Granada, which became a sanctuary for many Jewish and Muslim scholars who refused to remain under Catholic rule yet could not emigrate to the heartland of Islam.[79] Granada became a dominantly Muslim, Arabic-speaking community with small communities of Christian Mozarabs and Arabized Jews.

However, the members of these communities, like al-Ḥajarī, inherited all of the painful memories of the Jewish and Muslim refugees. From Granada, both Jewish and Muslim poets lamented the loss of their home towns.[80] The genre of elegy for cities (*ritha' al-mudun*) in Andalusi-Arabic poetry emerged.[81] Typical of this state of nostalgia is Ibn 'Umayra's (d. 1258) elegy for Valencia's fall in 1238[82] and the canonical poem of Abu al-Baqá al-Rundí (d.1285) mourning the loss of Al- Andalus.

---

[78]   Gerard A. Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden: Brill, 1994.

[79]   Dominique Urvoy, "The 'Ulama' of al-Andalus". In Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (eds.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* Leiden: Brill [1992] 1994, pp. 849-877.

[80]   Alexander E. Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus: The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

[81]   Al-Zayyát. 'Abd Allah Muhammad. *Ritha' al-mudun fí ash-shi'r al-Andalusí (Eng. Elegy for Cities in Andalusian poetry)*, Ben Ghazi. University of Qáryúns. The first print. 1990.

[82]   Elinson. *Looking back at al-Andalus,* p. 32.

The tap of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved,
Over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by unbelief;
In which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found.
[...]
And you who are living in luxury beyond the sea enjoying life, you who have the strength and power in your homelands,
[...]
Are there no heroic souls with lofty ambitions; are there no helpers and defenders of righteousness?
O, who will redress the humiliation of a people who were once powerful, a people whose condition injustice and tyrants have changed?
Yesterday they were kings in their own homes, but today they are slaves in the land of the infidel!
Thus, were you to see them perplexed, with no one to guide them, wearing the cloth of shame in its different shades,
And were you to behold their weeping when they are sold, the matter would strike fear into your heart, and sorrow would seize you.
Alas, many a mother and child have been parted as souls and bodies are separated!
And many a maiden fair as the sun when it rises, as though she were rubies and pearls,
Is led off to abomination by a barbarian against her will, while her eye is in tears and her heart is stunned.
The heart melts with sorrow at such [sights], if there is any Islam or belief in that heart![83]

These emotional narratives and images had become shared memories for all Muslim communities, not only in Granada but also in North Africa and the rest of the Islamic world.

During the second half of the fourteenth century, the status of Granada was threatened by several historical events. The fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the unity between Fernando II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1469, and the authorization of the Spanish Inquisition courts in 1478 all re-ignited the rhetorics of crusading against Granada. In addition to that was the strife within the Muslim monarchy of Granada. All circumstances led to the fall of Granada, the last Muslim state, to Catholic rule in 1492. The *Reconquista* was fully achieved; all of the Muslim communities in Spain accepted Christian rule and became *Mudijars*.

The surrender of Granada signalled the last chapter of the Muslims' existence in Spain. It was an

---

[83]   James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1974, pp. 333-336.

emotional event for Boabdil, the last Muslim king of Granada, who heaved "*el ultimo suspiro del Moro*" (the last sigh of the Moor), and for his mother who spurred him on with her famed historical phrase, "you weep like a woman for what you failed to defend like a man".[84] The emotionality of this historic episode has inspired many modern Arab and non-Arab intellectuals, who have depicted the loss of Granada in their literary and art works.[85]

3.2.2. Cultural Breakdown: Several Andalusian Emotional Communities (1492-1614)

After the fall of Granada, al-Andalus was officially terminated and the Muslims of Granada became *Mudejars,* like the Muslims in the northern Spanish cities. At that point, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain put serious and continuous efforts into creating a uniform religion in the peninsula under their own faith.[86] They took two measures against the non-Christian communities. First, they forced both Jews and Muslims to convert; second they took several procedures to ensure that these converts were completely integrated into the Christian culture and lifestyle. These measures fractured the larger Andalusian community.

Muslim Communities: *Hijrah* or *Taqiyyah*

In 1492, the Catholic monarchs issued an edict giving the Jews a choice to either be baptised or face exile. Many Jews were forced to flee the country, while those who converted (known as the *Conversos*) were always suspected to be false Christians. They were frequently tested by the infamous Inquisition courts.[87] The Muslims faced the same destiny. In 1501, the Christian authorities issued an edict that ordered the Muslims of Granada to accommodate themselves within

---

[84]   Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra*, Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1840, p. 96.
[85]   Contemporary novelists, poets and filmmakers, depict the fall of Granada as an emotional event in the history of Islam. See for example: Salman Rushdie, *The Moor's Last Sigh*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1995; Radwa Ashour, *Granada: A Novel*, William Granara (trans.), New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003; Jonathan Holt Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015; Alessandro Vanoli, "The Borders of Muslim Spain", in Roberto Tottoli (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West,* New York: Routledge, 2015, perspective.21-37 (p. 32).
[86]   By Catholic monarchs, I refer to the kings and queens who ruled Spain in the period from the Fall of Granada (1492) until the Expulsion of Muslims in Spain (1614), including: Ferdinand and Isabella (reg. 1475-1516) and their successors Juana and her son Charles V (reg. 1516-1556), Phillip II (reg. 1556-1598) and Phillip III (reg. 1598-1621). Amelang, *Parallel Histories.*
[87]   Amelang, *Parallel Histories.* pp. 69-79.

three choices; "the choices were stark: (1) remain and accept baptism; (2) remain, refuse baptism, and become a slave; or (3) leave the country and become a refugee in an Islamic country".[88] In addition, the Catholic authorities set difficult restrictions on those who chose to leave the country.[89] This edict was put to influence in other kingdoms as well. After Granada came the rest of Castile in 1502, Navarre in 1515, Valencia in 1520, and last was Aragon in 1525. The label of those who converted changed from *Mudejars* (Muslims under Christian rule) to *Moriscos* (Moor converts to Christianity). The forced conversion edict was coupled with a wave of religious assimilation measures to integrate the Moriscos into the Christian faith by giving them and their children Bible education in schools and churches.[90] This explains one important source of al-Ḥajarī's knowledge of the Bible and Old Testament. However, this strategy did not work so well in Granada; because it was the most recent Muslim community to fall under Catholic rule, "its Moriscos had the most recent experience, and thus freshest memories, of Islamic beliefs and practices".[91]

The edict on forced conversion left the Andalusians with a major ethical question: which of these choices accords with the Islamic faith? What is the 'proper' conduct of a Muslim residing under the rule of the Christians and facing the threat of forced conversion?[92] To answer their questions, the Andalusians sought advice or *Fatwa* from the of the Sunni Mālikī jurists.[93] Their questions stirred the Mālikī jurists; it even occupied the discussion among the jurists in Egypt.[94] The answers

---

[88]   Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 47.
[89]   Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 58.
[90]   Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 14.
[91]   Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 14.
[92]   Alan Verskin, *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista: The Debate on the Status of Muslim Communities in Christendom*, Leiden: Brill, 2015.
[93]   "A *fatwa* (pl. *fatawa*) is an advisory opinion issued by a recognized authority on law and tradition in answer to a specific question". Source: Fakhreddin Azimi, "Fatwa", in in Richard C Martin. *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, 2 Vol. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, Vol. I (A-L), pp. 255-256, here p. 255.
[94]   P. S. van Koningsveld and G. A. Wiegers. "Islam in Spain during the Early Sixteenth Century: The Views of the Four Chief Judges in Cairo", In Otto Zwartjes, G. J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds.), *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, Orientations 4. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996, pp.133-52. Available at: <http://uva.academia.edu/GerardWiegers/Papers>

of the jurists fell into two competing views which circulated within the Andalusian community in Spain until their expulsion (1609-1614).

On the one hand, there was an already established Mālikī opinion which urged Muslims to leave the abode of infidelity and make *hijrah* to the abode of Islam.

> One of the blessings the Exalted God bestowed upon me was that he made me a Muslim in the land of the infidels, ever since I was aware of myself, through my blessed parents- may the Exalted God have mercy upon them- and their guidance. Allah created in my heart the *mahabba* (love) to leave the lands of al-Andalus as a *Muhajir* (in order to emigrate) to Allah and His Messenger and to enter the lands of Muslims. Allah realized [this] purpose and [fulfilled this] wish and brought me to the City of Marrakech in Morocco. (p. 61)

This conservative opinion had emerged in the eleventh century after the fall of the first Muslim city Toledo in 1085 into the hands of the Christians. This legal opinion became increasingly strict with the escalation of the Catholic assimilation efforts and heightened after the fall of Granada.[95] The most notable fatwa representing such an orthodox position is by Mālikī jurist Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Wansharīsī, who issued two fatwas after the fall of Granada in 1491 and the signing of the Capitulation of Granada.[96] His fatwas *Asnā al-Matājir* and a shorter companion text known as 'the Marbella fatwa' were published in his major work *Kitāb al-Mi'yār*. In his texts, al-Wansharīsī gives a long list of different types of fears that a Muslim may face in the lands of infidility, including fears for "one's person, family, children, and property", "religious corruption (al-fitna fi al-din)", and "corrupt sexual relations and marriages" and reassures the obligation on Muslims to perform *hijrah* from Spain.[97] Al-Ḥajarī wrote for a Mālikī audience, therefore he imbeds himself into the orthodox community and projects his commitment to the obligation of *hijrah,* as the above quote explains.

---

[95] See Khaled Abou El Fadl, "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities: The Juristic Discourse on Muslim Minorities from the Second/Eighth to the Eleventh/Seventeenth Centuries", *Islamic Law and Society* Vol.1, No. 2, 1994: 141-187.

[96] Jocelyn N. Hendrickson, *The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's Asnā al-matājir Reconsidered,* Ph.D. Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University, 2009. Available on: Emory University's Electronic Thesis and Dissertation repository. https://etd.library.emory.edu/view/record/pid/emory:53vmf , p. 17.

[97] Hendrickson, *The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate,* pp. 391-393.

On the other hand, a different Mālikī view offered "permissible dissimulation (*taqiyyah*)" as an option.[98] Al-Ḥajarī describes this community:

> After this, I dealt with the situation of the Muslims among the Christians after they had forced them to embrace their religion. They were [in fact] serving two religions: the religion of the Christians openly and that of the Muslims in secret. The infidels imposed a harsh penalty on whoever manifested any Islamic practice: they [even] burned some of them. This was their situation, as I witnessed it during more than twenty years before my departure from it. (p. 64)

> You [i.e. prince Maurice of Nassau] should know that the Andalusians were secretly living as Muslims, hiding their faith from the Christians. But sometimes their Islamic conviction was discovered. Then they were sentenced for it. (p. 200)

This clandestine view is represented in the fatwa of Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Wahrānī, a Mālikī judge of Oran.[99] Al-Wahrānī was sympathetic to those Andalusian "brethren who are holding tight to their religion as if they are holding a burning ember," those who could not make Hijrah and had to survive the forced conversion.[100] He provides them with solutions on how to cope with their fears for their life and properties. His fatwa is a practical guide on how to take their Islam underground in their everyday life among the Christians; for example, he advises them that "If they [Catholics] oblige you to drink wine, you may do so, but let it not be your intention to make use of it. If they force pork on you, eat it, but in your heart reject it, and hold firm to the belief that it is forbidden [...] If they say to you: 'Curse Muhammad,' then, bearing in mind that they pronounce it as 'Mamad,' curse 'Mamad'". It is speculated that al-Wahrānī's fatwa was in wide circulation during the sixteenth century, "for the Arabic text, composed in 1504, was translated and copied as late as 1563 and 1609 in different parts of Spain. Four versions of the text, one Arabic copy and three *aljamiado* [i.e. Spanish written in Arabic script] translations, are known".[101]

---

[98] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 184-5; See Maria del Mar Rosa-Rodriguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa", *Medieval Encounters* 16, 2010: 143-180.
[99] Devin Stewart, "The identity of 'the *Muftī* of Oran', Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jumʿah al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511)", *Al-Qanṭara*, Vol 27, No 2, 2006: 265-301.
[100] see Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, p.* 61-13 for an English translation of al-Wahrānī's fatwa.
[101] Stewart, "The identity of 'the *Muftī* of Oran'", p. 266

The fatwa was an answer to all of the fears of the clandestine community. Those fears are described in detail in a poem-letter written in 1502, two years before al-Wahrānī's fatwa, by the Andalusi poet Abu Al Baqa' Salih Bin Sharif. The letter, composed of 105 verses, was addressed to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II (reg. 1481-1512), asking him to save the Muslims in al-Andalus. The poet describes the state of the Muslims after the forced conversion.[102]

> Whosoever fasted or prayed and his state came to be known, was in every instance cast into the fire,
> And whosoever of us failed to go to their place of unbelief, him did the priest severely punish,
> Slapping him on both cheeks, confiscating his property, and imprisoning him in a wretched state.
> Moreover, during Ramadan, they spoiled our fast, time after time with food and drink.
> And they ordered us to curse our Prophet, and to refrain from invoking him in times of ease and hardship.
> They even overheard a group chanting his name, and the latter suffered a grievous injury at their hands,
> For their judges and governors punished them with beatings, fines, imprisonment, and humiliation.
> Whosoever lay dying, and did not have in attendance one who could preach [their religion to him], in their deceit, they would refuse to bury him,
> Instead, he was left lying prostrate on a dung heap like a dead donkey or [some other] animal.
> [They committed] many other similar, shameful deeds, as well as numerous wicked acts.
> [...]
> Rather, it was the fear of death and of burning that caused us to convert. We speak just as they spoke [to us]. It happened contrary to our intention,
> [...]
> And if they claim that we have accepted their religion unharmed by them,
> Then ask Huejar about its inhabitants: how they became captives and slaughterings under [the burden] of humiliation and misfortune,
> And ask Belefique what was the outcome of their affair: they were cut to pieces by the sword after undergoing anxiety.
> [...]
> Lo, your majesty, we complain to you, what we have encountered is the worst from estrangement.
> Could our religion not be left to us as well as our ritual prayer, as they swore to do before the agreement was broken?[103]

These competing juristic views on the obligation to make *hijrah* or to practice *taqiyyah* can be seen as a demarcation between two coexistent emotional communities with two distinct emotional styles

---

[102] Translated by James T. Monroe in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 376-387. Re-published in Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, pp. 540-546.

[103] Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, pp. 542-543.

within the larger Andalusian community. These two styles endorsed different modes of fear. The conservative community encouraged the Andalusians to fear more for their religion and Islamic identity and fear less for the dangers of *hijrah*. The clandestine style enforces the fear for one's life and the love of one's homeland. These two styles are reflected in al-Ḥajarī's vocabulary of emotion, his narrative structure, and his modes of self-fashioning, as will be discussed in Section 3.3.

Textual Communities: Arabic or *Aljamiado*

> The Sultan was delighted and asked: 'how can there be someone in Al-Andalus who speaks Arabic this way, as this is the speech of religious scholars?' All the old Andalusians [who had emigrated to Marrakech before al-Ḥajarī's arrival] were delighted by this. (p. 102)

Throughout *Kitāb*, al-Ḥajarī displays his personal pride for being an Arabic literate, a competent Arabic speaker, and an accomplished Spanish-Arabic translator. As mentioned earlier in Section 3.1, he embeds the text in an impressive number of intertextual references to canonical Arabic books by theological, Sufi, and literary scholars. He informs the reader that Arabic was his second language. He learnt to speak a variety of spoken Arabic as a child and when he moved to Madrid as an adult, he learnt how to read and write classical literary Arabic (*fuṣḥa*).

This pride stems from the historical fact that Arabic literacy was not available to all Andalusians during the sixteenth century. Beside the forced Catholicism and the religious assimilation measures, there was a series of discontinuously issued royal decrees that sought to eliminate the Moriscos' local culture and identity. Arabic books were the first target of this cultural repression process. In 1508, the Christian authorities "decreed the destruction of Arabic-language books and texts, and they limited the use of Arabic itself, first in public venues and later in private ones as well".[104] The authorities managed to dry up the sources of theological Arabic books and manuscripts, then they targeted secular and literary Arabic books. The aforementioned poem-letter of Andalusi poet Bin Sharif to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II describes this assault on Arabic books.

---

[104] Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 15.

He [i.e. the Catholic King] broke the compacts he had deceived us with and converted us to Christianity by force, with harshness and severity,
Burning the books we had and mixing them with dung or with filth,
Though each book was on the subject of our religion. Yet they were cast into the fire with scorn and derision,
Nor did they spare a single volume belonging to any Muslim, or any tome which one could read in solitude.
[..]
Our names were changed and given a new form with neither our consent nor our desire.[105]

They even, as the last verse show, prohibited the use of Arabic names, as well as the wearing of jewellery or talismans with Arabic inscriptions and/or Qur'anic verses, even reciting the Qur'an from memory. They outlawed other forms of Moriscan local culture.[106] These laws were reissued again in a second decree, the Edict of Granada, in 1526.[107] The enforcement of these laws on Muslim communities was not always literal; it was left to the inclination of the Christian local authorities in each city. However, during the reign of Phillip II (reg.1556- 1598), these decrees were rigidly enforced, so that they led to an armed revolt in Granada in 1568, two years before the birth of al-Ḥajarī. The revolt ignited the Inquisition courts to impose harsher policies, until the idea of completely cleansing Spain of the Moriscos was finally completed between 1609 and 1614.[108]

The ban on the Arabic language was a critical point at which the larger Andalusian community forked into two sub-communities. Before it, al-Andalus was a polyglot society during the medieval centuries. The classical languages of Latin, Romance, Hebrew, and Arabic were the standard media of scholarly and literary production. Andalusians were very often bilingual and multilingual,

---

[105] Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, pp. 542-543.
[106] The authorities proscribed the wearing of Moorish dress and costume (including veil for women), closed the public baths to stop Moriscos from performing the ritual ablutions, banned the Islamic practices of circumcision, the dietary rituals, rites for burial, wedding traditions including bridal dresses, Moorish music and dances. See Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 15; Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 211. However, it is worth pointing out that the anti-Moriscan drive did not influence several aspects of the material culture. Moorish lustre ceramics, decorative motifs, architectural styles and construction techniques continued to be in style in most Christian cities during the *convivencia* and the sixteenth century. For example, Arabic calligraphy and horseshoe arches were the decorative motifs of the thirteenth-century Church of San Román, which was never a mosque. Source: María Rosa Menocal, "Visions of al-Andalus", in Menocal, María Rosa, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.), *The Literature of Al-Andalus,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.14-15; see also an example of a sixteenth-century Moorish art object, <http://www.courtauld.ac.uk/GALLERY/exhibitions/2013/illuminating/dish/index.shtml>
[107] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 105.
[108] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 211.

depending on their level and style of education.[109] Among the standard languages, literary Arabic (*fuṣḥa*) enjoyed a special status for five centuries (the eighth to the thirteenth). It was "a vehicle for a higher culture, a literate and literary civilization".[110] Alongside the written form, there were two major vernaculars: a Romance-based vernacular, known as Andalusi Spanish and a distinctive Arabic-based vernacular, known as Andalusi Arabic.[111] Andalusi Arabic was the medium of everyday communication in Muslim, Christian *Mozarab,* and Arabized Jew communities. However, during the *Reconquista*, when these Arabic-speaking communities fell under Christian rule, they started to shift to the local Romance varieties. By the mid-thirteenth century, the only remaining Arabic-speaking communities were in Granada and Valencia. However, both communities kept *fuṣḥa* Arabic as the language of learning, literary production, and most importantly, for religious and theological purposes.[112]

Nevertheless, the ban on using Arabic created "a cultural breakdown in both the Arabic-speaking and in the Romance-speaking zones" which was reflected in the Moriscos' intellectual and textual culture.[113] On the one hand, the Romance-speaking communities who had already lost their spoken Arabic failed to maintain a formal education in Arabic. Therefore, they invented a new written language, "the writing of the Romance vernacular in Arabic characters (*literatura aljamiada*)".[114] They used *aljamiado* (from the Arabic word 'Aljamiyyah for foreign) for writing Islamic texts.[115] Arabic script*,* as many historians suggest, was a symbol of their Islamic identity. "Choosing to employ Arabic and not Latin characters was a declaration of loyalty, and a courageous one".[116] It

---

[109] Consuelo López-Morillas, "Language", in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.), *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 31-59.

[110] López-Morillas, "Language", p. 36.

[111] Federico Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, Madrid: Instituto híspano-árabe de cultura, 1977; Harvey, L. P. "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595 ", *Al-Andalus* 36, 1971: 81 –115.

[112] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p.124.

[113] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p.125.

[114] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p.128.

[115] López-Morillas, "Language", p. 54-57; See also Hossain Bouzineb, "The Morisco Language Named al- **'**Ajamiyya' (Aljamiado)", *The Proceedings of Linguistics and Semiotics Research*. Casablanca, 1981, pp. 107-119; Hossain Bouzineb, "The Real Value of the Symbolic Scripts in the 'Ajami (Aljamiado) Literature", *The Proceedings of the Morisco Aljamiado Literature*. Tunisia, 1986, pp. 29-37.

[116] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p.129.

was the only possible way for the non-Arabic literate to connect themselves to Islam. On the other hand, the Arabic-speaking communities in Granada and Valencia became "a minority of a minority".[117] In addition, Arabic literates started to write their spoken varieties, which used to be only for everyday communication and never for literary or written communication. The Arabic texts they produced were "written vernacular texts", which divert from classical Arabic. They lacked grammatical correctness and contained many Spanish vocabulary elements.[118]

Kitāb manifests these vernacular linguistic features. Both editors of *Kitāb* briefly refer to al-Ḥajarī's grammatical deviations from Classical Arabic. Razzouk states that "the manuscript [*Kitāb*] is full of language mistakes and usage of colloquial vocabulary and translated formulae and some Arabic words have been subjected to the Spanish phonetic system".[119] Similarly, Van Koningsveld et al. observe these vernacular features. They have ensured that "the edition [be] a reproduction - as faithful as possible - of the Cairo MS, with all its linguistic peculiarities and irregularities, including its errors, corrections, spelling, and vocalization. In this way, we trust we have given a faithful picture of the extremely idiosyncratic language of al-Hajarī (containing a mixture of hybridic, colloquial, bilingual and other interesting elements)".[120] Despite this deviance from literary Arabic, al-Ḥajarī still projects an awareness of his status as one of the few Andalusians who were still capable of writing and reading Arabic.

What worsened the situation for both the Romance-speaking and Arabic-speaking communities alike was that the majority of the sixteenth-century *'ulama (Scholars)* of al-Andalus "followed the letter of the law," in Dominique Urvoy's phrase. They adopted the Maliki Orthodox view on the

---

[117] Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 53.
[118] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p.126.
[119] Mohammed Razzouk (ed.), "Introduction", in Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim (Afuqai). c.1640. *Riḥlat Afuqai al-Andalusī: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb ila Liqā' al-Aḥbāb 1611-1613*, Mohammed Razzouk (ed.). Abu Dhabi: Al-Swaidi Publishing House. 2004, [In Arabic], pp. 13-14, my translation.
[120] Van Koningsveld et al., "Introduction", p. 59.

obligation of emigration to the abode of Islam.[121] Most of them emigrated to North Africa and

Egypt, and very few remained.

> Some of them [i.e. Andalusians], who would love to learn something of the religion of God, [even] did not find anyone to teach them. (p. 82)

Therefore, the Muslim communities were drained of specialists able to teach Islamic and Arabic

textual heritage even in clandestine meetings. Arabic survived as a spoken dialect in a few villages

and outlying districts of Granda, such as the village of al-Ḥajarī's birthplace. The end result was

that "the moriscos' ability to read it fell off drastically as the decades went by".[122]

The bond between the Arabic-literate and *aljamiado*-literate communities was their shared view on

Arabic as a more prestigious variety and as the language of Islam. Al-Ḥajarī encapsulates this

attitude towards Arabic, stating,

> Behold, how ancient Arabic is and how Sacred … To speak in Arabic is [indeed] better for him who knows it than to speak in another language, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet-may God bless him and grant him peace!- that he loved it. (p. 137)

> It is a blessed language. Whoever speaks it mentions God perforce. For that reason one of the Andalusians used to say: 'there is no Arabic without God and no Spanish without Satan, because the Christians mention him often in their speech. No one detests speaking it, except for those who do not know its merit and its blessing'. (p. 198)

> Arabic is one, general language in every country. (p. 198)

Several studies have identified the kinds of Arabic and *aljamiado* books which were circulating

among the Andalusians in the sixteenth century.[123] These studies have relied on the historical

evidence from the proceedings of Inquisition trials on the books which were found with the accused

Andalusians. Some books were found as attachments to these proceedings; other books were found

hidden under the floor or inside the walls of old Morisco buildings.[124] The corpus of Arabic and

aljamiado texts includes several complete copies and abridgements of the Qur'an. The proceedings

---

[121] Dominique Urvoy, "The 'Ulama' of al-Andalus", in Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (eds.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* Leiden: Brill [1992] 1994, pp. 849-877 (p. 874).

[122] Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 44.

[123] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* pp. 142- 203; Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* pp. 47-53; Many of these *aljamiado* and Arabic texts, along with other Ottoman, Persian and Hebrew texts, are digitized and available on El portal Manuscript@CSIC <http://manuscripta.bibliotecas.csic.es/buscar>.

[124] Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* p. 48.

of Inquisition trials proves that even Muslim illiterates owned copies of the Qur'an and Qur'anic

verses, which may have served them as amulets. Al-Ḥajarī confirms this finding,

> Praise and thanks be to god, because the Nobel Qur'an was found in every land of the
> Muslims. We possessed it [even] in al-Andalus notwithstanding the severe inflection and the
> intense surveillance by the infidels against those who were found to possess it, who were
> killed, whose properties were confiscated, and who were burnt. (p.186)

The *aljamiado* corpus, according to L. P. Harvey, included short narratives and folktales for

entertainment and medical texts. The most important of these works is *Tafsira,* a travel narrative by

the Young Man from Arévalo. This text, written in the mid-1530s, is a *rihla* where the young man

searches for his spirituality and goes through all of the Muslim communities across Spain to ask the

elderly Muslims and reads books and libraries which were hidden from the Christians. Al-Ḥajarī

does not refer to *Tafsira or* any aljamiado text; however, from Harvey's textual analysis of *Tafsira,*

one may see some resemblance between *Kitāb* and *Tafsira.*[125] However, the present study cannot

claim such intertextual relations.

The Arabic corpus includes summaries of Islamic scriptural texts: the Qur'an, collections of Hadith,

Maliki fiqh, sermons, and anti-Christian polemical literature. It also includes hagiographies on the

lives of the Prophets, short narratives. Medical books, especially the books of Avicenna, Averroes,

and other illustrious medieval books on anatomy are also included. There are also folk-medicine

texts on healing using Qur'anic verses or certain prayers. The only Sufi text in this corpus is al-

Ghazali's *Ihya` 'Ulum ad-Dīn.*[126] Indeed, comparing the titles of the books which Harvey includes

in his survey matches, to a great extent, the titles of the books mentioned in *Kitāb*.

Sufi Communities: *Tariqa* and Non-*Tariqa*

As mentioned earlier, Andalusian Sufi Shaykhs were and continued to be very influential from the

tenth century until the mid-thirteenth century.[127] During the Almoravids and Almohad periods they

---

[125] For extracts and analysis on *Tafsira and Other Texts by* Young Man from Arévalo, see Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* pp. 173-193.
[126] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* pp. 143-167; Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* pp. 49-50
[127] Michael Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus. Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabi and the Isma'ili Tradition,* Leiden: Brill. 2013.

played a significant political role. Al-Andalus was for centuries a hub for great Sufi mystics.[128] The culture of mysticism was not limited to Islam: Jewish *Kabbalah* and Spanish Christian mysticism were also prominent parts of the intellectual and cultural life of al-Andalus.[129] Sufism in al-Andalus, just like everywhere in the Islamic world, was performed in an 'institutionalised' manner through Sufi orders (Ar. sing. *Tarīqa,* pl. *Turuq*). Each *Tariqa* has a hierarchical order and rules of expression. The spiritual seekers (murīdīn) follow a spiritual master (Shaykh) who teaches them Sufi thought and practice. Sufism was a mainly oral tradition. The most influential order in al-Andalus during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the Shādhilıyya (named after Abu l-Hasan al-Shādhilī, d. 1258) which emerged in North Africa.[130]

However, during sixteenth-century al-Andalus, all of these performative traditions of Sufism disappeared. The forced conversion, the ban on Arabic, the overall cultural repression measures, all combined and deeply influenced this pre-existing Sufi culture. Even more important was the emigration of the *'ulama;* "it is worth noting that such flight [of *'ulama*] was particularly conspicuous among the Sufis!".[131] The absence of most Sufi Shaykhs disturbed the core structure of the Sufi hierarchical ritual. Therefore, as an alternative, another pattern of Sufi communities emerged. It was a "non-*Tariqa*" or "non-institutionalized" pattern.[132] It was mainly a text-based Sufi pattern, in which a text replaced the Shaykh in the education of the Sufis.[133] In al-Andalus, the private and secretive reading of a book replaced the oral rituals of Sufi training. This explains why

[128] For example: Ibn Masarra (d. 931), Ibn al-'Arıf (d. 1141), Abu Madyan (d.1197), Fatima of Cordoba (c. late twelfth century), Ibn 'Arabı (d.1240), Ibn Sab'ın (d. 1270), Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mursı (d. 1287), Ibn 'Abbad al-Rundi (d.1390). See: 'Ali Akbar Ranjbar Kirmani, "Sufism in Andalusia", in Gholamali Haddad Adel, Mohammad Jafar Elmi, and Hassan Taromi-Rad (eds.), *Sufism: An Entry from Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam*. London: EWI Press, 2012, pp. 149-156; and see Ibn Arabi. *Sufis of Andalusia. The Rūḥ al-quds and al-Durrat al-fākhirah of Ibn Arabi,* R.W.J. Austin (ed., trans.). Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.
[129] Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok, *Jewish & Christian Mysticism: An Introduction*, New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1994; E. Allison Peers, *The Mystics of Spain*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publication, [1951] 2002; Gil Anidjar, *'Our place in al-Andalus': Kabbalah, philosophy, literature in Arab Jewish letters*, California: Stanford University Press, 2002.
[130] John Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2009, p. 113, 217.
[131] Urvoy, "The 'Ulama' of al-Andalus", p. 874.
[132] Kisaichi Masatoshi, "Institutionalized Sufism and Non-Institutionalized Sufism: A Reconsideration of the Groups of Sufi Saints of the Non-*Ṭarīqa* Type as Viewed through the Historical Documents of Medieval Maghreb", *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, Vol.2, No.1, 2008: 35-46.
[133] Samuela Pagani, "Illlibro come maestro: Sufismo e storia della lettura nel medioevo islamico (The Book as Master: Sufism and History of Reading in Medieval Islam)", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies,* Vol. 12, 2012: 144-185.

al-Ghazali's *Ihya` 'Ulum ad-Dīn* was the most common Sufi text in the Morisco textual corpus. It points to the role of *Ihya`* as a text master in Sufi circles in al-Andalus during the sixteenth century. This *Ihya`*-based Sufi discourse is evident in al-Ḥajarī's discourse on love, as will be discussed in Section 3.4.

Christian Communities: Empathy or Antipathy

The Christian community was also far from being monolithic. As much as there were intolerant and puritanical voices, there were also "Morisco apologists", in James Amelang's phrase, who showed empathy to the new Christians. They argued that "one could be both culturally 'Moorish' and spiritually Christian".[134] These diverse Christian voices can definitely be approached as emotional communities with idiosyncratic emotional styles.[135] Over the sixteenth century there was a debate between 'pessimistic' and 'optimistic' Christian voices.[136] Al-Ḥajarī' narrates an episode on his encounter with one empathetic priest before his *hijrah* to Marrakesh,

> When I wished to go to the City of Sevilla in order to leave for the country of the Muslims, I went to the priest and told him: 'I am planning to go to my town. My father wrote to me to come to him, and it is obligatory to obey one's father'. He answered: 'In some matters this is obligatory, but in others it is not!' I said: 'I really must go!' So I asked him to support the Andalusians because they were held in contempt among the old Christians. He told me: 'you should know that I am at their side, always. They rose up against the Sultan [of Spain], while I was the chief judge in this city. Then the brother of the Sultan came and took 140 men from among the notable Andalusians and killed them. All this to take their properties. But the truth was that he should have left them alone because they were not among those who revolted. Rich and prosperous people are only well off when tranquillity prevails among them so that they can enjoy their possessions, in contrast to others. (p. 90)

In general, al-Ḥajarī's representation of the Christians in *Kitāb* is scholarly and rational. He rarely uses insults or derogatory names; almost all the Christians he met and dealt with in Spain and Europe are portrayed as well-educated and of high social status: 'a judge, a great Captain, a priests'. They are all curious to learn about Islam and the Arabic language and culture. They ask questions and are willing to admit when they lose the debate. However, this portrayal of an

---

[134] Amelang, *Parallel Histories*, p. 45.

[135] For Christians' different attitudes towards Muslims see Amelang, *Parallel Histories*, pp. 26 -33.

[136] Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "The Religious debate in Spain", in Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wiegers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014. 102-131. Examples of these empathetic voices were Father Hernando de Talavera, the first Archbishop of Granada, and several of his fellow Hieronymite monks.

empathetic Christian community is still part of the polemical style of *Kitāb*. By glorifying the Christians, i.e. his polemical target, he achieves the paradoxical effect of making himself an ultimate winner over them and their religious opinions. If al-Ḥajarī portrayed the Christians as less educated, or less intelligent, his intended audience may not rejoice his winning in such a verbal war.

Hidden Emotional Communities and Styles

Kitāb comments on most, if not all, of the above communities. However, there are several communities not discussed in *Kitāb*. Using Barbara Rosenwein terms, they are ʿhidden emotional communitiesʾ.[137] For example, none of the Moriscos in *Kitāb* is a true convert to Christianity. They all are either Crypto-Muslims or conservative Muslims like al-Ḥajarī himself. This challanges the textual evidence that there were a few Morisco authors, chroniclers, and poets who wrote in Spanish and lived and remained as true Christians.[138] On the other hand, all of the Muslims in North Africa and Egypt are portrayed as welcoming and supportive of al-Ḥajarī and the expelled Moriscos. This contradicts other sixteenth-century narratives by Andalusians who emigrated to North Africa but they were not welcomed at all. For example, Yahia Bentafufa (?- 1520), a Portuguese Muslim emigrant to Morocco, wrote a letter in *aljamiado* to one of his friends who stayed in Portugal:

> From the day that I returned to this country, I have had neither pleasure nor rest with the Christians and even less with the Moors [Muslims]. The Moors say I am a Christian, and the Christians say I am a Moor, and so I hang in balance without knowing what I should do with myself, save what God [Deus] wills, and Allah will save whoever has a good comportment. . . . Today, the knife cuts me to the bone, for when I go out into the streets, people call me a traitor, clearly and openly, and there could be no greater ill.[139]

Moriscos were seen as lesser Muslims whose Islamic practices had become deformed and whose grasp of Islam had become rather tenuous.[140] Even though al-Ḥajarī describes his personal

---

[137] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 2

[138] Francisco Núñez Muley, (c. 1492–1570). *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada (1567)*, Vincent Barletta (ed. and trans.), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.

[139] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*. (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures), Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2011, p.1.

[140] See: Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos*, Albany: State University New York Press, 1983, p.14-

experience as a successful one, other narratives give the dark side of the Moriscos' experience in the abode of Islam. Another hidden community is the Moriscas.[141] No Muslim female character is present in *Kitāb*. Only two Christian women play a role in the text. One of them will be studied in al-Ḥajarī's narrative on love. Hiding these three communities is probably intentional, as it pleases his Maliki audience.

The contextualization of *Kitāb* in the above two sections, '*Kitāb* as a communicative act' and '*Kitāb* as a map of emotional communities', are essential steps to identify al-Ḥajarī's intended audience, the cultural sources from which al-Ḥajarī derived his discourse on emotions, and his modes of self-fashioning. The next two sections focus on the close textual analysis of al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear and love.

3.3. From the Abode of Fear to the Abode of welfare

The first three chapters of *Kitāb* are about al-Ḥajarī's life before and until he sets foot in Marrakesh. The emotion of fear plays a major role in bringing these three chapters into one coherent unit inside *Kitāb*. In Chapter 1, al-Ḥajarī narrates several threatening episodes from his personal experience of fear in al-Andalus. He also portrays the fears of his fellow Andalusians. In Chapter 2, he describes the 'hardships' and the 'terrible events' he experienced on the road of his *hijrah* to Morocco. In Chapter 3, he, finally releases all his fears and puts all his worries behind him and starts a new life in the abode of Islam. The journey, as he narrates it, represents a voyage from the abode of fear to the abode of welfare.

In this section, the focus is on al-Ḥajarī's fears before he reaches Marrakesh, his Paradise. Several

---

15.

[141] Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005.

episodes of fear run through this journey of *hijrah*, or escape, as many historians call it.[142] In these episodes, al-Ḥajarī represents himself as an eye-witness and experiencer of the trajectories and oppression of the Catholic authorities in his community. "This was their [i.e. the Andalusians'] situation, as I witnessed it during more than twenty years before my departure from it" (p. 64). These episodes together qualify *Kitāb* to fit well into the *testimonio* genre, "a personal account from an indigenous or local point of view; yet, it speaks for a collective experience and is thoroughly transcultural, aiming to communicate and translate peripheral experiences to a metropolitan audience".[143] Al-Ḥajarī's testimony serves two communicative purposes. It is an expression of solidarity to his Andalusian community, and it is a message of gratitude to his new community in the heartland of Islam, especially his Mālikī intended audience.

The analysis of Al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear starts with a close look at the fear vocabularies in the text to point out his reliance on Sufi and Qur'anic vocabularies. Then, there is a narrative analysis of two testimonial episodes embedded in Chapter 1 of *Kitāb*. The analysis of these two episodes points out how al-Ḥajarī negotiates his fears between the Mālikī juridicial discourse on clandestinity/*Taqiyyah* and the Orthodox view on the obligatory of *hijrah*.

3.3.1. Fear Vocabularies

The emotion word *khawf* (fear), its derivatives, and several related semantic fields run constantly through the narrative. Sometimes it appears twice in the one sentence. Coupled with *Khawf* are several synonyms of suffering, such as *qahr* (oppression), *dholm* (injustice) and *halak* (perdition vicissitudes). *Khawf* is the basic word which describes the emotion of fear in the Qur'an.[144] In the Qur'an, *khawf* has three semantic senses. The first is a positive sense when the pious person reveres

---

[142] Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua, "La fuga in Marocco di as-Shihab Ahmad al- Ḥaǧarī al-Andalusi", *Studi Maghrebini*, 1, 1966: 215–29.

[143] Paula Saukko, *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches*, London: Sage, 2003, p. 67.

[144] "The triliteral root *khā- wāw- fā* occurs 124 times in the Quran, in eight derived forms". All Qur'anic references in this chapter are based on the Sahih translation available on <http://corpus.quran.com/> , *The Quranic Arabic Corpus - Word by Word Grammar, Syntax and Morphology of the Holy Quran*. N.p., 2015. Web. 15 Aug. 2015.

the majesty and greatness of God, a *khawf* of Allah, ("Say, 'Indeed I fear, if I should disobey my Lord, the punishment of a tremendous Day'". [Q. 6:15]). This positive *khawf* is a highly encouraged emotion in Sufi discourse. Al-Ghazali classifies it as one of the "constructive virtues".[145] It is constructive because it guides the pious Muslim to excel his religious performance and obedience. This sense of *khawf* has to be paired with love of God and hope for his mercy.

The second sense is negative: it is when the person becomes alarmed for fear of losing wealth, position, or any worldly (*Dunya*) matters ("And the worldly life is not but amusement and diversion; but the home of the Hereafter is best for those who fear Allah, so will you not reason?" [Q.6:32]. This fear of losing *Dunya* has to be discouraged. The third sense of *khawf* is human, when a person experiences or expects *makrūh,* an evil or harm.[146] This kind of *Khawf* is a test or *Ibtila'* from Allah to his patient servants ("And We will surely test you with something of fear and hunger and a loss of wealth and lives and fruits, but give good tidings to the patient" [Q.2:155]). Out of these three senses, al-Ḥajarī uses the term *Khawf* in its positive and its human senses, and this will be exemplified in the narrative analysis.

While fear of God is encouraged and fear for *Dunya* is discouraged, fear of expected evil, or *Ibtila'* has to be controlled and managed. In the Qur'anic discourse, fear is managed in two ways. In ethics, a true believer should know that his destiny is in the hands of God and nothing should harm him ("Never will we be struck except by what Allah has decreed for us; He is our protector" [Q:9:51]). Confidence in Allah should erase any form of fear from the heart ("And when guidance comes to you from Me, whoever follows My guidance - there will be no fear concerning them, nor will they grieve" [Q. 2:38]). The second way to control fear is performative. There are several Islamic rituals,

---

[145] Al-Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid. *'Ihya' 'Ulum al-Dīn (Revival of Religious Learning).* Fazl-ul-Karim (Trans.). 4 Vol. Karachi, Pakistan: Darul-Ishaat, 1993, Vol. IV, *Book of Fear and Hope*. pp. 113-145.

[146] Elsaid M Badawi and Muhammad Abdel Haleem (eds.), *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp. 289-290.

such as *do'ā' al-khawf* (fear supplications) and *Salāt al-khawf* (fear prayer) for use during wars, in times of distress, or faced with catastrophic natural phenomena.[147] Reading certain verses of the Qur'an, such as *Surat Yāsīn* (Q. Chapter 36) or *Surat al-Ikhlas* (Q. Chapter 112), is also a fear-control ritual. Al-Ḥajarī controls his *khawf* by reciting *Surat al-Ikhlas.* On his journey from Toulouse to Bordeaux via the river on a ship,

> The night before my voyage I saw in my dreams a band of devils encircling me from every side. So I started to recite: 'Say: He is God, One!', while pointing towards them. Hereupon, the devils left me, but they came back to me so that I recited the Sura again with the result that they left me. I woke up in a confused state, because of what I had seen in my dreams. I said [to myself]: 'The devils are to be interpreted as the enemies of God'. I boarded the ship and was determined to recite the Sura of 'He is God Alone!' a thousand times on that day, so as to supplicate the Blessed and Exalted God to protect me against the evil of enemies. (p. 159)

During the journey he meets a few antipathetic Christians,

> Then one of the devils I saw in my dream - he was one of the infidels who had come with us on the ship - said to me: 'How did you come to our country? Who gave you permission to do so?' He became very angry and started to spout a lot of words. Therefore, I showed them the letter of their Sultan. Thereby, God made all of them subservient [to me]. [...] All this happened by the blessings of the *Surat al-Ikhlas,* may God rescue us from their evil and may he raise our rank in their eyes. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe! (pp. 162-163)

In the above narrative, the vocabulary of *Khawf* does not exist, yet the performance of *Khawf* control dominates the narrative. Al-Ḥajarī stages his fear in the text. This performance of fear-control is very often performed by Muslim travellers in shipwrecks or any form of danger.[148] *Khawf* is constructed as a ritual and its interpretation requires a shared knowledge of the emotional norm among the narrator, the members of his emotional community and the readers.[149]

---

[147] Muhammad Saed Abdul-Rahman, *The Meaning and Explanation of the Glorious Qur'an.* 10 Volumes. London: MSA Publications Limited, 2007. Vol. 2, pp. 264-267.

[148] As an example, Evliya Çelebi very often uses these Qur'anic verses to stage his emotions. During a shipwreck in the Black Sea: "'Fellow worshippers,' I cried, 'let us join together in continuous recital of the Sura of Deliverance / al-Ikhlas (112) which God may be pleased to grant us.' All those present immediately began to repeat the al-Ikhlas from the depth of their hearts. At that moment, by God's decree, the darkness lifted, the sky became clear, the thunder and lightning ceased". He also performs his distress by reading *Sura Ya Sin,* " For the Prophet has said, If you are bewildered in a matter, turn to the people of the graves for help. God be praised, I performed the visit and recited a noble *Ya Sin* (Sura 36), donating the merit therefrom to their noble spirit and beseeching aid from their spirits." p. 293. Source: Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname.* In Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (Eds. and Trans.), *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from The Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi,* London: Eland Publishing, 2011, p. 48 and p. 293, respectively.

[149] For a few examples of these emotional performatives/rituals in premodern Arabic texts, see Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 87-88.

3.3.2 Fear Narratives

The following two episodes on the emotions of fear are embedded in Chapter 1 of *Kitāb*.[150] Both

episodes, as well as the whole chapter, evolve around the ban of the use of Arabic. As discussed

previously in Section 3.2, this severe language policy was intensified in Granada during the late

1560s, i.e. a few years before the birth of al-Ḥajarī (1570). It resulted in, as al-Ḥajarī narrates, a

generation that lacked Arabic fluency. It also caused people to fear speaking Arabic in public or

possessing or reading Arabic books. Within this context, al-Ḥajarī relates the events of these two

narratives. In the first episode (A), al-Ḥajarī constructs fear at a personal level; he narrates his fears

by displaying his knowledge of the Arabic language. In the second episode (B), he constructs fear

on a group/cultural level; he brings forward the fears and 'cultural trauma'[151] experienced by his

people under the rule of the Christians. The episodes are on fear, yet also they have the

illocutionary force of self-fashioning. Al-Ḥajarī projects his thorough knowledge of Arabic

language. He projects the threats which he faced because he was Arabic literate in late sixteenth-

century Granada.

A. "How Shall I Save My Self?"

Al-Ḥajarī relates a story which happened one year before his emigration (in 1598), when he met

Father Maldonado, "one of the priests who belonged to the close circles of the Archbishop [who]

was studying to read Arabic" (p. 72). They met through a mutual Andalusian friend, ḥakim

Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Asī, who was a licensed Spanish-Arabic translator. This friend inherited

this license from his grandfather. Therefore, he was allowed to display his Arabic-speaking abilities

in front of a priest. Father Maldonado and ḥakim were reading a classical Arabic book and

discussing the meaning of some Arabic words and their equivalents in Spanish. During their

---

[150] The title of the chapter is, "Relating what happened to me in the city of Granada together with the Archbishop in the matter of the decipherment of the Parchment found in the Tower. At the same time [this chapter provides] some data verified by me concerning the books written in Arabic on leaves of Lead. The chapter is found in the twelfth chapter in [my] Rihla", (pp. 68-91).

[151] The term 'Trauma' is heavily based in Freud's psychoanalytical theory. However, new trends in cultural sociology offer a perspective for considering the social and cultural rather than strictly psychic processes of collective traumas.

conversation, al-Ḥajarī was doing his best not to show his knowledge of Arabic. Al-Ḥajarī informs

the readers of his inner thoughts at this moment of danger.

> I was in their company but had not shown the Christian that I could read Arabic, because of
> the sentence of punishment they usually passed upon those who appeared to do so. (p. 72)

However, despite his alertness to danger, al-Ḥajarī slipped and revealed his knowledge of Arabic.

Father Maldonado realized that al-Ḥajarī read Arabic well and was a competent Arabic-Spanish

translator.

> While he was reading the book, they hesitated at the correct reading of some words. So I said
> to them: 'Maybe it means this!' They found that this was true. Thereupon, the priest looked
> at me and said: 'You know how to read Arabic? Do not be Afraid. (p. 72)

Father Maldonado informed al-Ḥajarī that the Archbishop of Granada was looking for an Arabic

speaker to decipher some Arabic inscriptions on the discovered Parchment of the Torre Turpiana

(in 1588) and the Lead books of Sacromonte (in 1595).[152] These two artefacts had both Arabic and

Spanish inscriptions. The Spanish text was solved. The Arabic text was read but the meaning of

the text remained obscure even to the most famous licensed Andalusian translators of the time.

After this meeting, al-Ḥajarī became acquainted with Father Maldonado, who is portrayed as a

learned empathetic Christian.

> He took me to his house. He had books of every art and language. He brought me books in
> Arabic. I read and translated for him some words which he was unable to read. (p. 73)

However, being close to a Christian priest, even if he was sympathetic, required constant alertness

from al-Ḥajarī.

> Then he met me another day and told me: 'The Archbishop has ordered me to bring you
> with me to his presence'. I said to myself: 'How shall I save my self, as the Christians kill
> and burn everyone on whom they find an Arabic book or about whom they know he reads
> Arabic?' (p.73)

In his recurring inner monologues, al-Ḥajarī opens out, to the reader, his worries about the expected

---

[152] See P. S. van Koningsveld and G. A. Wiegers, "The parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana': The original document and its early interpreters", *Al-Qantara* Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 2003: 327-358. These two archaeological discoveries are now believed to be forgeries. See: A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

danger. He uses the word *Khawf* in its human sense, as an experience of constant worry and threat from the Christians. He reinforces, via repetition, the instruments of threat (punishment, killing, and burning) which he may face if he admits his knowledge of Arabic. He uses frequency adverbs to exaggerate the threat by telling the reader that these threats 'usually' happen to 'everyone', i.e. he is no exception. He expresses his constant feeling of approaching threats, especially when he realizes that he has got closer to the highest-ranking Christian authorities. These authorities were the genesis of fear in the Andalusian community because they were the legislators of all the edicts which had altered their lives. He controls his fear through his readiness to act and his permanent state of pre-calculation as he thinks ahead. Upon hearing the 'order' from Father Maldonado, he knows that he has to prepare a cogent explanation on how he learnt Arabic and accessed Arabic books. However, his alertness to danger never deters him from participating in social events with the Christian priest.

The sense of fear in the narrative increases when al-Ḥajarī and Father Maldonado go to meet *al-Qassīs al-Kabīr*, the Archbishop.

> When we had entered into his presence, he approached us and said to me: 'Father Maldonado has told me that you can read Arabic very well!'
> I answered: 'I am not well-versed in it!'
> He said: 'Where did you learn [this]?'
> I answered: 'You should know, my lord, that I am an Andalusian from al-Hajar al-Ahmar. Our spoken language there is in fact Arabic. Then I [also] learnt to read Spanish. Later on, I went to Madrid - the residence of the Sultan - where I found an Andalusian man, a medical doctor, from the country of Valencia, whose name was X. He taught me to read Arabic, which was easy to me because of my being Arab by origin'.
> Then he asked me: 'Where is your teacher, the physician [now]?'
> I answered: 'He died - may God have mercy upon him - some two or three years ago'. (p. 73)

This interrogative dialogue marks al-Ḥajarī's clandestine/*taqiyyah* practices. His answers are mostly in telegraphic short forms; he neither denies nor confirms his ability to read Arabic; and he uses honorific address forms such as 'my lord'. In short, he avoids any clashes with the Christian authorities for fear of losing his life.

140

After this dialogue, al-Ḥajarī surprises the reader with a confession that he fabricated his answer to

the Archbishop's question on how he learnt to read Arabic.

> But [in fact] everything I told him as an answer to his question, about the physician from the country of Valencia, was a lie. But [I did this], because the reading of Arabic [books] which had no connection with the Islamic religion was permitted to the inhabitants of Valencia, whereas this was forbidden to the other people of the country of Al-Andalus. Thus I protected myself from their evil by lying. [this is an acceptable thing to do, as can be established by the words of] Al-Ghazali - may God allow us to profit from his scholarship! - who has said in his book *Al-Ihya*: 'If an upright man crosses your way, who is followed by an evil person looking for him, who asks about him to hurt him, you should tell him: ' He went into that direction', viz. the direction opposite to the one actually took. [You should say this, so that the person looked for will save himself from the evil of the man who is looking for him. Lying in such a case is permitted, nay even recommendable, even though the giving of right guidance is obligatory [in principle]]'. Thus, it appeared to me that he who is wont to speak truthfully, his words will be accepted even though he is sometimes forced to lie in a situation in which lying is permitted. (pp. 74-75)

Al-Ḥajarī's confession of his *taqiyyah* act of lying to the reader displays a concern for his outwardly

projected image in the text. Lying, after all, is a sin and a violation of moral integrity. Lying could

end up with al-Ḥajarī losing his trustworthiness in the eyes of his readers. Therefore, he clarifies his

position to the reader. He justifies his lying as an act of self-protection and authorizes his

justification with his knowledge of Islamic textual heritage. Al-Ḥajarī explains to the reader the

legitimacy of lying when under threat or fear. He uses the authority of al-Ghazali and his

masterwork *Ihya' 'Ulum ad-Dīn* . Al-Ḥajarī explains and simplifies, in his own words, a passage

from al-Ghazali's text which falls under the topic "False Speaking Permissible in Some Cases",

where al-Ghazali states,

> Know, O dear readers, that falsehood is not unlawful for its own sake but it is unlawful for the harm caused to the person with whom falsehood is spoken or harm to other persons. Sometimes false speaking becomes compulsory. The sage Maimun-b-Mehran said: In some places, false-speaking is better than speaking the truth. If a man runs with a sword to kill another person who enters a house, you should say on being asked about his whereabouts - 1 have not seen him. This is compulsory on you to tell this lie. To save a person from unjust oppression is compulsory. So to save him, false-speaking becomes compulsory. If then the truth is spoken, a life will perish in the hand of an oppressor. To say falsehood in a battle, to compromise between two parties and to preserve good will between two co-wives, false speaking is lawful. But one should be careful of falsehood even in these cases.[153]

---

[153] Al-Ghazali, *'Ihya' ,* Vol.3, p. 108.

Al-Ḥajarī, therefore guarantees to the reader that his act of lying was a compulsory and permissible.

He was compelled to perform *taqiyyah* by both being decent in his conversation with the

Archbishop and by lying to him as well. He also practices *Taqiyyah* and dissimulation as part of his

pre-calculations to control his fears.

On another occasion in Chapter 13 of *Kitāb,* al-Ḥajarī narrates another incident of his fear of the

Inquisitors and his fellow Andalusians because of his knowledge of Arabic.

> Once I wrote down the Seven Sanctuaries [*al-Hayakil al-Sab'a* are certain Qur'anic verses
> and prayers] on a paper and I put it on me as an amulet, hoping for its blessings. I slept
> during the night, and in the morning I looked for the paper but did not find it. I thought that I
> had dropped it, and I became very anxious to retrieve it, lest a Christian find it and the
> Muslims be harmed [by that]. Also, had a Muslim found it, he might have recognized my
> handwriting. This could have caused a lot of talk about me among the Andalusians, [i.e.
> Converted Moriscos]. (p. 229**)**

Within these threatening situations, al-Ḥajarī tells the reader of his triumph and the mutual cultural

respect between himself and the Archbishop. He accepted the challenge and succeeded in

translating the Arabic texts and in deciphering other encrypted mystical symbols on the Parchment

of the Torre Turpiana and the Lead books of Sacromonte. He projects the Archbishop as a

sympathetic Christian,

> The Archbishop was extremely pleased with my translation, as he knew it was truthful. He
> gave me 300 riyal as well as a letter granting me a licence to translate from Arabic into
> Spanish and vice-versa. The news spread among the Christians, until they pointed at me
> saying: 'He is the man who understood the parchment which was found in the tower [...]'
> Thus, the Archbishop ordered me to write down a copy of the parchment and sent it to the
> Pope in the City of Rome. (p.77)

He projects his assurance and deep belief that all the threats of the Christians can never harm him as

long as he is a committed Muslim.

B. They were "Driven by this Extreme Fear"

In another episode in Chapter 1, al-Ḥajarī gives his testimony on the fears of his community.

Although al-Ḥajarī embeds himself in the Orthodox Mālikī community by adopting their view on

the obligation of *hijrah*, he himself practised clandestinity. Therefore, he shows sympathy to his clandestine community. In this episode he juxtaposes himself with the majority of his community. He contrasts himself as an Arabic literate with them as non-Arabic literates. He contrasts his ability to manage fear with their excessive fear of the Christians. The incident happened few months after al-Ḥajarī became a licensed translator in Granada.

At that point of the narrative, he was doing a translation job for the Archbishop of Granada who gave him an Arabic book to translate. While he was working,

> some travellers from my country came to the city of Granada and I found out in which funduq [hotel] they were staying. I went to them, taking the book with me.
> After having greeted them in the customary way, I opened the book. But when they saw that it was written in Arabic they became extremely afraid of the Christians. I told them: 'Do not be afraid. The Christians honour me and respect me for my ability to read Arabic. But all the people of my town thought that the Christian inquisitors – who used to sentence and burn to death everyone who manifested his adherence to Islam in any way or was reading the books of Muslims – would condemn me [as well]. Driven by this extreme fear, the Andalusians used to be afraid of each other [as well]. They only spoke about religious matters with someone who was 'safe', i.e.: someone who could be trusted completely. Many of them were afraid of one another. Some of them, who would love to learn something of the religion of God, [even] did not find anyone to teach them. (p. 81)

In describing his community, al-Ḥajarī uses the term *khawf 'adhim* (great fear) and its derivatives (v. *yakhaf*, adj. *kha'ifin*) more frequently than he has used it to describe his own emotions. His description is intense and displays the Andalusians as a community of fear both on the in-group and out-group levels. They are projected as 'afraid of the Christians', 'driven by extreme fear', 'afraid of each other', 'afraid of one another'. In the narrative, the Christian inquisitors are portrayed as the agents of fear and their threatening instruments of imprisonment and burning to death are targeted at 'everyone'. They are targeting any form of Islamic identity, including books. Al-Ḥajarī also highlights some of the *Taqiyyah* practices of the Andalusian community. For example, there is no public religious discussion, no exchange of Islamic knowledge; no one dares to learn about Islam and no one dares to teach.

In the same episode, al-Ḥajarī juxtaposes himself with his fellow Andalusians. He distinguishes himself from his Andalusian community.

> After I had decided to emigrate from that country to the country of the Muslims, I used to teach every Andalusian who wanted to learn, both in my own town and in the other towns I visited. Thus, when the Andalusians saw in which situation I found myself, they used to say to each other: 'He will certainly fall into the hands of the Inquisitors!' This situation developed to such an extent, that when I stopped by a group [of them] to have a talk, I saw that every one of them slipped away until I was left completely on my own. For this reason I approached them, opened the book to show them the grace that God had bestowed upon me, as He had substituted safety for my fear, and pride and honour for my punishment, abuse and humiliation, [in accordance with the verse]:
> 'The man whose support rests in the messenger of God,
> Will even confound the lions in the forest he happens to encounter'. (pp. 81-82)

Al-Ḥajarī highlights his role in the Andalusian community as a teacher willing to help anyone and everyone who aspires to learn. In doing so, he reconciles himself with the uncompromising orthodox Mālikī view, which called on Muslims to fear for their religion and emigrate from Catholic Spain. He makes the case that he stayed and used his knowledge of Arabic to serve his oppressed Muslim fellows and, inevitably, to serve Islam. Therefore, his residence under non-Muslim sovereignty was not completely illegal or unethical, even from a Mālikī conservative perspective.

However, his fearlessness in manifesting his Islamic identity creates tension and dispute between him and the members of his community. Out of fear for their lives, they express their shock and adverse reactions to his acts. In return for their discrimination against him, he exaggerates his bold behaviour by holding an Arabic book in a public space. He does so intentionally to teach them a Qur'anic lesson; that if one fears God more than the Christians, then ("Allah will be sufficient for you against them" [Q. 2:137]). He presents himself as an exemplary true believer who performs his Islamic identity with caution but with no fear in his heart. Therefore, he manifests to his fellow fearful Andalusians, and to the reader, that following the godly path has shifted all his 'fears' into

'safety' and pride and honour for his 'punishment, abuse and humiliation' into 'pride and honour'. The rhetorical use of antonyms in the statement sets an indirect comparison between his emotional state and that of his fellow Andalusians. He performs himself not as an individual, who has fear, but rather as a true believer, who has hope. His statement echoes the following Qur'anic verse,

> Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth just as He granted it to those before them and that He will surely establish for them [therein] their religion which He has preferred for them and that He will surely substitute for them, after their fear, security, [for] they worship Me, not associating anything with Me. [Q. 24: 55]

To reassert his stance, he concludes the episode with a quote from Verse 135 of the Sufi praise poem of Prophet Muhammad, *Nahj al-Burda* (The Mantle or The Cloak)*, by Imam al-Busairi (1213–1296).[154] The poetic line sums up al-Ḥajarī's notion of a fear-free soul. If a 'man' truly believes and trusts in Prophet Muhammad 'the messenger of God', he can face the greatest danger without fear and he shall prevail. Fear is represented in the analogy of a man facing lions in the forest.

From this narrative point, al-Ḥajarī fulfils his decision on the *hijrah*. He faces the dangers on the road of his *hijrah.*

> And I compared the fear of the Christians we had lived through and the hardship we faced on the road to the terrible events of the Day of Resurrection, and our arrival among the Muslims at the entrance to Paradise! Let us ask the Almighty God that He will render us immune to [those terrible events], together with all Muslims, by the blessing of our Lord Muhammad, may the best of prayers and greetings be upon him! (p. 100)

Al-Ḥajarī compares the terrible events of his journey to those of the Day of Resurrection. This comparison brings to any reader with basic Islamic education, an array of visual images on the fears and horrors of this day, as described in the several Qur'anic narratives.

> He asks, 'When is the Day of Resurrection?' So when vision is dazzled. And the moon darkens. And the sun and the moon are joined. Man will say on that Day, 'Where is the

---

[154] For complete translation of the poem, see Sharaf ad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Saʿd al-Būsirī, *Al-Busiri's Burdah*. Thoraya Mahdi Allam (Trans.). Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1987; Sharaf ad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Saʿd al-Būsirī, *The Burda: The Poem of the Cloak of al-Busiri*, Hamza Yusuf (Trans.), Thaxted, Essex: Sandala Ltd., 2002. (Booklet and 3 Cds).

[place of] escape?' 'No! There is no refuge. To your Lord, that Day, is the [place of] permanence'. [Q. 75: 6-12]

When the sky breaks apart. And when the stars fall, scattering. And when the seas have erupted. And when the [contents of] graves are scattered. [Q. 82: 1-4]

At the end of his journey of *hijrah,* al-Ḥajarī reaches the abode of welfare. He stood at a safe distance from al-Burayja, the last Christian frontier,[155]

Then we climbed a mountain and saw how the Muslims were harvesting their fields. When we drew near to them, they came towards us with their weapons and horses. When they reached us, we told them: 'We are Muslims!' So they discarded their warlike attitude. They were very glad with us and gave us bread and food which we had not seen since Friday before sunset until Monday at dawn. (p. 99)

The Muslims changing their attitudes from 'warlike' to 'mercy' echoes the portrayal of the first Muslim community in Islam ("Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah; and those with him are forceful against the disbelievers, merciful among themselves." [Q. 48:29]).[156] The journey ends with an episode of Marrakesh portrayed as Paradise, "a big city whose fruits are many. Its grapes are unequalled throughout the world" (p. 101).

The following points conclude the analysis on al-Ḥajarī's discourse on fear. First, fear, as displayed in the above narratives, is a cultural, historical, and textual construct. Al-Ḥajarī derives his fear vocabulary and metaphors from direct and indirect textual references to the Qur'anic and Sufi discourses. In his vocabulary he relies on two Qur'anic senses of the word *khawf,* fear for one's religion and fear of an expected threat (*makruh*). Through the narrative, al-Ḥajarī constructs the latter kind of fear as an outside force that can be controlled and managed. This kind of fear has no place in the heart or beliefs of the pious believer.

Second, in his narrative structure, he mediates himself and his fears among several coexistent

---

[155] Al-Burayja is modern day El-Jadida, Morocco. It was under Portuguese rule from 1502-17. Its name in Portuguese is Mazagão (Mazagan).

[156] All Qur'anic references in this chapter are based on the Sahih translation available at <http://corpus.quran.com/> , *The Quranic Arabic Corpus - Word by Word Grammar, Syntax and Morphology of the Holy Quran*. Web. 15 Aug. 2015.

emotional communities. He oscillates between his clandestine Andalusian community and his orthodox Mālikī intended audience. He negotiates the choices available to him and his community in their last century of existence in Spain: *hijrah* or *taqiyyah*. His text resonates with the rigorist sixteenth-century Mālikī orthodox view on Muslim's obligation of *hijrah* from Spain for fear of losing their Islam. However, he introduces *taqiyyah* as a second best option, as a cultural mechanism of surviving threat and resisting Christian domination. He justifies his *taqiyyah* scheming ways and practices, which, in principle, have departed from the rules of Islamic orthodoxy. He also negotiates his fears of the antipathetic Christian Inquisitors with his acquaintance with the empathetic Christians who are passionate to learn Arabic. Above all, he introduces himself as the only competent Arabic literate, over and against a community that has lost all connection to its Arabic/Islamic identity.

Third, in the two narratives above, al-Ḥajarī adjusts his fear display according to his self-fashioning needs. He depicts himself as a true believer who is in control over his fears, or maybe has no fear at all, of the Christians. He foregrounds the threatening context in which he survived. In his encounter with the priest and the Archbishop of Granada, he fashions himself as someone who is sharp-witted enough to control the fearful threatening situations and turn them to his advantage. In his encounter with his fellow Andalusians, he shows sympathy and solidarity with his people and their historical trauma. Yet, he contrasts himself with them. He distinguishes himself as a fearless character actively doing things, from the rest of his community, who are portrayed as passive fearful characters having things happen to them. He presents himself as brave and strong at heart. He is more willing than them to face and endure danger, especially when it comes to his Islamic/Arabic identity. He brings himself very close to danger and takes all the actions that, according to his own narrative, bring punishment by the Christian Inquisitors. However, he argues that only because of his strong beliefs, everything always turns to his favour.

147

Both episodes end with him as triumphant and appreciated by his enemies, the Christian authorities.

> Another blessing the Exalted God bestowed upon me is that he subjected the kings and the scholars of the two religions to me, as well as the pious men of our [own] religion (p. 237).

In general, al-Ḥajarī constructs his fear, his fear-control strategies, and his public persona as a pious Muslim according to the conventions and manners set forth by the orthodox Mālikī jurists. However, his discourse on fear does not obscure the complex cultural and historical context in sixteenth-century Spain or al-Andalus, as he likes to name it.

3.4. "My Love For Her Caused Me to Suffer a Heavy Trial"

As discussed before in Chapter 2 of this thesis, emotional styles never become clear until they are studied in ensembles of two or more emotions. Therefore, in this section, the textual analysis focuses on al-Ḥajarī's discourse on love as a second hypercognized emotion narrative within his travel book.

In Chapter 8 of *Kitāb*, entitled *"On our Arrival in Olonne and then in the City of Bordeaux"*, al-Ḥajarī gives an account of his stay in Olonne, France.[157] Immediately before this point in his journey, he was in Paris to obtain a French royal letter stamped with the seal of the chancellory. This letter was meant to facilitate his search for the items that the French sailors stole from his Andalusian companions during their expulsion from Spain. Finding these stolen items or obtaining compensation was the main reason for his travel to France. During his stay in Paris, he learned from the Commandant of the Seal in the French court that in the Commandant's town, in Olonne,

> there were twenty-one captains. Every single one of them robbed the Andalusians who had chartered the ship. There was one among them who had robbed one of the ships for which I

---

[157] The present case study has benefited from Nabil Matar's remarkable English translation of this story in *In the Lands of the Christians*. His translation keeps the structure of the Arabic phrases and gives a chance for the emotional vocabulary to stand out in the translated sentences. See: Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians,* pp. 14-17.

possessed legal proxy. I agreed to leave Paris with him. (p. 137)

In Olonne, al-Ḥajarī and his companions stayed at the house of the Commandant of the Seal. Concurrently with al-Ḥajarī's stay, a young woman, a relative of the Commandant's family, was staying in the same house. Al-Ḥajarī calls her *al-bint*, (the girl or the maiden), most probably because she was unmarried. He became acquainted with this girl. She offered to teach him to read French, he accepted, and, as al-Ḥajarī narrates, they fell in love with each other.

The following textual analysis places al-Ḥajarī's discourse on love in the realm of the non-*Tariqa* Sufi community. Al-Ḥajarī's love vocabulary and narrative structure point out the various emotional norms and scripts dominant within Sufi discourses, particularly the contrast between profane/ courtly love and divine/spiritual love.[158] In the story, al-Ḥajarī, the narrator-protagonist, complicates his love story into a story on temptation, resistance, and emotion control. His love for the girl is problematic because he is a pious Muslim and she is a *haram* (forbidden) woman. Profane love is a worldly (*Dunya*) matter which disturbs his soul; it is a distraction from his path as a true believer; it is a gateway for sin. Therefore, his love has to be controlled. The analysis searches into the intertextuality between al-Ḥajarī's conceptualization of love and several premodern Arabic treatises on profane and mystic love. These love treatises were circulating during al-Ḥajarī's time.[159] More focus is placed on Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi (d.1064) and his remarkable treatise on profane love, *Tawq al-Hamama,* and on al-Ghazali's '*Ihya' 'Ulūm el-Dīn* as a text on mystical love.[160] It

---

[158] Michael Sells, "Love", in Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 126-158.

[159] See: Lois A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*. New York: New York University Press, 1971, pp. 3-50. Giffen gives a comprehensive list of twenty Arabic treatises and anthologies on profane love which were composed between the ninth and seventeenth centuries. For each treatise, she gives a summary description and a brief biography of its poet/author. Examples of these treatises are :*Risāla fī l-ʿishq wa-l-nisāʾ* (A Treatise on Love and Women) and *Risālat al-qiyān* (The Epistle on the Singing Slave Girls) by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā l-maknūn* (The Chaste Book on the Secret of the Hidden Passion) by al- Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī (d.1022), *Rawḍat al-qulūb wa-nuzhat al-muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb* (The Paradise of the Hearts and the Pastime of the Lover and the Beloved) by al-Shayzarī (d. eleventh century), *Kitāb ghawānī l-ashwāq fī maʿānī l-ʿushshāq* (A Treatise on the Concept of Love in Classical and Medieval Arabic Heritage) by Ibn al-Bakkāʾ al-Balkhī (d. 1630).

[160] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, Iḥsan ʿAbbās (ed.), Tunis: Dār al-Maʿārif lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Našr, 1992; Nazan Yıldız, "A Bird after Love: Ibn' Hazm's The Ring of the Dove (*Tawq al- Hamamah*) and the Roots of Courtly Love", *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 8, October 2013: 491-498.

also aims to interpret this narrative on love as a pragmatic act and communicative performance in which al-Ḥajarī fashions himself for his Mālikī intended audience.

3.3.1 Love Vocabularies

Al-Ḥajarī uses the word *maḥabbah* as the basic love word in his narrative; it is one derivative of the basic word *hubb*. He also describes love as '*ibtilā*' (an affliction, distraught, suffering), "my love for her caused (afflicted) me to suffer a heavy trial" (p.139); love is *khissām* (feud, dispute), "now you [i.e. addressing himself] will have to oppose your soul and Satan" (p.139); love is *hamm* (worry, anxiety) and spiritual *da'f* (weakness, frailty) which has to be hidden from others, "I had concealed my worry about the girl from my friends, lest my weakness be shown to them" (p. 139).

Al-Ḥajarī also uses several metaphors on love. For example, he refers to love as a state of spiritual destitution requiring more praying or contemplative actions ('*iḥtiāj ila do'ā*'), "I used to go out to walk among the trees and call upon the Exalted God that He would make me steadfast [against love]" (p. 139). He also uses the verb *fakkany* to present love as a state of captivity, "God set me free [from love and the girl] by His grace, benevolence and protection" (p. 141). Al-Ḥajarī also speaks of love in hydraulic metaphors. As discussed in chapter 2, the premodern medical theory of emotions perceived passions as fluids and energies that rise and fall in the body.[161] Al-Ḥajarī uses metaphors that indicate this hydraulic view: *kathorat al-maḥabbah* (love increased), *tanqus al-maḥabbah* (love decreases, diminishes) (p. 139, 141). He refers to love as *da'āwā al-nafs wa 'l-Shaytān* "the incitations of the soul and Satan" (p. 138); Love is evil as in "Satan instil evil in us by means of unveiled women" (p. 139). Profane love is prohibited *harām* , "the spirit forbids the prohibited" (p. 139). Profane love has to be controlled "... to restrain themselves from their inclination towards forbidden women" (p. 139). Expressing profane love is a sin, "I ask God for forgiveness for the words I expressed to her and for having looked at her" (p. 141).

---

[161] This hydraulic model is also shared by the Darwinian and the Freudian psychologists. See: Rosenwein, "Worrying about emotions", pp. 835-836.

In addition, he uses euphemisms such as "the state [i.e. love] of this girl is clear" (p. 140) and "I understood the state she was in" (p. 141). Even more, in the title of the chapter "On our Arrival in Olonne and then in the City of Bordeaux", al-Ḥajarī does not call the reader's attention to his love story, even though it dominates the content of the chapter. The titles of all of the chapters of *Kitāb* are detailed, they give a synopsis of the theme of the chapters, especially those which include his disputes with the Nasara. These mild alternatives or avoidance of mentioning the word love consign the intensity of his love in the narrative to an undertone.

Al-Ḥajarī's vocabulary list has nothing positive about love, no pleasure, no yearning for the beloved, no *ghazal,* no flirting. He constructs his love for the girl as a blameworthy and sinful act which leads to a state of inner disequilibrium. It brings about spiritual weakness and suffering. It is also a cause of sin, a cause of moral deterioration, and a cause of the violation of Islamic laws and teachings. This negative construction of his love for the girl invites a discussion on the emotional scripts and norms from which he derived his list of love vocabularies and metaphors.[162]

Love is Sickness

'Profane love as a disease' and weakness is a common trope in premodern Arabic love treatises and anthologies.[163] However, these treatises differ in their perspectives on love as sickness in three points: the location of the disease, the repercussions for the lover, and the cure for love. On the one hand there is the view that profane love, or courtly love, is chivalric, noble, and human. Love itself is not a disease, yet the body of the lover may suffer from his separation from the beloved. Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi in his *Tawq al-Hamāma* (The Ring of the Dove), describes the relation between love and bodily sickness:

> EVERY lover who is sincere in his affection, if he be barred from union with his beloved
> either through separation, or as the result of a breaking off, or because or some reason or

---

162 William C. Chittick, "Love in Islamic Thought", *Religion Compass* Vol. 8, No. 7, 2014): 229–38.
163 Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs,* pp. 3-50.

151

another he has to conceal his attachment, must necessarily fall in consequence into sickness, wasting away, and emaciation; not infrequently he is obliged to take to his bed. This is a thing exceedingly prevalent; it is happening all the time. The accidents that befall on account of love are quite different from those maladies which result from the sudden attack of an illness, and are readily diagnosed by the shrewd physician and the observant physiognomist.[164]

Other premodern Arabic treatises that address the sickness and suffering of courtly love include *Tazyīn al-aswāq bi-tafṣīl ashwāq al-ʿushshāq* (Decorating Markets with the News on the Passions of the Lovers) by Egyptian physician Dāwūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1599).[165] Love also may cause honourable death or martyrdom, as in several treatises such as *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq* (The Demises of Lovers) by al-Sarrāǧ (d.1106)[166] or *al-Wāḍiḥ al-mubīn fī dhikr man ustush.hida min almuḥibbīn* (The Clearly Evident in the Stories of the Martyrs of Love) by ʿAlaa' al-Dīn Mughulṭāy (d. 1361).[167] In general, the representation of profane love as a cause of mental and physical pain runs constantly through medieval and early modern Arabic love treatises.

On the one hand, where al-Ḥajarī embeds his conceptualization of love, there is the Sufi perspective that warns pious believers against profane love; instead, it encourages mystical love. In this view, profane love is defined as a disease that may infect the heart of the pious; it is one of the diseases of the heart *ʿamrad al-qulub*. There are thirteen verses in the Qur'an on those hypocrites ("In their hearts is disease, so Allah has increased their disease" [Q. 2:10]).[168] Profane love is defined according to several Qur'anic verses such as ("Beautified for people is the love of that which they desire - of women and sons, heaped-up sums of gold and silver, fine branded horses, and cattle and tilled land. That is the enjoyment of worldly life, but Allah has with Him the best return" [Q. 3.14]). If the heart of the pious or Sufi wayfarer becomes preoccupied by the love of any of these worldly

---

[164] Ibn Hazm, *The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love.* (A. J. Arberry, Trans.). London: Luzac and Company, 2004. Cited here is the online edition available: <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/hazm/dove/index.html.>. See chapter 25, "Of Wasting Away".

[165] Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāq*, Beyrouth: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1994. [in Arabic]

[166] Al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 2 vols. Beyrouth: Dār Bayrūt-Dār alnafāʾis, 1997. [in Arabic]

[167] ʿAlaa' al-Dīn Mughulṭāy, *al-Wāḍiḥ al-mubīn fī dhikr man ustush.hida min almuḥibbīn*. Beyrouth: Muʾassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 1997.

[168] See: [Q: 5:52], [Q.8:49], [Q. 9:125], [Q. 22:53], [Q. 24:50], [Q. 33:12], [Q. 33:32], [Q. 33:60], [Q. 47:20], [Q: 47:29], [Q. 74:31]

matters, his spiritual path will be obstructed and he will never reach connection with God, the ultimate Beloved.[169]

Sufi love treatises very often offer a guide on how to protect and cure the heart from any infections. For example, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d.1350), in his book *'Amrād al-Qulūb w Shifā'ūhā* (The Diseases of the Heart and its Cures), describes passionate and sensual love *'ishq* as a heart disease. Other such treatises are *I'tilāl al-qulūb* (The Malady of the Hearts) by al-Kharā'itī (d. 938), *Dhamm al-hawā* (The Condemnation of Passion) by Ibn al-Jawzī (d.1200), and Avicenna's *Risālah fi 'l'ishq (*A Treatise on Love).[170] They all address the control of profane love and its consequences for the person-divine relationship.

In addition, al-Ḥajarī's references to love as a state of spiritual weakness and disequilibrium are also part of the medieval and early modern humoral medicine understanding of human body. As mentioned in Section 3.2, quite a significant number of the books that were circulating among the sixteenth-century Morisco community were medical and folk-medical texts. Al-Ḥajarī on other occasions in *Kitāb* displays his knowledge of these canonical medical books such as Avicenna's book *al-Qānūn fi al-Tib* (The Law of Medicine) (p. 110). In his debates with the Christians over the rationality for Islamic rituals of fasting or not drinking wine, he uses the opinions of "Avicenna, Hippocrates and Galen" to support his argument (p. 130).

Love is *maḥabbah* not *'ishq*

Arabic has a long list of love vocabulary, such as *ḥubb* (love), *wudd* (affection), *hawā* (passion, desire), *'ishq* (excessive or passionate love, eros, amor), *gharām* (infatuation), *walah* (derangement), *shawq* (longing, desire), to mention a few.[171] Within Sufi discourse, these terms are

---

[169] William C. Chittick, *Sufism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2008, pp. 79-84.

[170] Avicenna. "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina". Trans. Emil L. Fackenheim. *Medieval Studies.* Vol. 7, 1945: 208–28. <http:// www.muslimphilosophy.com/sina/works/avicenna-love.pdf >

[171] Several studies have identified long lists of love vocabulary in Arabic and in the Qur'an. These lists pay close attention to the subtle cultural and philosophical variations among Arabic love words. See: Lois A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs,* pp. 83-96; Ghazi bin Muhammad. *Love in the Holy Quran*. Chicago IL: Kazi

very often arranged into hierarchical mystical love stages. Each stage is a *maqām* and the Sufi seeker should move upwards with his mystic love from one *maqām* to another.[172] Most of these terms also appear in the contexts of courtly love prose and *ghazal* love lyrics. However, some words are reserved for the profane love experience, such as *junun* (love madness), as in the famous Arabic love lyric *Layla wal' Majnun* (Layla and her Mad Lover).

Among these love vocabularies, Sufi theologians show two different preferences: sober and intoxicated. *S*ober or moderate Sufis, like al-Ghazali, prefer Qur'anic love vocabulary such as *Maḥabbah* and *ḥubb*. Al-Ghazali dedicates complete chapters to *maḥabbah* in his *Al-Arba'in fi 'Usul ad-Din* and in *Ihya''Ulum ad-Din*.[173] While Sufi masters who are 'intoxicated' by divine love prefer the non-Qur'anic terms *'Ishq,* "the most controversial of the terms for love", and *hawā*.[174] Al-Rumi and Ibn 'Arabi are among these intoxicated Sufi poets.[175] These emotional norms of expressing divine love can be approached as two emotional styles within Sufism. The following narrative analysis explains how al-Ḥajarī positions himself between his profane love for the girl and his aspiration to divine love and how he expresses his love within the norms of moderate Sufism.

3.4.1. Love Narrative

The chronology of this love narrative has five events. All five events take place within the walls and the garden of the house of the French Commandant of the Seal: "it was a house near to a river. It was well-fortified and big, built of dressed stones" (p. 138).

The Beloved Enters the Scene

In the first event, al-Ḥajarī introduces the woman. First, he describes her social rank:

> [She] possessed a great fortune left to her by her parents. She was twenty-four years old.

Publications, Inc., 2013, pp. 404-407, available on <http://altafsir.com/LoveInQuranIntroEn.asp#.UxC4Jl6x9GE>;

[172] Joseph Norment Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979, pp. 148-81.

[173] Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid, *Al-Arba'in fi 'Usul ad-Din.* In Aaron Spevack and Fethullah Gülen. *Ghazali on the Principles of Islamic Spirituality: Selections from the Forty Foundations of Religion Annotated & Explained.* Woodstock, Vermont: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 2011, pp. 267-280; al-Ghazalī, Ihya', Vol. 4, pp. 245-318.

[174] Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, p. 162.

[175] William C. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2005.

> She was very handsome and beautiful. Many of the upper class men of their country proposed marriage to her but she did not agree to any of them. (p. 138)

This desirable girl, who has rejected several men before, approaches al-Ḥajarī and initiates a conversation on the aesthetic standards of female beauty in his country and hers.

> Thereupon the girl came in and asked me to describe to her the most beautiful and prettiest women in my country. I gave her an answer to my best ability.
> She said: "you are right!" She said this, because she [herself] was white and a bit reddish. Her hair, including the hair of her eye-brows and eyelashes, was black. She had pitch-dark eyes. Among the French, the beauty of such woman was disregarded, and they used to say: 'she is black'. (p. 138)

His description is evaluative; it reinforces the high socio-economic status, beauty, and attractiveness of the girl, at least from his standards of beauty. His description does not go beyond the girl's face. As a pious Muslim writing his travel book for a Mālikī conservative intended audience, his description should not be erotic by going further to any other physical qualities of the girl's body. He also mentions nothing of the girl's education or intellectual qualities. All the focus is on appearance. Furthermore, he relativizes Western ideas of beauty.

Love is a Heavy Trial

Following this conversation, al-Ḥajarī explains the danger that lies beneath the girl's beauty.

> I used to tell my companions certain stories about the vicissitudes of pious men who do not transgress the borders of piety, in order to strengthen my companions' souls [*nufus*], and my own soul [*nafs*] as well, against the incitations of the soul [*nafs*] and those of Satan in relation to forbidden [*muharramat*] women, because Satan is used to instil evil in us often, [especially] by means of unveiled women. But we bear that with patience. (p. 139)

This statement on the danger of interfaith romances is a catalyst that heightens the reader's anticipation of the conflict in the story: the conflict of love between Muslim pious men and the forbidden *haram* women.[176] Using the signals of repetitive acts 'used to tell' and plural nouns (men, women, stories), al-Ḥajarī turns this conflict into a grand narrative, a story that happens to any pious man who meets a female Other (at the frontiers). Al-Ḥajarī avoids the word love; he uses euphemisms such as 'what happens to virtuous men' or 'the calls of al-*Nafs* and Satan'.

---

[176] Nabil Matar gives a detailed analysis of the notion of haram in al-Ḥajarī's love narrative. See: Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes,* pp. 106-108.

Upon this warning statement, al-Ḥajarī sets the love story in motion. Rendered in al-Ḥajarī's words, the girl is the one who initiates the action by showing interest in him.

> The girl preened herself and asked me whether there were women in my country who were wearing cloths of silk like herself? She then asked me: "Shall I teach you to read French"? Thus I became her pupil and she began honouring my friends. Our mutual [*mahabba*] love increased until my love for her caused me to suffer a heavy trial ['*ibtila*']. (p. 139)

Al-Ḥajarī explicitly admits his love after some time of acquaintance with the girl. He did not do that upon seeing the girl. This invites the hypothesis that his love was not at first sight, rather it is more profound. As Ibn Hazm states,

> SOME men there are whose love only becomes true after long converse, much contemplation, and extended familiarity. Such a one is likely to persist and to be steadfast in his affection, untouched by the passage of time what enters with difficulty goes not out easily.[177]

If his love came easily, then the conflict in the narrative would be less agonizing. However, he gives no details on his acquaintance with the girl; the pleasurable side of his experience is completely hidden.

Love is an Inner Conflict

Upon his confession of love, al-Ḥajarī explains why his love was ('*ibtila*') a heavy trial from God,

> I said to my self: 'Before this you were opposing the Christians in matters of money and [were engaged] in the holy effort to defend your religion, but now you will have to oppose your own soul [*al-Nafs*] and Satan.
>
> The soul [*al-Nafs*] demands that its goal is reached and Satan helps it [in realizing this]; the spirit [*al-'Ruḥ*] forbids the prohibited and reason [*al-'Aql*] is judging between both of them. Some interpret the spirit as the heart. The soul [*al-Nafs*] asks help from Satan, because heat and dryness belong to its nature, viz. the nature of fire. Therefore, they only seduce man towards the performance of acts of the inhabitants of fire. However, the spirit [*al-Ruḥ*] asks assistance from the Exalted God.
>
> Iblīs said when he arrogantly refused to bow down for our lord Adam peace be upon him! - 'You created me from fire!' As the soul as well as Satan belong to the nature of fire, both of them are pursuing man to go with them to it. Satan knows that he has no other power over man than but to instil evil in him. Sometimes, man rejects this seduction without difficulty, but at other times he needs to call upon the Exalted God. I used to go out to walk among the trees and to call upon the exalted God that He would make me steadfast. (p. 139)

---

[177] Ibn Hazm, *The Ring of the Dove*, <*http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/hazm/dove/index.html*.> Chapter 5, "Of Falling in Love after Long Association".

Al-Ḥajarī problematizes his love story and presents it as a complex inner conflict. He reports to the reader the inner monologue, "I said to my self", in which was he engaged at that moment. He explains how his love for the girl has switched his priorities from his *khiṣam* (feud, dispute) with the Christians, which is the main theme in his travel book, to a *khiṣam* with his soul and with Satan. Then, he describes the tug-of-war among his *Nafs* (soul, self), his *Ruḥ* (spirit), and his *'Aql* (reason and intellect). These three notions are the technical terminology offered in many Sufi spiritual manuals and compendia, known generically as *'ilm al-qulub* (the science of the hearts) and are listed in al-Ghazali's *Kitāb sharḥ 'ajā'ib al-Qalb* (On the Elucidation of The Marvels of the Heart).[178] Al-Ghazali defines al-*Nafs* as "passion or baser and lower self. Passion is a comprehensive word consisting of greed, anger and other evil attributes".[179] It is often symbolized as an animal in Sufi writings. Al-*Nafs,* when in its primitive form, is naturally inciting to sin and evil. Therefore, al-Ḥajarī has to oppose 'the calls of his *Nafs*'. He also has to practice spiritual self-scrutiny in order to rise above his profane love. Any Sufi wayfarer has to practice *tazkiyat al-Nafs* (purification of the soul) in order to elevate himself to a higher spiritual stage.[180]

Al-Ḥajarī locates his profane love within a struggle between his *Nafs*, his *Ruḥ*, and his *'Aql,* the three *laṭā'if* (sing. *latīfah,* very often translated as human faculties, spiritual organs, or inner subtleties).[181] In Sufi discourse, these inner subtleties should be cleared from any obsession with material objects or worldly matters because they are the receptors of the mystical knowledge. Preoccupation with these subtleties restrains the Sufi wayfarer from fulfilling his spiritual path to

---

[178] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, pp. 7-9.

[179] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, p. 8.

[180] Many Qur'anic verses have classified al-*Nafs* and assigned it various statuses and functions, moving upward from the passion addicted to evil, or the tyrannical *Nafs* (al-*Nafs al- 'ammara*) [Q. 12:53], to the regretful Nafs (al-*Nafs al-lawwama*) [Q. 75:2], then to the peaceful soul (al-*Nafs al-Mutma'inna*) [Q. 89:27]. Some Sufi theologians devise more elaborate typologies which reach up to seven stages of ethical and mystical development of al-*Nafs*. The main effort of a Sufi seeker should be invested in elevating his nafs through the scale from the inciting *Nafs* upwards until he reaches the stage of the perfected and purified *Nafs*. See Chittick, *Sufism: A Beginner's Guide,* pp. 49-62.

[181] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, p. 8. There three other human faculties including al-Sirr (secret), al-Khafy (mysterious) and al-Akhfa (deeply mysterious). See: Shigeru Kamada, "A Study of the Term Sirr (Secret) in Sufi Lata'if Theories." *Orient* 19, 1983: 7-28; and John Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2009.

the divine love. This is a major reason why al-Ḥajarī is concerned over this inner dispute and over

his profane love. Al-Ḥajarī's sentence "some interpret the spirit as the heart", is a near verbatim

version of al-Ghazali's "The second meaning of Qalb is [al-Ruḥ] soul".[182]

In this tripartite conflict, his *Nafs* stands as a prime enemy against his *Ruḥ*. It is inciting him to

pursue his profane love, while his *Ruḥ* is driving him towards his divine path. His *Nafs* is an ally

with Satan because they have the same purpose, distancing Man from Allah, and they share the

same nature of 'heat and dryness'. On the other side stands his *Ruḥ* as a source of illumination and

an ally with the divine. Within Sufi philosophy, the battle between al-*Ruḥ* and al-*Nafs* is eternal,

each of them fights to win over the ever-changeable heart. The role of al-'Aql (reason and intellect)

is to resolve the situation. Al-Ghazali defines 'Aql in two ways:

> The first meaning of Aql is intellect with which true nature of things of this material world
> is known and its seat is in soul. The second meaning of Aql is power to understand the
> secrets of different learnings. It is a subtle essence called knowledge which is an
> attribute".[183]

Al-Ḥajarī, like al-Ghazali, allows his intellect a significant role in controlling his emotions. By

getting into this war against his *Nafs* and Satan, al-Ḥajarī is actualizing the 'greatest jihad', a

fundamental notion underlying almost all Sufi thought on spiritual discipline. "To go against

passion is the greatest jihad".[184] He is controlling the calls of his primitive *Nafs* and Satan in order

to elevate his *Nafs* to a higher spiritual state. Finally, to intensify this tug of war, al-Ḥajarī

elaborates on the powerful role of Iblīs (the Arabic proper name for Satan) in this conflict. He

relates a major narrative in Islam, as well as in Christianity and Judaism, namely the conflict

between Adam and Iblīs. His narrative echoes the Qur'anic verses [Q. 7: 11-22]. Within this

narrative, Satan is defined as the antagonist of mankind ever since the creation of Adam. In Sufi

---

[182] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, p. 8. In this sentence the Arabic original text says al-*Ruḥ*, The English translation uses the term soul as an interchangeable term with spirit.
[183] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, p. 9.
[184] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, Vol 3, pp. 58.

thought, Satan is a lover of God; only that he wants to prove to God that Adam is a sinner and that he was right when he refused to bow to Adam.[185] In return, Adam should not let Satan win and should closely confine himself to worshipping God. Therefore, when Al-Ḥajarī felt threatened by Satan and his *Nafs*, he reverted to God to get him out of this heavy trial and inner conflict.

Love is Polemical

After pointing out his animosity for Iblīs, al-Ḥajarī gives an example of what Iblīs has done to him:

> But Iblīs went to the oldest of my companions, whispered evil into his ears and talked to him about the girl. I had concealed my worry about the girl from my friends, lest my weakness be shown to them, as I had been admonishing them to restrain themselves from their inclination to women. (p. 139)

Al-Ḥajarī displays his mystical ability to read Satan's actions. The reader realizes that al-Ḥajarī has admitted his love only on the narratee level. However, Iblīs knows and he manages to reveal the secret to one of al-Ḥajarī's companions who are staying with him and the girl in the same house. Iblīs is portrayed as an untiring advocate of sinful love; he is already an ally of al-Ḥajarī's *Nafs* and now he attempts to mobilize another character in the narrative against al-Ḥajarī. The issue in revealing the secret is that falling in love with a forbidden woman violates his public image and his declared beliefs; it also violates the Qur'anic order to believers to be consistent in their words and actions ("Great is hatred in the sight of Allah that you say what you do not do" [Q. 61:3]).

Al-Ḥajarī then informs the reader that Iblīs's scheme does work; the Andalusian companion responds to Iblīs's whispering,

> My friend came to me as if to give me confidential advice.
>> He said to me: 'My lord! I am confused about the shortcoming I noticed in you'.
>> I told him: 'Tell me what you noticed in my [behaviour] so that I may profit from it'.
>> He answered: 'The state of the girl is clear. She is treating us very favourably,
> because her love towards you is evident beyond any doubt. You know very well the custom followed in this country that a man stretches his hand out to girls and amuses them. No one esteems this misbehaviour. Time and again she stands in front of you, near to you, expecting

---

[185] Many Sufi authors and poets, such as Hallaj and Ahmed al-Ghazali (a younger brother to Abu Hamid al-Ghazali), hold a sympathetic view of Satan. When God asked Satan to bow to Adam, Satan was left in a state of perplexity. These scholars argue that Satan's love for God was the main reason why he refused to bow to Adam. See: Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, p. 214; Peter Awn, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblis in Sufi Psychology*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

that you will amuse her. But you do not delight her at all!'

I told myself: 'This one is stronger than Satan!'

I said to him: 'My friend, in our religion we are forbidden to do that. The text of it is: 'Withhold your hand from the money and the body that are not permitted to you'. This body is not permitted to me!'

He answered: 'I merely said that you should amuse her!'

I told him: 'The author of the *Burda* said: 'Do not attempt to conquer your lust by committing sins: food only strengthens the lust of the insatiable'.

He asked: 'What does this mean?'

I answered: 'As far as I heard, the meaning intended is: 'Do not think that your soul will be satisfied when you give her a little of the forbidden thing she is longing for. On the contrary, her desire will increase, her strength will grow until she will overcome you, so that you will commit more forbidden acts that you had in mind'. An example of this is that a fasting man abstains from food, but when he starts to eat his desire of it forces him to eat until he is sated. It is much better to fight one's soul as well as Satan and to hold them back'.

But there was no use in saying all this to my friend, because he came to me from behind while the girl was talking with me, and pushed me towards her. When she had left, I argued with him about his foolishness. (pp. 139-140)

Even though the companion is presented as very plain character, he serves two important narrative functions. First, the companion is a reflector on the girl's loving actions. Lest the reader think that al-Ḥajarī is exaggerating the girl's performance of love, he allows the companion to see and interpret the girl as a seductive lover aspiring to physical intimacy. However, the companion cannot see any signs of love showing in the narrator, who has succeeded in concealing and controlling his actions.

Second, the companion and his profane views on love are the antitheses of al-Ḥajarī and his spirituality. In the above dialogue, al-Ḥajarī employs these two competing voices: his narrating voice and that of his companion. The two juxtaposing voices interact, generating a polemic on love. The companion offers a definition of love based on his understanding of the custom 'in France', and that the physical expression of love between men and women is not shameful. The companion's words are subtle. They can, at their best intention, be interpreted as a statement on cultural relativism and compassion for the girl's love. They also can be read as an inducement to al-Ḥajarī to take sexual advantage of the girl, as long as her culture allows it.

In both interpretations, al-Ḥajarī, as a pious Muslim writing for a Mālikī and Sufi audience, will not accept any suggestions which compromise his religious principles. Therefore, he opposes his companion by reference to textual evidence from Islamic laws, *fiqh,* Quran, hadith, and Sufi teachings. He quotes Verse 17 from the aforementioned Sufi poem *Nahj Al-Burda,* which he reverted to in his narrative on fear. The verse draws an analogy between love and food. If food (a source of temptation) increases the desire for gluttony, then love increases the desire for, maybe, lust, adultery. He makes an indirect logical relation between profane love and sin. Not only does he weaken the argument of his companion, but also he indirectly weakens the stature of his companion by representing him as an irrational and childish character. Juxtaposition is al-Ḥajarī's modus operandi in self-fashioning here, as [he did] when he compared himself to his Andalusian community in the discussed narrative on fear in the previous section.

The Beloved Went Away

> She asked me whether I had a wife in my own country. I answered her: 'Yes I do'.
> Then she asked: 'Do you marry more than one wife?'
> I answered her: 'That is [indeed] permitted in our religion'.
> She then asked: 'Do you have children?'
> I told her: 'Yes, I do. I said to myself: 'Now you know this, your love will diminish''. But it did not diminish in the least. (p. 141)

In this event, the narrator relates one of his attempts to solve the love conflict. This is the second moment in the narrative where the girl's speech is directly quoted and the reader sees the dyadic elements of the love relation: the girl (the pursuer of love) and the narrator (the resistant to love). The girl's speech is presented in a manner that projects her interest in the narrator's marital and family status. He does not cooperate in the conversation by elaborating on her questions; rather he gives her short telegraphic answers, such as 'Yes, I do', and no further information. The narrator, as he explains in the inner dialogue, is aware of his resisting attitude and his answers in the dialogue are intentional; however, his attempts are in vain, as his resistance and pushing the girl away do not work at all.

In the last narrated moment between the girl and the narrator, the beloved is communicating silently via her eyes:

> One day I saw her after she had adorned herself. She was keeping an eye on me; I had no idea what she had in mind. I walked into the gardens [...] I heard her calling me, so I came from within the garden towards the edge of the canal, while she was standing at the edge on the other side. [...] We had a talk there and I understood the state she was in, though this was well known to me already. Then one of my friends called me from the gardens and approached me. She went away. (p. 141)

The last event between al-Ḥajarī and the French girl is left ambiguous and open to many interpretations. They had a talk but the reader is left uninformed about what 'the talk' was about or 'the state' of the girl. Throughout the narrative, the girl is projected as a subtle performer of seductive love. The plot line develops from her physical beauty and her interest in al-Ḥajarī. Rendered in al-Ḥajarī's words, she initiates conversations, she preens herself for him, and she asks him personal questions. To reinforce the girl's role as the causal agent of love, al-Ḥajarī maintains a grammatical pattern that keeps the girl in the grammatical subject position, while he occupies the direct object slot: "she comes to me", "she asks me", "she preens herself to me", "I [i.e. the girl] teach you". He is always the receptor of her actions and in control of his. However, his discourse on love has not made any direct or explicit moral evaluation or value judgement of the girl's actions. The only judgemental comment on the girl's love actions and the so-called French/European norms on love and flirting comes through the voice of his 'bad' Andalusian companion.

> God set me free by His grace, benevolence, protection and gracious favour. I asked God for forgiveness for the words I expressed to her and for having looked at her. He is indeed forgiving and merciful! God forgives the small sins if one refrains from the big sins. (p. 141)

Finally, resolution comes through a divine rescue. Allah releases the narrator from the girl and brings closure to the story. At this moment, al-Ḥajarī makes a significant narrative shift. He shifts to a confessional emotional style; he shifts the focus from his younger narrated self, which was in love, to his mature narrating self, which is asking for forgiveness. He admits his guilt and announces his repentance. He begs God's forgiveness and vents his regret on being carried away by his profane love. The narrator projects his confidence in receiving forgiveness because what he did

162

was 'a small sin' and he managed to avoid the bigger one: most probably referring to sexual love. The end of the story may not create strong closure in which satisfying answers and conclusions appear, yet it brings equilibrium to the narrator.

The overall structure of the narrative suggests an intertextual relation with the Quranic and Biblical version of the Zulaykha and Joseph (Yousuf) story [Q. 12: 21-34]. Zulaykha's love for Joseph is a symbol of the power of profane love and seduction and Joseph's resistance to her love is a symbol of chastity and purity. The sequence of events is simple, linear, and chronological. However, it is presented in a dramatic way: from spiritual equilibrium before meeting the girl, to a disruption by profane love, then again to a new and restored spiritual equilibrium.

When all is considered, al-Ḥajarī's vocabulary on love defines love as a spiritual weakness, worry, and disequilibrium. His intertextual relation with al-Ghazali's *Ihya* lies in the technical Sufi terminology which he uses to locate love. He even uses certain sentences near verbatim. His profane love with the French girl is blocking his Sufi path. The way in which the events are linked discloses how al-Ḥajarī conceptualizes the causes of love. He identifies two types of trigger for love: outer triggers including the seductive actions of the girl, the whispers of Satan, and the pressures from his companion; and one inner trigger, the desires of his inciting *Nafs*. The narrative introduces a four-voice polyphonic representation of love: each character in the narrative (al-Ḥajarī, the French girl, the companions, and Satan) plays a different role in this drama about love. The girl is the seducer; Satan/Iblīs is the mobiliser; the companion is the cultural relativist or a cultural opportunist; and against these three voices on love, al-Ḥajarī's voice is the most dominant, authoritative and in conformity with Islamic values and morals.

In fashioning himself, the narrator presents himself as a suffering lover, not because he wants to

fulfil his desire and be united with his lover; on the contrary, he wants to escape this love because it distracts him. He leaves the emotional state of the girl open to many interpretations. While the girl is projected as the seducer in the narrative, al-Ḥajarī fashions himself as the master of seduction. He presents himself as the only man who captured the girl's love.

Profane love is not completely absent from his narrative. The notions of Ibn Ḥazm on courtly love run through little details in the text. For example, al-Ḥajarī stresses the role of the lover's eye contact (she was keeping an eye on me);[186] he insists that he 'concealed' his love for fear of his public persona, yet "holding the tongue" and "deny[ing] everything if interrogated, affect[s] a great show of fortitude, and make it appear that he is extremely continent and a confirmed bachelor".[187] Al-Ḥajarī also projects an awareness of Ibn Hazm's portrayal of the profane lover; that the sincere courtly "lover submits to the beloved, and adjusts his own character by main force to that of his loved one".[188] Therefore, he does not often submit himself. Yes, he engages in conversations with her; yet he designs his conversations with the girl, as pointed out earlier, in a very telegraphic way. These presuppositions between him and the reader on what is courtly love, its signs, and norms of expression are the basis upon which he constructs the whole narrative.

On the narrative level as well, al-Ḥajarī projects his Sufi persona. He sets divine love and devotion as his first priority: "the Gnostic does not love anyone but Allah".[189] In his actions, he carries out contemplative practices to deepen his relationship with God. The love narrative emphasises the core idea, shared by all Sufi orders, that Sufis should subjugate themselves to all sorts of self-discipline and spiritual exercise. Therefore, he constantly performs self-scrutiny and takes account of his inner

---

[186] Ibn Ḥazm, *The Ring of the Dove, <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/Hazm/dove/index.html.*> Chapter 8, "Of Hinting with the Eyes".

[187] Ibn Ḥazm, *The Ring of the Dove, <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/Hazm/dove/index.html.*> Chapter 11, "Of Concealing the Secret".

[188] Ibn Ḥazm, *The Ring of the Dove, <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/Hazm/dove/index.html.*> Chapter 13, "Of Compliance".

[189] Al-Ghazali, *Al-Arba'in*, p. 273.

spiritual progress.

3.5. Conclusion: Polemical Self-fashioning

In both his fear and his love narratives, al-Ḥajarī plays the role of the polemicist. He stages and polarizes his polemical emotional self against the characters in his stories. He ascribes to himself all the emotional stances and norms which fit into what he views as Islamic emotional norms, while he attributes to all of the other characters, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, less perfect or even deformed emotions. They are all less capable than him in managing their fear or their love. In addition, he rationalizes his emotions and his emotional performances by means of scriptural and Sufi authorities. Emotions for him are not repressed or cut out of his religion; therefore, he has to perform his emotions accordingly. As the epigraph of this chapter displays, in all his emotional encounters with the Nasara, his fellow Andalusians, his beloved French girl, he "intends to win, to dominate, perhaps to destroy".[190]

Al-Ḥajarī's emotion narratives represent a privileged textual site for his self-fashioning modes. His emotion discourse is not a discovery of the self, it is more of an acknowledgment and indirect praise of the self. On the secular level, he projects himself as a well-read, educated, and knowledgeable scholar. On the spiritual level, he organizes his discourse on fear and love through the lens of his orthodox Maliki intended audience. Al-Ḥajarī constructs himself as a *Muhajr,* "longing to leave the lands of Al-Andalus in order to emigrate to the Exalted God and his Messenger and to enter the land of the Muslim" (p. 62). He presents himself as a committed "Muslim in the lands of the infidels, since I was aware of myself" (p. 61). He also displays his Sufi intuitions both in his fear and his love. The way in which al-Ḥajarī fashions himself in the text brings forward the role played by his intended audience, namely the Maliki jurist Ali al-Ujhury in Egypt and the scholarly and Sufi circles in North Africa.

---

[190] Dorschel, Andreas, "Passions of the Intellect", p. 2.

However, this polemical style never obscures the synchronic diversity within the early modern emotional communities in al-Andalus and North Africa. *Kitāb* exhibits a map of these emotional communities and proves that the matter is no longer about Christianity-Islam, or East-West, or Orient-Occident dichotomies. Al-Ḥajarī's discourse illuminates the dominant, subordinate, and hidden communities within which he lived and travelled. It is true that he foregrounds the dominant communities of the orthodox Maliki community, the Arabic textual community, the text-based (non-*Tariqa*) Sufi circles, and the antipathetic Christians for the sake of his Maliki and scholarly intended audience in the heartland of Islam. It is also true that he projects the clandestine Malikī, the non-Arabic literate, the empathetic Christian communities to make his polemical style in the text more appealing to his intended audience. But the emotional norms of these dominant and subordinate communities are the cultural sources from which al-Ḥajarī derives his discourse on emotions, and his modes of self-fashioning. His emotion discourse evolves from the totality of these emotional styles which were available to him from these coexistent emotional communities from which his fear and love are cultural and historical constructs.

It is worth mentioning that even though al-Ḥajarī embeds Quranic verses, Sufi poetry and treatises in his text, his text still reveals glimpses of the dominant emotion discourses in seventeenth-century Spain, an area that has not been covered in the above textual analysis. Al-Ḥajarī was an active Arabic-Spanish translator during that time and he was not completely cut off from the Spanish cultural context. Although al-Ḥajarī admits no debt to the Christian Spanish texts from where he was born, brought up and lived, the text still reflects many non-Islamic cultures. Al-Ḥajarī's conceptualisation of emotional control does not travel far from the emotion discourses of his Christian Spanish contemporary Baltasar Gracian (1601-1658 in Aragon). In his *The Pocket Oracle and Art of Prudence* (1647), Gracián introduces his maxims as a guide to emotional control.[191] His

---

[191] Baltasar Gracián, *The Pocket Oracle and Art of Prudence*, Jeremy Robbins (Trans.), London: Penguin Books,

Sufi concepts are not far from contemporary Spanish Christian or Jewish mystical texts.[192]

Kitāb was written during a time when Islam was losing its political struggle against Christianity in early modern Spain, the former al-Andalus. *Kitāb* displays how al-Ḥajarī and his community were looking at what they saw as the inversion of the order of their world. At such a moment, religious polemics may have seemed the only way in which al-Ḥajarī could negotiate this new world order in which he had to survive. Polemics against the Nasara were an emotional performative act.

Nevertheless, al-Ḥajarī was aware that on the other side of the Mediterranean there was a different emotional paradigm.

> Every Christian Sultan is terrified (*yarta'id w yakhaf*) by the bellicose Sultans of Islam defending the Religion who are waging war for the sake of the Lord of the Universe, viz. The noble and great Ottoman Turkish Sultans. I have already mentioned the enormous fear (*khawf*) the Christians foster against them, as I noticed and understood from them in their [own] countries. Thus, the kings of the Christians deem it proper to maintain friendly relations with them. Every one of them sends his ambassador to reside on a permanent basis in Constantinople in order to arrange for peace and good will with them.
>
> However, they - may God make them victorious and make their kingship last forever and place their Christian and Infidel enemies under their feet! - do not send an ambassador to any Infidel on the basis of permanent residence in their country. It is true that the Sultan of Spain - vis. the country of Al-Andalus - wanted to send an ambassador to reside [with them], like other Christian kings, but they did not accept his. [This was], because of the enmity against Islam they had experienced from him. (p. 183)

al-Ḥajarī's above passage is an invitation to move forward to another zone in the early Mediterranean world where the Andalusian paradigm of fear of the Christians is completely reversed. The passage precisely describes the emotional context of the next case study on Thomas Dallam, an English traveller to the Ottoman Empire in 1599.

[1647] 2011.
[192] Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok, *Jewish & Christian Mysticism: An Introduction*, New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1994.

Chapter Four

Entangled Emotions

Thomas Dallam
(c.1570 – c.1630)

> The 15th, I finished my worke in the Surraliao, and I wente once everie daye to se
> it, and dinede Thare almoste everie Daye for the space of a monthe; which no
> Christian ever did in there memorie that wente awaye a Christian.[1]

Introduction

Roughly around the time that al-Ḥajarī was crossing the Mediterranean, escaping from the abode of

Christianity to the abode of Islam in 1597, Thomas Dallam (c. 1575- c. 1630) was going in the

opposite direction. Dallam travelled from London to Istanbul in 1599. He was carrying a gift, a

sixteen foot high clockwork musical organ, from Queen Elizabeth I (reg. 1558-1603) to Sultan

Mehmet III (reg. 1595-1603). This clockwork musical organ, or as Dalam calls it "the present", was

not only a token of friendship but was also meant to attract the Sultan and get him to consider an

alliance between Protestant England and the Muslim Ottoman Empire against Catholic Spain. It was

also part of England's international trade ambition.

At this time, Dallam was both a distinguished organ pipe maker and a talented musician. His

expertise in building such mechanically complicated organs enthused Queen Elizabeth, the

merchants of the Levant Company, and her resident ambassador in Istanbul.[2] Therefore, they

commissioned Dallam to build one of his impressive organs for the Sultan. The Queen ordered him

to travel with the gift. No one else in Britain could have delivered this gift apart from Dallam. He

was the designer and manufacturer of the organ, and the only person who could make sure that it

---

[1]   Thomas Dallam, "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600", in J. Theodore Bent (ed.), *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1893. 1-98 (p. 63/64)

[2]   Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire.* Houndsmill and New York: Palsgrave Macmillan. 2004, p. 3

was safely delivered to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul. Unlike any other English travellers to the Ottoman Empire during the late sixteenth century, Dallam had the privilege of residing, dining, and socializing for several weeks in "the very heart of the Ottoman Empire (the seraglio of Sultan Mehmed III in Istanbul)".[3] He even had the privilege of being the first man, apart from the Eunuchs, to steal a close look at the sacred Harem of the Sultan.

While travelling with such an important gift, Dallam kept a diary of his year-long journey to Istanbul. The original manuscript of Dallam's text is preserved in the British Library (BL), London (Additional MS 17,480). Dallam titled his travel account, *A brefe Relation of my Travel from The Royall Cittie of London towardes The Straites of Mariemediteranum, and what hapened by the waye*. A later hand, then, added a title *1599: In this Book is the Account of an Organ Carryed to the Grand Seignor and Other Curious Matter*. Unfortunately, for three centuries no one knew about Dallam or his 'other curious matter'. "There is no record of what happened to the *Diary* before it found its way to the British Museum" in 1848.[4] Moreover, no one attended to the *Diary* for another five decades.

Finally, in 1893, J. Theodore Bent edited Dallam's travel journal in a collection published by the Hakluyt Society under the title *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*.[5] The collection includes an introduction on the history of the Levant Company and two seventeenth-century travel accounts. The first account is "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600" and the second is "Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679". Within the body of Dallam's text, Bent added another "Dallam's Travels with an Organ to the Grand Signieur".

Many scholars have criticized Bent's edition because his introduction on the history of the Levant

---

[3] Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire,* Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 3.

[4] Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, London: Putnam,1956, p.11.

[5] J. Theodore Bent (ed.), *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant,* London: Hakluyt Society, 1893.

company "was guilty of several errors of fact".[6] Moreover, "his edition is sometimes careless; he omits, for example, all Dallam's marginal additions".[7] Despite these issues, Bent's edition remains so far the only source from which all previous studies have quoted, including the studies of those critics. I have also relied on Bent's edition.[8] References to quotations in this chapter from Dallam's travel book, henceforth referred to as the *Diary*, are given parenthetically to the J. Theodore Bent edition.

The Context of Dallam's Journey

> A great and curious present is going to the Grand Turk, which will scandalise other nations, especially the Germans.[9]

The above passage is from a letter in the State Papers of Queen Elizabeth dated 31 January, 1599. It was issued ten days before Dallam's journey and refers to Dallam's organ. This gift presentation event as presented in this letter and in the *Diary* was a critical diplomatic event. Dallam hints at the propaganda which surrounded the organ. He suggests that the news of the organ crossed the Mediterranean and reached the ruler of Algiers, who was curious to see the gift (p. 15). The news of the organ reached the courtly circles of Istanbul. While Dallam was working on the organ at English ambassador's house, "the kinge of Fess", who was taking refuge in Istanbul at that time, came twice "to se my worke, and he satt by me halfe a daye" and three days later he "came againe to se our worke" (p. 58).[10]

This clockwork musical organ was one of several gifts and letters exchanged between the Queen

---

6   Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, p.11-12
7   MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 6
8   In addition, in order to compensate for the aforementioned issues, I have examined the manuscript at the BL to check Dallam's marginal additions and to get a material feel for the text.
9   Quoted in Bent, *Early Voyages*, p. xvi; Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, p.19; MacLean, *The Rise*, p.1.
10 Bent, *Early Voyages*, p. 58. n. 3. He identifies the King of Fez: "The old line of the Kings of Fez was driven out by the Emperor of Morocco in 1548, and the country annexed. Presumably the exiled family took refuge in Constantinople". This is the Wattasid dynasty that ruled the kingdom of Fez until 1548 when the Sa'did dynasty took over the kingdom of Marrakech and the Kingdom of Fez; Nevill Barbour, "North West Africa from the 15th to 19th Centuries", in Hans Joachim Kissling, et al, *The Last Great Muslim Empires*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp.97-152 (pp. 102-103).

Elizabeth **I** and members of the House of Osman.[11] Since 1579, Queen Elizabeth **I** had been trying

to establish diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire through her amiable pen-friendship with

Sultan Murad III and his wife Sultana Safiye.[12] In her letters with Sultan Murad III, Queen

Elizabeth indirectly hinted at a possible Muslim-Protestant allegiance with the Sultan, "the

unconquered and most puissant defender of the true faith against the idolaters who falsely profess

the name of Christ", i.e. the Catholics.[13] Queen Elizabeth furnished the ground upon which Muslims

and Protestants could meet: if in her rhetorics, the Muslims oppose idol worshipping, whereas the

Catholic are 'idolators', then the Muslims are willing to take a stance against the Catholics. The

Queen also reinforced her friendship by exchanging gifts with Murad and Safiye. In 1593, Sir

Edward Barton, the English ambassador, carried a gift and a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Sultan

Murad III and the Sultana.[14] In return, Sultana Safiye sent a very rich golden upper gown and a

silver undergown and "a letter of gratification".[15] The Queen also sent gifts to the important Pashas

in the High Porte.[16]

When Murad III died in 1595, his wife Sultana Safiye became the Valide (mother) Sultana and her

son became Sultan Mehmet III. Murad died without offering Elizabeth the anti-Catholic allegiance

she wanted. Therefore she had to continue her gift exchange tradition, hoping that the son would

take the Anglo-Ottoman alliance a step further and support England against Spain. However, it took

the Queen four years to decide on a suitable gift for the new Sultan and Sultana Safiye. Finally with

Dallam, in 1599, the Queen sent the ingenious clockwork organ to the Sultan. She sent a present "to

---

[11] Susan A. Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I", in S. M. Stern and J. Aubin (eds.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1965, pp. 119-157.

[12] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation.* 12 Volumes. Glasgow: Glasgow: MacLehose, (1903–05). For the exchange of letters between Queen Elizabeth and Sultan Murad III between 1579- 1583, see Volume V, pp. 168-227. For the exchange of letters and gifts between Queen Elizabeth and Sultana Safiye, see Susan A. Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I". In S. M. Stern and J.Aubin, *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 119-157.

[13] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. V, p. 222.

[14] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. VI, p. 100.

[15] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. VI, p. 102; Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana'", pp.132-133.

[16] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. VI, p. 102.

the Vizeare Basha at his house" (p. 60). And most importantly, she sent, according to Dallam, a special gift for Sultana Safiye:

> The same Daye, [September, 'The 11th Daye, beinge Tusdaye'] our Imbassader sente Mr.
> Paule Pinder, who was then his secritarie, with a presente to the Sultana, she being at hir
> garthen. The presente was a Coatche of six hundrethe poundes vallue. At that time the
> Sultana did Take great lykinge to Mr. Pinder, and after wardes she sente for him to have his
> private companye, but there meetinge was croste. (p. 63)

It seems that both gifts, the organ and the coach, were well received by the Ottoman Sublime Porte. Queen Elizabeth, in the same year, 1599, received two amiable letters from the Valide Sultan Safiye.[17]

The expenses of the organ were paid by the merchants of the Levant Company (formed in 1581).[18] Queen Elizabeth had them pay for all the gifts and the expenses of her three successive English ambassadors, William Harborne (from 1582-1587), Edward Barton (1588-1597) and Henry Lello (1597-1607), who was the ambassador-in-waiting during Dallam's journey to Istanbul.[19] They willingly invested such money because they wanted to get the new Sultan to renew their Capitulations.[20] They had suffered before from a withdrawal of their Capitulations, and most probably did not want the same scenario to happen again.[21]

According to MacLean, the story of this clockwork organ did not start where Dallam started his narrative: it "went back four years to the days of Edward Barton".[22] MacLean quotes a letter dated 20 September 1595 sent by Barton to Queen Elizabeth, "renewing his plea that she must act fast before Anglo-Ottoman trading relations suffered serious damage'.[23] MacLean proves that the idea

---

[17] Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana'", p.133.
[18] Greg Bak, "Who Built the Organ for the Sultan?", *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 25 (2001): 135–43.
[19] See Levant Company Charter in 1581 in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. V, pp. 191- 202.
[20] The Sultan's capitulation to the Levant Company. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol. V, pp.183-189.
[21] In 1580, the first appointed English ambassador Harborne managed to get Sultan Murad III to grant the first charter of privilege to the English merchants in Turkey but, unfortunately, the capitulation was withdrawn because of the French ambassador in Constantinople. Source: Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* Vol.5, p.125-130.
[22] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 33.
[23] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 33/34.

of the clockwork organ somehow started from Barton's letter.[24] However, Barton had died before the new present arrived. His successor was Henry Lello, the person who stood to benefit most from the Queen's present.[25] According to the Ottoman diplomatic traditions, Lello's credentials as an ambassador would not pass without a gift. Furthermore, it was to his personal advantage and status in the Sublime Porte if the gift was as impressive as possible.

The Storyline of the *Diary*

The reader can easily observe three conventional narrative sections. First is Dallam's outbound journey; second is his stay in Istanbul, "Stambole, or Constantinople" (p. 57). Third is the homeward journey. Dallam devotes most of the text to the first two parts of his journey.[26]

Outbound Journey

The reader joins Dallam from the moment he packs his chest. Dallam gives a simple unordered table listing all his belongings: his clothes, food, music instruments, etc. Then, he sets out on the *Hector,*

> The shipp whearin I was to make my voyege to Constantinople, Lyinge at Graves ende, I Departed from Londone in a pare of ores, with my chiste and suche provition as I had provided for that purpose, the nynthe of Februarie 1598 (1599), being Frydaye. Comminge to Graves ende, I wente aborde our shipp, Called the Heckter, and thare placed my chiste, my bedinge, and a pare of virginals (a spinet), which the martchantes did alow me to carrie, for my exersize by the waye. (p. 4)

The sea journey from London to Istanbul took six months from February 9 until August 15, 1599. In this part, Dallam describes the 18-day journey from Gravesend through the Sleeve (the English channel) and Gibraltar. He narrates a few dangerous experiences: a storm and an attack by seven Dunkirk pirates. When the *Hector* reaches the Mediterranean basin, Dallam starts to go offshore. He registers every port he passed and he narrates his adventures with his travel companions in every port he visited, including Algiers, Zante, the Aegean, Iskenderun, Rhodes, the Dodecanese, Chios,

---

[24] Barton's letter as quoted in MacLean, *The Rise*, p.34. The manuscript is BL Ms Cotton Nero B.xi, f. 215–215v.
[25] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 33.
[26] In terms of page counts in Bent's edition, the whole *Diary* comes in 98 pages, out of which 58 pages are for the outbound journey, 24 pages for Dallam's stay in Istanbul, and 16 pages for his homebound journey.

the Dardanelles, Gallipoli, and Ganos. In his descriptions, Dallam is attentive to the everyday life of

the people: changes in the weather, the topography of the cities, people's ethnicities, clothing,

jewellery, and the beauty of women. The narrative of his six month outbound journey is full of

descriptive passages which manifest his inquisitiveness and excitement over the small details of his

surroundings.[27] Details of the these adventures will be explained throughout the course of this

chapter.

During the whole outbound journey, the reader knows nothing about the organ. Dallam mentions

"the present" on two occasions. One time is when the king of Algiers summoned the captain of the

Hector and asked him to,

> bringe with hime the presente which he had to carrie unto the Grand Sinyor; so our captaine
> wente unto him and tould the kinge That the presente which he carried to the grand sinyor
> was not only a thinge of great substance and charge, but allso it was Defficulte curios, and
> would aske a longe time to put it together, and make it fitt to be sene. (p. 15)

The second occasion is when two of Dallam's ship companions were captured and imprisoned in

Rhodes. Dallam implies that one motive for the ship's voyage was to convey the gift: "we beinge

goinge with so Riche a presente to the Grand Sinyor" (p. 38). The Grand Seignior, and sometimes

the Grand Turk, are the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries European titles for the Ottoman Sultan.[28]

From these two occasions, the reader knows that there is a huge, expensive, and complicated gift for

the Sultan.

Dallam's Stay in Istanbul

Upon his arrival in Istanbul, Dallam switches the focus of his narrative to the organ and to himself

as a skilled organ-maker and musician. Dallam stayed in Istanbul from 15 August until 28

November. During his stay in Istanbul, Dallam interacted with several characters, some of them

Turkish and others English. The narrative focuses on his encounters with these characters. On the

English side, there was the English ambassador, who is unnamed. Dallam addresses him as "my

---

[27] For a detailed analysis of Dallam's outbound journey, see MacLean, *The Rise*, pp. 7-32,
[28] "grand signior, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 18 April 2016. There are several
spellings for the word Signior, Seignior, etc.

lord" and refers to him as "the ambassador". Historians have identified him as Henry Lello.[29] There were the diplomats and consular staff (Paul Pinder, William Aldridge, Jonas Aldridge), as well as the English merchants in Istanbul. On the Ottoman side, there are a few characters in the narrative, all identified by their job or title, including the Grand Seignior.

Lello and the consular staff were very worried that the Sultan would not like the Queen's gift. Their alarm increased when they discovered that all the glue in the organ had dissolved because of the long sea journey. But Dallam assured them that he guaranteed that he could fix it and make it even better than before. Dallam spent the first three weeks in Istanbul busy fixing and setting up the organ in Henry Lello's house.

On 9 September, Dallam entered the Seraglio, the palace of the Sultan at Constantinople, which contained some "apartments reserved for wives and concubines; a harem,"[30] for the first time, to set up the organ. His narrative shines with fascination at the interior design of the Seraglio. His description reflects Dallam as a craftsman. He describes the gate system, the gardens, fruit trees, the buildings, the paintwork, the colourful fish ponds, the fabric, the floors, etc. Dallam dined in the Seraglio every day to check on his work. He gives an interesting account on the Seraglio lifestyle. While there, he made friends with the "Coppagawe (Capougee) who is the Grand Sinyor's secritarie" (p. 64). Dallam meant the *kapıcıbaşı* ,"the head of the palace doorkeepers".[31] Dallam also was acquainted with two "jemyglanes", i.e. *acemi-oğlan,* "a conscript boy selected and brought up, later to join the Janissaries".[32] Those *acemi-oğlan* are usually sons of foreigners or Christians.[33] He was also acquainted with two dragomans, who were English converts to Islam.

---

[29]   MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 10; MacLean, "Performing at the Ottoman Porte", p. 27.
[30]   "seraglio, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 18 May 2016.
[31]   Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce sözlük = Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English Dictionary, 1997.
[32]   Redhouse Türkçe dictionary.
[33]   Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, pp. 177-9

The longest days in Dallam's narrative were 24 and 25 September. On the 24th, the night before the delivery of the organ to the Sultan, Dallam was summoned to the English ambassador's room for a private meeting. Dallam reports the long speech of the ambassador. Dallam was informed that the organ had to please the Sultan at first sight, otherwise the whole English nation would suffer the consequences. The speech of the ambassador put Dallam between the stones of the grinder. In this episode, which will be further discussed below, Dallam projects the anxiety of the ambassador. He also gives a hint of the role played by the merchants of the Levant Company in funding the organ.

25 September was the big day, the most important event in the narrative from Dallam's perspective. Dallam and his team arrived first and set up the organ, then the English ambassador, diplomats, and merchants arrived, and finally the Sultan and his parade. The sultan "haveinge a desier to se his presente, came thether wythe marvalus greate speed" (p. 67). Dallam set up the organ to perform automatically and waited outside the room. For the first time, the reader is informed about the organ in detail.[34] Dallam narrates that once the Sultan saw the musical and mechanical peculiarities of the organ, he was intrigued. So, the gatekeeper asked Dallam to enter the room and explain the organ for the Sultan. Dallam's performance was so spectacular that the Sultan gave him an incentive of "fortie and five peecis of gould called chickers [sequins]" (p. 71).

After the presentation ceremony, Dallam was summoned to the Seraglio to fix the settings of the organ. However, when he arrived, he realized that the Sultan had ordered the two *acemi-oğlan,* Dallam's acquaintance in the palace, "to perswade me to staye thare allwayes, as indeed theie had done diveres times and diveres wayes" (p. 77). In spite of Dallam's fascination with the Ottoman

---

[34]   Dallam describes the organ as follows: "Firste the clocke strouke 22; than The chime of 16 bels went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to corners of the seconde storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there handes, did lifte them to theire heades, and sounded a tantarra. Than the muzicke went of, and the orgon played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the orgon, being 16 foute hie, did stande a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushis, which at the end of the musick did singe and shake theire wynges". He also adds that the Organ "would goo of it selfe but 4 times in 24 houres". The organ also can be played anytime in between at the strike of the clock by pushing a small button to the side of the organ "when the clocke had strouk he would tuche a litle pin with his finger, [...] it would goo at any time". (pp. 67-8).

lifestyle and the prosperity he might have got – "I should not wante anythinge, but have all the contentt that I could desier" – Dallam diplomatically turned down the offer and excused himself with a lie that he "had a wyfe and Childrin in Inglande, who did expecte my returne" (p. 73). The stressful negotiation went further, with the more sensual/sexual incentive "that yf I would staye the Grand Sinyor would give tow wyfes, ether tow of his Concubines or els tow virgins of the beste I Could Chuse my selfe, in Cittie or contrie" (p. 73), but Dallam politely insisted on not staying.

Two weeks later, on 12 October, the two *acemi-oğlan*, who had done their best to convince him to stay, took him on a tour in the Seraglio and showed him "many other thinges which I wondered at" (p. 74). They showed him a grating in the wall, through which he steals a look at the Harem of the Sultan. He gives a description of the concubines in the harem: their bodies, hair, clothing, jewellery, all in detail. Dallam's account is probably the only account by a Western or Eastern man of the Harem of a Sultan.[35]

The next day, Dallam prepared himself to board the *Hector* for his homebound journey, but a messenger from the Seraglio came with a *ferman* (government letter) forbidding the *Hector* from sailing unless Dallam prolonged his stay in Istanbul. The Sultan wanted Dallam to move the organ to another pavilion inside the Seraglio. The ambassador esteemed this a chance to please the Sultan. While Dallam regarded it as his worst fear coming true, as will be analysed in his discourse on anxiety and fear.

Dallam submitted himself to the wishes of the ambassador. He moved the organ to another pavilion. The two *acemi-oğlan* tried their best again to convince him to stay for good. However, he politely refused. He once more stole a look at the Sultan with his concubines in the garden, only this time he

---

[35] Recently, Dallam's narrative of his stolen look at the Harem inspired Katie Hickman to write a historical novel. See Katie Hickman, *The Aviary Gate: A Novel*, New York: Bloomsbury, 2012.

was almost caught by the guards. Dallam finished his work in the Seraglio. He fell sick with a fever. The ambassador tried to make him wait but he was determined to leave Istanbul.

Homeward Journey

Dallam's departure is covered hurriedly. He left as soon as he got the permission of Ambassador to leave Istanbul. Even though there were no English ships and only Turkish ships ready to sail, he insisted on leaving Istanbul. His homeward journey lasted five months from 28 November until 20 April. The journey was in three stages: he first took a Turkish ship from Istanbul to Volos, Greece, then he travelled overland on horseback via Lamia, Mount Parnassus, Lepanto, the gulf to Patras, and the plains of Arcadia, until he reached Zante. His description of the overland journey focuses on the people and their everyday life, agriculture, food, cloth, ethnicities, and religions. He stayed in Zante for 46 days waiting for the *Hector*. He got on board and accompanied his old ship-mates from the outbound journey. The narrative entries are very brief. There are longer interruptions whereby Dallam does not narrate anything for months.

The last narrative episode is a battle between the English ships (the *Hector*, *Rebecca*, and *Great Susan*) against two Spanish ships. The English ships won and the Spanish captain was captured. Dallam ends his narrative with a victorious finale:

> Than we wente a shore at Dover, and our trompetes soundinge all the waye before us into the towne, wheare we made our selves as merrie as Could, beinge verrie glad that we weare once againe upon Inglishe ground. After diner, thar Came into the toune a Franche imbasseter, beinge accompened with divers knightes and jentlmen of Kente; so, at tow of the Clocke, we touke poste horse to Canterburrie, and from thenc to Rochester that nyghte, and the nexte day to London. (p. 98)

This Triumphal March reflects Dallam's pride in his Englishness, after having astonished the Ottoman Sultan, by helping in subjugating the Spanish, by resisting the temptations of the Turks, and above all by coming back as Christian as he was when he left England.

The *Diary's* is a travel journal. Its layout reveals Dallam's awareness of the travel genre conventions: he specifies distances and altitudes; he describes cities and inhabitants. However, in the original manuscript, Dallam does not give any titles or subtitles in the body of the text. Unlike al-Ḥajarī, or Evliya, whose account will be discussed in the next chapter, Dallam does not use reader-stimulating or entertaining captions in describing the sections in his narrative, such as 'the adventure of', 'a marvel of', or 'a strange spectacle on'. Instead, Dallam organizes his narrative following the diary genre conventions. He uses months and chronological entries at the beginning of each paragraph. The entries are very precise. They specify the month, the date, and the day: "The 8 day, beinge Satterday", "The 11th Daye, beinge Tusdaye". They even specify the part of the day: "After nowne", or "nyghte", and which hour "Aboute 8 of the clocke". Nevertheless, in the edited text, Bent adds several subtitles in the page headers and body of the text. Some headers give the name of the city/port in which Dallam had an adventure, such as "at Algiers", "leaving Zante"; others describe the main event in the narrative section, such as "Saluting the Sultan", "Taking the organ to the Seraglio", etc.

Previous Studies

The *Diary* has been approached briefly as a historical document by Samuel C. Chew. He introduces the text as one bright example of early modern Anglo-Ottoman cultural encounters.[36] The earliest sizeable study on the *Diary* is by Stanley Mayes, who documents and verifies the relation between Dallam and the Levant Company, the English Diplomats, and the Anglo-Ottoman gift-exchange.[37] Gerald MacLean has devoted one chapter to the *Diary*, with Dallam as one of the earliest visitors to the Ottoman empire. He places Dallam alongside three other seventeenth-century English travellers to the Ottoman Empire: William Biddulph, Henry Blount, and 'Mr. T.S'. This parallel between

---

[36] Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 164-172; see also Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 62- 63.
[37] Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*.

Dallam and other travellers has illuminated modern scholars' perspectives on Dallam's *Diary* and Dallam's attitudes and mentality.[38] Other studies have illuminated one specific aspect or incident in the text, such as the legal contract between master craftsmen and their guilds,[39] the obligatory gift-exchange customs among sea captains and officials,[40] the relation between travellers and ship-captains,[41] and the rituals of diplomacy in Ottoman courts and their cultural significance.[42]

The Present Study

The focus in this study is on the *Diary* as a ʿpopular autobiographyʾ and an ʿanti-conversion narrativeʾ. Initially, the *Diary* is a first-person narrative about a one-year event in Dallam's life. The text starts with a paragraph on his departure from London and the last paragraph sees him stepping foot again in London. Not once in the text does Dallam refer to his life before or after his journey to Istanbul. This short time span does not make the *Diary* less of a self-narrative, an autobiography, or ego-document, because between these two paragraphs there rest Dallam's emotions, memories, and experiences. However, the *Diary* is a special type of self-narrative. It is a ʿʿpopular autobiographyʾʾ.[43] According to James Amelang, popular autobiographies are first-person narratives "written by craftsmen, peasants, and workers".[44] Artisans, like Dallam, fall within the social category of "small men", in Nabil Matar's phrase, or the "subordinate classes" in Carlo Ginzburg's phrase.[45] After long scholarly neglect, the lives of these ʿordinaryʾ men are helping "to reconstruct a

---

38 Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p. 1-47.

39 Greg Bak, "Who Built the Organ for the Sultan?" *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 25 (2001): 135–43.

40 Lawrence Danson, "The Sultan's Organ: Presents and Self-Presentation in Thomas Dallam's Diary", *Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23 No. 5. (2009): 639- 658.

41 Simon Wills, *Voyages from the Past: A History of Passengers at Sea*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd., 2014, pp. 1-10.

42 Gerald MacLean, "Performing at the Ottoman Porte in 1599: The Case of Henry Lello", In Sabine Schülting, S.L. Müller, and R. Hertel (eds.) *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures,* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 27-41.

43 James S. Amelang, "Popular Autobiography in Early Modern Europe: Many Questions, a Few Answers", *Memoriay Civilización (MyC)*, Vol. 5 (2002):101-118 (pp.113-118).

44 James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 11.

45 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi (trans.), Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980, p. xiii.

fragment of what is usually called 'the culture of the lower classes' or even 'popular culture'".[46]

Recent historical and cultural studies have addressed the literatures of popular culture.[47] Particular

studies have addressed the history and culture of guilds and artisan communities in early modern

French, Spanish, Ottoman, and Middle Eastern cultures using these textual artefacts by artisans.[48]

Furthermore, as hinted at in the short description of the outline of the *Diary*'s story, the plot in the

Diary emerges when the Ottoman Sultan, spotting Dallam as a highly trained craftsman, initiates a

recruitment campaign for Dallam to stay in Istanbul. Dallam did not interpret these persuasions as

an innocent job offer; he saw them as temptations to make him 'turn Turk'. Dallam, already aware

of the grand narratives on the "Renied cristians" who "do become most berberus and villanus,

taking pleasur in all sinfull actions" (p. 14-15), would not surrender to the allure of the Turks. He

narrates himself as nationalist enough not to commit to a cheap 'brain drain' and Christian enough

not to convert to Islam.

In a brief, yet very significant study, Mary C. Fuller interprets Dallam's *Diary* as a narrative of

resistance to conversion to Islam.[49] Fuller compares Dallam's narrative to *The Wonderfull Recovery*

of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier (1622, 1625) by John Rawlins, a

skilled mariner. She argues that both are anti-conversion narratives. In her comparison, she argues

that "Dallam exhibits a passive, persistent resistance to the seductions of Islamic courtship".[50] She

concludes her article with a suggestion that narratives like Dallam's "should, however, be read

---

[46] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms,* p. xiv.
[47] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Towards Mixtures and Margins", *American Historical Review*. Vol. 97 (1992): 1409–1416 (p. 1409); Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (eds.), *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009; Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Abigail Shinn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
[48] James Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and their World in Dijon, 1550–1650*, New York: Ithaca, 1988; Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem. *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean,* London: IB Tauris, 2005; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans,* London: IB Tauris, 2009.
[49] Mary C. Fuller, "English Turks and Resistant Travelers: Conversion to Islam and Homosocial Courtship', in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge.* New York: Palgrave. 2001. pp. 66–73.
[50] Fuller, "English Turks and Resistant Travelers", p. 72.

against a larger background"; she argues that these narratives are indicators that "voluntary conversion of Christian Englishmen was not uncommon".[51]

Several recent studies have focused on the early modern English narratives on 'Turning Turk'.[52] Nabil Matar has examined the extensive influence of renegade narratives on the English culture of Dallam's time.[53] He surveys how the narratives on renegades were integrated into all aspects of life, including church sermons and activities, theatre, literature, and travel writing. He argues that during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were two competing narratives on Islam. One narrative projected the 'allure' of Islam and the other narrative projected Islam as a threat to Christian identity. The former narrative was spread among the commonality, sailors, craftsmen, fishermen, etc, who aspired to social mobility; converting to Islam was their only possibility of realizing such an aspiration.[54] The latter narrative was embraced by the elite community, "some of the most important writers and theologians of the European Renaissance".[55] The misrepresentations of Muslims and Islam in their writings and their narratives on renegades were deliberately constructed as a defence mechanism against the sweeping 'allure' of Islam. In line with Matar's argument is Gerald MacLean's observation that the writings of early modern English travellers to the Ottoman Empire were a negotiation between fear and fascination. MacLean argues that such language of fear and fascination is better identified as an emotional experience of "imperial envy". He argues that, despite the hostile writings against the Ottomans during Elizabethan period in England, there was also express admiration and envy of the magnificence, wealth, and military

---

[51] Fuller, "English Turks and Resistant Travelers", p. 72.
[52] Nabil Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination", *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* Vol. 33, No. 3, Summer,1993: 489-505; Daniel J. Vitkus (ed.), *Three Turk Playsfrom EarlyModern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, and The Renegado.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn, "Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World", *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 17, No. 5-6, 2013: 427-436; Matthew Dimmock, "Converting and Not Converting "Strangers" in Early Modern London", *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 17, No. 5-6, 2013: 457 – 478; Jonathan Burton, "English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion: Five Perspectives on 'Turning Turk' in Early Modern Texts", *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring/Summer 2002: 35-67.
[53] Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
[54] Matar, *Islam in Britain,*, p.15.
[55] Matar, *Islam in Britain,*, p.19.

power of Ottoman Empire.[56]

In the light of the above scholarship on early modern popular autobiographies and conversion narratives, the present study approaches Dallam's discourse on emotions in his *Diary*. The arguments of Fuller, Matar, and MacLean fit well into Rosenwein's notions of emotional communities and the notion of emotional styles. These studies have identified two co-existent emotional communities within the larger English community. One community was hidden, i.e. the community of the 'small men', because they either did not return to England after their conversion or were mostly illiterate and expressed their experiences within the oral culture, therefore leaving no, or little, textual evidence. The second community is evident in the texts of the English elite members. Their antipathetic emotional style is not directed towards Islam as much as it is directed to their competing co-existent emotional community. The same applies to fear and fascination as two distinct emotional styles. English travellers, to varying degrees, had to negotiate between these two communities and styles.

The main hypothesis here is that Dallam negotiates himself among a lattice of emotional communities and styles. The *Diary* projects how an English artisan, with no land or inherited title, negotiates himself into the nobility and elites in late sixteenth-century England, including Queen Elizabeth I, the merchants of the Levant Company, and the English ambassador in Istanbul. He also negotiates himself between the allure of turning Turk and resisting conversion, and between fear and fascination. These are two entangled emotions in his text that serve to reinforce his self-image as a non-renegade Englishman. He displays his anxiety and apprehension arising from the journey and the mere idea that he might turn Turk, and to intensify the rhetoric of his resolution to remain Christian, he accentuates the 'allure' of the Ottoman empire.

---

[56]   MacLean, *The Rise*, p.xiv.

The discussion in the remainder of the chapter is parallel to the discussion of al-Ḥajarī. It begins, in Section 4.1, with an analysis of the *Diary* as a communicative act in order to identify the writing situation, the intended audience, and the textual clues which reveal Dallam's mentality and personality. Second, section 4.2. adds a socio-cultural contextualization of the Diary and a search into the emotional communities and styles as displayed in Dallam's narrative. Then, Sections 4.3. and 4.4 are textual analyses of Dallam's discourse on anxiety and ʿimperial envy', respectively. Finally, in Section 4.5, the case study concludes with a commentary on Dallam's anti-renegade self-fashioning mode.

4.1. The *Diary* as a Communicative Act

The analysis of the *Diary* as a communicative act is very challenging for several reasons. Unlike al-Ḥajarī, who is very informative on the details of his journeys, his social and professional networks, and his intended audience, Dallam is silent about all of these details. There is no reference inside the body of his manuscript to his personal, social, or professional life before the journey. In addition, Dallam does not say to whom he is writing or why he is writing. He does not give evident textual clues about his intended audience. Because he does not write for posterity, he leaves out the names of several historical characters in his narrative, including the Queen, the Sultan, the ambassador, and the captain of the *Hector*. All of these textual and contextual gaps have been reconstructed by the editor and several previous historical studies. These studies have linked the *Diary* to different historical documents, such as the Venetian State Papers, Queen Elizabeth's State Papers, and contemporary travel narratives such as the Hakluyt and Purchas travel collections.[57]

Thomas Dallam was born c. 1570 in Dallam, Lancashire; then he moved to live in London. His skills in building complicated, mechanical organs drew Queen Elizabeth's attention and she

---

[57] Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, pp. 14-16; MacLean, *The Rise*, pp. 3-6.

commissioned him to build a special organ for the new Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet III (reg.1595-1603). The legal contract concerning this commission shows that the expenses of the organ-building were at the charge of the merchants of the Levant Company and that Dallam was a Blacksmiths' Guild member.[58] After his return from Istanbul, his business flourished, he married and had three children: two sons and a daughter. His organ-building family business included his two sons and his grandson. The company was commissioned to build several organs across England, including the organs at King's College Cambridge (1605) and at Worcester Cathedral (1613).[59]

The *Diary*'s Context of Production

The *Diary* was not published during Dallam's lifetime. Moreover, three centuries elapsed between the time of writing the *Diary* (1600) and it being published (1893). Therefore, the context of the production and writing situation of the *Diary* is open to interpretation. Gerald MacLean traces "the enigma of Dallam's manuscript".[60] He gives a plausible explanation for why Dallam's text remained unnoticed by English publishers, particularly during Dallam's lifetime (d.1630). MacLean suggests that Dallam deliberately "chose to keep his journal to himself" and that he, unlike most late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century English travellers, "clearly did not write in the hope of producing a 'bestseller'".[61] He argues that Dallam's decision is "remarkable", "odd", and "unusual" because he did not fall for the publishers' zeal for travel tales on the Islamic East at that time. Regarding the time the *Diary* was written, Samuel C. Chew argues that Dallam wrote his text in 1603 after the death of Sultan Mehmet III, because Dallam refers to the Sultan using the past tense: "that emperor that rained when I was thare".[62]

---

[58] Greg Bak, "Who Built the Organ for the Sultan?", *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 25 (2001): 135–43.
[59] MacLean *The Rise*, p. 6; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1996.
[60] MacLean, *The Rise*, pp. 4-6.
[61] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 4
[62] Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose,* p. 167, n. 1.

The *Diary*'s layout in the original manuscript tells us that Dallam's writing was unplanned. At the beginning of the text, Dallam writes on one side of the paper, the line spacing relatively wide. However, with the progress of the journey, he gets more chatty, and he starts writing on both sides of the paper with more lines to the page. The last few pages are crammed. However, as Lawrence Danson argues, on several occasions in the text, Dallam projects his future intention to elaborate on the text when he gets back to England.[63] Some marginal notes prove that he revisited his text after his return to London. For example, he wrote, "What wordes did pass betwyxte our Mr. [the Captain of the Hector] and me I will omitt till God send us into Inglande" (p. 37) and, "Many other Thinges conserninge this Cittie and Iland I do omit till my Returne into Inglande" (p. 39). On another occasion, he inserted a commentary in the first few pages in the original manuscript where there were blank pages opposite the main text about what he had written earlier at the beginning of the journey. The main text is a description of a battle between the *Hector* and seven Dunkirk ships, and the inserted comment explains what Dallam heard about this battle "At our cominge home out of Turkic" (p. 11). Therefore, one may postulate from these phrases that Dallam had the intention of elaborating on the parts that he omitted; or that he inserted these post-journey comments while reading the text for his family. There is one rare occasion when he addresses a reader using the pronoun 'you', asking him/her to agree on the following statement,

> Heare yow maye se the base and covetus condition of these Rude and barbarus doged Turkes, and how litle they do Regard Christians. (p. 39)

The pronoun 'you' is most likely directed to a reader. However, it could also be a mere discourse marker, or maybe an inner thought whereby Dallam is addressing himself. Nevertheless, all these remain mere hypotheses about why and to whom the *Diary* was written; the text was not published and Dallam is silent about this authorial intentions and intended audience.

Master Thomas Dallam

---

[63] Danson, "The Sultan's Organ", pp. 642-643.

With the absence of a clearly defined readership or intended audience and absence of personal information about Dallam, the only aspect left in the *Diary*'s autobiographical communicative act is the traveller-narrator as represented in the text and as inferred from the historical context in which English artisans such as Dallam lived and worked. In this respect, the present study looks at Dallam as a member of artisanal social networks in late sixteenth-century England. First, Dallam was a young Blacksmiths' Guild member.[64] So, I look at the artisanal guilds and their social activities and how this may have reflected on Dallam's self-presentation in the texts. Second, Dallam is a literate artisan, and this invites a study of artisans as a textual community. Looking at the canonical texts which were circulating around Dallam when he was writing his travel journal explains the intertextual relation between the *Diary* and the other texts from which it may have drawn.

The Artisanal Guilds

The title of Bent's edition of the *Diary* refers to Dallam as a *Master*, which is the highest social title any artisan can attain. The career progress of any craftsman in early modern England started as an apprentice at the age of seven or ten, then a skilled journeymen, then perhaps a master craftsmen. Once a master, the craftsman could both run his own workshop and become a member of the guild which represented his craft. Dallam, as mentioned earlier, was a member of the Blacksmiths' Guild. A guild in general regulated the work environment among its craftsmen members. It organized the rules of the taking on of apprentices, observed the business and ethical practices of masters, set out the rules for good business practice, and controlled the legal contracts between masters and those who worked for them in terms of working conditions and wages.[65]

More importantly, the guilds, sometimes called fraternities, had social and religious functions. The

---

[64]   Greg Bak, "Who Built the Organ for the Sultan?", *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 25 (2001): 135–43.

[65]   S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds.), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy,1400–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

members of a guild were under oath to support and relieve each other during crisis (sickness, bankruptcy, unemployment, loss of properties in fire or suchlike events). Celebrating weddings, carnivals, and annual feasting was also one feature of the members codes of fraternity.[66]

Dallam's self-presentation modes in the texts exhibit these ethics towards his fellow craftsmen who were part of the royal gift crew travelling with him aboard the *Hector*. They are all artisans, including 'Myghell' Watson the carpenter, Edward Hale the coachman, John Harvie the engineer, and Rowland Buckett the painter. He also engages with the non-craftsmen Mr. Maye the preacher and Mr. Chancy, the physician of the ship. In every adventure, Dallam socializes and entertains himself with one or two of his companions. He refers to them with nicknames, or even a funny description, for example, his "fainte-harted frend Myghell Watson" (p. 24) and his friend Edward Hale "who becomes the proverbial donkey 'Ned' whenever Dallam finds him acting foolishly".[67]

He also narrates the times when he and his shipmates have guests and dinner receptions on board the *Hector*. He projects himself as a hospitable person who knows how to entertain. He also reports on bedtime chats among the travellers, sporting days, and bird-shooting in Iskenderun. In his relationships, Dallam differs considerably from al-Ḥajarī, who is only interested in debates over politics and religion. Dallam projects his fraternity attachment and his social bond with his craftsmen's circle. This brotherhood view, as will be further shown below, also included the Ottoman craftsmen and servants.

Craft guilds also had their members raise charities for the widows and orphans of deceased members; they were under oath to provide emotional support at one another's funerals and during

---

[66]   Pete Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* Reprint edition. Hants, England: Wildwood House, 1988; J. P. Ward, *Metropolitan, Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
[67]   MacLean, *The Rise*, p.10.

times of distress. This compassionate attitude towards others is projected in Dallam's records of the deaths aboard the *Hector*.

> This 27 daye died one Thomas Cable, who was under 20 yearis of age, and son to one of the owneres of our shipe. (p.34)
> The eighte Daye Died one John Knill, sarvante to Mr. Wyseman, marchante, who was also one of the owneres of our shipp. (p.41)
> The 21 Day, Died a boye Caled John Felton, who was borne at Yarmouthe. (p.47)

His records of death are telegraphic. However, they project his particular concern for those who die away from home, especially if they are close to his age or younger. He also integrates a saddening story of a Greek passenger, who was aboard the *Hector*. This Greek man lived in Cyprus but he had a brother who lived Crete. The Greek man "had not in a longe time scene" his brother (p.27), so he took a ship to go to his brother but unfortunately the ship could not make it to Crete and carried the man to Zante, where he was stuck for three months. When the *Hector* stopped by Zante and he heard that the *Hector* would pass by Crete, the man was so desperate to join the *Hector* that "he fell at our Maysteres feet, and craved passege in our shipe thether" (p. 27). The captain took him aboard but deliberately refused to drop him in Crete and took him back to Cyprus. In this story, Dallam hits two birds with one stone. First, he takes the chance to project the incompassionate side of the 'Mr.' of the *Hector*. Second, he projects his sympathy for "the man's hard fortun" and "for he wepte bitterly, because he had spente so muche time, and could not se his brother, whom he so dearly lovede" (p. 27/28). Disunion from beloveds by "death" or "hard fortune" is projected as one of Dallam's worst fear, the most common cause of apprehension in his travels.

Artisans as a Textual Community

Unlike al-Ḥajarī, Dallam does not say much about his education; he does not refer to any canonical texts of his time, not even the Bible. All that is obvious from the *Diary* is that Dallam was literate; he knew arithmetic; and he played music well. Until the early sixteenth century, these skills would have been unusual for someone like Dallam, because the majority of artisans and peasants were

illiterate.[68] However, in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, there was a noticeable growth of popular schooling and basic literacy. There were two factors for such a rise in the literacy rate among the commonalty. First, Protestantism encouraged the common people to acquire the ability to read the Bible on their own. Second, the national and international economic expansion in England, as will be further explained below, pressured craftsmen to sharpen their basic literacy skills. There were different kinds of schools for commoners: the endowed grammar schools which taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion, and the 'petty schools' which taught basic reading and writing skills.[69] This rise in literacy illuminates Dallam's educational background.

The rise in literacy is obvious in the number of books which circulated among the craftsmen and artisan communities. Laura Caroline Stevenson has undertaken an extensive study on the non-dramatic and dramatic texts which were "printed in England between 1558 and 1603 that went through at least three editions in ten years".[70] Out of this canon of Elizabethan popular literature, which reached 296 texts, there were 80 texts written for the merchants, clothiers, and craftsmen.[71] All of these texts "went through ten to nineteen editions between their first appearance and 1640".[72] According to Stevenson, these texts were written particularly for an artisanal audience. They addressed several important issues concerning the economic and social context of the craftsmen. Most of these 80 texts about craftsmen clustered around three topics: religious texts, manuals, and fiction and poetry. The *Diary* has many indirect intertextual references to many of these texts.

---

[68] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Reprint ed. Hants, England: Wildwood House, 1988, p. 66.
[69] Barry Reay, "Orality, Literacy, and Print", in his *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750*. New York: Longman, 1998.
[70] Laura Caroline Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. p. 12
[71] For a list of the popular texts circulating in artisan networks, see the appendices in Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,,* pp. 214-246.
[72] This canon includes best-seller plays, religious books, works of fiction and poetry, handbooks of instruction, histories, medical and scientific pamphlets, and collections of essays and aphorisms. Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 14-18

Sermons and Religious Advice Books

According to Stevenson, the most frequently circulating religious texts were the sermons, advice books, and treatises of three preachers: Arthur Dent's texts *Sermon of Repentance* and *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, Henry Smith's *Sermon of the Benefit of Contentation*, and William Perkins's treatise, *The Foundation of the Christian Religion*, and his *A Treatise of the Vocations, or Callings of Men*. They were printed between ten and nineteen times during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These texts address a range of issues concerning artisanal ethics, such as obedience to the Sovereign and England, thrift, vocation or calling, hard work, corruption, greed, social ambition, conscience, usury, and charity. These issues echo with what Max Weber defines as the Protestant code of ethics.[73]

The influence of this religious discourse is evident in several aspects of the *Diary*. It is true that Dallam does not preach on religion or through religion like al-Ḥajarī. He does not walk the Earth carrying a Bible like other English travellers.[74] However, Dallam installs God as responsible for many things in his narrative. Things happen only "yf God permitte" (p. 14) and "with Godes help" (p. 20). God is responsible for bringing Dallam back home: "I will omitt till God send us into Inglande" (p. 37). He is responsible for healing Dallam "When I was somthinge recovered, by the helpe of God and a good fisition" (p. 81): here, God comes before science. God is responsible for saving Dallam from dangers "for the which we had verrie greate cause to give hartie thanks unto Almyghtie God, who was our chefeste savgaurd" (p. 84). Of course, all these examples could be religious clichés, just like Evliya Çelebi's phrase Inşallah (God willing, I hope so, all being well) which runs through his travel book.[75] Even if they are religious (and clichés), they still point out to

---

[73] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: And Other Writings*, Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells (Trans.), London and New York: Penguin Books, 2002, pp. 1-202. See also: Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonweal*, London and New York: Routledge, [2000] 2014; Laurie Ellinghausen, *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567-1667*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008, pp.1-15.

[74] MacLean, *The Rise*, pp. 51-114. The case study on William Biddulph's travel to Aleppo 1600-1612.

[75] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname,* In Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (Eds and Trans). *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the "Book of Travels" of Evliya Çelebi*, London: Eland, 2010. For the usages of Inshallah in the

religion as an important domain from which Dallam derived his discourse on emotions and self-fashioning modes.

Dallam defines everyone in the text, including himself, by their 'vocation' or 'calling'. Vocation for him is the fundamental way to define people. He defines everyone around him, both English and Ottoman, by their vocations: the carpenter, the engineer, the physician, *acemi-oğlan,* dragoman, etc. He even addresses the characters with whom he morally disagrees, such as the captain of the *Hector* and the ambassador, as will be further explained in the next section, by their vocation. Their vocation is assigned by God: therefore, he would not seek to interfere with or withdraw it from them.

He reinforces his "general calling which is his being a servant to God and the Queen" by presenting himself as an obedient English royal subject who serves his country. His "nationalist pride,"[76] in MacLean's phrase, shows throughout the text. He expresses his loyalty in his small actions, such as proposing a toast: "Hear, Nede, cothe I, a carrouseto all our frendes in Inglande" (p. 22). He also surrenders himself to the will of God and his superiors (i.e. the English ambassador): "I tould him that I would yeld my selfe into Godes hand and his" (p. 77).

He also asserts his personal calling "which is his being a servant in the community".[77] He projects that he does his work diligently and with good conscience.[78] Dallam's vocation as a craftsman is hidden from the reader until he reached Istanbul. The first time he talks about his vocation and diligence is when he went with Henry Lello and the consular staff to take the organ from the *Hector*. They were all shocked because the organ was completely ruined. Dallam relied upon his

---

Arabic-Islamic context, see Rebecca Clift and Fadi Helani. "Inshallah: Religious invocations in Arabic topic transition", *Language in Society*, Vol. 39 (2010): 357-382.
[76] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 13.
[77] William Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations, or Callings of Men [1605],* London: John Legatt, 1625. Pdf. Available on <http://digitalpuritan.net/william-perkins/>, p.
[78] Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations,* p. 27.

brilliant engineering skill and explained that this damage was expected, because

> it hade layne above sixe monthes in the hould of our ship, whicte was but newly bulte, so that the extremetie of the heete in the hould of the shipe, with the workinge of the sea and the hootnes of the cuntrie, was the cause that all glewinge fayled; lyke wyse divers of my mettle pipes weare brused and broken.
>
> When our Imbassader, Mr. Wyllyam Aldridge, and other jentlmen, se in what case it was in, theye weare all amayzed, and sayde that it was not worthe ii*d*. My answeare unto our Imbassader and to Mr. Aldridge, at this time I will omitt; but when Mr. Alderidge harde what I sayede, he tould me that yf I did make it perfitt he would give me, of his owne purss, 15*li,* so aboute my worke I wente. (p.58)

Ultimately, as Dallam narrates, he fulfilled his promise and the organ impressed the Sultan. He impersonates the vocational ideal: "[E]very man must do the duties of his calling with diligence: and therefore Solomon says, Whatever is in your hand to do, do it with all your power (Ecc 9.10)".[79] Dallam's vocation and diligence are the core point around which the conflict in the story revolves. It attracted the Queen of England to hire him and attracted the Ottoman Sultan. It was not his lineage or social status which put him in such a position; rather it was the calling or the vocation assigned to him by God. He gives life to the sixteenth-century notion that "Labor in a calling is as precious as gold or silver".[80]

Treatises on Double Entry Book-keeping

Another category of the widely circulating books among craftsmen is manuals: Frank Adams's *The Writing Tables,* Richard Grafton's *Little Treatise, Containing Many Tables and Rules*, William West's *Symbolaeographia*, and Nicholas Ling's *Politeuphia.* These were manuals to help craftsmen to convert weights and measures, to calculate distances between English towns, to draw up legal contracts, to answer questions eloquently and wittily. In addition to Stevenson's list of these manuals, Linda Woodbridge gives a list of popular books about money management in the Elizabethan age. Some of these books were circulating among shopkeepers during Dallam's time, including John Mellis's re-issue of Hugh Oldcastle's first printed English translation of the Venetian Luca Pacioli's *Treatise on Double-entry Bookkeeping* (1588), James Peele's first English

---

[79] Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations,* p. 9.
[80] Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations,* p. 9.

text on on double-entry book-keeping, *How to Keep a Perfect Reckoning after the Order of . . .*

Debitor and Creditor (1553, 1569).[81]

The first few pages of the *Diary* exhibit Dallam's double-entry book-keeping. He begins the text

with a list of items. He calls them the

> Nessecaries for my voyege into Turkic, the which I bought upon a verrie short warninge,
> havinge no frend to advise me in any thinge. (p. 1)

He improvised his necessities because the journey was at short notice and without any advice. The

list includes the name of each item, how many units per item, and their cost. The list includes items

of clothing, such as one suit of sackcloth to wear at sea, one suit of coarse wool, nine shirts, one hat,

an arming sword, one dozen handkerchiefs, a pair of pumps and a pair of pantofle, and three pairs

of shoes, among other things. The food list includes oil, vinegar, prunes, sun-dried raisins, cloves,

mace, pepper, 2 pounds of sugar, nutmegs, gloves, and oatmeal. He also carried valuable items such

as knives, a gross of silver spoons "the which coste me nyne shillinges" and 30 pounds of tin bars

(p. 4). He also lists his work equipment: "a pare of virginals (a spinet) [...] for my exersize by the

waye" (p. 4). This bulk of tin spoons and bars are thought "to be used for currency".[82] The tin bars

were used for fixing the pipes of the organ if the "mettle pipes weare brused and broken" (p. 58).

This list projects Dallam as an organized craftsman. It may also reflect the influence of the religious

advice books on the "spirit of thrift".[83]

Fiction and Poetry Books

In addition to religious advice books and craftsmen's manuals, fictional narratives were among the

most commonly circulating texts in the artisanal community. There was Thomas Tusser's *Five*

Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, United to as Many of Good Housewivery (1573 and 1638)

---

[81] Linda Woodbridge (ed.), Money and the Age of Shakespeare, Essays in New Economic Criticism, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 4-5.
[82] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 8. He gives an analysis of Dallam's list and its economic significance.
[83] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic,* p. 296.

which is "filled with practical advice and many moral sayings that encouraged diligence and thrift".[84] There was also Robert Greene's satire, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1596), which "included many remarks on the duties of craftsmen and a tale about the fellowship of shoemakers".[85] The most widely circulating of these fiction narratives were Thomas Deloney's novels. *Jack of Newbury* narrates "the exploits of a worthy apprentice who became a fabulously wealthy clothier without sacrificing his soul to success. The two parts of *The Gentle Craft* presented a fictionalized history of the shoemaking trade. Finally, *Thomas of Reading*, in which Deloney turned again to the clothing trade".[86]

In these fictions, artisans were portrayed as heroes, adventurers, lovers, witty and amusing characters. Some features of these characters reflect on Dallam's self-presentation and his encounters with the Ottoman and English characters in the narrative; this will be shown in the course of the textual analysis of his anxiety and envy. However, most important in these fictions is their embarking on issues of mobility in the English social hierarchical system, poverty, corruption, and social injustice towards craftsmen and artisans during this period. These texts, according to Stevenson, influenced craftsmen's attitudes and beliefs about themselves; it gave them "a way of thinking about the social hierarchy, its values, and the place of merchants, clothiers, and craftsmen in Elizabethan society".[87]

Plays and Anti-Renegade Narratives

Besides Stevenson's canon of Elizabethan popular literature, several studies have pointed out the widely circulating texts and plays which addressed the topic of 'turning Turk'. In a survey of several plays on Christian-Muslim conversion, Jane Hwang Degenhardt argues that:

> In the minds of early modern English people, there was one thing even worse than dying at the hands of Turks: conversion. Whereas a death by martyrdom offered the chance for

---

[84] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 16
[85] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 16
[86] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 17
[87] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 21

salvation, converting to Islam set one on a path of irredeemable damnation. In addition, "turning Turk" implied not just a religious conversion, but also the complete undoing of all things constitutive of an English Christian identity.[88]

Degenhardt points out that most of these plays have variations of the same narrative model "seduction, resistance, redemption". The influence of this model is very evident in Dallam's narrative. The seduction starts from the moment Dallam steps into the Seraglio. The seduction involves not only wealth but also sexual incentives represented by two wives or concubines from the harem. In return Dallam responds with means of peaceful resistance, including a lie that he has a wife and children in England. And finally comes the redemption when Dallam manages to leave Istanbul. Dallam, as will be explained below, projects his anxiety and apprehension that he may not reach this point of redemption.

The last two categories of these texts, the anti-conversion narratives and the artisanal fictions on social and economic issues, are very important demarcations along which Dallam portrayed the characters in his narrative. They also cast light on his emotional attitudes towards the English elites, and towards the world in general, as will be discussed in the next section.

4. 2. The *Diary* as a Map of Emotional Communities

Reading Dallam's *Diary* requires a reading in English society and in economy at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were significant economic changes leading to significant changes in the social order. Both of these changes influenced English artisans and craftsmen, including Dallam, and reflected on Dallam's emotions and the way he perceived his artisanal community in relation to other social groups. His narrative gives a map of several emotional communities which co-existed in late sixteenth-century English society.

---

[88] Jane Hwang Degenhardt, "Seduction, Resistance, and Redemption: 'Turning Turk' and the Embodiment of Christian Faith", in Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010, 1-31 (p.1).

The social order in early sixteenth century was highly structured and stratified. English society was inegalitarian in its social ideals. It was ordered into groups according to distinctions of rank and status. First came royalty, then the peerage with their inheritable titles, then the gentry with their acquired titles, and finally the ʻcommonaltyʼ, which included all the working subjects in society. The majority of the commonalty lived in the countryside, including the yeomen (tenant farmers), the husbandmen (small family farmers), the craftsmen and tradesmen, and the labourers and cottagers. Some of the ʻcommonaltyʼ lived in the cities. They were also stratified into merchants, manufacturers, professional people (physicians and lawyers), master craftsmen with their own workshop, and finally journeymen, who worked for wages by the day. Among these socially defined groups, Dallam belonged to the urban commonalty.

However, by the end of the sixteenth century, this stratification had started to unfasten. In addition to the previously discussed rise of literacy and circulation of fiction narratives on social injustice, there were other economic factors which led to slightly more possibilities for individuals to move up the ladder of this stratified society. First there was a better economy, on both the industrial and agricultural levels, and a growing internal trade. The expansion in agriculture and trade markets in England is obvious in Dallam's observations on his outbound journey. In Algiers, he observes that "The toune or cittie is verrie full of people, for it is a place of great trad and marchandise" (p. 14). He takes notes on the days of the farmers' markets in Algiers and what people sell there. He even describes how the farmers have the chicken eggs "hatchte by artificiall meanes, in stoves or hote housis, without the helpe of a hen. The maner of it I cannot at this time playnly discribe, but heareafter I may, yf God permitte" (p. 14). Similarly, In Zante, he describes the Greek peasants in the fields, who

> doo labur harde in planting and triminge the corron (currant) gardins, ollive gardins, and
> vinyards. Hear growethe verrie litle corne, but from hence comethe the moste of our

Corrance and beste ayle (oil); thar is also good wyne (p. 19).

On his homeward journey when stopping in Lepanto, he noticed "verrie straingly made" mills which had "only one water whele, withoute any cogwhele or anythinge els, dothe turne the stone, and will grinde 30 bushils a daye and upwards". Dallam, with his mechanical engineering talent, acknowledged that he could work out, just by sight, the mechanical complexity of these mills and "To make the like I am able to giv direckion" (p. 85). His attentiveness to agricultural innovations reflects what was happening at the time in England.

Second, in the late sixteenth century, there was a significant development in England's international trade. The power of the English maritime was on the rise, which led to more explorations and better chances for trading voyages. Dallam displays his pride in English marine power. Very often he compares the *Hector* to the Turkish and the Spanish ships. He also tells about several battles between the *Hector* and the Dunkirk privateer ships who "were at that time the pirates of the Channel, and their privateers did much damage to English trade".[89] In all these narratives, the *Hector* is always mightier and advanced over the ships of the rival. This maritime power encouraged new trade companies to be founded with royal charters to search for new non-European markets for English produce. First, the Levant Company was chartered in 1581 and then the East India Company c in 1599. They were also looking for direct access to imports instead of getting them through the trading companies of the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, the economic situation in England was in a state of paradox. The surplus in the English industrial and agricultural produce, the better internal trade system, and the international trade expansions were all to the favour of the nobility's wealth. The commonalty did not benefit from these economic improvements. The prices of basic products were rising; wages fell; poverty and homelessness spread. This maldistribution of wealth led to a polarization in society. The poor

---

[89] Bent, footnote 2, p. 6

became poorer and the rich became richer.[90] This unjust economic system is present in the *Diary*. Dallam compares the cheap prices of fruits, vegetables and poultry in Algiers to the high prices in England, "Thar be great store of partridgis and quales, the which be sould verrie cheape, a partridge for less than one pennye, and 3 quales at the same price" (p. 14). He displays his moral disgust at the bribery system among English, Spanish, and Turkish ship captains who disguised these bribes as expensive gifts: Turkish carpets, fish, quilts. He also registers how the greed of captain of the *Hector* caused the crew and passengers aboard the ship to live in hard times of starvation and lack of fresh water.

In addition, Dallam shows his worry about his money and belongings. This care could be interpreted as a display of his spirit of thrift, as discussed earlier. However, it also could be seen as a reflection of the spirit of poverty which was spread among the commonalty in his time. As examples, In Iskenderun, Dallam and his friends got lost in the woods and were worried to find a pathway "for feare of tearinge our cloese [...] but Runninge at a ventur throughe thicke and thine, thorns and bryeres, tearinge our close" (p. 29). He also takes note of his worn out shoes: "This daye, in the morninge, I put on a pare of new shoues, and wore them quite oute before nyghte" (p. 81). In addition, Dallam very often complains of delays in the travel plans because they simply cost money. At the beginning of the outbound journey, there was a 5-day delay in Gravesend and a 4-day wait at Deal Castle. This delay have cost him extra expenses. At the bottom of his list of necessities, he registers, "my passige to Graves end Item my staying there 4 dayesit coste me 12s", "at Deale Castell (1s)" (p. 2-3).

As Stevenson argues, "the Elizabethan economic atmosphere combined stagnation and development, poverty and prosperity, personal opportunity and corporate conservatism in a

---

[90]   Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Longman, 1988; Shepard, Alexandra. "Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England." *Past & Present* 201 (2008): 51-95. Web.

puzzling mixture, and that Elizabethans reacted to this atmosphere (according to their temperaments, ranks, and opportunities) with aggression, complacency, indifference, confusion, dissatisfaction, anxiety, anger, or despair".[91] This paradoxical socio-economic context explains Dallam's arrangement of emotional communities in his narrative. Although the context of the journey is Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations and the Catholic Spain-Protestant England rivalry, Dallam classifies his emotional communities according to a nobility-commonalty demarcation.

On the one hand, there is an overarching community of commonalty, which cuts across the English and Ottoman contexts. This includes Dallam, his fellow artisans, the *acemi-oğlans*, and the crew of the *Hector*. However, out of this community, the dragomans and the Christian Reneid are negatively represented; they were European Christians who chose to convert to Islam. A second overarching community includes the so-called 'nobility', those who make decisions, give orders, and worst of all exchange bribes disguised as presents. This community includes the 'Mr.' of the *Hector*, the corrupted Ottoman sea captains, 'the English ambassador', the merchants of the Levant company, and the Grand Seignior. They all come in one package regardless of their religion or culture. The nobility, both Ottoman and English, are portrayed as brokers, dealers and investors in Dallam's talent as a skilful artisan. This section is a survey of the emotional communities which display themselves in Dallam's narrative and a description of the context of Dallam's journey.

4.2.1. The Milieu of the Nobility

> Therefore, those who lay up money to buy offices, had best take heed beforehand. For the saying is true: *he that buys the seat, must sell justice; and where justice is sold, the poor are oppressed, and all goes to wrack*.[92]

The above passage from Perkins's *A Treatise of the Vocations* sums up Dallam's moral attitude towards the elite characters in his narrative. Dallam takes issue with corruption, oppression, and

---

[91] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p. 23.
[92] Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations*, p. 21 (emphasis is in the original text).

abuse of power.

The 'Mr.' of the *Hector*

The only villain character aboard the Hector was the "M", the captain of the *Hector*. Dallam left

him unnamed and historians have identified this "M" as Richard Parsons.[93]

Throughout the journey to Istanbul, Dallam shows a great disappointment in the moral acts of

Richard Parsons, or the 'Mr.', as Dallam calls him. The 'Mr.' always 'grieved' Dallam and the crew

of the *Hector*. Dallam narrates several examples of his shameful acts. As soon as the *Hector* left

London, there was a battle with seven Dunkirk ships. The passengers, sailors, and gunners on the

Hector fought with courage and managed to capture the Dunkirk captains. However, the 'Mr.'

ended the battle in a way that "greved the sayeleres and the Reste of our company verrie moche" (p.

10). Three Dunkirk captains came aboard and one of them was seen carrying "under his arme a

good long mony bage full of somthinge, and so they wente with the 'Mr' of our ship into his cabin,

and talked a good whyle" (p. 10). The Captain came out of his cabin, summoned the crew and read

them a letter stating that the Dunkirk ships had a pass from the King of France to carry wine.

Dallam noticed that letter was forged: it "semed to be but newly wrytten" (p. 10). The Captain

deliberately lied. Even when he received news from the boatswain of the *Hector* and other sailors

that the Dunkirk ships were war ships, "Laden with nothinge but men, soulders, musketes, Raperes

and dagers, sheldes and buckeleres, and ment nothinge so moche as to have taken us" (p. 10), the

captain, "havinge alreddie taken the prise in his cabbin", got angry at those who objected and set

the enemy ships free. Dallam ends the story of the Dunkirk pirates with a very significant statement

of disappointment:

> Yf he had done, as he myghte verrie well have done, broughte these seven sayle as a prise
> into Inglande, it would have bene the braveste sarvis that ever any Inglishe marchante shipe
> did, and tharby have Reaped greate cridit as any ever did. (p. 10)

The conditional past perfect in Dallam's statement expresses his regret and disappointment. He

---

[93] Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, p. 91.

blames the captain for not doing his duty towards his country, although "he myghte verrie well have done" it. The captain did not only receive a bribe but also did not watch over his vocation and his calling.

Dallam keeps disgracing the 'Mr'. He reports several scandalous stories to reveal Parsons's disloyalty. In one of these stories, Dallam projects Parsons' insensitivity to the feelings of the crew of the *Hector*. Before the *Hector*'s arrival in Malta, it chased a ship. When its master recognized the English flag, he immediately came aboard the *Hector* and "broughte with him for a presente diverse Comodities: som turkie carpites, some quiltede Coveringes of watchat silke" (p. 17). He also brought huge "7 or 8 foute longe and one foute square" pieces of salted fish. Dallam and the sailors got excited, for the fish "was strainge fishe unto us" (p. 17). Even so, they "never tasted it". The captain of the ship took back all his presents after he "talked privetly" with Parsons (p. 18). What "muche greved our sayles (sailors)" was their discovery that the ship "had ten thousand Dolleres worthe of Spaynishe goodes a borde". Again, Parsons "recaved som secrite bribe" and lied to the faces of the crew (p. 18). In another incident, Parsons deliberately refused to anchor in Chios to let the travellers and sailors entertain themselves,

> for feare of beinge put to som charge; for he was a verrie myserable and sparinge man, all for his owne profitt, and not regardinge to satisfie other mens Desieres, or to give his passingers anye Contente (p.46).

The Ottomans

As disagreeable as the 'Mr' are the "Rude Turkes" (p. 34). These are the Turkish rulers or sea captains who expropriated from the *Hector* goods and products in the name of 'presents'. Several times, the 'Mr' of the *Hector* changed his way if he saw Turkish galleys approaching: he weighed anchor and left the spot immediately. The Mr knows the norm among the Turkish sea captains, "for the Turk's condition is suche that, yf they come a borde, the captaines would have had a presente, or have beged somthinge" (p. 47).

Dallam criticizes the oppressive Ottoman governments in some of the places he passed in his

journey:

> In the after nowne we came to a towne called Hora [...] At this towne, but espetialy at the laste before, is great store of corne and vinyardes, verrie good ; also greate store of silke wormes, wyne a pottell for one penye; but the inhabytans of all these townes ar verrie pore, the Turks dothe kepe them so under, levinge upon the frutes of these pore, peoples labures. (p. 53)

He is amazed at how rich in natural resources Hora is, yet the people are still poor. In simple words, he calculates how much the income per capita should be, and he is amazed at such unfair division of wealth. He pinpoints the Turkish government as deliberately responsible for such a situation. Dallam's lexical entries on resources, prices, poverty, and labour, project a working-class mentality. The examples of obligatory gifts and excessive use of power are very evident in Dallam's outbound journey. But by the time he arrives in Istanbul, his language on the Ottomans shifts to fascination and admiration.

The English Diplomats

The community of the English diplomats is presented as pragmatic and insensitive. After Dallam did his best in his performance in front of the Sultan, the ambassador and twelve of the merchants summoned Dallam to question him about what happened between him and the Sultan because they had not been admitted to the room. He told them what happened, and they were all pleased except the ambassador. He "sat still a good whyle, and said nothinge". When the merchants asked him the reason for his silence, even though everything went well, he said that "he was sorye for onethinge" only, that he never expected that Dallam would get so close to the Sultan. If he had doubted that, "he would have bestowed 30 or 40*li* in apparell for me" (p. 72-73). The ambassador, as will be further analysed in Section 4.3, always speaks money and reason.

Dallam uses the characters of Richard Parsons, the 'Mr', and Henry Lello, 'the ambassador', as his moral, ethical, and emotional antagonists. MacLean argues that Dallam's attitude to these characters displays "healthy disrespect for formal authority".[94]

---

[94]   MacLean, 2004, p. 10.

4.2.2. The Commonalty Milieu

> those who go diligently about their business, live peaceably with all men, and do no man hurt, have all things go well with them, and God will have mercy on them.[95]

The communities of craftsmen and working men are portrayed as more sincere than the elite. Their communication of emotions is not verbal as much as it is performative: kissing, hugging, joking with hands and doing activities together. Dallam's artisan companions the "fainte-harted frend Myghell Watson" (p. 24) and Ned Hale and his travel companions Mr. Maye the preacher and Mr. Chancy the physician of the ship are presented as his most sincere community. He refers to them as 'my mates' or 'my friends'. They shared all activities. In Troy, Dallam and Ned vandalized the walls of Troy; "from thence I broughte a peece of a whyte marble piller, the which I broke with my owne handes, havinge a good hamer, which my mate Harvie did carrie a shore for the same purpose; and I broughte this peece of marble to London" (p. 49/50).

Dallam portrays the *acemi-oğlan* and lower Turkish soldiers as an affectionate and welcoming community. He displays caution around them, yet he appreciates their sincerity. In Rhodes, he met a Turkish cadet who came aboard the *Hector* as an assistant to one of the corrupted Turkish Pasha. He heard Dallam playing on his virginals and he and many others "would take me in there armes and kis me, and wyshe that I would dwell with them" (p. 35). This cadet met Dallam on the second day and saved him from the hands of the Deputy of Rhodes and his men: "he beckened me to com unto him; and when I came som what neare him, in kindnes and som love he bore unto me, made me a sine to be gone; and poynted to the gate, and bid me make haste" (p. 37).

In Istanbul, Dallam calls the two Ottoman *acemi-oğlan*, with whom he used to hang around the Seraglio, "my ould acquaintance" (p. 77). He did not trust them completely and told them many lies. He was convinced that they "had bene appointed by the Grand Sinyor to perswade me to staye

---

[95] Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations*, p. 31.

thare allwayes, as indeed theie had done diveres times and diveres wayes" (p. 77). However, he portrays their sincerity towards him. After they heard him play on the organ for the first time, "the tow jemaglanes, who is keepers of that house, touke me in theire armes and Kised me, and used many perswations to have me staye with the Grand Sinyor, and sarve him" (p. 64). When he extended his stay in Istanbul, "thcye imbraced me verrie kindly, and kiste me many times" (p. 78). They shared jokes and laughed, "seinge me louk merrely, he him selfe laughed hartaly" (p. 78).

In the narrative there are two dragomans or interpreters.[96] Both are of English origin. One of them is presented in a positive way. He was an "Inglishe man, borne in Chorlaye in Lancashier; his name Finche. He was also in religon a perfit Turke, but he was our trustie frende" (p. 84). Finch would be very protective of Dallam on his homeward journey. The second was disloyal to Dallam, for he revealed Dallam's intention to leave Istanbul to the *acemi-oğlan*; "What my drugaman said to them I know not, but I thinke he tould them that I would not staye" (p. 78). He also let Dallam face the danger of being chased by the guards in the Seraglio.

The Renegades

The worst of all communities for Dallam was that of the Christian Renegades. In Algiers, he saw some of them. He wrote,

> Thar be a greate number of Turks that be but Renied cristians of all nations. Som, but moste are Spanyardes, Italians, and other Ilands adjoyninge, who, when they be taken, ar compelled so to doo, or els to live in moche more slaverie and myserie. But, in prosis of time, these Renied cristians do become most berberus and villanus, taking pleasur in all sinfull actions; but that which is worste of all they take moste delite in, and that is, Theye proule aboute the costes of other contries, with all the skill and pollacie thei can, to betraye cristians, which they sell unto the Moors and other marchantes of Barbaric for slaves. (p.14/15)

In this declarative statement, Dallam asserts his ideological disagreement with the converted Christians. He shows an understanding of the complexity of turning renegade. It is an act against any Christian's will, yet it is the only alternative when they face slavery. He refers to a state of

---

[96] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 11-12.

Crypto-Christianity. However, living for so long as renegades transforms them into their worst possible state. Above all, they betray their fellow Christians. He is aware that Christians from all of Europe turn Turk. However, he assigns such acts to non-English Christians. especially Roman Catholics.

4.3. Anxiety

Before discussing Dallam's discourse on anxiety in the *Diary,* the emotional term anxiety needs to be defined. In *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures*, Anna Wierzbicka classifies the family of emotions in English language on a semantic basis. She characterizes the emotion of anxiety as the emotions around "something bad can/will happen".[97] Barbara Rosenwein includes some references to anxiety in her list on emotion words (nouns, adjectives, verbs) in Western thought. She traces back their meanings in antiquity and after Christianity.[98] About anxiety, she points out that "*angor,* anxiety" and "*angi,* to be vexed" or to worry were parts of Cicero's list of Stoic emotions.[99] After Christianity, anxiety, like any other emotion, became part of the discourse on sins and sinful souls. She also points out that John Cassian (d. 435) placed " anxiety (*acedia; anxietas; taedium cordis*)" (p. 47) within his list of sins. In her case study on the emotion discourse in Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, she draws attention to his construction of anxiety as a punishment resulting from "bad deeds". Gregory states, "a crowd of thoughts clamors in our mind [*animo*]: sorrow [*maeror*] grinds us down, anxiety [*anxietas*] wastes us, and our mind [*mens*] is turned into tribulation [*aerumna*]".[100]

In addition, Rosenwein illuminates the discourse on anxiety in the correspondence of Desiderius,

---

[97]   Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 49.

[98]   Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional communities in the early middle ages,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, pp. 32-56.

[99]   Rosewein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 40.

[100] Rosewein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 83.

Bishop of Cahors, France (from 630 until 655) with his acquaintances, all men. She points out that "Anxiety and other emotions of the troubled mind were also privileged in these texts, but generally in measured doses. Desiderius and his correspondents rarely talked about painful things directly".[101] She draws attention to their "polite anxieties" formulae which depend on a consoling vocabulary.[102] In one of the narratives embedded in this letter collection, there is a story of a young man "with anxious spirit of heart". He roamed the earth with "his anxious heart stinging him".[103] Rosenwein's brief observations on anxiety in early medieval emotional communities resonate usefully with Dallam's discourse on anxiety.

In the following analysis, the focus is on what anxieties are displayed in the text and how Dallam displays his anxiety from turning Turk. There are two narrative episodes in which he discourses on anxiety. In the first episode, he directly quotes the speech of the English ambassador, Henry Lello. This speech is a performance of anxiety in which Lello explains his emotions in the world of politics. Lello both performs and inflicts his anxiety on Dallam. He presents himself as an exemplary model of emotion control. The second narrative is an encounter between Dallam and Lello. Dallam frankly talks about the main reason for his anxiety in the journey, namely his worries that he may have to turn Turk.

4.3.1 The Anxieties of a Diplomat

In Istanbul, Dallam was under the supervision of the English ambassador, Henry Lello. He was working at the latter's house to fix and set up the organ. Dallam finished his work and moved the organ from Lello's house to one of the halls in the Seraglio. The night before the Sultan was going to see the gift, Lello summoned Dallam to his private chamber. The place and the time give the speech an atmosphere of confidentiality and seriousness of the matter. Dallam narrates and directly

---

[101] Rosewein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 147.
[102] Rosewein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 148.
[103] Rosewein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 148.

quotes Lello's speech of that night.

In this episode, "the only example of reported speech to be found in Dallam's manuscript",[104] Lello displays to Dallam his emotional experience as an English ambassador in the lands of the 'infidels'. He summoned Dallam to remind him that the destiny of England would be in jeopardy if the gift did not impress the Sultan. Lello ordered Dallam to go to the Seraglio very early and to "make the instrumente as perfitt as possibly I could, for that daye, before noune, the Grand Sinyor would se it, and he was to Deliver his imbassage to the Grand Sinyor" (p. 64).

Polite Anxiety

> after he hade given me that charge he toulde me that he had but done his dutie in tellinge me of my dutie, and cothe he: Because yow shall not take this unkindly, I will tell you all and what you shall truste unto. The Imbassadores spetche unto me in Love after he had given me my charge. (p. 64)

Lello starts his speech with the rhetorics of 'duties'. Each one should do his 'duty' for this mission to succeed. The rhetoric of 'duty' and 'calling', as pointed out earlier, was a major topic in the religious discourse of the time. He addresses Dallam with the logic, "I did my part, you now must do yours". Furthermore, Lello volunteers to tell Dallam more details about the mission. He brings Dallam into the circle of the decision-making confidentiality. He makes him a partner, not just a hired craftsman. Dallam makes subtle mockery of the ambassador's speech of love after giving his 'charge', most probably an intended pun which either means 'a duty' or 'trouble and inconvenience. Even though Lello speaks to Dallam with a so-called love, his speech was meant to warn Dallam against failing the royal gift mission, i.e. it was meant to inflict anxiety on Dallam. Lello continues conveying his polite anxiety on Dallam's behalf:

> Yow ar come hether wythe a presente from our gratious Quene, not to an ordinarie prince or kinge, but to a myghtie monarke of the worlde, but better had it bene for yow yf it had bene sente to any Christian prince, for then should yow have bene sure to have receaved for yor paines a great rewarde; but yow muste consider what he is unto whom yow have broughte

---

104 MacLean, "Performing at the Ottoman Porte", p. 34.

> this ritche presente, a monarke but an infidell, and the grande Enymye to all Christians. Whate we or any other Christians can bringe unto him he dothe thinke that we dow it in dutie or in feare of him, or in hoppe of som great favoure we expeckte at his handes. It was never knowne that upon the receaving of any presente he gave any rewarde unto any Christian, and tharfore yow muste louke for nothinge at his handes. Yow would thinke that for yor longe and wearriesom voyege, with dainger of lyfe, that yow weare worthie to have a litle sighte of him; but that yow muste not loake for nether (p. 65).

In the above passage, Lello starts another rhetoric in the conversation. He prepares Dallam for a great disappointment that after this long journey and work, he might not get any financial return. Therefore, he consoles Dallam in advance for such disillusionment. He offers Dallam the reality of the situation. Here one may read a direct reference from Dallam to the social injustice and low wages during his time. The passage also raises the speculation that Dallam might have received previous promises from the ambassador or the merchants of the Levant Company that the Ottomans would also give him 'bakhshish', a gratuity, present of money, or 'tip', for doing the job. This Oriental concept of financial reward, according to EOD, was known to the early English society, as it was cited in Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625).[105] This a possible explanation of Lello's apology in advance.

Lello asks Dallam to 'consider' several factors, none of them is to be blamed on the English. The rhetoric is to put the blame on the Ottoman side. First, the Ottoman Sultan is an 'infidel' and 'the grand enemy to all Christians'. Second, the Sultan never gave to anyone, only took. Accordingly, Lello advises Dallam not to raise his expectations of the Sultan. He also comforts Dallam by repeating to his ears all the risks of his journey: "pain", "long and wearisome voyage", and "danger of life". Even more, to sophisticate his rhetorics of emotions, Lello harps on the subtext or undertone of Christianity. He draws on the irony of a Christian queen giving a 'rich gift' to the 'grand enemy of all Christians'. From his perspective as a diplomat, Lello explains how the emotions of enmity, fear, and hope play a role in shaping Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy. In this speech the Grand Turk, one of the European ways to name the Ottoman Sultan, turns into the Grand

---

[105] "baksheesh | bakhshish, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 28 April 2016.

enemy.

The Imperative Kiss

Lello then elaborates on his sympathy for Dallam by exposing his own emotions and sufferings to Dallam:

> For yow se wheat greate preparinge we made and have bene aboute ever sense your cominge, for the credite of our contrie, and for a Deliveringe of this presente and my imbassadge, the which, by Godes helpe, to-morrow muste be performede. We cale it kisinge of the Grand Sinyor's hande; bute when I com to his gates I shalbe taken of my horse and seartcht, and lede betwyxte tow men holdinge my handes downe close to my sides, and so lede into the presence of the Grand Sinyor, and I muste kiss his kne or his hanginge sieve. Havinge deliverede my letteres unto the Coppagawe, I shalbe presently ledd awaye, goinge backwardes as longe as I can se him, and in payne of my heade I muste not turne my backe upon him, and therefore yow muste not louke to have a sighte of him. (p. 65)

Lello goes on with his pragmatic speech to remind Dallam of their 'national duty'. He sets himself up as a role model for an English man who works only for 'the credit of' England. He describes the sufferings which he has to take from the arrogance of the 'infidel' during the gift presentation event. However, he will swallow his pride as a Christian in order to fulfil his 'duty' as an English citizen. The ambassador vividly describes the humiliating process he will go through to be officially recognized as the English ambassador to the Porte. To stress his denigration, he uses verbs in the passive voice: "be taken of my horse, searched" and "be led". He projects the subjugation he will go through with the modal verb 'must', he "must kiss the Sultan's knee", "must not turn his back", "must not look". He enforces the irony that while 'we', the English, call the performance a 'kissing of the hand', it is practically 'a kissing of the knee' or even down further to the floor in order to reach the end of the Sultan's hanging sleeve.[106] The ambassador shares his emotions with Dallam and exaggerates his case, to construct a moment of solidarity with Dallam showing that they are both in the same boat; they have to accept such Ottoman arrogance "for the credite of our contrie".

---

[106] Sultans used to wear very long-sleeved *Hil'at* (robes-of-honour). See Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman *Hil'at*: Between Commodity and Charisma", in Marios Hadjianastasis (ed.), *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. pp. 111-138 (pp.124-126). For images of these long-sleeved Kaftans, see Topkapı Palace costume collection, Istanbul available online at <http://www.turkishculture.org/dia/index.php>

He sets himself up as an exemplary model of emotion control.

"At the Firste Sighte"

Finally, Lello gets to the main point behind this long speech. He wants the job done as perfectly as possible.

> I thoughte good to tell yow this, because yow shall not heareafter blame me, or say that I myghte haue tould yow so muche; lett not your worke be anythinge the more carlesly louked unto, and at your cominge home our martchantes shall give yow thankes, yf it give the Grand Sinyor contente this one daye. I car not yf it be non after the nexte, yf it doo not please him at the firste sighte, and performe not those thinges which it is Toulde him that it can Dow, he will cause it to be puled downe that he may trample it under his feete. And than shall we have no sute grantede, but all our charge will be loste. (p. 65-66)

The anxiety in presenting the gift to the Sultan comes from two points: first, it is a one-chance trial, "this one day, not the day after". Second, it is a momentous event and the slightest possibility that the Sultan may not like the present or something might go wrong during the performance will bring about undesired consequences. In this part of his speech, Lello refers to the merchants of the Levant Company, the sponsors of Lello, Dallam, and the organ. He implies how under no circumstances should he be considered responsible for giving any rewards to Dallam. It is mainly the responsibility of the merchants to do so, 'if' and only 'if' the Sultan is pleased with the gift. The ambassador informs Dallam about such consequences. With such a decisive warning to Dallam, the ambassador's reported speech ends. It is worth remembering that Lello's speech is rendered through Dallam's narration, that in some sense it is Dallam, the writer, who is constructing Lello's anxieties.

"Thoughe Smale Comforte in it"

Dallam goes back to his narrating voice and summarizes his reply to the ambassador's speech.

> After I had given my Lorde thankes for this frindly spetche, thoughe smale comforte in it, I tould him that thus muche I understoode by our martchantes before my cominge oute of London, and that he needed not to Doubte that thare should be any faulte ether in me or my worke, for he hade sene the triall of my care and skill in makinge that perfickte and good

211

> which was thoughte to be uncurable, and in somthinges better than it was when Her Maiestie
> sawe it in the banketinge house at WhyteHale. (p. 66)

Dallam again uses subtle mockery of the absurdity of Lello's 'friendly speech', which from Dallam's perspective is an unnecessary performance. He also hints to the context of his journey by referring to the English merchants in London and to his performance in front of Queen Elizabeth before his journey. Dallam asserts his confidence in his calling, his skills, and talents. Dallam calms Lello's anxiety over the organ because he has other things to worry about, as will be discussed in the next narrative episode.

The above conversation between Dallam and Lello is a striking example of Bakhtin's concept of 'polyphony'. The narrative projects two unmerged voices: Lello's voice, which dominates the conversation, and Dallam's voice. Each of these two voices has a different perspective on the gift presentation event, on Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy, and on Islam-Christian relations. On the contrary, Dallam has no issues with Islam *per se*. He describes Islam as "a kinde" or a way of life and every one does religion "in there kinde". In Algiers, he writes,

> The men ar verrie relidgus in there kinde, and they have verrie faire churchis, which they do
> call mosques. (p. 15/16)

He praises the mosques and respects the trait of being religious. On another occasion, he admires Istanbul on the night of Prophet Muhammad's birthdate. He gives him a respectful title: "their messiah",

> The 21, at nyghte, it was a wonder to se what abundance of lampes thare was burninge
> rounde aboute all the Toweres of the Churchis, bothe in Constantinople and Galleta. When
> we demanded the cause, they tould us that as that nyghte Mahamet, theire Messies, was
> borne. (p. 64)

Dallam does not place his own narrative voice between Lello and the reader, but rather allows Lello to shock and subvert the reader with his diplomatic pragmatism and calculated allegiances. The speech act in Lello's words to Dallam is a warning and a polite threat. The speech, as Gerald MacLean points out, represents an example of the performative expression of diplomacy at the

Porte.[107] However, it is also a performance of emotions. In this episode, Lello, as portrayed and

qouted by Dallam, both performs and inflicts his anxiety on Dallam. He constructs anxiety as a

contagious state. Dallam vividly describes Lello's anxiety about getting his ambassadorship

officially launched.

4.3.2. The Anxieties of a Craftsman

While everybody else, including Henry Lello, the merchants of the Levant Company, and the

Queen are portrayed as anxious for their material object (the organ) and material gains

(ambassadorship, trade capitulations, and political allegiances), Dallam projects a different

performance of anxiety. It is the anxiety of a person of the commonalty.

After he finished his 'duties', perfecting the organ, giving a stunning performance on the organ and

impressing the Sultan on 25 September, he was summoned to the Seraglio to maintain the organ.

The *acemi-oğlan* were constantly trying their best to persuade him to stay, and Dallam kept

rejecting their offer nicely. On 12 October, Dallam was getting ready to leave Istanbul. While

Dallam was on board the *Hector* to place his bedding, an *acemi-oğlan* arrived at the residence of

Henry Lello carrying a command from the Sultan, that "the shipp should not departe, but muste stay

the Grand Sinyores pleasur" (p. 75). The command did not specify the reason for preventing the

Hector from departing. Dallam, even though he was not there, describes Lello's distress and panic

upon receiving the command:

> he begane to wonder what the Cause should be. He thoughte that thare hade bene som forfitt
> made, or that som of the chips company had done horte or given som greate offence unto
> som greate person; but, what so ever it was, he knew that the Grand Sinyores comande must
> be obayed ; therefore, when he had stodied longe what the cause myghte be, and beinge
> verrie desirus to know the truthe, he wente to the messenger and desiered him to tell him the
> cause whye the Grand Sinyor had sente this comande, or whearfore it should be. (p. 66-76)

Dallam portrays Lello's calculations and worries. They are all related to his ambassadorial

performance: his managing the business and keeping his account as an ambassador clean from any

---

[107] See MacLean, "Performing at the Ottoman Porte", 34-37.

offences to any Ottoman ʿgreat person'. Finally, Lello knew the truth,

> The messenger tould him that he did not know the cause whye, nether whearfore, but he did hearde the chia say that yf the workman that sett up the presente in the surralia would not be perswaded to stay be hind the shipe, the ship muste staye untill he had removed the presente unto another place. (p.76).

This news, as Dallam narrates, relieved Lello's worries. There is nothing wrong with his

ambassadorship:

> When my lord had got thus muche out of him, he began to be somwhat merrie, for he was muche greved before, thinkinge it had bene a greater matter; for the martchantes was bound in 5 hundrethe pounde unto the owneres of the shipe that she should departe that day, which was the Thursday folloing, yf wynd and wether sarved ; also for the time that she stayed there her Chargis was everie day 20*li*. (p. 76)

Dallam stresses Lello's "grieve" over the financial issues. To relieve himself further, Lello verified

the news from a second *acemi-oğlan*. He summoned Dallam from the *Hector* and informed him of

the news. The moment Lello's worries disappeared was the beginning of Dallam's anxiety.

"Now Com to Pass which I ever Feared"

> But when my lord tould me that I muste be contented to staye and Lette the ship goo, than was I in a wonderfull perplixatie, and in my furie I tould my lorde that that was now com to pass which I ever feared, and that was that he in the end would betray me, and turne me over into the Turkes hands, whear I should Live a slavish Life, and never companie againe with Christians, with many other suche-like words. (p. 76)

With this emotionally-laden statement, Dallam receives the news that he has to extend his stay in

Istanbul. This is one of the rare moments in which Dallam expresses his emotions in a

straightforward emotive language; he is in ʿa wonderful perplexity', ʿfury' and ʿfear. This thrust in

Dallam's display of emotions is his response to a bifold evil coming true: a ʿbetrayal' from Lello

and a visual image of his life away from England. He describes his life if this evil happened as a

ʿslavish life'. His expression is subtle. He suggests that even if he stayed he would not convert.

Accordingly, he will be enslaved, humiliated, oppressed and will not enjoy Ottoman ʿallure'. As he

narrates, the ʿconverts' and their sons, represented by the *acemi-oğlan*, the dragoman, and the

Viziers in the Ottoman Empire, enjoyed a life of luxury. Visualizing himself in a slavish life means

that converting to Islam is never an option for him. The expression also suggests that even if he got

position and status among the Ottomans, he would never enjoy them because he would be living

without his Christian companions and serving the Sultan, "the grand enemy of all Christians".

Dallam does not explain the extent of his 'fury' and what "many other suche-like words" he said to

Lello.

Responding to Dallam's emotional discharge, Lello, as Dallam describes, performed another

gesture of consolation:

> My Lord verrie patiently gave me leve to speake my mynde. Than he lay his hand on my
> shoulder and tould that as he was a Christian him selfe, and hooped tharby to be saved, it
> was no plote of his, nether did he know of any suche matter as this till the messinger came.
> (p. 67-77).

Good listening, hand touching, and expressions of solidarity are Lello's personal emotional style. It

is very similar to his performance in his speech the night before the gift presentation ceremony.

However, Lello's response, that 'he was Christian himself' hoping for 'salvation', is a registering of

Dallam's sincere Christian commitment, which is clearly known to Lello and others.

Lello's performance of solidarity then shifts to reason, sensibility, and practicality. He turns the

situation into a business or diplomatic bargain. Dallam directly quotes Lello's promises to him, that

Lello will pay Dallam 500 pounds if he is forced to stay one more day after he moves the organ

from its place in the Seraglio; that Dallam is free to stay as long as he likes or leave as soon as he

likes and to choose his travel companion. Most importantly, Lello assured Dallam that "yow shall

wante nothinge, silver or gould, to carry yow by seae or Lande" (p. 77). Even more, Lello warns

Dallam that the journey on the *Hector* would be unpleasant, slow, and dangerous,

> for the ship goethe to Scanderoune, in the botem of the straites, which is oute of her way
> homwardes, and thare will staye a monthe at leaste to take in her loadinge; and the place is
> so corrupte and unhe(lth)full that many of her men will thare grow sick and die, and yow
> shall by this means be oute of that dainger. (p. 77)

Henry Lello makes his case not only with logic but also "did speake this so frindly and nobly" (p. 77). Therefore, Dallam writes, "upon a sodon he had altered my mynde, and I tould him that I would yeld my selfe into Godes hand and his" (p. 77). The encounter between Dallam and Lello is constructed as an encounter between the genuine emotions of a Christian man and the control of emotions of a diplomat. The conversation is crafted to project two people from two different emotional communities.

Dallam stayed on in Istanbul for another forty-six days. He moved the organ to another hall in the Seraglio. He perfected his work as usual and made sure that he "had lefte nothinge amise" (p. 80). He fell sick and while he was half-recovered he met a group of English passengers "reddie to com for Inglande, suche as in 2 or 3 years I could not have had the lik, if I had stayed behinde them, and they weare all desierus to have my company" (p. 81). Therefore, he asked Lello's permission to leave immidiately. Lello did not welcome Dallam's request because, as Dallam writes, "I was verrie wayke, not able to goo on foute one myle in a daye" (p. 81). Dallam made it clear to Lello and to his readers, whoever they were, that

> for I had rether die by the way in doinge my good will to goo hom than staye to die thare, wheare I was perswaded I could not live if I did staye behinde them. (p. 81)

He displays his eagerness to leave Istanbul in his most precise date entry in the whole manuscript. He left Istanbul on "The 28 of November, beinge Weddensdaye, at 4 acloke in the after nowne" (p. 82). Leaving Istanbul is an event. With such determination, Dallam left Istanbul on a "Turkishe ship caled Carmesale" (p.82). In doing so, Dallam did his 'good will' to both his country and his religion.

Conclusion

The congruence between Lello's anxiety, as portrayed in Dallam's words, and Dallam's anxieties is parallel to the basic definition of anxiety is the Oxford English Dictionary. There are two different

semantic denotations of the word 'anxiety'. First, anxiety is a state of "uneasiness or trouble of mind about some uncertain event". Second, anxiety is "strained or solicitous desire (*for* or *to effect* some purpose)".[108] The difference between these two meanings of the word unfolds two different anxieties in Dallam's text. On the one hand, as discussed in the socio-historical context of the *Diary*, the Queen, Henry Lello, and the merchants of the Levant Company are anxious to effect their ambitions. They were all anxious for their plans to come true. The Queen was anxious to forge an alliance with the Sultan, Lello was anxious to get officially appointed as an ambassador, the merchants were anxious to renew their capitulations. Their anxiety is over material objects. Meanwhile, Dallam's anxiety is about his moral and spiritual matters. He projects a state of constant worry over his religion and his home. Throughout his narrative, he displays his worries, nervousness, and unease about the journey to Istanbul and its risky outcomes. His anxiety is related to his thinking about the outcome and his future if he is forced to stay among the Turks. In a nutshell, the elite's are anxious to gain more from material life, while Dallam is anxious not to lose his spiritual life.

4.4. Imperial Envy

> When I came within the Dore, That which I did se was verrie wonderfull unto me. I cam in direcktly upon the Grand Sinyore's ryghte hande, som 16 of my passis (paces) from him, but he would not turne his head to louke upon me. He satt in greate state, yeat the sighte of him was nothinge in Comparrison of the traine that stood behinde him, the sighte whearof did make me almoste to thinke that I was in another worlde. (p. 69)

During his three-month stay in Istanbul, Dallam spent most of his time in the Seraglio. He describes many aspects of life inside. Moreover, he was "probably the first Englishman ever to see any women of the harem".[109] Dallam describes the Seraglio with fascination and admiration. He, showing no fear of being detected or punished, describes what he saw in Sultan's Harem with

---

[108] "anxiety, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2015. Web. 25 August 2015.
[109] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 45; Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp.20-23.

allurement, or probably with voyeuristic pleasure. Dallam was not the only English traveller who expressed such admiration. Orhan Burian argues that the *Diary* is one example of the "awe and amazement" of early modern English travellers in Turkey. He reinforces that "this shock of surprise [...] kept the English traveller's interest in Turkey alive for centuries, down to Lady Mary Montagu and Miss Pardoe. Bewildered or fascinated, they fill the pages of their diaries or travel books with the novelty of their observations".[110] Gerald MacLean argues that this language of fascination is very common in the writings of early modern English visitors to the Ottoman empire. In two of his seminal books on the earliest English visitors to the Ottoman Empire, MacLean has proposed the notion 'imperial envy' to describe this fascination.[111]

Envy, Emulation, or Jealousy?

MacLean defines 'imperial envy' as "an explicit declaration of the malicious hatred of Ottoman imperial success".[112] He argues that this collective emotion among late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century English travellers is evident to varying degrees in their travel writings. He states,

> I suggest that imperial envy usefully describes the evolving dynamic of early modern English responses to encounters with the Ottoman Empire at a time when the English were seeking to find a place for themselves in the larger world beyond their insular realm.[113]

A simple question about MacLean's term is why he has identified this collective emotion as envy and not jealousy. The two words 'envy' and 'jealousy' are used interchangeably in everyday life. Therefore several scholars have tried to distinguish between the two emotions and to identify their characteristics.[114] Most of their definitions are based on the Aristotelian concept that bad emotions are pains.[115] Jealousy and envy are tripartite emotions. They involve a person, a counterpart / an

---

[110] Orhan Burian, "Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance", *Oriens* Vol. 5, No. 2 (1952): 209–229 (p. 224).

[111] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. xiv, p.131; MacLean, *Looking East*, p.xi.

[112] MacLean, *The Rise*, p. 131.

[113] MacLean, *Looking East*, p. xi.

[114] Luke Purshouse, "Jealousy in Relation to Envy". *Erkenntnis* (1975-), Vol. 60, No. 2 (2004):179-204. Available on <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20013252>; Leila Tov-Ruach, "Jealousy, Attention and Loss". In A. O. Rorty (ed.), *Explaining Emotions*, London: University of California Press, 1980, pp. 465-488.

[115] David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 111-122.

equal, and an admirable object (a worldly good, a quality, an attribute, etc).[116] In jealousy, the person is very concerned about *a particular* object; if he sees this object with his equal or anybody else in life, he feels pain. All he wants is this object. In envy, the person views his equal as a rival in politics or in any arena. When this person views the admirable object in the hands of his rival, he feels pain because it is his rival who possesses the admirable object. In emulation, the person sees his equal as an exact equal, not better in any way. When the person sees the admirable object in the hands of his equal, he feels pain because something in life has prevented him from acquiring a *similar* object.

Luke Purshouse asserts the same point that "Envy seems essentially to involve concern about a rival being better off than you are yourself".[117] That is also a main reason for Wierzbicka, in *Emotions across Languages and Cultures*, to characterize envy as an emotion of "thinking about other people", not about possessions.[118] So, the present study argues that MacLean's diagnosis of the emotion displayed in English travel writings on the Ottoman Empire as a state between envy and emulation is particularly apt. MacLean's definition suggests that the travellers' envious writings were swinging between "a benign, emulative, or admiring variety of envy" and "a malicious or invidious form".[119] Each traveller enacted his individual alloy of envy and emulation depending on the context of his journey, his intended audience, his self-fashioning modes, and many other elements. The result of this envy-emulation formula is the variety of discourses on the Ottomans' success.

MacLean argues that imperial envy in late-sixteenth-century England was an outcome of the cultural encounter between English travellers and the Ottoman Empire. English travellers "began to

---

[116] D'Arms, "Envy", online
[117] Purshouse, "Jealousy in Relation to Envy", p. 186.
[118] Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures,* p. 49.
[119] Justin D'Arms, "Envy", in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Available on: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/envy/>

challenge English conceptions of themselves" and "to develop a new sense of their own place in the world".[120] So, from MacLean's perspective, envy is a process of self-evaluation on the part of those travellers. The language of fascination in early modern English travel texts is the facade for imperial envy, which entails rivalry besides fascination. It entails an effort by the traveller-envier to fashion himself and his nation in a better place or to exaggerate his derogatory attitude towards "these Rude and barbarus doged Turkes" (p. 39). Travellers would employ whatever narrative and rhetorical strategy was necessary to "ameliorate the situation".[121]

The following analysis aims to highlight how MacLean's imperial envy is displayed in Dallam's narrative discourse. Dallam projects his fascination with the Ottoman lifestyle. He constructs them as rivals even before he arrives in Istanbul. On his outbound journey he narrates several tales of Ottomans, and projects the corruption of their rulers, the cowardice of their janissaries, and above all their practice of excessive power against the Christians, as discussed earlier in Section 4.2. Upon his arrival in Istanbul, he projects his fascination with and admiration of the possessions of the Ottomans. However, 'to ameliorate the situation', he fashions himself in return; he constructs an envy-in-reverse where he, Dallam the craftsman, becomes the envied and the Ottomans become the fascinated. In this section, the textual analysis focuses on the façade of this state of envy, i.e. Dallam's fascination with the interior and exterior design of the Seraglio and with the concubines in the Harem. In other words, the focus is on the Ottoman possessions which stirred Dallam's imperial envy.

4.4.1. Ottoman Craftsmanship: "I Have not Sene the Lyke"

Dallam projects his fascination and admiration of the Ottoman lifestyle and its immense courtliness. The accounts of his stay in the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio, the sprawling complex with dozens of

---

[120] MacLean, *Looking East*, xi.
[121] D'Arms, "Envy".

halls and pavilions, and his stolen look at the Sultan's harem disclose his mentality as a craftsman. Dallam constructs his fascination through the aesthetic appeal of material objects. He focuses on the objects that entail craftsmanship: gardening, architecture, clothing style, furniture. He is attentive to colours (violet, gold, french green), material (velvet, cotton, silke, marble, brass, iron), texture and varnish. He guesses the dimensions of these craft objects. As will be exemplified below, Dallam's account is a valid source for the study of Ottoman art objects and material culture. His description of the gift-presentation ceremony is also an account of Ottoman costume and ensembles and Ottoman court etiquette.

"For Carvinge, Gildinge, Good Collors and Vernishe"

The first moment of fascination in the *Diary* (July 22) is when Dallam saw "The Amberall of the greate Turkes navie, and, in his Company, 15 gallis more" coming down the Dardanelles (p. 47). He judges the beauty of the navy, not its power.

> The sighte of these gallis, to our thinkinge, was a marvalus show, they weare so curiusly paynted with fayre collors and good varnishe. The slaves that weare in them rowinge satt all nakede. As they weare rowinge towardes Tenedoes, the wynde cam fayer for them, and than they cut ther sayels, and the slaves weare covered with a peece of canves that over sprede them all. When the gallis weare under saile they showed muche better than theye did before. The sailes weare made of cotton woll, and one clothe verrie whyte, and another verrie blewe, and the masts of the sam colores. (p. 47)

The marvellousness of the Ottoman navy to Dallam's "thinkinge" lies in its beautiful paintwork and excellent varnish. He projects his sense of the canvas and cotton cloth materials and the distribution of the white and blue colours of the sails. Dallam is pictorially depicting the Turkish navy as an aesthetic cobject.

"Grapes do Grow thare Contenually"

On his first visit to the Seraglio, Dallam was attentive to the landscape of gardens and the decorative elements of the first gate. Upon his entrance, Dallam spotted the motifs in some sculptures borrowed from Christian imagery: "thare was placed righte againste the gate five greate peecis of brass, with Christians armes upon them" (p. 61). In his walk through the "verrie Delitfull

walkes and garthins", he observed the aesthetic appeal of its landscaping, especially how the trees

were symmetrically distanced,

> the walkes ar, as it weare, hedged in with statly siprus tres, planted with an equale Distance
> one from thother, betwyxte them and behinde them, smaler tres that bearethe excelente
> frute; I thinke thare is none wanting that is good. The garthenes I will omite to wryte of at
> this time. (p. 61)

Later, when he passed through the walls of the Seraglio, he saw the house of "the bustanjebasha [...]

who is captaine of a thousande jemeglanes, which doo nothinge but kepe the garthens in good

order; and I am perswaded that thare is none so well kepte in the worlde" (p. 62). While walking,

Dallam guesses the distances between the buildings and the walls of the Seraglio, "betwyxte wales

aboute a quarter of a myle and better" and the material of the gates "made all of massie iron" (p.

61/62). Fascination with Ottoman gardens and Ottoman horticulture was common among sixteenth-

century European travellers to Istanbul.[122]

Inside the Seraglio, Dallam was impressed by the great buildings, excellent fruit trees and

abundance of vines:

> Within the seconde wales tharis no gardens, but statly buildinges; many courtes paved with
> marble and suche lyke stone. Everie ode [a Turkish word for room] or by corner hath som
> exelente frute tre or tres growing in them; allso thar is great abundance of sweete grapes,
> and of diveres sortes ; thar a man may gather grapes everie Daye in the yeare. In November,
> as I satt at diner, I se them gather grapes upon the vines, and theye broughte them to me to
> eate. For the space of a monthe I Dined everie day in the Surralia, and we had everie day
> grapes after our meate; but moste sartain it is that grapes do grow thare contenually. (p. 62)

"A House of Pleasur, and Lyke Wyse a House of Slaughter"

Dallan describes the hall where he would set up the organ in a captivating manner:

> It semed to be rether a churche than a dwellinge house; to say the truthe, it was no dwellinge
> house, but a house of pleasur, and lyke wyse a house of slaughter; for in that house was
> bulte one litle house, verrie curius bothe within and witheout; for carvinge, gildinge, good

---

[122] Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*. Charles Thornton Foster, and F.H.
Blackburne Daniell (eds. and trans.), 2 Volumes, New York: Cambridge University Press, [1881] 2012, Vol.1, pp.
107-110; Pierre Belon du Mans, *Travels in the Levant: The Observations of Pierre Belon du Mans (1553)*.
Alexandra Merle (ed.) and James Hogarth (trans.), UK: Harding Simpole. 2012, p. 469.

> Collors and vernishe, I have not sene the lyke. In this litle house, that emperor that rained
> when I was thare, had nyntene brotheres put to deathe in it, and it was bulte for no other use
> but for the stranglinge of everie emperors bretherin. (p. 62/63)

He is overwhelmed by the multiple and contradicting social functions of the house: 'pleasure' and

'slaughter'. As a skilled craftsman, Dallam is impressed by the carvings, gilding, colours and

varnish of the house, even though it is used as an execution chamber. Dallam does not mention the

name of Sultan Mehmet III. He restates, without value judgement, a historical fact about the Sultan

who killed his 19 brothers. He is amazed at the combination of beauty and cruelty in one place.

The architecture of the house was another aspect of interest, "tow rankes of marble pillors; the

pettestales (pedestals) of them ar made of brass, and double gilte" (p. 63). The walls on the three

sides are "halfe waye to the eaves; the other halfe is open". This open half of the wall has curtains.

When the weather is windy, "they can sodonly Let fale suche hanginges made of cotton wolle for

that purpose as will kepe out all kindes of wethere, and sudenly they can open them againe" (p. 63).

Dallam was fascinated by how quickly (mechanically) these cotton curtains move suddenly. For

him as an organ-maker, art objects are not only about beauty but also about functionality. The

fourth wall of the house was closed because it attaches to another house. This wall in particular

amazed Dallam most: "the wale is made of purfeare (porphyry), or suche kinde of stone as when a

man walketh by it he maye se him selfe tharin" (p. 63). The wall was most probably glazed or

painted with gloss enamel. Dallam was also surprised by the furniture inside the Seraglio:

> Upon the grounde, not only in this house, but all other that I se in the Surraliae, we treade
> upon ritch silke garpites, one of them as muche as four or sixe men can carrie. Thare weare
> in this house nether stouls, tables, or formes, only one coutche of estate. Thare is one side of
> it a fishe ponde, that is full of fishe that be of divers collores. (p.63)

"That which I Did Se was Verrie Wonderfull unto me"

When Dallam entered the room of the Sultan to demonstrate for him how the keyboard of the organ

worked, he was charmed by the entourage of Sultan. As quoted at the beginning of this section, "the

sighte of him was nothinge in Comparrison of the traine that stood behinde him, the sighte whearof did make me almoste to thinke that I was in another worlde" (p. 69). Dallam is completely amazed at what he sees.

> The Grand Sinyor satt still, behouldinge the presente which was befor him, and I stood daslinge my eyes with loukinge upon his people that stood behinde him, the which was four hundrethe persons in number. (p. 69)

At this moment, Dallam's gaze ignored the Sultan as much as the Sultan ignored him. The Sultan was fascinated with the organ and Dallam was fascinated with the entourage.

Dallam describes these 400 men in detail. He is attentive to their age, their looks, and most importantly, their being of Christian origin.

> Tow hundrethe of them weare his princepall padgis, the yongest of them 16 yeares of age, som 20, and som 30. They weare apparled in ritche clothe of goulde made in gowns to the mydlegge; upon theire heades litle caps of clothe of goulde, and som clothe of Tissue; great peecis of silke abowte theire wastes instead of girdls; upon their leges Cordivan buskins, reede. Theire heades wear all shaven, savinge that behinde Their ears did hange a locke of hare like a squirel's taile; theire beardes shaven, all savinge theire uper lips. Those 200 weare all verrie proper men, and Christians borne. (p. 69)

The reasons why Dallam was captivated by the entourage were purely aesthetic. He was fascinated with the colours of their clothing, the way they stood, and the fabric materials. He appreciated, as an artist, how the Sultan's attendants matched their gowns and caps of the same "cloth of gold". Dallam liked that they did not use "girdles" around their waists, but a more aesthetically appealing substitute, "long pieces of silk".

The description of the Sultan's attendants exhibits how Dallam's lexicon is shaped by his craft and his social class. He is attentive to the "red cordovan boots" not only for their prominent colour but also for their value and style. Cordovan leather as well as "Flemish scarlets", "Milanese armaments", and "Venetian glass" were "expensive luxuries" across early modern Europe. These

products were "destined for a restricted, widely dispersed clientele".[123] He also focuses on their hairstyles and clean-shaven faces, which seem to be uncommon to Dallam; their hair looks different, maybe amusing, "like a squirel's taile". Beards and full moustaches were the fashion in the late sixteenth century,[124] a sign of masculinity in both real life and stage performances.[125] Despite these un-masculine features, they were still in Dallam's judgement aesthetically "verrie proper men".

"Dum Men" and "Dwarffs"

The Sultan's entourage had two other groups: the deaf-mutes (Dum) and the dwarfs. Dallam was intrigued by the deaf-mute men for their distinctive colourful dresses and boots. Their caps were in "violett velvett" and they were carrying "haukes [hawks] in theire fistes" (p. 70). Nevertheless, what captured Dallam most in this group was their expressive language of signs.

> I did moste of all wonder at those dumb men, for they lett me understande by theire perfitt sins (signs) all thinges that they had sene the presente dow by its motions. (p. 70)

The remaining group "weare all dwarffs, bige-bodied men, but verrie low of stature" (p. 70). They were also dressed in gold and each dwarf had a scimitar.

Dallam spent "almost one quarter of an houre behouldinge this wonder full sighte" (p. 70), before he was admitted to play the organ. The Sultan was sitting so near the organ that Dallam almost touched the Sultan's knee. While so close to the Sultan, he was intrigued by the Sultan's diamond ring: "He satt in a verrie ritche Chaire of estate, upon his thumbe a ringe with a diamon in it halfe an inche square, a faire simeterie by his side, a bow, and a quiver of Arros" (p. 71). Dallam as a skilled

---

[123] Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 29.

[124] Iris Brooke, *English Costume from the Early Middle Ages Through the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Dover Publications, [1937] 2000, p.234.

[125] Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring, 2001): 155-187.

craftsman could judge the size of the diamond on the Sultan's ring merely by observation.

"By other Plaine Tokens, I did Know them to be Women"

After the gift-presentation performance, Dallam visited the Seraglio several times to maintain the organ. During these visits, Dallam saw "many other thinges which I wondered at" (p. 74). He was socializing with the *acemi-oğlan* and they were trying to convince him to stay. One of them showed Dallam a grating in the wall. However, he gestured to Dallam that this was forbidden and that he himself would not dare to look through this grating. He displays his curiosity to see what is behind the wall and did not see any danger surrounding such an act. He looked through the wall grating only to find another episode of fascination in the Ottoman Seraglio. Behind the wall was the Harem of the Sultan.

> Through that graite I did se thirtie of the Grand Sinyor's Concobines that weare playinge with a bale in another courte. At the firste sighte of them I thoughte they had bene yonge men, but when I saw the hare of their heades hange doone on their backes, platted together with a tasle of smale pearle hanginge in the lower end of it, and by other plaine tokens, I did know them to be women, and verrie prettie ones in deede. (p. 74)

Dallam expresses his confusion at the surprise of seeing the Harem. He describes how his brain took a moment to adjust to such a scene. Just as al-Ḥajarī did not describe the body of the French woman, as pointed out in the previous chapter, Dallam did not elaborate on the 'other plain tokens' of the bodies of the concubines. He observes the 'small pearl' on 'the lower end' of their hair accessory, yet he avoids talking about those 'plain tokens'. He could count their number, or maybe used the number thirty as a trope of exaggeration. Dallam continues his detailed description:

> Theie wore upon theire heades nothinge bute a litle capp of clothe of goulde, which did but cover the crowne of her heade; no bandes a boute their neckes, nor anythinge but faire cheans of pearle and a juell hanginge on their breste, and juels in their ears;
>
> their coats weare like a souldier's mandilyon, som of reed sattan and som of blew, and som of other collors, and grded like a lace of contraire collor; they wore britchis of scamatie, a fine clothe made of coton woll, as whyte as snow and as fine as lane; for I could desarne the skin of their thies throughe it. These britchis cam doone to their mydlege;
>
> som of them did weare fine cordevan buskins, and som had their leges naked, with a goulde ringe on the smale of her legg; on her foute a velvett panttoble 4 or 5 inches hie. (p. 74-75)

226

He describes their head covers, jewellery, and clothing in terms of style, colour, and fabric. His amazement at the fineness, delicacy, and transparency of the "scamatie" fabric material is more than his amazement at the thighs of the women. This detailed description of female products (footwear, ankle bracelets, high heels) raises a doubt that Dallam was not just fascinated by these items. He was addressing a craft and a business that was in vogue in England during his time. Merry E. Wiesner argues that in sixteenth-century Europe, "wealthier middle-class women" became more literate. They read books on literature, music, and science. Their "reading often brought them into contact with the world of palaces and courtly life, and middle-class women responded by making their own homes more elaborate and their clothing more decorative". Their purchasing power increased and they "wore more jewelry, patronizing certain silver- and goldsmiths, and more lace and other costly fabrics".[126] This may support the hypothesis that Dallam was writing with the intention to have his *Diary* published. His description is not about the concubines as much it is about their fashions and styles.

> I stood so longe loukinge upon them that he which had showed me all this kindnes began to be verrie angrie with me. He made a wrye mouthe, and stamped with his foute to make me give over looking; the which I was verrie lothe to dow, for that sighte did please me wondrous well. (p. 75)

This episode ends with a mimed performance anger from the *acemi-oğlan*. From Dallam's narrative, one may speculate that 'weary mouth' and 'stamping the feet' were common gestures of annoyance both in English and Ottoman cultures. Finally, Dallam expresses his emotions at this moment: he hated to leave such a marvel.

Dallam was so excited that he started babbling out what he saw: "I tould my intarpreter that I had sene 30 of the Grand Sinyores Concobines". The interpreter advised him not to talk of this matter again because "it would presente deathe to him that showed me them. He durste not louke upon

---

[126] Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2000, p. 169.

them him selfe". However, Dallam was sure that nothing would happen because none of the concubines saw him,

> Yf they had sene me, they would all have come presently thether to louke upon me, and have wondred as moche at me, or how I cam thether, as I did to se them. (p. 75)

This harem episode is not the only incident in the *Diary* when Dallam expresses his fascination with women. Both on his outbound and homebound journeys, wherever he stops, he notices women and evaluates their beauty. However, his longest passage on women is his description of the concubines of the Sultan's harem in Istanbul. On his outbound journey, in Algiers, he observes that "the Turkishe and Morishe weomen do goo all wayes in the streetes with there facis covered" (p. 17). In Zante, after attending the Greek Easter mass in a small chapel over the mountains, he was invited to dine and drink wine with "eyghte verrie fayre wemen, and rychly apparled, som in reed satten, som whyte, and som in watchell Damaske" (p. 23). In Chios, he slowly went down the ladder of the Consol's house to enjoy the women who "stoode in suche order as we myghte se theire facis and bristes nakede". He describes "their beautie and cleare complecktion", writing, "I thinke that no parte of the worlde can compare with the wemen in That contrie for beautie" (p. 45-46). His interest in beautiful women keeps showing up in his homebound journey. In a small village near Mount Parnassus in Greece, he expresses his pity for the women there, "Thoughe that countrie be contenually could, yeate the women thare never weare anythinge on their feete; they ar verrie well favored, but their feete be blacke and broade" (p. 85).

Dallam's describtion of the concubines in the harem and the women he saw on his journeys are far from being bawdy or erotic. He attends more to women's fashion and style. His description of women's beauty is rather reserved and subtle. This clean style of writing about women, according to many scholars on early modern erotic writing, was not common in popular culture texts. Erotic writings, including bawdy satires and lyrics, were widespread among courtly young men and university students who translated erotic texts from French and Italian into English. Most probably, early modern popular culture expressed pornography and eroticism in songs, ballads, flirtatious

games, songs, or other oral culture genres.[127]

4.4.2. Imperial Envy-in-Reverse

To ameliorate his envy at the Ottomans, Dallam always projects himself, his work, and his country as better than the Ottoman. Dallam employs three narrative strategies in doing this. First he fashions himself as being envied for his ingenious skills which outsmarted the Turks and impressed the Sultan. For example, in Rhodes, when the Deputy of the Grand Pasha of the town came aboard the *Hector* with the chief men of the town, Dallam and his mates prepared the *Hector* in a special way to impress the Turkish visitors.

> [S]he was trimed up in as handsom maner as we could for the time. Our gonroume was one of the fayereste Roumes in the ship, and pleasant to com into. In the gonroume I had a pare of virginals, the which our Mr. goner, to make the better showe, desired me to sett them open. When the Turkes and Jues came in and saw them, they wondered what it should be; but when I played on them, than they wondered more. (p. 35)

In the narrative, Dallam impresses the Turks with very little resources and with his skill. He and the gunner of the ship are alert to their rivalry and want to make a 'better show'. By the end of his performance, Dallam has reversed the scene and become the target of their envy. His talent at playing the virginals becomes the possession to which the Turks aspire.

During the performance, Dallam's talent and skills compelled the Sultan to stand and move his "ritche Chaire of estate" in order to see Dallam playing the organ.

> He satt so righte behinde me that he could not se what I did; tharfore he stood up, and his Coppagaw removed his Chaire to one side, wher he myghte se my handes; but, in his risinge from his chaire, he gave me a thruste forwardes, which he could not otherwyse dow, he satt so neare me; but I thought he had bene drawinge his sorde to cut of my heade. (p. 71)

Dallam narrates that after his impressive performance for the Sultan, he became a guest of honour in the Seraglio. He was invited for several days in a row, "to no other end but to show me the Grand

---

[127] Ian Frederick Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Sarah Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth Century England.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007; Ian Frederick Moulton, "Courtship, Sex and Marriage", in Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, Abigail Shinn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014, 133-147.

Sinyors privie Chamberes, his gould and silver, his chairs of estate" (p. 74). During his visit he was cordially welcomed to have fun in the Seraglio and to play role-playing games with the throne and the swords of the Sultan "and he that showed me them would have me to sitt downe in one of them, and than to draw that sord out of the sheathe with the which the Grand Sinyor doth croune his kinge" (p. 74). He was sought after by everyone in the Seraglio.

The second strategy is to fashion the *Hector* as an admirable possession to which the Ottomans aspire. He narrates that upon the arrival of the *Hector* in Istanbul, the captain and the ambassador arranged for a Salute for the Sultan. Dallam describe with amazement the beauty and the magnificence of the *Hector*, a beauty that captured the envy of the Sultan:

> This salutation was verrie strange and wonderfull in the sighte of the Great Turke and all other Turkes. She [i.e. the *Hector*] was, as I have saide before, new paynted (upon everie topp an anshante, viz., mayne top, fore top, myssen top, sprid saile top, and at everie yardes arme a silke penante). [...] Althinges beinge reddie, our gonores gave fiere, and discharged eighte score great shotte, and betwyxte everie greate shott a vallie of smale shott; it was done with verrie good decorume and true time, and it myghte well desarve commendations. But one thinge I noteed, which perswaded my simple consaite that this great triumpte and charge was verrie evile bestowed, beinge done unto an infidell. (p. 58-59)

The *Hector* and the cleverness of its gunners were apparently so intriguing that the Sultan sent two of his soldiers to inspect the ship. They wanted to see how many cannons there were, "for he thoughte there hade bene four score [eighty], and there was but 27" (p. 60). The Sultan and his mother even wanted to see the *Hector* for themselves, "he came in his goulden kieke (caique) upon the watter, and wente round a boute the shipp [...] One houre after him came the Sultana his mother, in the lyke maner". (p. 60)

Humour is the third strategy by which Dallam denigrates the Ottoman rival. When he was "at a greate Towne Called Relezea [Ereklidta, Eriklici]" (p. 51), he describes the Turkish governor as a man of physical strength and no skills at all:

> A verrie stoute and stronge man of his person, but actevitie he hade none, for som in our company did prove him many wayes: he could nether run, leape, wrastell, pitche the barr, the stone upon the hande, trowe the sledge, nether any defence with sorde or cudgell; but yf he did catche a man in his armes fadem wyse, he would so crushe him, that he would make his harte ake, and reddie to stop his brethe. He beinge askede the reason whye he could do none of these exercisis, he Answered that Turkes would never pracktise the same that Christians did. (p. 52)

Dallam compares between the English and the Turks and makes the Turk himself admit the result of the game. In another comical incident that happened the night before Dallam arrived in Istanbul, Dallam mocks the cowardice of the Ottoman janissary responsible for protecting them. Dallam and his travel companions were staying in a dark, uncomfortable inn. Before they slept, one of them narrated several stories about beasts, adders, and snakes. They all fell asleep and during the night one of them imagined that his garter was a snake. He cried out "A sarpente! a sarpente". They all though he said "Assalted! assalted!" (p. 55). They all raised their swords and people got injured. After every thing cleared up, they searched for the Ottoman guard. They found him hiding in the cellar: "Our janisarie, who should have bene our garde, and have protecked us from all Daingeres, [...] he touke up the louse borde wheare on he laye, and sliped Downe into the valte" (p. 56). Dallam narrates how the story ended with them rescuing the ʿcourageousʾ janissary from the very narrow and dark cellar.

4.5. Conclusion: Anti-renegade Self-fashioning

Dallam does not allude to the ʿhighʾ literary culture of his time, unlike al-Ḥajarī (in Chapter 3) or Evliya (in the next case study). However, the remnants of the craft guild life and the popular texts which were circulating among the English artisans do not undermine or serve to deny his sense of self-fashioning in Dallam's narrative style. In many respects, Dallam projects himself through the text as a loyal, patriotic, Englishman. His worst fear is "not companei with christians", however, he would go all the way to Istanbul to do anything for his country. His self-fashioning style is far from being non-deliberate. In his narrative, Dallam rarely uses emotive expressions, but he performs

emotions. When he encounters non-English speakers, he understands their performance of emotions. He is kissed and hugged by many characters in the narrative. Only in very stressful situations does he explicitly comment on his emotions. He also uses very expressive grammatical structures, he varies his narrative style, he 'consciously' omits certain topics and elaborates on others. He uses metaphors, imagery, humour, and other descriptive techniques.

As quoted in the epigraph of this chapter, Dallam was aware that what he was narrating in his *Diary* was an exceptional story. Simply put, he was told by the Ottomans that "no Christian ever in their memory" stayed, dined, played, and had fun in the Seraglio for a whole month and "went away as a Christian". However, Dallam did. This story would appeal to some readers back home in England, his family, his friends, or others. The narrative is well designed to portray Dallam as a skilled craftsman with morals and ethics. He received the attention and the company of the Grand Seigneur. Not only that, but he also received a persistent offer to stay in the Seraglio. He was followed and cornered by the officials. However, he claimed to have cared only for his religion and his homeland. His description of the fascinating and luxurious lifestyle in the Ottoman Seraglio intensifies his resistance, for if the Ottoman lifestyle were less than fascinating, his resistance would sound less than sincere.

By the end of the narrative, Dallam has fulfilled the duties of his general calling as a Christian. He has also fulfilled the duties of his personal calling as a subject to his Queen and the duties of his vocation as a diligent organ-maker. He has embedded himself in the community of the craftsmen. He has shunned the corrupted communities and distanced himself through his work ethics. In his discourse on anxiety he has set himself side by side with Henry Lello, the ambassador. He has set his emotions as a Christian worried that he will be forced to turn Turk against Lello's worries above his position and his financial gains. His fascination with the Ottoman life style was rhetorical. It

was at times neutralized by his strategies to reverse his imperial envy.

Dallam's discourse on anxiety and imperial envy does not rely on allusion to the 'high' literary culture of his time. His discourse echoed oral culture sources such as church sermons and grand narratives on the renegades. His sense of self-fashioning emerged from these sources and from his Protestant ethics. In many respects, Dallam projects himself through the text as a loyal, patriotic, Englishman. His worst fear is "not companei with christians", however, he would go all the way to Istanbul to do anything for his country. Dallam negotiates among several Ottoman and English emotional communities and styles. He positioned himself between the elite and the artisans. His anxiety and fascination have emerged at his encounter with the Other. The entanglement between anxiety and fascination in his text has served him well to project himself as a loyal citizen and non-renegade Englishman. Dallam's observations on Istanbul and the Ottoman 'popular culture', including the jokes of the *acemi-oğlan*, their kisses and hugs, their appreciation for his talents, and their hospitality pave the way for the next case study on Evliya Çelebi.

Dallam presents a different shade of cosmopolitanism, one that does not see religion or international politics as a reason for disagreement with the Ottomans or the Spanish. Dallam's cosmopolitan attitude comes from the perspective of a craftsman who is working in a discouraging economic setting. He is concerned with issues such as social injustice, corruption, bribery, abuse by the nobility however, these matters are more important to him than religious or political differences.

Chapter Five

Cosmopolitan Emotions[1]

Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli

(1611- c.1683)

Returning to the city [i.e. Tabriz, Persia] I once again was honoured with the company of the Khan and had intimate converse with him on a daily basis. One day, in the course of one of these conversations, the Khan offered me some wine.

'I swear by God,' said I, 'and by the pure spirit of Ali, that from the time I was born to this day I have never tasted any forbidden food or intoxicating beverage or aphrodisiac substance or mind-altering drug. […]

'By God, you are a fine believer and fanatic [*muta'assıb*].'

'By God, my Khan, I am not a fanatic, only a pure adherent of the school of Nu'man ibn Thabit (i.e., a Hanafi). Otherwise I am a world traveller [*seyyah-ı 'alem*] and boon companion to mankind [*nedim-i beni-adem*], a lover of the family of the Prophet, and a man of God.'

This put all the courtiers and boon-companions in a stupor and a quandary.[2]

Introduction

The third case study on early modern Mediterranean travel books as ego-documents and archives

for the history of emotions comes from the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. It is *Evliyâ*

Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi (The Book of Travels of Evliyâ Çelebi), henceforth referred to as

Seyahatname. This choice completes what Nabil Mater called the early modern Mediterranean

triangle of the Moors, the English, and the Turks. The present study, as already illustrated in the

previous analysis on al-Ḥajarī (Chapter 3) and Dallam (Chapter 4), investigates three points: the

textual and cultural construction of emotions in late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century

Mediterranean travel books; the emotional communities and styles that are represented and

negotiated in the travel book; and the ways in which emotions in the text contribute to the

---

[1] The title of this chapter was inspired by Martha C. Nussbaum's "Introduction: Cosmopolitan Emotions?" in Martha C. Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen (eds), *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press. 1996. pp. ix- xiv. In her article Nussbaum comments on the emotions of compassion which prevailed the American society in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks on USA.

[2] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the "Book of Travels" of Evliya Çelebi.* Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (trans. and eds.). London: Eland. 2010, pp. 61-62.

traveller's modes of self-fashioning.

In the above epigraph, Evliya denies himself to be a closed-minded fanatic. He defines himself as a tolerant Muslim following the Hanafi Sunni judicial school. He describes himself as a *seyyah-ı 'alem* (a world traveller) and a *nedim-i beni-adem* (a friend to all sons of Adam). He partakes in the activities of his Shi'ite interlocutor, for as long as they do not violate his way of practising the Islamic laws. This epigraph points out Evliya's cosmopolitan attitude or his "mode of engaging with the world".[3] Unlike Dallam, Evliya has neither anxiety of difference nor resistance to the Other. Dallam wrote his account of life in Istanbul and the Seraglio from the perspective of a foreigner. He expressed his discomfort with the over-hospitality of the Ottomans as they let him dine every day for a whole month in the Seraglio; he interpreted their offer of two wives from the Harem and a post in the palace as a performance of allurement. Dallam resisted the Ottoman "policies of accommodation (*istimalet*)".[4] In addition, Evliya's cosmopolitan attitude is the complete opposite of the Andalusian paradigm of fear of Christians as projected in al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb*. Evliya projects himself in the above dialogue as an assertive person; he knows how to say no to any practice which violates his principles, such as the invitation to drink wine. Unlike al-Ḥajarī, Evliya does not resort to clandestinity to hide his differences and does not need to be polemical to negotiate them, either. In this chapter, the focus is on Evliya's cosmopolitan emotional style towards cultural differences.

Seyahâtnâme and its Editions

The original manuscript of *Seyahâtnâme* was found in Cairo in 1742, fifty years after the death of Evliya (c. 1683). It is composed of ten *cild* (volumes), each two *cild* were bound together.[5] It is

---

3   Vertovec S and Cohen R, "Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism", in Vertovec S and Cohen R (eds) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.1–22 (p. 13).

4   Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 110.

5   Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan, *An Evliya Çelebi Bibliography*. 3rd edition. 2012. Available at <tebsite.bilkent.edu.tr/**evliya**.pdf>

written in Ottoman Turkish script (i.e. Arabic alphabet). Robert Dankoff, a major editor of Ottoman sources known especially for his work on Evliya, describes the text as a "literary monument".[6] These ten volumes cover forty years of travels by Evliyâ Çelebi Efendi. The first volume describes Istanbul. The following volumes describe Evliya's travels across Anatolia, Safavid Persia, the Balkans, Hungary and Germany, Greece, and Crete, to only mention a few. He designates Volume 9 to his journey of al-Hajj (pilgrimage). The last volume covers his visits to Sudan and Ethiopia and his travels inside Egypt. The narrative starts in Istanbul in 1630, ten years before Evliya starts his travels. It ends in 1683 in Cairo where "Evliya probably died in that year or shortly thereafter".[7]

To approach the gigantic *Seyahatname,* the present study relied on Dankoff and Kreiser's guide to the content of the ten volumes,[8] in which they register every story and anecdote narrated in the manuscript. Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan give another guide to all the manuscripts, the editions, the translations, and the publications on *Seyahâtnâme* up until 2012.[9] Out of these editions and translations, the present study relied on the English translation of selected texts from *Seyahâtnâme* by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim.[10] This translation is the source from which all of the subsequent quotations in this chapter are derived and given parenthetically. In addition, the present study has used the Istanbul edition funded and published by the Yapı Kredi Yayınları (the Yapı Kredi Bank) which is a scholarly transcription of Evliya's Osmanli Turkish text into Roman alphabet as used in modern Turkey after 1928.[11] Comparing the Yapı Kredi edition to Dankoff and Kim's English translation was a necessity to identify Evliya's vocabulary of emotions. It also

---

[6]   Robert Dankoff, "The Seyahatnâme of Evliya Çelebi as a Literary Monument". *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 2 (2005): 71-85.
[7]   Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, "Introduction", in Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the "Book of Travels" of Evliya Çelebi*. Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (trans. and eds.). London: Eland. 2010, p. xxv.
[8]   Robert Dankoff and Klaus Kreiser. *Materialien Zu Evliya Celebi: II. A Guide to Seyahat-name of Evliya Celebi. Bibliographie Raisonnee*. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag. 1992.
[9]   Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan, *An Evliya Çelebi Bibliography*. 3rd edition. 2012. Available at <tebsite.bilkent.edu.tr/**evliya**.pdf>
[10] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller..*
[11] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1-10 Kitap, (Yayına Hazırlayanlar: Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Publishing House. 1996-2007.

helped to indicate whether any parts of the narratives under study in this chapter were left out in the translation, as will be shown in some examples below.

Other than the Yapı Kredi edition, the present study consulted the "Istanbul imprint" of *Seyahatname,* which was edited in three stages. The first six volumes were edited in the late nineteenth century (1896-1901) by Ahmed Cevdet.[12] Then, in 1928, volumes 7 and 8 were edited by Kilisli Rifat.[13] Finally, "Ahmed Refik Altınay brought out a much inferior edition of Volumes 9 and 10 in 1935 and 1938". According to Dankoff and Tezcan, this imprint is unscholarly. Cevdet's work "cannot be considered an edition; it is more in the nature of a translation, or a rewriting, and gives a false impression of Evliya's work. Aside from rewritings, and general smoothing out of the language, there are constant omissions (especially of difficult words and passages) and errors, not to speak of censored passages".[14] One example of Dankoff and Tezcan's assessment of Cevdet's unscholarly work was found in one of the stories in this chapter, namely Evliya's story on his experience as a 'shitty martyr'; this story was omitted from Cevdet's volume 6.

In spite of these unscholarly errors and pitfalls, the present study used these first six volumes for two reasons. First, they manifest how "the censorship" during the Abdülhamid period (1876-1909) "forced the editor to leave out or change passages dealing with 'sensitive' subjects".[15] Second, these volumes were edited and published in Osmanli Turkish, which employed the Arabic alphabet. Looking at *Seyahâtnâme* in Arabic alphabet was an exercise for reading Evliya's vocabulary. This strategy, according to Suraiya Faroqhi, helps Turkish native-speaker historians to learn the Arabic alphabet. She asserts, "Taken by itself, the Arabic alphabet is not really difficult [for a Turkish speaker] to learn. But it does take some time before one can recognise the words even of a text in

---

[12] Aḥmed Cevdet, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâḥatnâmesi*, 1-6. Istanbul: İkdâm, 1896-1901.
[13] Kilisli Rifʾat [Bilge]. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâḥatnâmesi*, 7-8. Istanbul: Devlet (7), Orḫâniye (8), 1928.
[14] Dankoff and Tezcan, *An Evliya Çelebi Bibliography*. p. 4-5.
[15] Martin van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten. *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*. Leiden: Brill, 1988, p.7.

Ottoman-Turkish posing no linguistic problems when they appear in this unfamiliar guise. Many Middle Eastern Studies Departments teach this skill in special courses".[16] In my case, I, as an Arabic native-speaker tried to use the Istanbul imprint to learn how to recognise Osmanli Turkish words. Working from the Yapi Kredi edition, the Istanbul imprint, and Dankoff and Kim's English translations have helped me in identifying the vocabulary of emotions in the stories under analysis in this chapter. However, the analysis was relatively limited by my lack of competence in Ottoman Turkish grammar. Very often, the structure of the sentences or the verb tense serve as emotion markers, and they also convey emotions such as using "I wish" to express regret or guilt. Relying on the English translation is not sufficient to illuminate these grammatical expressions of emotions.

Evliya's Overt Cosmopolitanism

The fact that Dankoff boldly asserts that *Seyahâtnâme* reflects an Ottoman mentality may, by implication, spark off an argument on the social and cultural construction of emotionality as an aspect of such a mentality.[17] Dankoff further argues that Evliya is "a representative Ottoman".[18] His text does give us some rare insight into what it was possible for an Ottoman gentleman, sometime courtier, and self-professed dervish to think and feel. The focus in this chapter is on Evliya's emotionality and on his cosmopolitan emotional style.

To proceed with the analysis, there has to be a rationale on why Evliya is a Sufi cosmopolitan. As discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, the present study approaches cosmopolitanism as "an attitudinal or dispositional orientation" and "a mode of practice or competence".[19] Evliya's Sufi cosmopolitanism does not have a 'stricter sense', which entails how the person think about cultural

---

16 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999, p. 31-32.
17 Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. [2004] 2006.
18 Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality,* p. 115.
19 Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen "Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism", in Vertovec S and Cohen R (eds) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.1–22 (p.8)

diversity and coexistence, rather, it has a more 'genuine sense' which entails "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity".[20] Throughout his travel book, Evliya expresses his wanderlust and his eagerness to travel and to encounter the Other, as will be further explained in the textual analysis of his discourse on wanderlust. As a mode of practice, cosmopolitanism is not only about the intention or the desire to engage with the other, it is about "a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting".[21] As shown in the epigraph to this chapter, Evliya projects his ability to manage cultural differences. His travel book is full of examples of his cosmopolitan practices.

However, one question arises. If Evliya's wanderlust does project his genuine cosmopolitan style, i.e. his willingness to engage with the other, then what is the emotion that projects the breaking point of this cosmopolitan style? One of the emotions which may answer this question is disgust. William Ian Miller, in his seminal book *The Anatomy of Disgust* argues that disgust is not only a physical emotion but "[a]bove all, it is a moral and social sentiment. It plays a motivating and confirming role in moral judgment in a particular way that has little if any connection with ideas of oral incorporation. It ranks people and things in a kind of cosmic ordering".[22] The willingness to engage with the Other and the ability to manage cultural differences sometimes get seriously challenged by an experience of a disgusting food or a disgusting moral act from the Other.

Miller asserts that disgust "creates and is witness to a claim of moral (and social) inequality".[23] Individuals, communities, and groups use disgust to create and maintain hierarchies. They also use disgust to "constitute righteously presented claims for superiority".[24] In addition, disgust arranges

---

[20]   Ulf Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture", *Theory, Culture & Society,* vol. 7 no. 2 (June 1990): 237-251 (p.
[21]   Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture", p. 239
[22]   William Ian Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press. 1997, p. 2.
[23]   Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*, p. 35.
[24]   Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*, p. 9.

our attitudes towards the material culture. Objects are very often classified according to their cleanliness. "Disgust marks objects as exterior or alien. The second the saliva [or faeces, urine] leaves the body and crosses the boundary of selfhood it is foul, it is 'exterior', it is Other".[25] The experience of disgust is very volatile; disgust is not always targeted at the Other, one can get disgusted at her/himself, her/his group, or her/his nation for physical or moral reasons. So, to unfold Evliya's cosmopolitan emotional style, disgust will be the second emotion under study in this chapter.

Is Evliya a Cosmopolitan?

The classical Stoic definition of a cosmopolitan as 'citizen of the world' applies to Evliya to a great extent. However, there has to be caution in dealing with Evliya's cosmopolitanism for three reasons. First, in the premodern period, only the elite milieu were able to adopt cosmopolitanism.[26] Not every Ottoman was able to afford travel or to learn languages. Second, Evliya was an Ottoman nationalist. He asserts his loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. He also projects himself as a gazi (warrior) and most of his travels were done within the state and court missions. So, the best way to approach Evliya's cosmopolitanism is to think of him as a "patriot cosmopolitan".[27] Third, Evliya projects several moments of day-to-day management of difference. He reinforces cosmopolitanism as part of popular culture. Previous studies on cosmopolitanism in Muslim communities very often focus on the high Islamic culture only, i.e. cosmopolitanism in Qur'anic discourse and in Islamic philosophy.[28] Finally, Evliya's cosmopolitanism is not only limited to Evliya's relation to humanity and cultural diversity. In two of her articles on Seyahatname, Donna Landry has addressed Evliya's

---

[25] Richard Beck, *Unclean: Meditations on Purity, Hospitality, and Mortality*, Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011, p. 2.
[26] Vertovec and Cohen, "Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism", p. 5
[27] Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriot", in Martha C. Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen (eds), *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press. 1996. pp. 21-29
[28] Leichtman, M. A. and Schulz, D., "Introduction to Special Issue: Muslim Cosmopolitanism: Movement, Identity, and Contemporary Reconfigurations". *City & Society*, 24 (2012): 1–6; Derryl N. MacLean and Sikeena Karmali Ahmed (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism in Muslim Contexts: Perspectives from the Past*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd and the Aga Khan University, Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, 2012.

"creaturely cosmopolitanism", i.e. his perspective on animals.[29] Landry's study points out that

Evliya's cosmopolitanism is multifarious; it is not only about human-human attitudes but also about

human-animal and to this we may add human-object cosmopolitanism

The two emotions of wanderlust and disgust, even though they may seem at odds at first

impression, are treated as one ensemble of emotions that illuminate Evliya's cosmopolitan

perspective on the world. Wanderlust, a German loanword in English, means "[a]n eager desire or

fondness for wandering or travelling".[30] Evliya starts *Seyahâtnâme* with a short introduction entitled

Rüya (a vision/dream).[31] In this introduction, Evliya directly states his wanderlust and his driving

desire to become a *seyyah-ı âlem* (a world traveller). He narrates his wanderlust in the form of a

(*rüya),* a dream narrative, the core from which the introduction gets its title. Evliya reprises a

summary of the same *rüya* at the beginning of Volume II of *Seyahatname.*

> One blessed night - as I recorded at the beginning of volume 1- while asleep in my hovel, I
> dreamed that I saw the holy Prophet in person. I kissed his hand and instead of begging him
> for intercession, by a slip of the tongue begged for travel instead. He raised his blessed veil,
> revealing his beauteous countenance, smiled, and said: 'My intercession and my travel and
> my pilgrimage, may god give you health and well-being'. (p. 35)

Evliya's *rüya* is a rhetorical strategy to legitimize his wanderlust. This narrative is loaded with

emotion-charged words and metaphors inspired by Qur'anic verses, classical poetry, and Sufi tales.

The dream projects Evliya's genuine cosmopolitan perspective on travel. Unlike al-Ḥajarī, who

constructs travel as a *hijrah,* his immigration to Allah from the abode of infidelity to the abode of

Islam, Evliya constructs his travel as a *Seyahat*, an emotional and mystical state of roaming the

Earth. The narrative is packed with Evliya's self-fashioning modes as a *Hafez* (Qur'an reciter), a

Sufi *dervish,* and a cosmopolitan gentleman. This dream, as will be further analysed, is significant

---

[29] Donna Landry, "Horse-Human Companionship: Creaturely Cosmopolitanism across Eurasia", in Kaori Nagai; Caroline Rooney; Donna Landry; Charlotte Sleigh; Karen Jones; Monica Mattfeld (eds), Cosmopolitan Animals, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 181-193.

[30] "wanderlust, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2015; Tiffany Watt Smith, The Book of Human Emotions: An Encyclopaedia of Feeling from Anger to Wanderlust, London: Profile Books LTD., 2015.

[31] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu –dizini,* Vol. 1. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.) Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.

for both its content and its leading position in the text.

The analysis of Evliya's discourse on disgust focuses on three disgusting stories which have three different genres: a jest, a fable, and a marvel. The three stories are embedded in three different volumes in Seyahâtnâme (Volumes 6, 7, 10). In these narratives, Evliya gives an account of his experiences with disgusting food and projects his preoccupation with excrement and excretion. In these stories, Evliya uses faeces, pubic hair, urine, etc. Very few studies have addressed scatology or disgust in non-Western or Muslim contexts.[32] Therefore, the textual analysis relied on previous studies on scatology in Western culture. Besides Bakhtin's classical study on *Rabelais*,[33] there has been a recent wave of academic interest in body's waste, filth, dirt, and disgust in the early modern period.[34] These studies illustrate "the many forms and functions of scatology as literary and artistic trope".[35] They address "the scatological as part and parcel of material culture"[36] and "socio-historical interpretations of excrement as process, product and experience".[37]

The remainder of this case study has five sections. The first section, 5.1, is an analysis of *Seyahâtnâme* as a communicative act to identify the writing situation and Evliya's intended audience. In 5.2. there is a discussion on the two competing coexistent emotional communities which exhibit themselves in Evliya's discourse on wanderlust and disgust. Then, in 5.3, is a textual analysis of Evliya's discourse on wanderlust and his dream narrative on Prophet Muhammad's prophecy. In 5.4 is a textual analysis of three stories on disgust. Finally, 5.5 presents a concluding comment on Evliya's emotional self-fashioning mode as a worldly and cosmopolitan traveller.

---

[32] Sinan Antoon, "*Sukhf*, Scatology, and Society". In his *The Poetics of the Obscene in Premodern Arabic Poetry*, Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. 125–134.

[33] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World.* Helen Iswolsky (Trans.). Cambridge and London: MIT Press. 1968.

[34] Sabine Schülting, *Dirt in Victorian Literature and Culture: Writing Materiality* - Routledge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature. Taylor & Francis Ltd, (forthcoming February 2016); Eschenbaum, Natalie K. and Barbara Correll (ed). *Disgust in Early Modern English Literature.* Ashgate, (forthcoming May 2016)

[35] Jeffery C. Persels and Russell Ganim, (eds.), "Introduction: Scatology, the Last Taboo", in their *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004, p. xiii

[36] Persels and Ganim, (eds.), "Introduction: Scatology, the Last Taboo", p. xiii

[37] Persels and Ganim, "Scatology, the Last Taboo", p. xiv.

5. 1. *Seyahâtnâme* as a Communicative Act

To examine *Seyahatname*'s writing situation and context of production, the present study relied on two sources: first, the excerpts which are available in Dankoff and Kim's selected translation in English; second, the previous studies by Robert Dankoff, Nuran Tezcan, Semih Tezcan, and Pierre MacKay. These scholars have read, edited, participated in editing, and translated the ten volumes of *Seyahatname*. This section is an attempt to identify *Seyahâtnâme* as a communicative act between Evliya and his implied/intended audience and the context of writing his text.

Evliya Celebi

Evliya Çelebi was born in Istanbul in 1611. His family had close connections with the Ottoman court. Evliya presents his father as "Dervish Mehmed Ağa Zılli – he was boon-companion to Sultan Süleyman and chief goldsmith of the Sublime Porte, and a noted dervish" (p. 303). His father was also a renowned goldsmith during the reign of Sultan Ahmed and he "at the behest of Sultan Ahmed and in the service of the imperial *surre*,[38] erected the Waterspout of Mercy (or Golden Waterspout) on the roof of the Ka'ba" (p. 304). In the selected translation, there is not much information about Evliya's mother. Dankoff asserts that she was "unnamed" throughout the whole text of *Seyahatname*, however, she "was an Abaza tribeswoman, a relative of the later grand vizier Melek Ahmed Pasa".[39] She was part of the Harem of the palace before she married Evliya's father. Evliya projects the loving relation between himself and his parents on many occasions. He describes the son-parents performance of love and respect, "I kissed the hands of my father and mother and stood before them with hands respectfully crossed" (p. 42), "I then came home to my father and mother who pressed me to their bosoms" (p. 55).

---

[38]   The *surre* are the sultan's annual gifts to Mecca. The Redhouse Dictionary.
[39]   Dankoff, An Ottoman Mentality, p. xii.

This tight connection to the Ottoman court provided Evliya with the opportunity to receive high literary and religious education. He joined a *medrese,* a religious school. There, he studied the Qur'an and became a *hafiz*, a Qur'an reciter and memorizer. His skills as a *hafez* and his beautiful voice as a *Muezzin* drew the attention of Sultan Murad IV, during whose reign Evliya joined the palace and became "a royal entertainer and boon companion" of the Sultan.[40] Evliya projects a wide knowledge of Arabic and Persian languages and literatures.

Within the body of the *Seyahatname*, Evliya defines himself as a follower of the Islamic Sunni *Hanefi mezhebi,* which was the official legal school of the Ottoman ruling dynasty.[41] The Ottoman rulers embraced the Hanafi perspective on Islamic laws: "The Turks loved the egalitarian disposition of Imam Abu Haneefa, as well as the creative aspects of the Hanafi Fiqh".[42] This endorsement led to the spread of the Hanafi *Fiqh* in almost all the Muslim countries which were under Ottoman rule in the early modern period until today.

Evliya also affiliates himself to the Sufi realm. He very often refers to himself as a dervish. Dankoff postulates that Evliya belonged to the "Gülşeniyye, a branch of the Halvetiyye" Sufi Order,[43] because Evliya once wrote, "This humble one, the world traveller and boon-companion of mankind, *Evliya-i Gülşeni"* (p. 445). Against this postulation, Surraiya Faroqhi argues that this statement does not prove Evliya's Gülşeni membership. She argues that Evliya kept his affiliation open. His attitude towards Sufism is "eclectic" and "uncommon among the members of the Ottoman upper class".[44] She argues that "Evliya took a particular interest in dervishes and holy men, but he does not seem to have been an active member of any particular order. Rather, he would pay his respect to

---

[40]   Dankoff, and Kim, "Introduction", p. xii
[41]   Rudolph Peters, "What does it mean to be an official madhhab? Hanafism and the Ottoman empire", *The Islamic school of law: evolution, devolution, and progress,* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005, pp. 147 - 158
[42]   Nazeer Ahmad. *Islam in Global History: From the Death of Prophet Muhammad to the First World War.* 2 vols. Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2002. vol. 1, p. 113
[43]   Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 121
[44]   Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire.* (tr. Martin Bott). London, New York: Tauris. 2005, p. 201.

whichever local saints and mausoleums he happened to come across on his travels".[45] Faroqhi's argument better justifies Evliya's cosmopolitan attitude, which encompasses all Sufi orders. Besides these family, courtly, scholarly, and Sufi affiliations, Evliya reinforces his identity as a folk character: "Being of a sociable and impertinent nature, I have mingled among all the craftsmen and learned their secrets" (p. 21). Plenty of his narratives take place in the streets with folk in coffee-houses, bazars, barber shops, and public baths, to mention just a few.

Writing Situation

Unlike al-Ḥajarī, who started his text with a clear declaration on the time, the place, and the intended audience of his text, Evliya disperses this information within the body of his ten-volume travel book. There are several moments in *Seyahâtnâme* which tell the reader about the writing situation of the text. The last page of the text is an "Envoi" in which Evliya writes a "Final Word and Farewell to the Reader" (p. 450). In this farewell, Evliya announces to the reader that he wrote his text in Cairo, Egypt.

> Praises without end to the Lord Creator, by whose assistance these scattered folios of ours, having turned many colours like dervish robes, are now completed in Cairo, the rare one of the age. The writing of it, the beginning and end of it, was in the year (—) when the governor of Egypt was (—) Pasha, may God vouchsafe him what he desires. (p. 450)

Evliya did not insert the year or the name of the governor of Cairo. This raises a question as to whether he was planning to write more, or whether he prepared this message before he finished the text.

In this farewell message, Evliya asks the reader's forgiveness for any "shortcomings" and "lack of fancy phrases and fine expressions" (p. 450). He informs the reader on the length of his journeys, "For it is fifty-one years now that this humble one, full of fault, having sojourned in the seven climes, has brought these rough copies to completion" (p. 450). He also assures the reader that all

---

[45] Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan,* pp. 200-201.

the journeys and narratives in his text are genuine, neither copied nor plagiarized from any source,

> It is not vouchsafed to me to study chronicles and histories, nor have I recorded in this my Book of Travels any other traveller's adventures or any other writer's compositions. Only I have, where appropriate, added Koran commentaries and prophetic Hadiths that I learned from my master Sheikh Ali al-Shumurlisi, with his permission. Aside from that, these rough copies are all the record of my own adventures and of my travels which I have taken pains to record in such shameless detail. *Apologies are acceptable among the noble* – may my apology be acceptable, may I be remembered with a benediction. (p. 450)

On another occasion in Volume 9, which endorses the journey of his pilgrimage, Evliya writes

down his "Reason for writing down this Book of Travels" (p. 304). Evliya tells his readers about the

process of writing *Seyahatname*.

> In the years of my journeyings I saw thousands of strange places and experienced thousands of wondrous events. Because we humans are creatures of forgetfulness, lest their traces be effaced and their names be concealed, I began to make a record of noteworthy items – both man-made and God-made (i.e., naturally occurring) – and to write them down in order to provide memory-clues, using well-worn expressions and a middling style, in accordance with the dictum, *Talk to people according to the measure of their intellects*. (p. 305)

So, Evliya was taking notes during his travels lest he forget what he saw and later when he settled in

Egypt, he finished or polished his text. The last sentence of this passage opens a question on

Evliya's intended audience. He states that he wrote his text in "well-worn expressions and a

middling style" which suits the intellect of the majority of the people.

Intended and Implied Audience

Dankoff and Kim argue that Evliya wrote for the courtly and scholarly circles in Istanbul,

"including the sultan, court officials and artisans like his father, military leaders and statesmen like

his uncle Melek Ahmed Pasha, and other administrators, religious personnel (*ulema*) and literati,

both in Istanbul and the provinces".[46] These elite circles were Evliya's patrons and immediate

audience for his stories even before he wrote his *Seyahatname*.

Evliya intended his text only for the Ottoman-reading communities. Even though Evliya mastered

---

[46] Dankoff and Kim, "Introduction", p. xvi.

Arabic and Persian, he wrote his text in Ottoman Turkish. The fact that he wrote his text in Egypt, which was an Arabic-speaking country in the early modern period, did not influence his perspective on his intended audience. However, Evliya wrote the Qur'anic verses in their original Arabic script. He also included many Persian *mesnavi* couplets and Arabic poetry verses in their original script. This either indicates that it was common among the members of the Ottoman elite circles to be as trilingual as Evliya or that Evliya limited his intended audience to the highly educated and scholarly circles, whether they were elite or not.

5.2. Sufi Folk and 'Fanatic' Emotional Communities

Sixteenth-century Istanbul was a cosmopolitan city par excellence, as described in Dallam's *Diary*. A polis for people from all ethnic and religion groups.[47] Toleration in the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire at large was the envy of John Lock and Voltaire.[48] However, this state of social harmony was disturbed during the seventeenth-century. The Ottoman empire was at war with the Safavids and the Habsburgs and this "presented economic and social hardships for both urban and rural populations".[49] It was also a century of dissent among the Ottoman state, the Sufi orders, non-Muslim communities. The state wanted to impose "Sunni orthodox Islam" and this gave rise to fanatic voices in the Ottoman context. Meanwhile the Sufi orders wanted to preserve their heterodoxy tolerant Islam. The severest tug of war was between the fanatic Kadızadeli movement and the Halveti Sufi order.[50]

In several occasions in *Seyahatname*, Evliya distances himself from the religious fanatics. One of these occasions is mentioned in the epigraph of this chapter, when the Khan of Tabriz offered Evliya a cup of wine. The Khan insisted on making Evliya drink the wine and Evliya insisted on

---

47 Nora Lessersohn, **"Provincial Cosmopolitanism"** in Late Ottoman Anatolia: An Armenian Shoemaker's Memoir", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 57 No. 2, (2015): 528–556.
48 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, p. 109
49 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, p. 182.
50 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, p. 183.

refusing to drink. The Khan described Evliya as a "fanatic" [*muta'assıb*] and Evliya rejected the title. He explained to the Khan that he is completely opposite to the fanatics. He does not drink, but he has no issues with the Khan or whoever drinks wine. He practises Islam in a relaxed way. He is a companion to all mankind, he loves God and the Prophet's family.

On another occasion, while in Bitlis in 1656, Evliya was held hostage for more than two months by Abdal Khan, the Kurdish ruler of the city. Evliya was very alarmed at his situation, so he comforted himself by reciting the Qurʿan.

> All we could do was continually recite: *We belong to God, and to Him we shall return* (2:156). […]
> In this fashion I spent another month, in constant agitation, but I kept my feelings hidden. Day and night I busied myself praying and reciting the Koran, reading books of Hadith and the Koran-commentary of Daylami, and discussing matters of the Sharia as far as I was able with the Kurdish ulema. At the same time, I did not want them to think I had become some kind of humourless fanatic [*muta'assıb . . . bi-mezak*]. So when I was in the Khan's presence, or in the company of his sons Bedir and Nureddehir, or with the other tribal chiefs, I would play the clown, joking and jesting, and also would sing different kinds of songs, including *kâr, nakş, savt, zikir, zecel, amel, tasnifat* and mournful *kavıl*. And so they accepted me as one of their retinue. (p. 155-156)

Even in hard situations like captivity, Evliya distances himself from the 'humourless fanatics' [muta' assıb . . . bi-mezak]. In both situations, Evliya announces his rejection of this community and their humourless and petty-minded emotional style. However, Evliya does not say much about who those fanatics were.

The "Humourless Fanatics"

Evliya was not the only seventeenth-century traveller to comment of the fanatics or the "puritanical Kadızadeli movement".[51] The historian Katib Çelebi (d. 1657) criticized the strict Kadızadeli preachers who forced people to comply with the traditions and reject any form of innovation in their lives.[52] This puritanical movement was conservative and was named after its fundamentalist leader, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635). The Kadızadeli preachers created disharmony in the larger

---

[51] Madeline Zilfi, "Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Oct., 1986): 251-269.

[52] Katib Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, G. L. Lewis (Trans.), London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd,1957, p. 90.

multicultural and multifaith Ottoman community. They were at conflict with all religious groups, including the non-Sunni Muslims. However, the "worst conflict occurred between the conservative Kadızadeli and the Sufi şeyhs of the Halvetî order".[53] During this time, the Halvetiyye dervishes and şeyhs close to the decision-making circles of Sultan Murad IV and the Kadızadeli preachers were competing to control the political arena. According to Halil Inalcik, this fanatic movement was a main reason for the decline of intellectual and cultural life in the seventeenth century.[54] He argues that the Kadızadelis were a majority and their ideas dominated the *medreses* and the scholarly life. Even though their influence and dominance is now debated by other scholars,[55] the fact remains that they were an emotional community that coexisted with the Sufi communities.

Evliya's attitude towards the 'fanatics' is justified by one of two reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, Evliya may have belonged to the "Gülşeniyye, a branch of the Halvetiyye" Sufi Order.[56] If so, then his rejection of the Kadizadeli reform movement is justified. The second reason is that part of the rhetorics of Evliya's cosmopolitan self-fashioning mode "as a boon companion of all the sons of Adam" is to reject any form of fanaticism or extremism.

The Sufi Cosmopolitans

Against the fanatic emotional community, Evliya embeds himself in the moderate Islamic thought and the folk Sufi community which value toleration, companionship, and openness to the universe.[57] Within the Sufi discourse, there is a connection between the mystic and all elements of the cosmos. Dreams are another life added to the mystic in his sleep. It is the time when the soul connects to the universe. As Jalal Al-Din al-Rumi says in his *Mesnavi,*

---

[53] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 184.

[54] Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600,* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1973, pp. 179-185.

[55] Khaled El-Rouayheb, "The Myth of the Triumph of Fanaticism in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *Die Welt des Islams, New Series,* Vol. 48, No. 2 (2008):196-221.

[56] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 121

[57] Donna Landry, "Evliya Çelebi and Ottoman Enlightenment". In Oğuz Öcal, *Evliya Çelebi'nin Sözlü Kaynakları*, In Oğuz Öcal (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi'nin Sözlü Kaynakları,* Turkey: Turkish National Commission for UNESCO. 2012, pp. 91-98. Available at <http://unesco.org.tr/dokumanlar/kitaplar/evliya_celebi_sozlu_kaynak.pdf>

> While you're asleep the mysteries are all shown;
> Your heart's a window viewing the unknown.
> The mystic even dreams while wide awake—
> Bow down and feel the ground beneath him shake![58]

Al-Rumi's couplet describes dreaming as a state of awakening for the soul and the heart. It is the state when the mystic is fully connected with the universe, and only mystics can keep up this state of connection even "while wide awake". This state of soul awakening empowers the mystic and makes the earth shake. Previous studies point to examples of dream narratives in different sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman texts, especially biographies and autobiographies.[59] Aslı Niyazioğlu, in her study on a late sixteenth-century Ottoman Sufi biography, points out the significant textual role of dream narratives as a space for constructing emotions and relations. She argues that dreams were textual spaces in which Sufi self-narrators "reveal their aspirations, discuss their problems and cultivate bonds. Dreams were especially significant in the shared worlds of the ulema and the Sufi shaykhs".[60] By looking into the textual evidence found in Ottoman literary sources (dream manuals, dream narratives, and mystical meditations), it becomes clear why Evliya chooses to construct his emotions in this dream so elaborately. In general, dream narratives play a surprisingly prominent textual role in *Seyahatnâme*. Dankoff has surveyed all the dreams narrated in *Seyahatnâme*.[61] He puts forward that Evliya's dreams are not only a display of the elite Ottoman culture which favoured dreams and dream interpretation, but are also very related to his emotional state, as projected in the text: "were certainly elaborated in the telling".[62]

This connectivity with the world includes connection with all the elements of the Earth. Elicitors of

---

[58] Jalal Al-Din Rumi (c.1273), *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book Two.* Jawid Mojaddedi (trans.). New York: Oxford University Press Inc. 2007, p. 131.

[59] Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh. *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies.* Albany: State University of New York Press. 2011; Derin Terzioglu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyazi-i Misri (1618-94)". *Studia Islamica*, No. 94. (2002): 139-165.

[60] Aslı Niyazioğlu, "Dreams, Ottoman Biography Writing, and the *Halveti-Sünbüli Şeyhs* of 16th Century Istanbul". In Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.). *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2010, pp. 243-244.

[61] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, pp: 209-213, a survey of all the dreams in *Seyahatname.*

[62] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 213.

disgust are seen as part of the earthly cycle, as expressed in al-Rumi's *Mesnavi:*

> Earth has the mark of God's great clemency:
> With dung it raises flowers seasonally.
> Thus it will hide our filthy, smelly shit
> And, in return, buds start to grow from it.[63]

A Sufi wayfarer opens himself not only to the cosmos of people and ideas but also to all sorts of human experiences, including the disgusting ones. Evliya's attitude to disgust, as will be further discussed below, projects a major Sufi idea that dirt and filth can only infect the body of the mystic, not the heart.

> The purity of men's hearts is eternal,
> The purity of bodies just external,[64]

Disgust and dirt were part of folk culture; "[s]atire, humour, wit and derision always had an important place in Ottoman literature" especially in genres "like *hecvitat*, *hezliyat*, and *muzhikat*".[65] Prochazka-Eisl points out the link between humour and disgust and how "humour in Ottoman literature was mostly combined with coarse, obscene language full of (homo)sexual innuendos and jokes".[66] Evliya expresses his admiration of Hoca Nasreddin,[67] the thirteenth-century Ottoman popular figure. In Volume III, Evliya visits the tomb of the Hoca in Akşehir

> First, in the cemetery outside the city to the south is buried the scholar of worldly
> and religious matters, Simurgh of Mt. Qaf of certainty, the Skeikh Hoca Nasreddin.
> He was born here in Akşehir during the reign of Gazi Hudavendigar (Sultan Murad
> I, reg.1362-89) and grew up during the reign of Bayezid (I) the Thunderbolt (reg.
> 1362-1402). He was a great saint with many virtues and a ready wit, and displayed
> miraculous graces. [...] The counsels and pleasantries of Nasreddin Hoca are on
> everybody's lips and have become proverbial. (pp 91-92)

Hoce Nasreddin was a Sufi Skeikh known for his humorous, satirical and self-victimizing stories. Nasreddin outlived many of his contemporaries because he made a wise fool of himself.[68] Evliya

---

[63] Rumi, *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book Two*, p. 105.
[64] Rumi, *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book Two*. p. 80.
[65] G. Prochazka-Eisl, "Modernism in Turkish Society as Reflected in the Cartoons of the Satirical Magazine Papagan (1924-1927)", in Urbain Vermeulen, J. M. F. van Reeth (eds.). *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*, Leuven: Peeters Press & Department of Oriental Studies. 1998, pp. 259-272 (p. 259).
[66] G. Prochazka-Eisl, "Modernism in Turkish Society", p.259.
[67] There are several ways of spelling his name.
[68] Seyfi Karabas, "The use of eroticism in nasreddin hoca anecdotes". *Western Folklore,* Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1990): 299-305.

was aware that defaming or victimizing the self in a disgusting joke or fable may do one good in the end.

Both Evliya's dream narrative and the three disgusting stories which will be analysed in this case study, are constructed with resemblance to the folk stories told in coffeehouses or other spaces of casual folk pleasure. As studied by Emınegül Karababa and Gülız Ger, the social pleasure experience in seventeenth-century coffeehouses was an "interpersonal" experience of "companionship and socializing" which entailed "joking, teasing, laughing, performing to friends during conversations, and other entertaining activities".[69] Evliya uses his narratives on his emotions, his dreams, and his disgusting jests, fables, and marvels to bond with his readers and to fashion himself as a cosmopolitan folk Sufi dervish, as will be further explained in the following close textual analysis of four examples of his emotion narratives.

5.3. A Dervish Crying Out '*Might I Roam the World?*'

Rüya is the introductory chapter to *Seyahatname.* It is a dramatization of Evliya's wanderlust. He narrates how his longing to travel has been his passion since his childhood. The narrative frame has four main parts. The narrative escalates through these stages. First, Evliya praises God, Prophet Muhammad and Sultan Murad IV. Second, Evliya moans of his relentless wanderlust in direct emotion vocabulary. He stages how his driving desire to be a world traveller conflicts with his love for his family.

Third, within this conflict, he receives a "divine response", a dream to "comfort" his distressful wanderlust state.[70] This *rüya* is significant for its content and position in the travel book. As Evliya

---

[69] Emınegül Karababa and Gülız Ger. "Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject" *Journal of Consumer Research,* Vol. 37, No.5 (2011): 737-760 (p. 745).

[70] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*. p, 209 and p. 213 respectively.

narrates, he met Prophet Muhammad and a congregation of the latter's companions. The Prophet blessed Evliya and granted him permission to pursue his *Seyahat* (travelling), *ziyaret,* (doing Hajj in Mecca and visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina). Seeing, talking to, and receiving a prophecy from the Prophet in a dream is a rhetorical device to justify his wanderlust. Placing the initiatory *rüya* and the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad at the onset of *Seyahatnâme* may seem merely a logical chronological beginning of Evliya's story. However, this prominent position is more significant than a simple chronology indicates. Reynold suggests that:

> Reading dream narrations inwardly for their contents, however, allows us to perceive only a part of their significance. In autobiographical texts, the placement and deployment of dream narration seems at times more critical than the discourse of the dreams themselves. Why and when did an author include a dream narration in [his text]?[71]

The leading position of the *rüya* in *Seyahâtnâme* projects Evliya's strong attitude towards his dreams; this becomes clear if Evliya is *c*ompared to al-Ḥajarī, who postponed his narrative on his dreams to the last chapter which was added to the later copies of his *Kitāb*. This salient position of the *rüya* suggests that Evliya conceived his travel book as a "coherent and interrelated"[72] work driven from "a common motivation".[73] The *rüya* projects to Evliya's readers how his career as a traveller had started with a dream and ended with a tangible reality embodied in the travel book in their hands. Evliya deliberately organized his text. Indeed, not all travellers put such energy into organizing their texts. Dallam, for example, wrote his travel journal in a spontaneous day-to-day style with no introduction, no subtitles, no headings and, most probably, no intention for publication. The dream narrative is elaborately structured to function as an unconventional ʿauthorial formula', in Peter Burke's phrase. It justifies both Evliya's wanderlust and his motivation to write his *Seyahatname.* Moreover, the dream narrative also functions as a textual strategy for self-fashioning, as will be further discussed below.

---

[71] Dwight F. Reynolds, "Symbolic Narratives of Self: Dreams in Medieval Arabic Autobiography", in Philip Kennedy (ed.). *Defining Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2005, pp. 259-284 (p. 276).
[72] Dankoff and Kim, "Introduction", p. xx.
[73] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality,* p. 6.

Evliya refers to his dream with the term *rüya* (vision). Among other Qurʾanic synonyms denoting

dreams (such as, *hulm*, pl. *ahlâm* or *menam*, pl. *menamat*), *rüya* is a word which denotes truthful

revelations to prophets. His choice is deliberate as it echoes the prophetic *hadith* on the typology of

dreams: "The Prophet said, ʿA true good dream [rüya] is from Allah, and a bad dream [hulm] is

from Satan".[74] Other hadiths distinguish *rüya* as "glad tidings from Allah".[75] Al-Bukhari lists fifty-

nine Hadiths on dreams and dream interpretation. Quite a significant number of these *hadiths* are on

the distinction between *rüya* and the insignificant dreams which are inspired by Satan or the

preoccupations of the self.

In the fourth part of the introduction, Evliya informs his readers about the interpretation of his r*üya.*

He uses the authority of two dream interpreters to urge the readers' acceptance of his *rüya* as

essentially true. In doing so, Evliya intentionally installs the reader as a judge of whether he has

fulfilled his mission, as sanctioned by the Prophet in the *rüya*. The following close textual analysis

points out the discourses and cultural references Evliya uses to construct his wanderlust and longing

for travel. Focus is given to the dream narrative structure and the possibilities it may open for

interpreting the text and the narrator's modes of self-construction. The analysis is linear as it

attempts to follow Evliya's logic in dramatizing his narrative discourse on wanderlust.

5.3.i. Gratitude and Appreciation

Evliya starts his introduction to *Seyahâtnâme* with an acknowledgment of gratitude for his

blessings. He starts with "gratitude be to God", followed by "praise and blessings be upon the

Prophet", and finally gratitude and prayers be for Sultan Murad IV, "the shadow of God on earth"

(p.3). Evliya's gratitude list is parallel to al-Ḥajarī's initiatory paragraph (Chapter 3), except al-

---

[74] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* Volume 9, Book 87, Number 113, <http://www.sahih-bukhari.com/Pages/Bukhari_9_87.php>.
[75] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* Volume 9, Book 87, Number 144, <http://www.sahih-bukhari.com/Pages/Bukhari_9_87.php>.

Ḥajarī does include his parents in the list. This also compels us to reflect on the absence of gratitude to the Queen, the merchants of the Levant company, or the ambassador in Dallam's diary (Chapter 4). The emotion of gratitude, according to the dominant view within historical and cultural studies on emotions, "is conceptualized as a moral affect that is analogous to other moral emotions such as empathy and guilt".[76] It is a prosocial performance, as it arranges and reflects the hierarchy of relationships in society. It is also culture-specific because each culture develops its own linguistic and social rules for expressing and performing gratitude.

In the history of ideas, gratitude has occupied the writings of several European and Muslim philosophers.[77] The Stoic philosopher Seneca thoroughly addressed the topic of gratitude because in his time no vice was "more common than ingratitude".[78] Medieval Christian thinker Thomas Aquinas argued that "a man is not bound to give thanks to every benefactor" because "gratitude is a repayment of an act of grace. But some favors are granted without grace, and are rudely, slowly and grudgingly given".[79] Aquinas's ideas may explain why Dallam made no notice of gratitude to his masters. Both Seneca and Aquinas address gratitude from a religious and social perspective. From the sixteenth century onwards, gratitude became a major topic in many political and economic theories. Moral philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes in England and Samuel Pufendorf in Germany analyse gratitude as an integral part of their theories on political philosophy.[80] However,

---

[76] Michael E. McCullough, Shelley D. Kilpatrick, Robert A. Emmons, and David B. Larson, "Is Gratitude a Moral Affect?", Psychological Bulletin Vol. 127, No. 2, (2001): 249-266; Fred R. Berger, "Gratitude". *Ethics* 85.4 (1975): 298–309.

[77] Edward J. Harpham, "Gratitude in the History of Ideas", In Robert A. Emmons and Michael E. McCullough (eds.), The Psychology of Gratitude, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. pp. 19-36. Available on <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150100.001.0001/acprof-9780195150100-chapter-2.>

[78] Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *On Benefits*. Aubrey Stewart (trans), London: George Bell & sons, 1887, p. 1. Available on <https://archive.org/details/lannaeussenecao00stewgoog>.

[79] Thomas Aquinas (d.1274), *Summa Theologica* (1265-1274), Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Trans.) [Electronic version]. Available on <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.html> and <http://www.basilica.org/pages/ebooks.php>. pp. 2203-2213 (2205)

[80] Harpham, "Gratitude in the History of Ideas", p. 27-28. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* R. Tuck (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1651), 1991; Samuel Pufendorf, *On the Duty of Man and Citizen according to Natural Law, i*n J. Tully (ed.) and M. Silverthorne (Trans.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1991.

Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* gives more attention and focus to the social role of gratitude in political economy.[81] Within Islamic and Sufi thought, "thanking the benefactor" is "a moral virtue" and an essential part of Islamic ethics.[82]

Even though gratitude lists are conventional openings of most, if not all, texts written within Islamic and Western cultures, these statements tell us what early modern travellers were thankful or unthankful for and why. Evliya's acknowledgment of gratitude follows the hierarchy of power as echoed in the Qur'anic verse "*O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you*" (Q, 4: 59). He starts with expressing gratitude to God by uttering the invocation '*besmele'*, a coined term of the phrase (In the name of Allah Compassionate the Merciful) and then '*hemdele*', a coined term of the phrase (Gratitude be to Allah the God of all Creatures). These two phrases are performatives of emotions. The former is asking the compassion of God, the latter is expressing gratitude to God.[83]

> Praise be to god who has ennobled those honoured with worship and travel, and has vouchsafed for me the path to the holy places and shrines. (p. 3)

His praise and thankful prayer for God is due only because God has awarded and facilitated for him to travel to the sacred land i.e. Mecca and Madinna (*sefer erde-ı mukaddes*), to roam the countries (*va seyahat-ı bilâd*) and to visit the shrines *(ve ziyarât)*. In doing this, Evliya slightly violates the convention of writing within Islamic cultures, where the writer should enumerate the blessings and bounties of God. The more bounties the writer lists, the more status he claims.[84] Very often, the writers consider the blessing of being a Muslim is God's utmost bounty. Al-Ḥajarī, for example,

---

[81] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (6th ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press. (Original work published 1790), 1976.

[82] Aron Zysow, "Two Theories of the Obligation to Obey God's Commands", in Peri Bearman, Wolfhart Heinrichs, Bernard G. Weiss (eds.), *The Law Applied:Contextualizing the Islamic Shari'a*, London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2008, pp. 398-421

[83] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p.257; Wadad Al-Qadi, "The Impact of the Qur'an on the Epistolography of 'Abd al-Hamid", in Hawting, G.R. and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān. London*. New York: Routledge. 1993, pp. 285-314 (p. 296).

[84] Dwight F. Reynolds (ed.). *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Traditions*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001, p. 1.

was thankful to God for making him "a Muslim in the lands of the infidels". However, Evliya does not go through his list of blessings; he projects his travels as the only blessing enough to call the praise of God. He also links his being a Muslim with his travel to Mecca and doing the hajj. Travel and being a traveller dominate his reasons to praise the Lord.

Then, Evliya praises Prophet Muhammad.

> May blessings be upon him, who laid the foundations of the fortresses of Sharia (the sacred law of Islam), and established them on the basis of prophethood and *tarîkât* (the mystical path of Sufism), and upon his good and pure family. And may abundant blessings and the most excellent salutations be upon him, the protector endowed with exceptional character, the most noble and perfect creation, the model for prayer who said 'Pray as you saw me', the infallible guide, Muhammed, who spoke Arabic best. (p. 3)

In his praise of the Prophet, he highlights three major traits which may reveal the workings of Evliya's self-fashioning. He praises the Prophet's *tarîkât* or mystical path of Sufism, his outstanding personality, and his ability to speak Arabic. Evliya emulates these traits in his self-presentation in the text. He garnishes his introduction and his writing style with lines from Arabic poetry and Qurʿanic expressions. He shows off his mastery of Arabic language by forming his praise to God and Prophet Muhammad in highly rhythmic rhymed prose using a poetic style, the *saj'*. He maintains the rhyme and the grammatical structure (noun+adjective) in (*tahiyyat zakiet*), (*salavat namiet, tahiret, tayyibet*), (*eşref kâinat*) and (*ekmel mevcudet*).

Evliya gives another reason for praising God and Prophet Muhammad. This reason is also related to the notion of travel.

> In his [i.e. Prophet Muhammad's] honour, God, the Lord of the realms and creator of the heavens, made the earth a pleasant home for the sons of Adam and made them the most noble of all the creatures:
>> Blessed be God, who ordered all affairs by his will
>> *Without oppression, and without injustice!* (p. 3)

In this passage, Evliya reverberates a cornerstone belief in Sufi thought: Prophet Muhammad is the centre of the universe and God created the earth in the Prophet's honour and from the Prophet's

257

light.[85] His vision of the earth as 'a pleasant home' for 'all' human beings with no discrimination is a core idea in cosmopolitanism. Seen from a Stoic cosmopolitan perspective, Evliya describes the earth as a polis for one single universal community.[86] This polis is governed by God's law. Evliya sums up this view by citing a famous Arabic proverb (a couplet by an anonymous poet) on the cosmic order and how the world is run by the justice and wisdom of God to the benefit of the humanity.[87]

After praising God and the Prophet, Evliya prays for and praises Sultan Murad IV (reg.1623 to 1640).

> May blessings be upon the shadow of God on earth and good order of terrestrial things, sultan and son of sultan, Sultan Gazi Murad Khan IV, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan (III), son of Sultan Murad Khan III, son of Sultan Selim Khan II, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, son of Selim Khan I, son of Bayezid Khan II, Son of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror. *May God's mercy be upon them all.*
> May God's mercy be especially upon Sultan Murad (IV), the *gazi* khan, *may his earth be sweet*, the Padishah majestic as Jamshid, the conqueror of Baghdad, with whose service I was honoured when I began these jottings. (p. 3)

Conventionally, gratitude and praise to the sultan is a way for writers to document the date of writing the text. However, Evliya uses such a 'conventional' trope as an emotional and political statement. He dedicates his blessings only to Sultan Murad IV even though he did most of his travelling during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim the Mad (reg. 1640-1648) or Sultan Mehmed IV (reg. 1648-1687). He does not mention either of these two sultans. Dankoff suggests that this is an indirect signal of Evliya's critique of the Ottoman Dynasty. "Evliya rarely says anything negative about the sultan himself, at least not directly".[88] So, dedicating the praise in his text only to Murad IV and disregarding Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Mehmed IV shows Evliya's emotional alliance to

---

[85] Carl W. Ernst. "Muḥammad as the pole of existence", in Jonathan E. Brockopp (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 123-138.

[86] Eric Brown, "Hellenistic Cosmopolitanism", In Mary Louise Gill and Pierre Pellegrin (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy*. Blackwell Publishing, 2006. Blackwell Reference Online. 24 October 2015 <http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631210610_chunk_g978063121061033>

[87] The couplet is documented in many references as "by anonymous" or as "God bless this who said this couplet". The couplet is quoted in M. Al-Mobarakfori (d.1934), *Tohfat al-Ahwazi fi sharh Jami' al-Tirmidhi*. Abdul Wahab Abdul Latif (ed.). 12 Volumes. Cairo: Darul Fikr for Publication. n. d., Vol. 6, p. 334 [In Arabic].

[88] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 106.

Sultan Murad. As Dankoff postulates, that "the death of Sultan Murad after all, that made Evliya come to a final decision about his role in life [i.e. being a traveller]. For we may imagine that the eccentricities of Murad IV's successor Sultan Ibrahim (reg. 1640–1648) made him uncomfortable, and who knows, Evliya also may have been involved in one of the usual intrigues between the favourites of the previous ruler and those of the new one".[89]

Evliya gives his main reason for 'especially' praising Murad, "with whose service I was honoured when I began these jottings" (p. 3). His praise, most probably, comes as an indirect gratitude to his mentor, patron and uncle, Ahmed Melek Pasha, a man of state and close to the network of the Sultan. To augment his praise for Murad IV, Evliya uses several literary and rhetorical devices. He lists the names of the Sultan's forefathers in detail to show off the Sultan's long familial lineage. This indicates both power and nobility (*neseb asil*). He also refers to Murad's military (*gazi*) skills; he compares Murad to King Jamshid, the folk hero in the Persian classic work *Shahnama* (The Book of Kings) by poet Firdawsi in the late tenth century.[90]

Evliya's gratitude opening is relatively shorter and packed close, if compared to al-Ḥajarī's list, for example. This may echo Jalal al-Din Rumi's advice on being economical in showing gratitude. In his canonical book *Fihi ma Fihi* (lit. It Is What It Is) also known as "Discourses of Rumi", Rumi explains his personal "lacking of in gratitude and appreciation for the kindness". He states,

> If I concerned myself with thanking you, granting you verbal honor and praising you, it would be as if some part of the treasure that God has set aside for you was already given, some part of your reward had already been paid.
> Humble attitudes, offering thanks and applause—these are worldly pleasures. But when you have gone to worldly pains such as the sacrifice of wealth and position, how can worldly pleasure be a satisfactory return? Therefore, I do not offer thanks since that reward should come entirely from God.[91]

[89] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. xiii.
[90] Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnama: The Persian Book of Kings*, Dick Davis, (Trans.) and Azar Nafisi (Foreword), New York; London: Penguin Classics, 2006.
[91] Jalal al-Din Rumi, *Fihi ma Fihi (Discourses of Rumi)*, A. J. Arberry (Trans.), Ames, Iowa: Omphaloskepsis, [1961] 2000, p. 198; for a stimulating close analysis of this passage on gratitude from Rumi, see Steffen A. J. Stelzer, "Ethics", in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. pp. 161-179 (p.175-176).

Evliya's selective and compact gratitude list, just like Dallam's empty list, explains that not all initiatory acknowledgments in travel books are conventional. They reflect how gratitude was performed and expressed in their cultures. They can also be approached as statements of the traveller's emotional and political affiliations.

A *Seyahat* not a *Rihlet*

> It was in the year 1041 (1631), in the time of his [Murad IV] reign, that [...] the desire to make extensive travels [*hâtırât seyahat Kubra*] came to mind. (p. 3)

In this passage, there is no basic emotion vocabulary. However, Evliya uses two significant emotion-laden Sufi terms: *hâtırât,* which is translated as ʿdesireʾ, and *seyahat Kubra,* which is translated as ʿextensive travelʾ. Unfortunately, the English words do not convey the culturally specific emotional aspects of these two words. The term *hâtırât* means ʿʿa sudden thoughtʾʾ or ʿʿinspirationʾʾ that springs to one's *hâtır,* i.e. ʿʿone's feelings or frame of mindʾʾ.[92] According to the thirteenth-century Sufi writer ʾAziz ibn Muhammad al-Nasafi, the *hâtır* [Ar. *khātir*] is one receptor of knowledge in the heart and mind of the Sufi wayfarer.[93] Therefore, the *hâtır-ı Rabbani* means that the thought was inspired to the heart by God. With this one word, *hâtırât,* Evliya conveys that his desire to travel is an inspiration and vision in his heart.

The second emotion-laden word is *seyahat,* which is the title of Evliya's text. Evliya rarely uses travel words such as *sefer* or *Rihla,* which were common in the titles of the early modern Arabic, Ottoman, and Persian travel books.[94] These terms were available to Evliya as an Ottoman with a Palace education and advanced knowledge of the Qur'an, *Hadith,* and Arabic and Persian literature. *Seyahat* as a travel vocabulary suggests a set of emotional, rhetorical and cultural denotations. The

---

[92]   The Redhouse Dictionary. Another dictionary meaning for *hâtır* is respect, sake, or consideration.
[93]   N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopedia of Sufis (Central Asia and Middle East)*, New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002, p. 326.
[94]   Robert Dankoff, ʿʿThe Seyahatnâme of Evliya Çelebi as a Literary Monumentʾʾ. *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 2 (2005): 71-85 (p. 73).

three terms *sefer*, *rihla* and *syahat* are Qur'anic terms. They all indicate journeying and travelling.

However, *Seyahat* is interpreted by the Sunni theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d.1350 AD), in

his classical book *Ḥādi al-Arwāḥ ila Bilād al-Afrāḥ,* (The Guide of Souls to the Lands of Joy), thus:

"*Seyahat* has been interpreted with several meanings: as Fasting, as the travel for seeking

knowledge, as Jihad, or as consistent worshiping to god. However, the essence of *seyahat* is the

seyahat of the hearts in *zikir* (mentioning and repeating the names of God), loving, turning in

repentance and longing to meet with God".[95] *Seyahat*, then, is an emotionally laden term; it is the

travel of hearts seeking divine love. It encompasses all the self-fashioning modes which Evliya

meant for himself as a *dervish*, a *gazi*, and a lover of humanity.

The term is also emotional because *Evliya* states that it is his father who chose the name

Seyahatname. When Evliya informed his father of his intention to travel the world, his father

ordered him to do the following,

> Occupy yourself with visiting the graves of the great saints. Record all the shrines that you
> visit; also the stages of your journeys, the lowland plains and the lofty mountains, the rocks
> and the trees. Write down descriptions of the towns and cities, their climates and their
> noteworthy monuments, who built their fortifications and who conquered them, and what
> their dimensions are. Compose a scroll recording all these things, and call it *Book of Travels*.
> (p. 44)

5.3.ii. Relentless Wanderlust

Immediately after this statement of praise, Evliya projects to the reader a direct emotional statement

on how difficult was his strong desire to travel:

> I beseeched the Creator at every moment to grant me health of body, complete journey and
> faith to the last breath, asking myself, "How can I get free of the pressures of father and
> mother, teacher and brother, and become a world traveller?" I was always on good terms
> with heart wounded dervishes and glad to converse with them. And when I heard a
> description of the seven climes and the four corners of earth, I longed to travel with all my
> heart and soul. So I became utterly wretched, a vagabond crying out, 'Might I roam the
> world? Might it be vouchsafed to me to reach the Holy Land, Cairo and Damascus, Mecca
> and Medina, and to rub my face at the Sacred Gardens, the tomb of the Prophet, glory of the
> universe?' (p. 3-4)

---

[95] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d.1350), *Ḥādi al-Arwāḥ ila Bilād al-Afrāḥ,* (The Guide of Souls to the Lands of Joy),
  Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbi, n.d. , p. 62.

Evliya repeats a similar statement at the beginning of Volume II:

> My desire to travel and sightsee, and to visit the tombs of the saints, was satisfied within Istanbul. Still, day and night I longed to gird my loins and set out for the holy land, towards Baghdad and Mecca and Medina and Cairo and Damascus. (p. 35)

These two passages cast Evliya's longing for travel and his driving desire to be (*seyyah-ı âlem*) "a traveller of the world", an identity he attempts to fashion for himself throughout his travelogue. In this quotation, Evliya conveys his emotional state through a prayer to the creator; he poses his desires in the form of rhetorical questions directed at himself (How can I get free? Might I roam the world?). He projects himself as an earnest supplicant waiting for an answer to his prayers. In both passages, Evliya moans of his relentless wanderlust. He uses verbs like 'cry out', 'long to', 'set out'. Evliya uses a rich variety of emotion-charged words and metaphors. He describes himself as a vagabond and a *seyahat-ı taleb ve ragıb.* A *taleb* is a diligent seeker and desirer. It is very often used with *taleb-'ilm* a seeker of knowledge. A *ragıb* is a desirous and eager pursuer of something, it is a derivative of *rağebet,* a strong inclination and desire. Evliya uses these two emotion words to emphasize his devotion in seeking travel.

"Can I get Free of the Pressures of Parents"

To complicate his longing for travel, Evliya foregrounds his inner conflict as a loving son who wants to escape his family commitments to fulfil his wanderlust. He projects travel as a personal act of liberty and puts forward the social cost of fulfilling his aspiration to travel. He repeats the same idea at the beginning of Volume II of *Seyahatname.*

> This humble slave [i.e. Evliya] too wished to perform Hajj pilgrimage and avidly desired to set out on the journey. How, I asked myself, can I get free of the pressures of parents and siblings and become a world traveller? (p. 35)

He asserts how 'family pressures' are inhibiting his wishes to travel and to do the Hajj. Evliya repeats the phrase 'family pressures' without any further elaborations. The reader speculates on the nature of these pressures until Volume II of *Seyahatname,* where Evliya narrates an emotional

episode between him and his father. In this episode, Evliya projects the love and concern with which his father received him after his return from his first journey to Bursa. This journey, as Evliya informs the reader, "was without informing parents or siblings" (p. 36), hinting at the extent of the pressure he was receiving from his family. Evliya narrates how his father received him after this secret journey:

> 'Welcome, traveller to Bursa, welcome,' said my father. But I had thought that no one knew I was gone.
>
> 'Sir,' said I, 'how did you know that I was in Bursa?'
>
> 'On the blessed night of Ashura, the tenth of Muharram in the year 1050 (2 May 1640), the day that you disappeared, I recited *We have given you* (Sura 108, al-Kawthar) 1000 times. That night I dreamt that you were visiting the tomb of his holiness Emir Sultan in Bursa, seeking help from his spirituality, requesting travel and weeping.
>
> 'Also that night several great saints sought my permission for you to set out on your travels. By their grace I granted you permission that night, and recited a Fatiha. Come my son, henceforth you are marked out for travel; May God bless you. [...]
>
> With that he gave me a resounding slap on the back of my neck, twisted my ear, and said, 'Go forth, may your final end be good. A Fatiha!' […]
>
> 'Go forth,' he said, 'you are permitted to go in whatever direction you will;' [...] He kissed my forehead [...] By the grace of god, the eye of the soul of this humble one was opened, a kind of ecstasy overcome me, and I rejoiced, returning to our humble abode. (pp. 42-44)

The conversation projects the 'warm' relation Evliya has with his father. It is a performance of fatherly love and concern. The father expresses his love in the humorous tone at the beginning of the conversation. He expresses his affection by a kiss on the forehead of his son. He also expresses his affection by 'a resounding slap on the back of his neck' and an 'ear twist'. These two non-verbal forms of father-son communication are still practiced in several Islamic and Christian Mediterranean cultures. They are used as either punishment or as attentiveness depending on how hardness of the slap or the twist. The dialogue also projects the son's respect by means of using formal honorific address form of *sultanim,* my sultan or 'sir', and listening to the father's long speech and advice. The father performs his anxiety about his missing son by reciting Sura al-Kawthar, a short chapter in the Qur'an, for 1000 times. In response to his fears, he saw a comforting dream where he knew the place of his son in Bursa and the emotional state of his son's wanderlust.

As is well documented by Dankoff, Evliya belonged to the literati and scholarly elite of Istanbul.[96] His father, Dervish Mehmed Zılli, was the chief goldsmith of the Sublime Porte. His mother was a cousin of Melek Ahmed Pasha, a well-connected servitor of the Ottoman Court. Given this social status, it seems logical that family pressures would become Evliya's only difficulty in seeking to break away. Unlike Dallam, Evliya had no problems with funding and access to resources. Unlike Al-Ḥajarī, Evliya was an Ottoman who had access to all the lands he wished to reach; political conflicts on the borders and security measurements were not an issue.

In this episode Evliya achieves two rhetorical gains: he projects the father-son love relationship and he assures the conservative/conventional reader that he has successfully received the blessings of his father before he started any of his journeys. Most importantly, as will be further discussed in the following section, the dialogue projects the power of dream communication and mysticism in Evliya's family life, i.e. his immediate culture. His father, as projected in the narrative, believes in the power of dreams.

5.3.iii. Evliya's Dream (*rüya*)

Evliya carefully constructs the dream narrative wherein the time, the place, the characters, the events, and the dialogue function as divine signs.

"On the Pillow of Lamentation"

To further dramatize his driving desire and longing to travel, Evliya describes his unrest the night he had his dream with Prophet Muhammad. He was on a "on the pillow of lamentation".

> By God's wisdom- reason for travelling and roaming the land [*hikmet … sebeb seyahat*]- this humble one and poor supplicant full of fault – world traveller and boon companion of mankind, Evliya the un-hypocritical, son of Dervish Mehmed Zilli - always desired God's

---

[96] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, pp. 21-25.

guidance in dreams while praising him abundantly, and sought His succour for a sick heart while reciting Koranic chapters and verses.

So, I lay down on the pillow of lamentation, in the corner of my hovel, in my birthplace Istanbul, to a sleep of wish fulfilment. It was the night of Ashura in the month of Muharram, the year 1040 (10 August 1630), in a state twixt sleep and wake, that I had a dream. (p. 3)

Most of Evliya's self-attributes in this passage come from Sufi semantic repertoire. He uses a rhythmic rhymed description of his state: *Muhlis, hakîr, ve fakîr, ve daimî kesîr taksir, bi riyâ.* (faithful, low, poor humble supplicant, constantly full of fault, and without hypocrisy). Most of the attributes are used in their Sufi sense. They have apparent negative notions (low, humble, poor); however, they refer to the highest state of human subjugation to God. Evliya quite often refers to himself as the *fakîr* (the poor one) or *hakîr* (the humble one), which are conventional synonyms for Dervish. In addition, he names himself with the following titles: (*seyyah-ı âlem),* the world traveller and (*nedim-ı beni-adem*), the boon companion of mankind.

Evliya informs the reader that dreams and dreaming is his way of communicating with God as he "always desired God's guidance in dreams". He suggests that reciting the Qur'an heals his "sick heart"; he calls on the Qur'anic verse "And We send down of the Qur'an that which is healing and mercy for the believers" (Q, 17:82). In addition, Evliya plays on the power of 'night' as a time for heightened emotions for Sufi mystics, and all Muslims in general. Night prayers are supposedly the most sincere ones, where the believer gives up on his sleep and wakes up to talk to God. During this time, all of the creatures on Earth are asleep and only God is awake to listen to those who are praying. Night is the time for uncovering the innermost layer of feelings for a Sufi seeker or a dervish and for conveying a state of complete submission to God. Several Qur'anic verses praise and encourage the practice of night praying, for example, "And from [part of] the night, pray with it as additional [worship] for you; it is expected that your Lord will resurrect you to a praised station" (Q: 17:79).

Evliya is also very specific about the part of the night in which he was supplicating God. He hints to the reader that his supplication was in the last third of the night, i.e. a few hours before the time of the dawn prayers, because he states at the end of the dream narrative that he was "Waking from the sleep of comfort, [...] At Dawn I performed my ablution and the morning prayer". Evliya builds on the prophetic *Hadith* narrated by Abu Huraira: "Allah's Apostle (p.b.u.h.) said, 'Our Lord, the Blessed, the Superior, comes every night down on the nearest Heaven to us when the last third of the night remains, saying: Is there anyone to invoke Me, so that I may respond to invocation? Is there anyone to ask Me, so that I may grant him his request? Is there anyone seeking My forgiveness, so that I may forgive him?'"[97] This particular time of the night is an indicator that his prayers are answered and that the coming dream narrative is essentially true. Not only that, but Evliya refers to the night he had his *rüya* as 'a blessed night'. It was the night of Ashura in the month of Muharram', a sacred day for all Muslims, both Sunna and Shi'ite. It also happens to be Evliya's twentieth birthday (as stated in Ch. 55, Volume I).

In this distressed state, Evliya falls asleep while reciting the Qur'an and invoking God with abundant *zikir* and supplicatory prayers. According to Evliya's narrative logic, God should answer his prayers. This logic is based on the Qur'anic verses in which "a guarantee is explicitly made" that God answers the call of the suppliant (Q. 2:186) and (Q, 40:60).[98] Within Islamic theology and Sufi philosophy, God is obligated to answer our prayers, yet a supplicant has to communicate his prayers to God at a proper time, in a proper place, and with a sincere heart. The more the supplicant watches for these conditions, the faster God answers. Therefore, as explained above, Evliya follows the exact rules of supplicatory prayers. He chose a blessed time for his supplicatory prayers and was in a distressful state in his heart. Therefore, the answer to his prayers was immediate. Evliya shows no

---

[97] Imam Muhammed Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. The Translation of the Meaning of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Arabic-English*. Muhammed Muhsin Khan (Trans.) 9 Volumes. London: Darussalam International Publications Limited. 1997, Available online: <http://www.sahih-bukhari.com/> Vol. 2, Book 21, *Hadith* Number 246.

[98] Atif Khalil, "Is God Obliged to Answer Prayers of Petition (*Du'a*)?: The Response of Classical Sufis and Qur'anic Exegetes", *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2011): 93-109

time-lapse between his distressful state of wanderlust and his *rüya*: he projects to the reader the immediacy of God's response to his affliction to convey a strong divine relation between Evliya, the dervish, and God, and to report the genuineness and sincerity of his prayer. In this respect, he calls on the Qur'anic verses which reflect the instant response of God to his true and sincere believers: "So We responded to him and saved him from the distress. And thus do We save the believers" (Q, 21: 88) and "So We responded to him and removed what afflicted him of adversity" (Q, 21: 84). The intertextuality with Qur'anic verses is to be expected, as Evliya was a *Hafez,* a reciter of the Qur'an.

"A Mosque Built with *Helâl Mal* and Full of Light"

The place where the dream took place is also emotionally significant, as it was a mosque, a sacred space:

> This humble one saw myself in the Ahi Çelebi mosque, near Yemis landing - a mosque built with money lawfully acquired [*helâl mal*], an ancient mosque where prayers are accepted by God. (p. 4)

Evliya reinforces that the Ahi Çelebi mosque where he had his dream is an exceptional place for two reasons. First, it was built with *helâl mal,* uncorrupted money earned by lawful means. This is an indirect suggestion that not all mosques are sacred: some mosques were and are still built. Second, it is the Ahi Çelebi mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Istanbul.[99] Therefore, Evliya has no doubt that his prayers in this mosque are definitely 'accepted by God'. Again, Evliya indirectly suggests that the narrated *rüya* is a divine response to his prayers.

> There were soldiers bearing arms. The door was opened and the light-filled mosque was crowded with luminous congregation, who were busy performing the dawn prayer. It seems that I stood motionless at the foot of the pulpit and gazed in astonishment at this congregation with their beaming faces. (p. 4)

Within this sacred space, the characters in the dream are performing the sacred act of the dawn

---

[99] This mosque was built by Ahi Çelebi ibni Kemal (d.1532), the chief doctor of the Fatih Sultan Mehmed hospital. The mosque was such an important architectural monument that it was restored by the celebrated Architect Sinan at the orders of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (reg. 1520-1566). See John Freely, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, Southampton and Billerica, MA: WIT Press, 2011, pp. 211-213.

prayer. Evliya foregrounds the mystic element of light: 'a light-filled mosque', 'luminous congregation', 'with beaming faces'. Throughout the next narrative episodes, Evliya continues his projection of the element of light. In a Sufi discourse, light is divine, because light is one of the ninety-nine sacred names (descriptions) of God in Islam. Mevlânâ Jalal Al-Din Rumi describes God as the main source of light.

> The light that lights the eye is also the hearts Light;
> The eye's light proceeds from the Light of the heart;
> But the light that lights the heart is the Light of God.[100]

Evliya describes his emotions by pointing out his bodily reaction to seeing all this divine light. He was 'motionless', 'gazing in astonishment'.

Sa'd, Bilal, and Prophet Muhammad

In the dream narrative, Evliya bonds himself, through direct dialogue, with three main characters: Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, "one of the Ten Promised Paradise, the patron saint of archers" (p. 4), Bilal the Ethiopian, the caller to prayer of the prophet and the patron saint of *müezzins*, and most importantly, (3) with Prophet Muhammad. The first two characters echo Evliya's self-fashioning roles as a *gazi*, a *hafez,* and a *müezzin,* and the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad establishes Evliya as a traveller of the world.

The main dialogue in the dream is between Evliya and Sa'd. Evliya starts the conversation by performing the due respect to Sa'd in action "I kissed his hand" (p. 4). Then he asks Sa'd about the congregation:

> 'And who, good sir, are the lovely congregation immersed in light on this right side?'
>
> They are the spirits of the prophets. In the row behind them are the spirits of the saints and the pure ones. And these are the spirits of the companions of the prophet, the Emigrants (from Mecca), the Helpers (in Medina), the people of the Bench (*Arbab-ı Suffa* - a group of pietists during lifetime of the prophet), the martyrs of Karbala, and the friends. Those to the right of the prayer niche are Abu Bakr and Umar; those to the left Uthman and Ali. The man in front of the prayer niche wearing a cap is Uways al-Qarani, the prophet's brother in this world and the next. The dark-skinned man at the left wall of the mosque is Bilal the

---

[100] Jalal Al-Din Rumi (c.1273), *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book One.* (trans.) Jawid Mojaddedi. New York: Oxford University Press Inc. 2004, p. 34.

> Ethiopian, your patron saint and the caller to prayer of the prophet. The short-statured man who groups the congregation into rows is Amr Ayyar al-Zamiri. These soldiers marching with the standard, whose garments are dyed red with blood, are Hamza and all the spirits of the Martyrs.'

> Thus he pointed out to me the entire congregation, one by one as I gazed at each in turn, I held my hand to my breast, nodding in acquaintance, and I found my soul refreshed. (p. 4-5)

The list of the congregation encompasses all the companions of Prophet Muhammed. Evliya, as a 'boon companion to all sons of Adam', does not neglect the spiritual leaders of any Islamic denomination. He encompasses *mezheb hürriyeti* or freedom of faith. He describes it as '*Islambol*' which means "Islam-plenty" (p. 123), one of the names that Evliya likes to use in describing Istanbul as full of different shades and hues of Islam.

In response to seeing this congregation, Evliya describes his emotions by describing his body reaction (gazing eyes, holding hands to breast, and nodding head). This visual description conveys to the reader Evliya's emotional state or 'soul refreshment'.

Looking Forward to the Prophet

Sa'd continues his conversation with Evliya and gives him instructions on how to perform in the presence of the Prophet.

> Now the Prophet is coming to perform the morning prayer. With him are Hasan and Husayn and the rest of the Twelve Imams, and the rest of the Ten who were Promised Paradise. He will signal you to begin the call for prayer. So cry out loud, *God is great*. After the salutations, recite the Throne verse (2:225). Bilal will repeat, *Glory be to God*, and you, *Praise be to God*. Bilal will repeat, *God is great*, And you, *Amen Amen*. The entire congregation will join in to profess His unity. Then after you say, *And blessings upon all the prophets and messengers, and praise be to God, Lord of the Universe*, rise immediately and kiss the Prophet's hand while he is sitting in the prayer-niche. Say, *Intercession, O messenger of God*, and make an appeal.'

> Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas gave all these instructions while sitting at my side. What should I see next? (p. 5)

Evliya fashions himself as a *müezzin* through the authority of Sa'd. Despite the presence of such high-ranking spiritual leaders and the presence of the prophet's official caller for prayer, Bilal the Ethiopian, the Prophet will choose Evliya to lead the call for the prayer. Evliya is also assigned the role of a Quran reciter. In this part, Evliya projects his skills as a *Hafez* and a *müezzin* of a special

rank who is worthy to perform in the presence of the Prophet and his congregation. Evliya ends the passage with a rhetorical question to the reader "what should I see next?". He stimulates the reader's imagination, as if no reader would expect that the Prophet would really appear to Evliya.

Here Comes *"Light upon Light"*

Evliya's excited narrative tone escalates in the episode when the Prophet arrives in the setting of the dream narrative. The episode is deliberately staged; it is recounted at great length with dramatic effects.

> A clear light broke through the door of the mosque. While the inside had already been filled with light, it was now *light upon light* (Q, 24:35). All the noble Companions and the spirits of the prophets and the saints rose to their feet and stood ready. The Prophet appeared felicitously at the foot of his green standard, with face veiled, staff in hand and sword girded at his waist. Hasan stood on his right and Husayn on his left. He placed his right foot inside the light-filled mosque, uttering, *In the name of God*. Then he removed the veil from his face and said, *Peace be with you, my community [ümmeti]*. The entire congregation replied, *And with you be peace, messenger of God, Lord of religious communities [seyyid ümmem]*. The prophet at once advanced towards the prayer-niche and performed the two prostrations of the Dawn prayer. (p. 5)

The element of light plays a role in the episode. Evliya uses a Qur'anic reference to The Light, i.e. God as reflected on the Prophet so it is 'light upon light'.[101] As mentioned earlier, it is a commonly held belief among Muslims, and Sufis in particular, that the Prophet is the reflection of God's light on earth. He embodied the primordial light. The Prophet's facial expressions are reported to convey a state of *tatmin,* satisfaction, and happiness. Evliya reports to the reader his emotional state when he saw the Prophet.

> This humble one [hakîr] was overcome with fright and my body trembled, yet I was able to observe all of his features. They were just as described in the Hilye (on the Prophet's physiognomy, completed 1599). His veil was of crimson Kashmir cloth. His turban was a white Arab-style turban with twelve bands. His mantel was of camel hair, yellowish in colour. On his neck was a yellow woollen shawl. On his feet were yellow boots. And a toothpick [misvak] had been stuck in his turban. (p. 5-6)

Evliya reflects his feelings of fright through a bodily experience. Having a prospect on the reader's

---

[101] Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "Light", in Coeli Fitzpatrick and Adam Hani Walker (eds.), *Mohammed in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God* (2 volumes), Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO. 2014, pp. 344-348.

mind, Evliya confirms the reader that his emotions only influenced his body, not his brain and he 'was able to observe' all of the Prophet's features. He gives a graphically detailed description as he expects his implied audience to be curious about everything related to the Prophet. Evliya describes the Prophet's dress style in terms of colour and material. He even refers to the Prophet's *misvak*, an equal to our modern-day toothbrush or toothpick.[102] There are many narratives on Prophet Muhammad "using a toothpick (before ritual ablutions and before prayer)" ; there are also many *hadiths* "in which he explicitly recommends the practice to the Muslims".[103] Evliya attended to the *misvak* in the Prophet's turban.

However, Evliya avoids writing down or articulating the physiognomy of the prophet in his text. Most likely he does this to avoid any conflict with any of his audience, particularly the more strict Muslim groups who may object to the physical description of the Prophet. Instead, Evliya indirectly refers the reader to a secondary source, namely the *Hilye-ı Şerif,* a seventeenth-century literary genre on the physiognomy of the prophet. *Hilye* is a verbal description of Prophet Muhammad's physiognomy and qualities in specific and highly artistic calligraphic form.[104] One may speculate that Evliya does not quote or reproduce any of the descriptions in the *Hilye* in order to avoid any areas of conflict with his readers on matters related to the Prophet.

The dramatic staging of the dream narrative escalates when Evliya performs the call for prayer.

> After the salutations, the Prophet looked upon this humble one [i.e. Evliya], struck his right hand on his knee, and commanded me to begin the call. I started immediately, according to Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas's instructions, by intoning in the *Segah* musical mode, *May God bless our Lord Muhammed and his family and grant them peace*, and completed the call with *God is great*. Then the Prophet, in the same mode and with a mournful voice, recited the *Fatiha* and followed it with the decade of verses beginning: *We gave Solomon to David, and he was a good faithful servant* (38:30). The entire congregation listened, the Prophet leading them

---

[102] *Misvak* [Ar. Miswak or Siwak] is an offshoot of a small Arabian tree called Ārāk in Arabic. See Fatin Nur Majdina Nordin et al., "A Review on the Sunnah of Miswak (Salvadora Persica) and Its Potentiality to Improve Oral Health", *Revelation and Science*, Vol. 02, No.01 (2012) 33-41; Akhter Husain and Salman Khan, "Miswak: The miracle twig", *Archives of Medicine and Health Sciences* Vol 3, Issue 1 (2015): 152-154.

[103] Robert Gleave, "Personal piety", in Jonathan E. Brockopp (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 103-122 (p. 113)

[104] See the definition of Holeyer in M. Uğur Derman, *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection*, Istanbul. New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995, pp: 34-37. Published in English and Turkish.

in prayer. After the salutation, this humble one recited the Throne verse. Bilal repeated, *Glory be to God*, and I, *Praise to God*. Bilal repeated, *God is great*, and I did the call for prayer in sequence with Bilal. Following the benediction there was a royal *tevhid* that made me drunk with divine love, as though I had just awakened from sleep.

To sum up the dream: I completed my duties according to Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas's instructions. The Prophet recited *Ya Sin* (sura 36) in the *Uzzal* musical mode with a doleful voice, *al-Nasr* (sura110) three times, and the *Mu'avvizeteyn*. Bilal recited a *Fatiha*. (p. 6)

Evliya projects his skills as a *müezzin* and his capability of raising the *ezan,* the call for prayer. He projects his knowledge of the Eastern musical modes used to call for the prayer (*Segah* and *Uzzal*). He demonstrates his skill in duet performances with the Prophet and with Bilal. After this recitation, Evliya describes his mystical emotional state of *fena*, divine annihilation as being 'drunk with divine love'. The metaphor of mystical drunkenness is very common in the Sufi poetry of Jelal eldin Rumi and Hafez; it represents the mystical climax of the connection to the divine. "Sufi authors developed the semantic fields of wine and intoxication, of the divine beloved's devastating beauty".[105] After the Sufi ritual of '*tevhid*', in which the mystics engage in a "rhythmic repetition of some word (often Allah or one of the 99 names of God) or phrase (such as "God is supreme"), and often entails controlled breathing",[106] Evliya reached an emotional state of mystical drunkenness.

Reciting the Qur'anic verses which Evliya refers to in his *rüya* are performances of emotions: *al-Fatiha* (Q,1), the *Throne* verse (Q, 2:255), *Ya-Sin* (Q, 36), commonly known as the Heart of the Qur'an, *Al-Nasr* (Q, 110), *Mu'avvizetern* (Q, 113 and 114). He is asked to recite the Throne verse, a very special *Âyet* for the Sufis. "Sufis have typically gravitated toward those texts that provide greatest insight into the divine-human relationship. Texts such as the Throne and Light verses, particularly weighty for all Muslims, have evoked some elaborately symbolic exegesis".[107] It is probable that Evliya refers to these verses and chapters for their significance in Sufi meaning or *têvil*, interpretation.[108]

---

[105] John Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*. Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2009. p. 157.
[106] Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism,* p. 198.
[107] Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism,* p. 193.
[108] Jamal Elias, "Ṣūfī *tafsīr* Reconsidered: Exploring the Development of a Genre". *Journal of Qur'anic Studies,* Vol.

"Your Loving and Faithful Servant, Evliya"

The climax of the dream narrative is the moment when Evliya directly talks to the Prophet.

> As the Prophet rose to his feet in the prayer niche, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas at once lay hold of
> my hand and brought me before him [the Prophet] saying, 'Your loving and faithful servant,
> Evliya, begs your intercession.'
> He told me to kiss his blessed hand. As I shamelessly put my lips on that blessed hand, out
> of awe and dread, instead of saying ' Intercession [*şefa'at*], O messenger of God!' I said,
> 'Travel [*Seyahat*], O messenger of God!'(p.6)

Evliya projects a consciousness of the paramount moment of meeting the Prophet, a moment that

supposedly his readers are looking forward to in their dreams while alive and eventually in Heaven

after death. In this moment, when a Muslim meets Prophet Muhammad, *Cennet*, paradise,

forgiveness, and salvation are very often the expected requests a true Muslim should ask for.

However, 'out of awe and dread', Evliya asks for *seyahat* instead of *şefa'at*. Evliya admits to the

reader that after all this was a 'shameless' act. Evliya suggests that this slip of the tongue is only

justified by his most sincere emotion, longing for travel, which preoccupied his heart and mind.

> The Prophet smiled and replied, 'My intercession and my travel and my pilgrimage, may
> God give you health and well-being.' He recited a *Fatiha*, and all the noble companions
> recited it after him. (p. 6)

Finally, his intention to become a *seyyah-ı âlem* is granted along with 'a smile' from the Prophet.

The Prophet also grants him a *Ziyaret* (pilgrimage) to the tombs of the Muslim saints, which is one

of Evliya's main motivations for travel at all. The Prophet is projected as a loving person who

perceived and acknowledged Evliya's emotions and his relentless state of wanderlust.

"I Kissed the Hands of Everyone Present"

At this narrative juncture, after Prophet Muhammad has left the scene, Evliya adds a 'heavenly'

touch to his narrative. He further enhances the mystic atmosphere; he gratifies the senses of his

readers by references to smell and [imagined] colours and shapes of flowers.

> I kissed the hands of everyone present in the assembly and received each one's blessing.
> Some of their hands smelled of Musk, some of ambergris, some of hyacinths, some of roses,

some of sweet basil, some of wild basil, some of violets, some of carnations. But the scent of the prophet was of blooming saffron rose. And when I kissed his right hand, it felt as if it had no bones and was soft as cotton. The hands of Abu Bakr had a scent of melons, Umar's of ambergris, Uthman's of violets, and Ali's of jasmine; the hand of Hasan smelled of carnations and that of Husayn of white roses. May God be pleased with them all. (p. 6-7)

Evliya uses the reader's senses of smell and vision to project a sensuous experience. Finally, his state of lamenting and 'beseeching God' is transformed into a heavenly *cennet*, garden. He takes advantage of the symbolic and cultural meanings of flowers and aromatic substances in seventeenth-century Ottoman culture. Evliya does not state the meaning of these flowers. However, the floral symbolism in early modern Ottoman culture is found in lyrical poetry and mystical literature, as well as in the accounts of European travellers to the Ottoman Empire. Musk, for example, is one of God's rewards to the true believers in heaven (Q, 83:26). Roses were believed to represent Prophet Muhammad, as reported in the letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, a Flemish diplomat in Istanbul (1555-1562). Busbecq observed that the Ottomans "do not allow rose-leaves to lie on the ground, because they think that the rose sprang from the sweat of Mahomet, just as the ancients believed that it came from the blood of venus".[109]

By referring to all these flowers, Evliya connects himself to a reader who appreciates gardens and thinks of them as reflections of heaven on earth.[110] He turns the hands of the spiritual congregation into an imagined garden of flowers and fragrances in which Saffron represents the hands of the Prophet. Most probably Evliya is referring to the wild saffron flower.[111] Pierre Belon du Mans, a

---

[109] Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*. In Charles Thornton Foster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell (eds. and trans.), New York: Cambridge University Press, Vol.1, Letter I, p. 111

[110] Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005; Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black and Mehmet Kalpakli, *Ottoman Lyric Poetry: An Anthology*. University of Washington Press, 2006; Mike Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. New York: Three Rivers Press. 2001.

[111] Evliya is not referring to the Saffron spice extracted from the Crocus flower. He is referring to the wild Saffron flower. Philip Miller in his early eighteenth-century dictionary on plants and herbs explains the difference between two species of Crocus. The first one is the *Crocus Officinalis or* "Autumnal Crocus". It is a cultivated flower blooming in the autumn. It is the source of the Saffron spice. The second specie is the *Crocus Vernus* or "Spring Crocus". It is a wild flower. It is ornamental. See Philip Miller (1691-1771), "Crocus", in his *The gardeners dictionary: containing the best and newest methods of cultivating and improving the kitchen, fruit, flower garden, and nursery, as also for performing the practical parts of agriculture, including the management of vineyards, with the methods of making and preserving wine, according to the present practice of the most skilful vignerons in the*

French herbalist who travelled throughout the Ottoman empire (1546-1549), noted that "among others [Ottomans] think highly of wild saffron, not only for its smell but because it delights the eye, and also because it has a beautiful cluster of flowers, almost like an artificial flower, and because its leaves seem to be linked with the flower".[112] By means of 'kissing the hands' of the Prophet and then the congregation, Evliya performs a conventional act among most Sufi orders to reflect the 'hierarchy' in mystical knowledge.[113] Finally, after Evliya kisses the hands of the congregation, the prophet concludes the prayer session, he reads the *Fatiha* and salutes the congregation who, in their turn repeat the *Fatiha*, give Evliya 'various benedictions' and leave the mosque.

Initiating the Spirit of Evliya

The dream setting becomes empty, except for Evliya and Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas.

> Only Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas removed his bow-and-arrow case from his waist and girded it on mine, uttering God is great.
> 'Go forth,' he said. 'Perform the gaza with bow and arrow. Be in God's protection and safety. And receive these good tidings: Of all the spirits you met in this assembly and whose hands you kissed, you are vouchsafed to visit their tombs. You will be a world traveller and unique among men. The well-protected kingdoms through which you pass the fortresses and towns, the strange and wonderful monuments, and each land's praiseworthy qualities and products, its food and drinks, its latitude and longitude- record all of these and compose a marvellous work. Make use of my weapon and become my son in this world and the next. Do not abandon the path of truth. Be free of envy and hatred. Pay the due of bread and salt. Be a faithful friend but no friend to the wicked. Learn goodness from the good.' Having finished his counsel [*nasihat*], he kissed my brow and departed from the mosque. (p. 7)

The performativity of this episode simulates the 'spirit initiation' ritual of announcing a new Sufi seeker into the Sufi order or the Sufi life. For a reader with a European background, the Sufi initiation ceremony resembles, in its performativity, the chivalric ceremonies of medieval knights. Arguably, Sa'd's advice, in its imperative mood, represents a chivalric and ethical code for Evliya. The code is a deliberate text wherein Evliya constructs himself via Sa'd's words as a *gazi* and a world traveller.

several wine countries in Europe, together with directions for propagating and improving, from real practice and experience, all sorts of timber trees. London : Printed for the author and sold by John and Francis Rivington ... [and 23 others], 1768, pp. , PDF Available on <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/541#/summary>

[112] Pierre Belon du Mans, *Travels in the Levant: The Observations of Pierre Belon du Mans (1553)*. Alexandra Merle (ed.) and James Hogarth (trans.), Kilkerran, UK: Harding Simpole. p. 470.

[113] Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, p.108.

Within Sufi discourse, "'Spirit initiation' can occur through dreams or visions, when an important Sufi from the past appears to an individual and confers on that person the cloak of initiation".[114] In the above performance, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas plays the role of the initiator of Evliya's spirit as a Sufi traveller and his advice to Evliya is the oath of bond (Ar. *bay'a*, Ott. *biat*). The bow and arrow of Sa'd are the symbol of initiation. Different orders use different symbols of initiation such as cloaks, hats, jackets, belts. "In any case, the garment represents authoritative incorporation into a Sufi lineage, and sources as early as the third/eighth century spoke of donning the cloak as an indicator that an individual traveled a distinctive spiritual path. Eventually various orders may have used different kinds of cloaks to distinguish different ranks within the organization".[115]

In Volume II of *Seyahatname*, Evliya uses a similar initiation ritual to construct himself through the words of his father (p. 43-44). His father performs the role of the initiator who hands Evliya the initiation symbol, several Islamic canonical books. The scene is very performative, dramatic and loaded with emotion-charged words and body gestures.

"Waking from the Sleep of Comfort"

Even though Evliya has carefully constructed a self-explanatory dream narrative whereby all of the signs in the dream straightforwardly lead to one, and only one, interpretation, he shows a concern that his readers may not have got it:

> Waking from the sleep of comfort, I was in a quandary, uncertain whether it was a dream or reality or a true vision. As I pondered, my mind was at ease and my heart filled with joy. (p.7)

His emotional state before the dream, "laying down on a pillow of lamentation", has completely changed to the opposite state, "waking from a sleep of comfort". Evliya indirectly presumes the doubts of his readers, 'whether it was a dream or a *rüya* (true vision)'. So, to answer this question which may have arisen in any reader's mind, Evliya has sought the help of two dream interpreters.

---

[114]   Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, p. 120.
[115]   Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism*, p.63.

The first interpreter, *mu'abbir,* has construed Evliya's *rüya* as glad tidings.

> At Dawn I performed my ablution and the morning prayer, then crossed over from Istanbul to Kasımpaşa and consulted the interpreter of dreams, Ibrahim Efendi, who gave these good tidings, 'You will be a globe trotter and world traveller. Your journey will be sealed with a good ending. You will be admitted into paradise by the intercession of the Prophet.' And he recited a *Fatiha.* (p. 7)

The second *mu'abbir* has given a more detailed reading of Evliya's *rüya.*

> Next, I went to Abdullah Dede, the sheikh of the Mevlevi convent in Kasımpaşa. I kissed his hand and again related my vision. He told me, 'Since you have kissed the hands of the twelve Imams, you will be a champion in this world. Since you have kissed the hands of the Ten Promised Paradise, you will enter paradise. Since you have kissed the hands of the first caliphs, you will have the honour of conversing with all the Padishahs in the world and will be their boon companion. Since you have beheld the beauty of the Prophet, kissed his hand, and received his blessings, you will attain happiness in both worlds. Following the counsel of Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, do your utmost to chronicle our dear Istanbul; then you will surely obtain the lot that is decreed for you, in accordance with the dictum, *What is destined will happen'.* (p. 7)

Evliya shifts the narrative tone from being directly emotional to being indirectly authoritative. He heightens his authorial power and explicitly gives the reader 'the' interpretation of his *rüya*. He confirms the reliability of his *rüya* by reverting to the spiritual and religious authority of these two dream interpreters. They are introduced to the reader as scholarly figures: 'trustworthy' and unbiased, men of religion, one of them is a Sufi *Mevlevi shaykh*. Both interpreters agree on one meaning of the *rüya*: Evliya is 'a traveller of the world', 'a champion in the world' and eventually he will enter Paradise. Evliya's *rüya* is not enigmatic, at least for a reader with an Islamic background; however, he uses the religious authority of these two interpreters to assure the reader that his dream is a significantly true vision. With such an authoritative tone, Evliya ends his introduction and moves on with his travel narratives. He installs his audience as a judge as to whether he has fulfilled his mission as sanctioned by the Prophet.

To conclude Evliya's discourse on his wanderlust, as pointed out in the analysis, Evliya has constructed his wanderlust in three narrative steps. First, he has paved the way with a direct emotional statement to create the circumstances for his dream narrative. Second, he has employed

the genre of dream narrative as a literary tool to extend the textual space for his emotions and his self-representation. Third, he has practised his authorial power to dictate the interpretation of his dream to his readers. The introduction, in its three parts, functions as a 'mirror text' where the readers are informed about the end of Evliya's life story. "When the mirror-text occurs near the beginning, the reader may, on the basis of the mirror-text, predict the end of the fabula".[116] Evliya's effective emotions, as they appear in the introductory *rüya* (vision/dream), help in interpreting and unfolding the meaning of the *Seyahatnâme* and his self-fashioning intentions in (or while) writing such a monumental travel book.

He has constructed his wanderlust by incorporating various discourses from his cultural context including the Qur'an verses, *Hadith,* Sufi prayers and supplication. He stages his distressful state using emotive language (such as repetition of emotion-charged words and metaphors, rhetorical questions and prayers to God). Even though he draws on rather conventional vocabulary and ideas within Sufi discourse, he has enlivened these conventions and made them tell with his readers on an emotional and spiritual level simultaneously. In the dream narrative, Evliya announces his emotions in almost every narrative event by describing his emotions and their effects and reflections upon his body.

He has employed the dream narrative genre to create a textual space of symbolic self-representation. Evliya has created a dream of sacred signs; the time, the place, the participants are all connected in a deliberate and systematic web of symbols. The tempo of his narration is relatively fast and dramatic. His events are staged with theatrical effects: light, sound/music, smell and colours which play on the reader's senses. Most importantly, he has made a deliberate effort to construct his dream narrative according to the cultural conventions, beliefs, rituals and traditions of dreams and dream interpretation in Islam. His narrative literally follows the decorum of *Rüyada*

---

[116] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 3rd ed. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. [1985] 2009, p. 62.

Fıkıh: how a Muslim should act when s/he has a dream, whom a Muslim should consult when s/he has a dream.

To construct his *rüya* as a good tiding from God (*rüya-ı* sadıka, *sâliha*), Evliya depends on time, space and the authority of the characters that appear in his dream. He goes to great lengths with the minute details of his actions. For example, he recites the *Fatiha* after every event and after the speech of each character; he assures the reader that he is careful with his ʿablutionʾ and prayer times; he uses his right hand to do things. With such a web of ʿsacredʾ signs and performative gestures, Evliya constructs a true *rüya* from God, not a *hulm* from Satan. The presence of the Prophet in the dream serves well the purpose of influencing his audience. The Prophet's blessings and prophecies are basic to Evliya's construction of his self-image. Evliya shows an awareness of the prophetic *Hadith* stating: ʿWhoever sees me in a dream has indeed seen me, for the devil is incapable of assuming my formʾ.[117] Through these narrative tools and allusions to *Rüyada Fıkıh*, Evliya plays on the culture of dreams which was widespread among his implied audience (Ottoman Muslims, mostly with a Sufi background). The symbols and signs in his dream legitimize his claim that he is ʿthe traveller of the worldʾ and makes his *Rüya* narrative sound essentially true.

The dream's narrative scheme is a remarkable strategy of emotional self-fashioning. Evliya fashions himself through the spiritual authority of the Prophet and his congregation. He masks his own self-construction as a *seyyah*, a *müezzin* and a *gazi* in the words of the Prophet, Bilal, and Saʾd. Evliya features his dream as a critical junction in his mystical path of travel as a *seyyah*. His dream narrative serves the textual functions listed by Reynolds (2005): ʿto communicate the author's justification of earlier actions, to affirm his spiritual or intellectual status, [...] or, less, frequently, to serve as portents of the futureʾ.[118] Moreover, Evliya's dream narrative is deliberately constructed to

---

[117] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* Volume 9, Book 87, *Hadith* Number 122. <http://www.sahih-bukhari.com/Pages/Bukhari_9_87.php>.

[118] Reynolds, ʿSymbolic Narratives of Self: Dreams in Medieval Arabic Autobiographyʾ, p. 276.

impress the readers and confirm Evliya's self- representation as a passionate world traveller.

Evliya sums up his self-image as follows:

> If someone were to inquire, "O Evliya, it is true that you are a world traveler and boon-companion to mankind; but how is it that you know so much about every city?" I would reply, "I, your humble servant, have been eager for travel ever since childhood. In a dream I was given leave by God's messenger to perform visits of pilgrimage to the saints and the prophets. And so for the past forty-one years, as I traversed all the well-guarded kingdoms, I associated with their officials and their old and knowledgeable men, inquiring the conditions of each city. I checked many court records and evkaf documents, and noted down all the endowments, along with their dates. This has been my practice, and it has given me solace".[119]

Evliya's image as a passionate traveller of the world which most readers receive from

Seyahâtnâme is to a large extent the result of Evliya's narrative discourse. By positioning the

dream at the introduction of Volume I, reprising it at the onset of Volume II, and referring to it on

several occasions, Evliya installs the reader as the judge of whether he has fulfilled his mission, as

sanctioned by the Prophet. He projects his life as a goal-directed journey which has started with a

ʿlegitimateʾ desire in a dream and has ended in the hands of the readers with the present ʿtangibleʾ

achievement, the *Seyahatname*.

5.4. Disgust in Jests, in Marvels, and in Fables

Another hypercognized emotion in *Seyahetname* is disgust. In many of his narratives, Evliya

portrays the disgusting acts of his characters. For example, when he was in Bitlis, he tells about his

encounter with Haydar Kethüda, who during their conversation,

> cleared his throat with an 'Ah-tu' and spat out a wad the size of a mullet-oyster, which spattered over the princes and myself. He made some disdainful remarks
> and kept mumbling, 'The princes didn't return my greeting,' then went 'Ah-tu' and spat again, raining saliva over the stone tiles and over Bedir Bey. (p. 146-147)

In another story, he describes how a Kalmyk Tatar magician used his excrement and piss as tools of

süfli büyü ve sihir, black spells and magic, to freeze the Kuban River and help the Muslim troops

---

[119] Quoted in Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality,* p. 193.

cross the river.

> The first thing he did was to loose a shower of piss at the front of a tall tree. Then he bared his buttocks -- excuse the expression -- and turned to face the open air. Standing up he took some excrement from his anus, put it in his mouth, then did three somersaults on the snow, returning to the pile of his excrement he put both hands on the ground, raised his feet into the air and braced them against the aforementioned tree. He stirred up his excrement with his left hand and rubbed some on his forehead with his finger. (pp. 270-274)

Even more, as will be illustrated in this section, Evliya imbeds many jests, fables, marvels, and anecdotes which mainly revolve around faeces, urine, and disgusting food. Dankoff and Kim have included many of these stories in their selected translation.

What is Disgust?

Disgust, according to many scholars, is one of the six basic and universal emotions (happiness, sadness, disgust, surprise, anger, and fear). All human beings express it with relatively the same facial expressions and somatic reactions.[120] However, disgust is also extremely variable across times and cultures. In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas observes that revulsion towards certain foods is very cultural: "Thus even now we see that certain foods are looked upon with disgust in some countries, while people partake of them in others".[121] So even though all humans may experience disgust, each culture or subculture defines and organizes disgust according to its norms and religious beliefs.

Previous studies on disgust have focused on the components and nature of *disgust.* Many theorists argue that disgust should not be treated as a single emotion. William Ian Miller has classified disgust into two types. Miller argues that "THE REALM OF THE DISGUSTING is a remarkably inclusive one. It contemplates disgust at all kinds of offensiveness, whether these have their origins

---

[120] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals,* London: Fontana Press, 3rd ed.1999; Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, "Constants across Cultures in the Face and Emotion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1971): 124–39..
[121] Aquinas, Summa Theologica, p.1450.

primarily in touch, smell, or taste; or whether they be understood as more complexly moral and aesthetic".[122] Accordingly, the first type of disgust is the physical, sometimes referred to as the ʿprimary', the ʿcore' or ʿpure' disgust, and the second type is the ʿcomplex' or the ʿ(socio)moral' disgust.[123] Other theorists have added more sub-categories to these kinds of disgust.[124] Both moral and physical disgust are a cultural and historical construct. However, few scholars have objected to this classification, arguing that the use of the word *disgust* to express a reaction against moral violations is only a poetic and metaphorical ʿlay' usage.[125]

In addition, anthropologists of emotions have identified the most general ʿelicitors of disgust'. With cultural variation taken into consideration, these elicitors very often "come from nine domains: food, body products, animals, sexual behaviors, contact with death or corpses, violations of the exterior envelope of the body (including gore and deformity), poor hygiene, interpersonal contamination (contact with unsavory human beings), and certain moral offenses".[126] These domains cover both the elicitors of moral and physical disgust.

Besides the focus on the components and nature of disgust, several studies have addressed the sociocultural and political functions of disgust. Disgust is a very strong socio-political tool; it "reinforces boundaries and reproduces demarcations and categories".[127] Societies and political parties use moral or physical uncleanliness to set their rules of exclusion and inclusion. They very often stigmatize other subgroups or communities as disgusting in order to erect social boundaries.

---

[122] William Ian Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press. 1997, p.109 (Capitals are in the original).

[123] Spike W. S. Lee and Phoebe C. Ellsworth. "Maggots and morals: Physical disgust is to fear as moral disgust is to anger", in Johnny R. J. Fontaine, Klaus R. Scherer, and Cristina Soriano, *Components of Emotional Meaning: A sourcebook*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 271- 280 (p. 272)

[124] Other theorists add two more categories such as animal-nature and interpersonal disgusts. See: Paul Rozin, Jonathan Haidt, and Clark R. McCauley. "Disgust". In Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (Eds.), *Handbook of Emotions,* New York: Guilford Press. 2008, pp. 757-776 (p.759-763).

[125] Robin L. Nabi, "The theoretical versus the lay meaning of disgust: Implications for emotion research", *Cognition and Emotion*, Vol. 16, No.5 (2002): 695-703.

[126] Rozin, Haidt, and McCauley, "Disgust", p.757.

[127] Sinan Antoon, "*Sukhf*, Scatology, and Society". In his *The Poetics of the Obscene in Premodern Arabic Poetry*, Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. pp. 125–134 (p. 126)

Sinan Antoon calls this approach "scatology as a symptom" or an "interface" to the profound structures in societies.[128]

To illustrate Evliya's discourse on disgust, the textual analysis in this section focuses on three examples from *Seyahatname*. The selection was limited to the stories which have been translated into English by Dankoff and Kim. The first story is a comical adventure. While Evliya was busy defecating, he entered a battle with an infidel soldier. Evliya plopped into his own faeces and the blood of the infidel. The story is narrated with a mixture laughter, foolishness, and disgust. In the second story, a Circassian villager invited Evliya to a meal of honey which was full of hair. Evliya ate the honey, thinking that it was a goatskin hair. After he had finished his meal, he discovered that the honey was from a beehive occupying the corpse of the villager's dead father. The hair in the honey was the father's pubic hair. The third story is another defecating adventure in the privy of a mosque in Egypt. A beggar opened the door on Evliya and asked for alms. Evliya gave the beggar some faeces in his hands. Later, Evliya found out that the beggar was a Sufi pole testing Evliya's tolerance of the poor.

In these three stories, Evliya employs many of the above-mentioned elicitors of disgust such as faeces, blood, privies, corpses, contact with unclean persons like beggars and villagers, sexual behaviours, etc. The narratives revolve around these disgusting objects; without them, the stories become neither adventurous nor comical but simply ordinary stories, unworthy of telling. The textual analysis of Evliya's narratives investigates disgust as a dyad emotion: physical and moral. This view helps to better unfold the complexity in Evliya's narrative and language of disgust. The three stories in this section have been selected to exemplify the co-occurrence of moral and physical disgust in the same narrative. The analysis points out how the moral and physical disgust in

---

[128] Sinan Antoon, "*Sukhf*, Scatology, and Society". In his *The Poetics of the Obscene in Premodern Arabic Poetry*, Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. pp. 125–134 (p. 127)

Evliya's stories interlace to serve several textual functions: to break laughter, to nauseate, and to preach to his readers.

These stories on disgusting acts and objects in *Seyahâtnâme* are unconventional. Judging from the previous two case studies in this thesis, the like of these stories do not appear in al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb* or Dallam's *Diary*. Moreover, they are very frequent in the text. The atypicality and recurrence of these disgusting stories and comments raise several questions on their textual, literary, and sociocultural meanings. The following analysis argues that these narratives tell us about the norms of politeness and proper social conduct in the seventeenth-century folk and courtly Ottoman cultures. They also give insight into the limits of Evliya's cosmopolitan emotional style. These scatological or disgust narratives explain how the different Ottoman communities constructed the borders of their toleration. Also, they unfold how Evliya's distanced himself from the ʿhumourless fanatics' and negotiated himself between the linguistic and cultural boundaries of the folk and the courtly communities in his context.

Vocabulary of disgust

There are several Ottoman Turkish terms which express the basic emotion of disgust.[129] Most of these terms are Qur'anic words. For example, *işmizaz* (Ar. *ish.maʿazzat*) literally means ʿshrink with aversion". It occurs once in the Qur'an (Q, 39:45). There is also the word *nefret* (Ar. *nufūr*), which is more frequent, with several meanings of aversion, loathing, disgust, and sometimes hate/dislike. This term appears several times in the Qur'an (Q, 17:41). Finally there is *istikrah* (loathing, aversion). In the Qur'an, all these words (*işmizaz, nefret, istikrah*) appear as moral disgust terms. Ironically, in many contexts they are used to describe how non-believers feel about God, Prophet Muhammad, or religion. For example, ʿ*And when Allah is mentioned alone, the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter shrink with aversion, but when those [worshipped] other*

---

[129] Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English dictionary.

than Him are mentioned, immediately they rejoice" (Q, 39:45). Also, *"And We have certainly diversified [the contents] in this Qur'an that mankind may be reminded, but it does not increase the disbelievers except in aversion"* (Q, 17:41).

There are other terms which describe the ʿelicitors of disgust' such as *tiksinme* (nausea, to be sickened), *istifraǧ* and *kay* (vomiting), *gait* (faeces, human excrement); *necaset* (Ar. *najas*) is an umbrella term for all and any kind of filth. He also uses the Qur'anic verse which includes the term *rij's* (abomination, impurity), as quoted in the epigraph of this chapter. Most of these terms occur in medical and judicial discourses. Evliya uses the medical terms *istifraǧ* and *kay* (vomiting) when he is describing medical procedures. For example, in Sabil Allam plain (in Egypt), Evliya saw a stone that had medical powers. "Its medicinal property is that if a man holds it in both hands, he immediately becomes nauseous and starts vomiting, and the nausea does not let up until he lets go of the stone. It effectively purges the stomach of all yellow and black bile" (p. 402). However, in his narratives on disgusting experiences, i.e. non-medical contexts, he uses the word *kusa* (throw up, puke), as will be shown in one of the stories in this chapter.

His variation in the vocabulary of disgust reflects his view on how Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman languages serve him with the vocabulary which he needs to communicate himself. He writes,

> To be sure, there is an old saying that *Arabic is eloquence, Persian is elegance, Turkish is an offence, and all other languages are filth*. But the Venetian tongue is the sweetest of them all. (p. 167)

He also attends to the vocabulary of disgust and obscenity in other languages. He argues that these vocabularies are very essential for any traveller.

> The following are foolish expressions, but the traveller needs to know them since he might be the object of cursing or a beating: *hak mut* Eat shit! *tıkifşatı támu* I'll fuck your mother *tıkifşatı şoke* I'll fuck your wife *tı pirişte bıhund* I'll fart in your nose *tıkifşatı büthı* I'll fuck your ass *iç kıvırdım* catamite, pimp.
> In short, when dervishes are travelling, they should know such expressions as well, so that

they can avoid trouble by not going to places where they will be abused. (p. 180)

Evliya uses the word filth in two senses: religious/moral and material/bodily. He describes the vices of "backbiting and slander, adultery and fornication and pederasty, usury and wine drinking" as "the filth of this world" and that people have to "cleanse themselves" and "wash their hands" of this filth (p. 241).[130] He also uses *filth* in a material sense to refer to excrement and to describe objects such as "filthy corpse", "filthy faces", "my filth", etc. Very often in his construction of disgust, Evliya uses references to Islamic jurisprudence discourse on *necâset*, filth and *teharet*, cleanliness.

5.4.i. Disgust in Jests: Evliya the Shitty Martyr

The first story, in Volume 6, is a scatological joke in which disgust gives rise to comedy and embarrassment. This story, according to Evliya's chronology, happened in 1661 during the Ottoman military campaign against the Habsburgs in the Principality of Transylvania (Ott. Erdel).[131] In that year, the Ottoman army succeeded in its siege of Seykel Tabur[132] under the commander Ismail Pasha, governor of Buda. The title of the story is "*A strange and comical adventure, a wondrous and foolish gaza*" (p. 173). It suggests to the reader that the story is worth telling because it is strange. The title guides the reader to focus on the humour in the narrative but not the disgust.

> This adventure happened to your humble servant. If it is bad manners to relate it, I hope to be covered with the skirt of forgiveness. (p. 173)

---

[130] Evliya made this comment when he was at the Stephan Church of Vienna. He admired the paintings which depict images from hell. Each image evoked Evliya to recite several verses from the Qur'an, particularly the ones which describe the horrors of hell.

[131] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsyonu-Dizini*, Vol. 6, ed. Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. 2002, pp. 35-36

[132] The Székelyhíd castle in the Dependent Principality of Transylvania which is modern-day Romania. During the early modern period, both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs were competing over the rule of Transylvania. In 1552, the Ottomans, under the reign of sultan Suleyman, took control of Transylvania and turned it into a vassal state. But, in the years 1660-1664, the Habsburgs occupied two castles in Transylvania: the Kolozsvár (Turkish: Kolojvar) and Székelyhíd (Turkish: Sekelhid). In Volume 6 of *Seyahatname,* Evliya reports on the Ottoman military campaigns to win back these two castles. See Peter F. Sugar, "The Principality of Transylvania", in *A History of Hungary,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990, pp. 121-137; Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*. London: I.B.Tauris. 2004, pp. 76-78.

Before Evliya starts his narration, he asks for the reader's forgiveness for the 'bad manners' in the narrative. This apology shows Evliy's awareness of the proper social conduct and the norms of his readers. He positions his narrative between rejection and acceptance, as he is not sure if he will be forgiven; he only hopes for it. Taking the risk of rejection, he continues his narrative.

> After the battle, heeding the call of nature I retired to a lonely spot, loosened my drawers and was busy relieving myself when, from a thicket just above my head, I heard a rustle and a snap. Before I could determine what this noise meant, all of a sudden an infidel soldier, fearing for his life, hurled himself from a low rock just above my head and landed on top of me, so that I plopped right into my own filth [*necâset*]. I had been holding on to the rein of my horse, but the horse started and stood off at a distance. For a moment I lost my wits: there I was, topsy-turvy with that infidel, my belt and drawers swimming at my feet and my clothes all covered in shit [*boḵ*]—I almost became 'the shitty martyr' [*boḵlu sehìd*]. (p. 173)

Evliya begins the narrative with a detailed sketch of himself during the act of defecation. The setting of the scene is such a quiet 'lonely spot' that the narrator could hear any 'rustle and snap'. Evliya calls on the reader's experience of how 'busy' such a moment can be. He gradually raises the anticipation in the scene by playing on the reader's imagination of what the 'rustle and snap' coming out of the bushes could be, especially if the source of the mysterious crackling sound is directly above the head of the narrator. He speeds up the narrative tempo and tells the reader the source of the sound: the most threatening and fearful source ever, an infidel soldier. To indicate the unexpectedness of such a threatening event, Evliya uses adverbials several times, such as 'before I could determine the source of the noise'', 'all of a sudden', 'for a moment, I lost my wits'.

In the above passage, Evliya starts the narrative with a polite language. He uses euphemistic forms. For example, he refers to the act of defecating as 'heeding the call of nature' and refers to his faeces as *necâset* – as Dankoff and Kim translate it, 'filth'. *Necâset* literally means impurities, and is a jurisprudential term which refers to anything that brings about the uncleanliness of a Muslim. The term, in its Islamic *fikih* context, covers a range of elements such as faeces, urine, menstrual blood, and semen, among other things. Touching any of these *necâset* necessitates that a Muslim either

287

washes his/her whole body, *gusül*, or washes parts of the body, i.e. perform an ablution, *abdest*. Washing away the *necâset* brings the Muslim back to his/her state of cleanliness, *taharet*

The battle between Evliya and the infidel soldier is narrated with a sense of humour. Evliya directly defames himself and invites the reader to laugh at Evliya's idiotic moves. The comedy comes from his caricatural description of himself 'plopping into his *necâset'* and being in a messed-up state where his clothes are all covered with *boķ*, shit. The infidel soldier's clumsy moves are also source of laughter. The scene brings forward the incongruity of being a *gazi* warrior, fighting an infidel soldier while defecating and being bottom-naked, his belt and drawers swimming at his feet and his clothes all covered in shit. To break the joke, Evliya has to use a lower vulgar term, *boķlu*, shitty. As mentioned above he uses Qur'anic or Arabic words for elegance and Ottoman for offence, so he has started the narrative with the term *necâset* and ended it with the slang Ottoman word for faeces *boķlu.*

Evliya coins a humorous oxymoronic term *boķlu sehìd* through the incongruity of a Qur'anic term which refers to the respectable status of the 'martyr', s*ehìd,* and a vulgar term which refers to faeces, *boķlu*. Evliya, as a *hafez* and a Sufi dervish*,* holds respect to the concept of martyrdom. For example, he mourned the "several hundred of our brave *gazis* [who] quaffed the sherbet of martyrdom from the goblet of this world and their spirits wafted to the gardens of paradise" (p.185). However, the joke on the "shitty martyr" subverts the discourse of martyrdom which very often was, and still is, abused by militant fanatic and fundamentalist groups. What makes this interpretation possible is his comment on the arbitrary use of the word martyr among the Kalmyks. When they get tired of an old sick man in their tribe "They cook him a fat sheep's tail and stuff it into his mouth, forcing him to consume it entire. In this fashion they put him to death, saying that he died a martyr" (p. 254). Evliya's joking about himself as a *boķlu sehìd* sharply demarcate him

288

from the 'humourless fanatics'. The oxymoronic term is subtle. It either means a martyr who died because of his shit, or a martyr who died in his shit.

The narrative continues to project Evliya's skills as a warrior, a *gazi*.

> Thank God, I recovered my wits and wrestled with that infidel like Mahmud Pir-Yar-i Veli (The patron-saint of wrestlers) until I was on top. Baring my dagger, I stabbed him several times in the neck and breast, then cut off his head. By this time I was soaked in blood as well as in shit, and I had to laugh, seeing that I had become (*boķlu*ca gàzì) 'the shitty *gazi*'. (p. 173)

In this passage, Evliya projects laughter as a possible response to his experience of disgust. In this episode, Evliya experiences two types of *necâset:* 'soaked in blood as well as in shit'.[133] However, as he say "I had to laugh". This is an example of what Miller, in his *Anatomy of Disgust*, describes it as a "revulsion by laughing in disbelief".[134] The fear from a very near death at the hands of the infidel soldier, and the happiness to see himself a successful *gazi* have cancelled the expected revulsion. The episode is also narrated with a sense of pride. Evliya shows off how his wit and wrestling skills flipped the balance of power between him and the infidel soldier and brought about a courageous victory. The description of the battle may sound violent for a modern reader, but for a warrior fighting an infidel soldier in the battlefield such a description is his rhetorics of courageousness and pride. In parallel to the previous episode, Evliya coins another incongruous oxymoronic for himself, 'the shitty *gazi*' or *bokluca gàzì*. This time it means a victorious *gazi* even with his shit.

Evliya further elaborates the adventure and extends the narrative of "This wondrous and foolish *gaza*". Another unexpected character appeared to him in the 'lonely spot' and disturbed his 'heeding the call of nature'.

> I used the dagger to wipe the shit off my clothes, then began to draw my drawers together

---

[133] Within Islamic *fikhi* discourse, there is a debate on whether blood is *necâset* or not. Opinions vary on the source of blood (animal or human), the parts of the body from which the blood comes out, etc.

[134] Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*. p. 118.

when suddenly a brave youth came panting to the rock above my head and said, "My friend, I was chasing that infidel whom you just killed through the mountains. Fearing for his life he hurled himself on top of you and you cut off his head. Now that head belongs to me!" I was still tying up my drawers. "Well," I replied, "take this head," and I showed him my little brother who was born together with me (i.e. my penis).

"What an ill-mannered man you are," said the elegant fellow and, despairing of the head, he went his way. (p. 173)

The event adds more of a sense of drama and humour to the narrative. Evliya is trying to restore some of his cleanliness by 'wiping the shit off his clothes'. In this passage, we can possibly read an example on moral disgust, or at least moral judgment on Evliya's vulgar language. The 'brave' and 'elegant fellow', addressing Evliya in a decent polite language, claims the head of the infidel soldier. Evliya responds in a vulgar manner showing off his private parts. He plays on the word 'head' as a synecdoche for the head of his penis. Evliya lets the character in the event speak what may come to the reader's mind: 'what an ill-mannered man' Evliya is. Evliya on many other occasions in *Seyahâtnâme* requires no instance of personal offence in order to speak of his 'little' penis and his impotence (p. 366). Obscenity and vulgarity is one of the elicitors of moral disgust. The elegant man, as described by Evliya , expressed his abomination of Evliya's vulgarity by leaving the narrative scene. Evliya again defames himself and distances himself from the proper 'elite' code of conduct.

In the next episode, Evliya concludes his victorious *gaza* by telling the reader of the booty which he won from the infidel. Evliya goes through the shit on the infidel's clothes to discover his spoils of war.

As I was pulling off the infidel's filth-spattered dolman with its silver buttons, and his drawers, I discovered 105 Hungarian gold pieces and 1 ring and 40 Thalers in his waistband. Putting these items in my saddlebag I mounted my horse—his name was Hamis– and deposited the head before Ismail Pasha.

"May the enemies' misfortunate heads always roll like this one," I said, kissed his hand, and stood at attention. Those next to me moved off because of the smell.

"My Evliya," said Ismail Pasha, "you smell strangely of shit."

"Don't ask, my lord, what calamities have befallen me!" And I recounted my adventures blow by blow. (p. 173-174)

Evliya directly goes to the commander of the army Ismail Pasha, the governor of Buda. Evliya announces his pride in killing an infidel in a theatrical performance by means of kissing the hands of the governor, reciting a prayer against the enemies of Islam, and standing at attention. To keep the sense of humour in the narrative, Evliya brings disgust back to his narrative. Evliya informs the reader on the reaction of the witnesses to the event, those standing next to the narrator. They, as described by Evliya, were experiencing a disgusting smell. Their reaction is expressed by their body movement away from Evliya, the source of the smell, and by a direct question from Ismail Pasha, 'Evliya, you smell strangely of shit'. Therefore, Evliya narrates the story that the reader already knows to the audience in the narrative.

> All the officers at that victory celebration laughed uproariously. Ismail Pasha too
> was tremendously pleased. He awarded me 50 gold pieces and a silver turban-crest,
> and I cheered up considerably. (p. 174)

Evliya does not want to lose face, and his story has to prove funny; therefore, the characters in the narrative, subjected to the shitty smell, are projected as laughing at Evliya's disgusting adventure. Evliya is encouraging the readers to see the humour and to overlook the disgusting 'bad-mannered' mannerisms in the story. In the narrative, humour evolves from the unusual experience of an elicitor of disgust. Evliya embeds this story to amuse the reader with a 'disgusting joke' narrative and to fashion himself as a funny fool, or as Dankoff suggests 'the Falstaffian' Evliya.[135] The humorous story about disgust adds a different tone to the travel book; it gives the reader a break from the passages of description and historical narrative in *Seyahatname*.

In this example, Evliya himself does not display his revulsion at his own faeces. He project the experience as not only funny and foolish but also victorious and financially rewarding. However, he reports how the characters in the narrative judged him as physically and morally disgusting. Evliya was the butt of the joke. The characters in the narrative who are described as 'elegant' and of high

---

[135] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 142.

army positions directed their disgust at Evliya for his vulgar and obscene mannerism. Disgust, even though it is tagged along with humour, has created a boundary between Evliya and the ʿelegantʾ milieu, and it also distanced Evliya ʿthe shitty martyrʾ form the ʿhumourless fanaticsʾ.

5.4.ii. Disgust in Adventures: The Pubic Hair Honey Meal

The second example on Evliya's narratives on disgust is a story in Volume VII. The title of the story is "A strange adventure" in which Evliya narrates an unpleasant food experience.[136] The story happened during his journeys in Circassia and the lands of the Tatars. Evliya starts the narrative with a formulaic oath that the story is true.

> God is my witness that this took place. One day we were guests in a certain village and the Circassian who was our host wished to do a good deed. He went outside where he tarried a while. When he returned he brought a dinner-spread made of elk skin, also a wooden trough — like a small vault or portico full of honey and other troughs with cheese and pasta. ʿEat, O guests, may it be permitted, for health of my father soul,ʾ he said. (p. 253)

Evliya vaguely defines the setting of the story. The place is ʿa certain villageʾ and the time is ʿone dayʾ. According to Dankoff, Evliya has identified this village in a previous narrative, which is not included in Dankoff and Kim's selected translation of *Seyahtname,* as the Circassian village of Bozodok.[137] Although Evliya uses the plural pronouns ʿweʾ, 'our', 'us' throughout this narrative, he never mentions the other character(s) joining him in the actions. The first scene is designed to give the readers all the clues to build positive expectations. The event is normal and narrated with a positive tone about the Circassian host.

Evliya introduces the host as a hospitable villager with good intentions as he ʿwishes to do a good deedʾ; the host is generous enough to offer them variety of food ʿhoney, cheese and pastaʾ. However, Evliya raises the doubts around the Circassian by commenting on the long time he has

---

[136] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsyonu-Dizini*, Vol. 7 ed. Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. 2003, pp. 285-286

[137] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 60.

taken to bring them the food: ʿhe tarried for a while'. At this narrative point, after Evliya's positive

introduction of the host, the only speculation that comes to a reader's mind is that the host is doing

his best to bring Evliya and his company all the foods possible. Later, the reader will understand

better. The host invites them to the food, praying that ʿmay his food is *halal,* permitted'; obviously,

the host who is not Muslim is aware of the Islamic laws of food. He also prayed that the blessings

of his food goes to the soul of his late father. So, Evliya also gives the readers a gesture that the

host's father is dead. The villager's familiarity with the Turkish language and Islam is justified by

the historical fact that Circassia and the Ottoman empire were allies in the early modern period.

In the second scene Evliya raises the tone of suspense in the narrative. Something is wrong about
the food.

> We were starving, as though we had just been released from Ma**'**no**g**lu's prison, and we laid
> into the honey so fast that our eyes could not keep up with our hands.
> But the honey was full of strange hairs which we kept pulling out of our mouths and placing
> on the spread.
> ʿEat,' said the Circassian, ʿthis my father honey.'
> Our hunger having abated, we continued to eat the honey at a slower pace, separating out
> the hairs.
> Meanwhile Ali Can Bey, a native of Taman in the Crimea, came in.
> ʿWhat are you eating, Evliya Efendi?' he said.
> ʿJoin us,' I replied. ʿIt's a kind of hairy honey. I wonder if it was stored in a goat skin or a
> sheep skin.' (p. 253)

Evliya starts the eating scene by giving an important reason why he has indulged himself with the

meal. He ʿwas starving'; he even exaggerates his feeling of hunger; he was too hungry to care about

a few hairs in the honey. The host also encourages them to eat more. The more they eat, the more

the final scene of the narrative becomes disgusting funny. A new character appears on the scene, Ali

Can Bey, one of the elite friends of Evliya. The dialogue between Ali Can and Evliya is a typical

conversation in a culture that values hospitality. It seems from Ali Can's question that asking people

ʿwhat are you eating' is not a rude question. Evliya's guesses on the nature of the hair in the honey

also raise the readers' expectation and curiosity to know the story of the hair.

After these speculations and detailed description, the food disgust is revealed and the punch-line of the joke hits the reader.

> Ali Can, who knew Circassian, asked our host where the honey came from. The Circassian broke out weeping.
> 'I took from my father's grave,' he said.
> I understood the words, but didn't quite grasp the import. Ali Can explained: 'Last month his father died and he placed the corpse in a box on a branch of the big tree in the courtyard outside. Honeybees colonized the area around the groin and penis. Now, as a special favour, he has offered you honey with his father's pubic hairs. These are the hairs you have been separating out while eating the honey. Rather than excrement of bee, eat excrement of old man!' Ali Can said this and went out. (p. 253-254)

In this scene the reader realizes that part of the misunderstanding between Evliya and his host comes from a language barrier. The host does not speak Turkish well and Evliya does not speak Circassian at all. Dankoff draws the attention to the fact that part of "[t]he humor of the story is compounded by this Circassian's barbaric Turkish (or rather, Tatar), an element difficult to convey in the translation".[138] Evliya recorded the grammar and accent of the non-native-Turk speaker as such. The mystery of the hair is resolved in the presence of a native speaker of Circassian, Ali Can. The hair is the pubic hair of a dead person. Evliya constructs disgust in this scene through the voice of Ali Can. The description is dense with references to several elicitors of disgust: corpse, groin, penis, pubic hair, excrement. Amidst all this disgust, Evliya projects the Circassian host as a simple-minded villager 'weeping for the mentioning of his dead father'. He thinks that feeding Evliya the honey of his father is a special favour.

The last event in the narrative comes as a description of Evliya's physical disgust.

> I followed him, with my gorge rising and my liver fairly bursting. "What kind of trick has this pimp of an infidel played on us?" I cried. Then what should I see? Our Circassian host also came out, climbed up the tree where his father was and refastened the lid of the coffin box, all the while weeping and eating the horrible honey. When he descended from the tree, he said: "Hadji! When want honey I bring you much father soul honey. Just say prayer." This was certainly a strange and disturbing event. (p. 254)

In the 'shitty martyr' narrative Evliya has responded to the experience of his own faeces with

---

[138] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 60, footnote 37.

laughter. However, in this story Evliya experiences both physical and moral disgust. The physical disgust from eating food full of pubic hair of a corpse. His response shows on his body, ʿmy gorge rising and my liver fairly bursting'. He has also expressed his moral disgust by showing anger at his host. Although Evliya projects his host as generous, hospitable and considerate, at the moment of his anger, Evliya calls his host ʿpimp' and ʿinfidel', who is ʿplaying tricks'.

The reader receives another punch-line when Evliya answers his rhetorical question, ʿ*Then what should I see?*'. The host on the tree ʿweeping and eating the horrible honey' is an episode that provokes sympathy towards the son's sorrow over his dead father, yet it provokes both moral and physical disgust as well. Evliya leaves the reader shocked with the good intentions of the Circassian villager who repeats the offer of ʿbringing much father soul honey' and only asks for ʿa prayer' in return. In this narrative, Evliya brings a tragic event into the disgusting humour. The reader is left to decide in which frame of mind they want to perceive the narrative.

One possible interpretation to this ambivalence in Evliya's representation of the Circassian villager may come from a study by Paul Freedman. Freedman surveyed the representations of medieval peasants in Europe in different literary genres (poetry, romance, histories, and sermons).[139] Freedman concluded that medieval Europeans of the upper classes often portrayed the villagers as more genuine and "closer to God"[140] but at the same time "base, filthy, and stupid",[141] "surrounded by excrement and dirt symbols of unpleasant natural productivity and of the uncontrollable body",[142] and "laughable, reverse moral typification of bad manners and gross customs".[143] Freedman's observations help illuminating an important aspect in Evliya's story; Evliya portrayed the Circassian villager as an elicitor of moral disgust. This shows the limits of Evliya's

---

[139] Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant,* Stanford University Press, 1999.
[140] Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant,* p. 2
[141] Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant,* p.133.
[142] Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant,* p.153.
[143] Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant,* p. 173.

cosmopolitanism. The Circassian was also degraded when Evliya recorded his 'barbaric' Turkish.

The question of Turkish language competency sheds light on how Evliya's cosmopolitanism had to

happen on his terms and in his language. Physical and moral disgust, as well as language, have

reinforced a boundary between Evliya as an Ottoman and the Circassian as an Other.

5.4.iii. Disgust in Fables

The third and last example on Evliya's discourse on disgust is a fable in which excrement plays a

symbolic role. The story is titled "My Adventure", in Volume X of *Seyahatname*.[144] Evliya narrates

what happened to him in the bathroom of the Sultan Hasan's mosque in Cairo, Egypt. The narrative

comes in four scenes. The first scene briefly refers to the place of the narrative:

> One day I went into the latrines at the mosque of Sultan Hasan in order to answer the call of
> nature [*tekâzâ -yı hâcet*]. I shut the door and was going about my business when some
> fellow opened the door, stuck in his hand and asked me for alms. Since I was just wiping
> myself, I spared nothing but gave him whatever was in my hand.
> '*May God increase your, excrement*', he said and went away. (p. 413)

The story starts by indicating the place of the events; it is the privy of a monumental Mosque in

Cairo built by the Mamluk Sultan Hasan (reg. 1347-1351 and 1354-1361). The date of the narrative

is unknown, ʿone day', but the time of day is roughly around one of the Muslim's five prayers. The

narrative's title *sergüzeşt* "My adventure" indicates the unusual events around which the story

evolves. The narrative opens with a scene of Evliya in a bathroom in order to *tekâzâ -yı hâcet*,

literally meaning to fulfil a natural need; it is a euphemism for ʿto defecate'. The expression is

mostly used in juridical discourse. The story opens with Evliya ʿgoing about his business', i.e.

defecating. Evliya to the reader that he was careful enough to ʿshut the door', as a cataphoric

reference to the reader that privacy is an issue around which the conflict in the story evolves.

Unexpectedly, Evliya's privacy was invaded by an intruding fellow who pushed the door and asked

Evliya for alms, *sadakât*. Evliya jumped to the conclusion that the fellow is a beggar. Evliya

---

[144] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi: İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar 5973, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 *Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsyonu-Dizini*. Vol 10. ed. Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. 2007, p. 278.

impulsively put whatever was in his hands (i.e. his excrement) into the hand of the beggar. The

assumed-to-be beggar responded to Evliya with a prayer *zâdekallâh necâseteküm,* May God

increase your filth or excrement. The impulsive and impudent reaction of the narrator may be

shockingly disgusting for some readers, and may be funny for others. Evliya's language does not

suggest one of these two effects over the other. However, the way in which the narrative develops

suggests that Evliya encourages the reader to laugh, then regret it at the end of the story.

The second scene is reported by Evliya; he left the privy and went to the courtyard to *tecdîd-i vuzû,*

renew his ablution.

> I finished wiping myself, went out into the courtyard to renew my ablution, then re-entered
> the mosque. (p. 413)

The scene is very brief, but it is an example of how Evliya is careful to project his observance of the

Islamic rituals of cleanliness, *taharet*. Evliya, after defecating and touching his excrement, must

perform ablution to regain his state of *taharet,* cleanliness, which is a necessity for entering the

mosque and performing the prayers. The scene also slightly describes the architecture of the

mosque. The mosque has a privy and a courtyard with an ablution fountain (water source). He does

not give much attention to his habit of describing mosques or monumental buildings because the

story is meant for another purpose.

The third scene is a dialogue between Evliya and one of his close friends in Cairo. The narrator and

his friend are negotiating the incident of the bathroom according to the rules of proper social

conduct.

> After performing the prayer, I happened to see a friend and told him what had happened.
> ʿAre you crazy?' he said. ʿMay God reform you! Does one put excrement in the hand of a
> man like that?'
> 'Well,' said I, ʿdoes a man like that open the door of the latrine, while the person inside has
> his privates exposed, and demand money, saying *Something for God?'*
> "Was he a man of blessed aspect,' he asked, ʿwith a yellow beard, of medium height, a flat
> forehead and a round face like a Tatar?"

297

'Yes,' I replied, 'One with a Tatar face and a yellow beard.'
'O cruel one!' he said. 'That man is the Pole (i.e., chief of the saints) of Cairo *[kutbudur]*. He was testing you by showing up that way in the latrine. Why did you look at him scornfully (*hakaretle nazar*) and put excrement in his hand? And he uttered a benediction, saying, '*May God increase your excrement*.' Be very wary of him.' (p. 413)

The friend is projected as an unbiased third party. The discussion between Evliya and his friend gives two views on the issue of privacy and the proper conduct in dealing with the poor. The friend commented on the inappropriateness of Evliya's behaviour, calling him 'crazy' and 'cruel'. He prayed for God 'to reform' Evliya. Responding to such criticism, Evliya argued that it was mainly the beggar's mistake. Evliya argued that it was inappropriate of the beggar to mention the name of God in the bathroom and to intrude and see people's private parts. The friend, who was not present at the unexpected event and did not see the beggar, gave an accurate description of the beggar. He opened Evliya's eyes to see the reality behind the appearances: the fellow was not a beggar and not an ordinary; he was a Great Sufi Pole, a *Kutub*. He warned Evliya that this Sufi's prayers would come true. The role of the friend in the narrative is to comment on Evliya's 'cruel' inappropriate behaviour and to reveal the reality of the 'beggar' in order to shock Evliya and the readers.

In the last scene, Evliya projects the consequences of his 'rude funny' action. He and his readers at this narrative point know the reality of the beggar and know that Evliya has made a huge unintended mistake by insulting a Sufi *Kutub*.

I was stunned. And indeed, I had diarrhoea for the next two months. His prayer that God increase my excrement came to pass! God be praised, through giving alms I eventually recovered my health. (p. 413)

In the scene, Evliya projects his 'emotional' reaction to hearing the reality of the beggar. The literal expression he uses to describe his reaction is 'my brain shuts down'. He is aware of the consequences of insulting a Sufi *Kutub* and the meaning of a *Kutub*'s prayer. Evliya admits his mistake; he informs the reader that the *Kutub*'s prayer came true, as God literally increased Evliya's excrement with 'diarrhoea for the next two months'.

In the Yapı Kredi edition of *Seyahatname*, the fable ends in a Persian *Mesnevi* couplet. This couplet is not translated in Dankoff and Kim. Evliya wrote down the couplet as follows,

> Her mişe *güân meber ki hâlist*
> *Şâyed ki peleng nihaüfte başed.*[145]

The couplet is very close to a *Mesnavi* couplet in the 13th century Persian text 'Gulistan', the 'Rose Garden', by Sa'di. The couplet is in Chapter 1, the third story.[146] The only difference between the couplet in Evliya's text and that in the Gulistan is the word *mişe* in line one. In the Gulistan, it is spelt *bişe,* meaning the den, the dense part of the jungle. The Sa'di's couplet translates as follows

> But call not the jungle empty- may be
> A tiger sleeps there that ye did not see.[147]

The meaning of Sa'di's verse fits well in Evliya's narrative; it sums up the moral lesson in the fable. The verse warns the readers not to judge people for their appearances because appearances very often mislead. Evliya assumed that the man who pushed the door of the privy was a beggar, while the man in reality was a powerful Sufi Pole. The element of disgust highlights the objective of the story. Excrement is what Evliya gave in the first scene and what he received in the final scene. The *Mesnavi* couplet explains Evliya's moral disgust at himself as he is reflecting back at his rudeness. The story is narrated in a less humorous tone than the events in the 'shitty martyr' or 'the pubic hairy honey meal' stories, because too much humour may ruin the moral meaning of the story. In this narrative Evliya projected himself as both physically and morally disgusting emotion.

---

[145] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* Vol 10, p. 278.

[146] This verse is in the context of a tale of a prince who is shorter than his other royal and good-looking brothers and feels small and despicable before them. His father looks at him with disappointment and some hatred. He realizes this and in the initial verses he argues his other qualities by referring to a dialogue between a thin but wise man and a fat fool. This pleases his father and he laughs at his wit, to the dismay of his brothers who are now angry with him, probably because they see this as an indirect insult to themselves. then there is a follow up verse which says, until a man has not spoken any words, his follies and his arts (skills) are hidden. Then comes the verse which Evliya cites.

[147] Sheikh Muslih-Uddin Sa'di Shirazi (d. 1292), *The Gulistan of Sa'di* (The Rose Garden of Sa'di, 1258), New York: Cosimo Cosimo, Inc. [1885] 2007, p. 8.

The discourse in the story explains the hierarchy of the Sufi poles or saints within the Ottoman Sufi community; they must not be subject to disgusting acts or jokes. Treating them with disrespect leads to unfortunate consequences because they derive their spiritual power from the divine. Evliya in another context, in his visit to the *mevlud* (the observance of the birthdate) of Seyyid Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanta, Egypt, describes how Sufi saints like Badawi command a higher authority than the Sultan. Sultans can command armies "so by force" (p. 433). However, the people turn out for a *mevlud* to a saint without any coercion, but from their hearts. People travel long tiresome journeys

> in order to rub their faces at the threshold of Badawi and celebrate his *mevlud* crying *Ya Badawi*! And, by God above, anyone who does rub his face just once at that lofty threshold is cured of various illnesses, is protected from guile and bewitchment, and is free of all pain and fear and danger. (p. 433)

Sufi poles are a boundary which should not be crossed neither in a joke nor in a disgusting remark.

The above three narratives illuminate several distinctive features in Evliya's discourse on disgust. Although disgust is a disagreeable emotion, Evliya projects the humour and the morality he has experienced through the disgusting incidents. Evliya vibrantly varies his responses to the experience of disgust. In the ʿshitty martyr' story, he laughed and made the characters in his narrative laugh at his own physical and moral disgusting acts. He fashioned himself as the Falstaffian Evliya, in Dankoff's analogy, or a seventeenth-century replica of Hoca Nasreddin. In his encounter with the Circassian villager, Evliya responded to physical disgust (eating a honey meal full of pubic hair) with somatic revulsion and to moral disgust (the offensive acts of the Circassian) with anger. In the story of the beggar who turned out to be a Sufi pole, Evliya constructed himself as an elicitor of physical disgust when he held his faeces with his hands. He also constructed himself as an elicitor of moral disgust when he offended the beggar, Evliya's conclusion on his own disgusting acts was regret and moral self-abomination. This shows that disgust is not always targeted at the Other. This vibrancy in dealing with disgust projects a tolerant attitude that does not follow the rules; disgust is an innate part of being human.

In the above-studied narratives, Evliya uses physical and moral disgust to negotiate himself among several emotional communities. He draws on the boundaries between courtly (*ayan*) and folk (*halk*) mannerisms. On the one hand, Evliya projects his awareness of the social norms on *ayıp,* shameful and disgraceful acts.[148] He very often starts with an apology, a request for forgiveness, or a warning to the readers, who mostly belong to courtly circles. Evliya uses these strategies to maintain his courtesy and considerate behaviour towards the reader. He also varies his semantics of disgust along the taboo-euphemism continuum. He uses a ʿnegative politenessʾ strategy to narrate his stories of disgust.[149] His narrative usually suggests one logic: ʿforgive me readers, I do not want to disgust or offend you but, here is my disgusting storyʾ.

On the other hand, in order to fashion his ʺsociable and impertinent natureʺ (p. 21), Evliya violates the courtly conventions by incorporating vulgar language and performing folk mannerisms. Evliya describes the disgusting events and elements in a language that stimulates the senses of the readers to perceive and imagine the very visceral experience of disgust. Evliya calls these stories *sergüzeşt,* adventures, a title which indicates the daring, and maybe potentially hazardous, experience of disgust. However, Evliya illustrates to his readers the excitement, the humour, and the morality which lies beyond disgust. These unconventional adventures reinforce his individuality against the courtly norms. Evliya bends the social rules to create literary effect. His stories and comments on his disgusting experiences are meant to amuse, to nauseate, to thrill, and to morally educate the reader.

Moreover, these stories on disgust illustrate how Evliya negotiates himself between the fanatic and cosmopolitan communities. He distances himself from the ʿhumourless fanaticsʾ. Evliya subverts

---

[148] Dankoff, Robert. ʺAyıp değil! (No Disgrace!)ʺ, *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 5 (2008): 78-128.

[149] Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987.

the fanatic enthusiasm in his ʻshitty martyr' joke, he eats the food of the infidels, and as shown in the epigraph, he socialises with wine-drinking Muslims. Evliya adopts humour and lowly manners as this projects him as a companion to all the sons of Adam, including the un-pious and the folk ones. However, Evliya's narrative on disgust has revealed that his cosmopolitan attitude does have a limit. In many cases, it does not give space to the unclean Other. Evliya's cosmopolitanism is conditional and subject to his moral and cultural terms.

5.5. Conclusion: Sufi Cosmopolitan Self-fashioning

Throughout the narrative episodes selected from *Seyahatname,* Evliya projects a positive public self-image as a *hafez*, a *muezzin*, a *gazi,* and above all a world traveller. However, Evliya sometimes gives up this public image and adopts a different sense of social identity. He projects his earthy and folk persona. He narrates his strange disgusting adventures in a comical tone using slang, vulgar language, to create a space of close acquaintance with his readers. He uses the narratives of disgust as a textual space to project his ʻnegative face', to free himself from the constraining rules of the elite and to bond himself to the folk. According to Suraiya Faroqhi, ʺEvliya wrote in the educated everyday language of his time";[150] however, it is tempting to assume from his frequent apologies, his asking for the forgiveness of the reader that he goes lower than this ʻeducated' elite level. The end result of his narratives of disgust is a deliberate effort to bring down the discourse rules of the elite. His language rebels against the norms of sociolinguistic conduct in an effort to project his Istanbul street and coffeehouse experiences. With Evliya, there is no taboo, there is only an apology and a joke.

In the disgust narratives, Evliya projects a first-hand experience of a source of disgust (faeces, pubic hair); he touches, watches, smells, and even eats a disgusting element. He also comments on his own morally disgusting acts. His description of the disgusting events and elements is

---

[150] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan,*, p. 20.

remarkably detailed and deliberate. He manifests his pleasure in scatology and food-disgust narration. The anecdotes may at first impression come in stark contrast to Evliya's self-projection as a gentleman and a dervish. The three anecdotes direct the gaze to Evliya's different strategies of cosmopolitan self-fashioning in *Seyahatname*. In the three stories, Evliya uses disgust as a strategy to construct his folk personality. He narrates these stories not only for the purpose of socialization but also for preaching to his readers. He turns the text into a coffeehouse, a space of social pleasure where he tells disgusting jokes. He fuels his narratives with forms of folk pleasure and folk religious narratives and concepts. He projects himself as a disgusting fool in order to joke with his readers and as a disgusting rude boy to teach his readers a moral lesson.

CONCLUSION

A Mosaic of Early Modern Mediterranean Emotions

The present study was designed to introduce a patchwork of early modern discourses on emotions across three cultures in the Mediterranean basin: the Moors (Andalusians), the English, and the Ottomans. The study has relied on the travel genres of the aforementioned cultures, Rihla, travel journals, and *Seyahâtnâme,* as sources for these emotion discourses. Three case studies have been selected to represent these cultures and travel genres: *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb 'ila Liqāʾ al-Aḥbāb* by the Andalusian Ahmad ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī (1570- after 1641), *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam,* by the English Thomas Dallam (1575-1630), and *Seyahâtnâme* by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685). The analysis set out to investigate the manner in which emotions were conceptualized and practised by early modern travellers. Investigating these emotional encounters allows us to project the transcultural and entangled history of the early modern Mediterranean.

Reading Early Modern Emotions

To identify these discourses on emotions, the present study has used two methodological approaches. First, as discussed in Chapter 1, travel books have been approached as self-narratives, i.e. texts which tell about the traveller/narrator's subjective experiences, such as emotion, mystical dreams, humour, etc. This approach looks at the travel book as a communicative act between the narrator and his intended audience. It also considers the narrator as a 'person',or a 'social self' embedded in several social networks. The three travel books, *Kitāb*, the *Diary*, and *Seyahâtnâme,* have displayed how the travellers mediated themselves among arrays of social networks: al-Ḥajarī's scholarly networks in both Europe and North Africa, Dallam's membership of craft guilds, Evliya's affiliation to the Ottoman court and the Sufi realm, and it is most important to look at these

networks as textual communities. These social networks were the source of the travellers'

individuality; the travellers relied on the social norms of these networks as their means of self-

fashioning.

All these elements combined have helped to contextualize the texts in their immediate cultures. This

method of contextualization starts from the text's context of production and moves outward towards

the larger socio-historical context. There are several corollaries of using this approach in reading

early modern travel books as self-narratives. Initially, it has reinforced the idea that early modern

travel books are not only sources for empirical data on ethnography or material culture. Emotions

and other subjective elements can help scholars to reconstruct several aspects of early modern

culture. Moreover, the three case studies have added to the literature which refutes the

Burckhardtian claim that writing the self is a modern invention and an exclusively European

possession.

The second methodological approach, as discussed in Chapter 2, is to set the three travel books in

an interdisciplinary matrix of analytical notions from the recently emerging academic discipline on

the history of emotions. The approach relies on Barbara Rosenwein's concept of ʿemotional

communities', the notion of ʿemotional styles' developed by several anthropologists and historians

on emotions, and Stephen Greenblatt's notion of ʿRenaissance self-fashioning'. These notions have

contributed to locating and accentuating the patterns and structures of emotion discourses in the

three case studies. The analysis of the representation of emotions has focused on the travellers'

language of emotions, emotion vocabularies, narrative elements, and narrative structure, and the

cultural codes through which the travellers perform their emotions.

The analyses of al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya have illuminated how travellers associate emotions

with the contexts of their journeys, their willingness to travel, and their authorial motives to write about their journeys. Each travel book presents a different form of travel experiences, including expulsion, emigration, diplomatic missions, or mystic vagabondage. Accordingly, the emotions displayed in each text are diverse. Their stories of fear, love, anxiety (apprehension), imperial envy, wanderlust, and disgust, tell about encounters with the Other. The travellers narrate themselves as the protagonists of these emotional interactions as lovers, enviers, desirers, disgusting fools, and passionate travellers. Their emotions as displayed in the texts are rhetorical strategies to achieve certain self-fashioning modes. al-Ḥajarī, Dallam, and Evliya are 'plural voices' in the same discourse, in Natalie Zemon Davis' phrase. They come from different cultures, yet together they tell stories about life in the early modern Mediterranean communities.

Their discourse on emotions projects emotions as textual, cultural, and historical constructs. The present study has foregrounded the social norms and dominant discourses that influenced the three travellers' display, performance, and enactment of emotions in the text. It has surveyed the diverse coexistent communities which are represented in each travel book. Examples of all types of emotional communities and styles (border-crossing, dominant, subordinate, and hidden) are evident in these case studies. In their narratives, these travellers deliberately articulate the dominant emotional styles in their communities in order to construct their public personas and to dramatize their identities, i.e. to achieve 'emotional self-fashioning'.

These narratives exemplify the role of the traveller's culture in defining his emotion and in regulating his emotion display. All three arrange their emotional experiences according to the emotional styles available to them within their communities. Each traveller defines, categorizes, constructs, and negotiates his emotions according to the emotional norms of his community. The meaning and textual function of their displayed emotions revolve around their community

affiliation: al-Ḥajarī embedded himself in the Maliki orthodox discourse; Dallam embedded himself within the commonalty community; and Evliya distanced himself from the 'humourless fanatics' of his time. Their discourses on emotions foreground several culture-specific discourses and practices such as textual (non-Tariqa) and performative (Tariqa) Sufism, cultural scripts such as *hijrah* as a performance of emotions, and power relations among elite and commonalty groups in the English context or among juridical groups in the Andalusian context. The present study could have focused on one emotion across any three early modern travellers from the addressed cultures. However, such a single-emotion design would not have projected the social diversity in emotion discourses and the interaction between the coexistent emotional communities within the same culture and across the different Mediterranean cultures.

Three Horizons of Cosmopolitanism

This diversity in emotional communities and discourse on emotions has supported the argument that the early modern Mediterranean, as much it was a contested frontier between Islam and Christianity, was also a space of religious conversion and hybrid identities, the articulation of diplomacy and cultural exchange, mysticism and religious pluralism. They also pinpoint the diverse forms of cosmopolitanism, or rather cosmopolitanisms, in the plural.

As pointed out in the introduction, cosmopolitanism is approached as an attitude and a practice. Each traveller in the present study has presented his own version of cosmopolitanism, his own "way of being in the world".[151] The three case studies have introduced three forms of 'rooted cosmopolitanism', which appreciates that 'being a citizen of the world' does not deny the idea of belonging to a particular culture, or devotion to a certain religion. Al-Ḥajarī, despite the polemical style of his text and his Maliki orthodox intended audience, displays his willingness to exchange

---

[151] Jeremy Waldron, "What Is Cosmopolitan?", *Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol.8, No. 2, 2000: 227–243 (p.227).

books and ideas with French and Dutch Arabist scholars, to let a woman teach him French, and to discuss topics such as love. As a cosmopolitan, al-Ḥajarī draws upon multiple intersecting layers of identity; he was a Spanish Muslim (a morisco) who studied the books of the three religions and spoke several languages. His explicit opinions in the text are orthodox, but his attitudes and practices are cosmopolitan.

Dallam's cosmopolitanism has entangled moral, cultural, and national perspectives on the world. First, he displays a perspective on a fairer world without exploitation of the ʿcommonaltiesʾ, in his own culture as well as others. His exposed compassionate attitude encompasses both his English artisan fellows and the *acemi-oğlans* servants in the Seraglio, and his dismissal of corruption and bribery includes the Ottoman and English elites alike. Second, he is a ʿstranger nowhere in the Ottoman worldʾ; he is open to cordial interactions with the *acemi-oğlans'* kisses and hugs, he overcomes the barrier of language difference by using gestures and body language. However, his religious affiliation posed far more serious challenges to his cosmopolitan openness. His anxiety to lose his Christian identity and to ʿnever companie againe with Christiansʾ is projected as his major reason for rejecting the world of the Other.

Evliya Çelebi projects a Sufi cosmopolitan perspective on the world. If Ulrich Beck defines rooted cosmopolitanism as ʿhaving 'roots' and 'wings' at the same timeʾ, then Evliya's cosmopolitanism is all about ʿwingsʾ.[152] He projects himself as the companion of all mankind. He echoes the ideal Ottoman Sufi aspiration to transcend above national or religious schisms. However, in certain situations when cultural differences incite his moral or physical disgust, his Sufi cosmopolitan attitudes fail him.

---

[152] Ulrich Beck, ʿThe Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemiesʾ, *Theory, Culture & Society* (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 19, No. 1–2, 2002: 17–44. Available from <http://tcs.sagepub.com/content/19/1-2/17.full.pdf>

Further Studies

Each emotional community exhibited in *Kitāb*, the *Diary*, and *Seyahâtnâme* is worthy of a further separate study in which different text genres and sources could be integrated to define more fully the variety of emotional patterns and styles within each community. Other categories of emotional communities could be added to Barbara Rosenwein's classification of dominant, subordinate, and hidden communities. For example, a category of silent emotional communities would be challenging and productive to investigate. These could be emotional communities which are very often represented only pictorially, or as silent, like the community of the harem in Dallam's *Diary*. The harem residents were mute; he just saw them as if they were a moving colourful picture, nothing more. Dallam's representation anticipates the conventions of later European Orientalist painting. This silent and pictorial representation could be contrasted with other ʿvoicedʾ representations in different genres such as in Lady Mary Montagu's travelogue (1717). In addition, further studies could focus particularly on hybrid emotional communities such as the clandestine community in sixteenth-century al-Andalus. Premodern fundamentalist religious groups or fanatics, as described by Evliya, could also be productively approached as emotional communities.

What the present study has sought to achieve is to break new ground in two ways: by showing how travel writing can be employed productively as a source for the history of the emotions; and by demonstrating how in the early modern Mediterranean, the cultural construction of emotions was diverse, given that polemical emotions, the entanglements of trade and diplomacy, and Sufi experiences flourished side by side as different horizons of cosmopolitanism.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim. MS No. Ṭ. 1634. Egyptian National Archives. Cairo.

Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim. Arabe 7024. Paris Bibliotheque Nationale. <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000078185&c=FRBNFEAD000078185_e0000015&qid=sdx_q15>

Dallam, Thomas. Additional Ms 17,480. British Library. London.

Editions

Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim. c. 1641. *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ala 'L-Qawm al-Kāfirīn. (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel): Historical Study, Critical Edition, and Annotated Translation*. P.S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers (eds, trans.). Madrid: CSIC/AECI. 1997.

Al-Ḥajarī, Ahmed Ibn Qāsim [Afuqai]. c.1641. *Riḥlat Afuqai al-Andalusī: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb ila Liqā' al-Aḥbāb 1611-1613*. Mohammed Razzouk (ed.). Abu Dhabi: Al-Swaidi Publishing House. 2004. [In Arabic]

Çelebi, Evliya. *Seyahatname*. In Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (Eds and Trans.). *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from The Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*. New York: Eland. 2011.

Çelebi, Evliya (b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli). *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 10 Volumes. Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff (Eds.) Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. 1996-2007.

Dallam, Thomas. "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600". In J. Theodore Bent (ed.). *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*. London: Hakluyt Society. 1893. 1-98.

Dictionaries

The Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage. BY El.Said M. Badawi Muhammad Abdel Haleem, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

The Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press, June 2015.

The Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce sözlük = Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English dictionary (Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1997).

The Qurˤanic Arabic Corpus. Available on <http://corpus.quran.com/>

References

Abdel-Malek, Anouar. "Orientalism in Crisis". *Diogenes*. No. 44. (Winter 1963): 104-12. Also published in A.L. Macfie (ed.). *Orientalism: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2000. 48-56.

Abdul-Rahman, Muhammad Saed. *The Meaning and Explanation of the Glorious Qur'an*. 10

Volumes. London: MSA Publication Limited. 2007.

Abou El Fadl, Khaled. "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities: The Juristic Discourse on Muslim Minorities from the Second/Eighth to the Eleventh/Seventeenth Centuries". *Islamic Law and Society*. Vol.1, No. 2 (1994): 141-87.

Abu Dawud, Imam Sulaiman Bin Ashath. *English Translation of Sunan Abu Dawud*. (Trans.) Abu Ammar Yasir Qadhi. 5 Volumes. London: Darussalam International Publications Limited. 2008

Adams, Percy. *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1980.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. *A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations: Us and them Beyond Orientalism.* London: C. Hurst & Co. 2011

Adler, Judith. "Origins of Sightseeing." *Annals of Tourism Research.* Vol.16, No.1 (1989): 7-29.

Akyıldız, Olcay, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (eds.). *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives.* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 6). Würzburg: Ergon Verlag. 2007.

Al-'Alawi, Sa'id bin Sa'id. *Europe in the Mirror of the Era: The Image of The Other in the Contemporary Moroccan Riḥla*. Abu Dhabi: Al-Swaidi Publishing House. 2006.

Alam, Muzaffar and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007.

Al-Anṭākī, Dāwūd. *Tazyīn al-aswāq* (Decorating the Markets). Beyrouth: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl.1994. [in Arabic]

Al-Azm, Sadik J. "Orientalism and Conspiracy". In Arndt Graf (ed.). *Orientalism and Conspiracy: Politics and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World*. London: IB Tauris. 2010. 3-28

Al-Bukhārī, Imam Muhammed. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. The translation of the meaning of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Arabic-English*. Muhammed Muhsin Khan (Trans.). 9 Volumes. London: Darussalam International Publications Limited. 1997. Ebook available from: <http://www.sahih-bukhari.com/>.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma". In J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka (eds.). *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2004. 1-29.

Al-Fasi, M. "Al-Raḥāla al-Maghāriba w Athāruhum" (The Moroccan Travellers and Their Works). *Da'wat al-Ḥaqq*. Vol. II, No.2. (1958): 12-18. Available online <http://wadod.org/vb/showthread.php?t=2006>

Alfonso, Esperanza. *Islamic Culture through Jewish Eyes: Al-Andalus from the Tenth to Twelfth Century*. New York: Routledge. 2008.

Al-Ghazali, Abū Hāmid, *Al-Arba'īn fi 'Usūl ad-Dīn.* In Aaron Spevack and Fethullah Gülen (Eds. And Trans). *Ghazali on the Principles of Islamic Spirituality: Selections from the Forty Foundations of Religion Annotated & Explained*. Woodstock, Vermont: SkyLight Paths Publishing. 2011.

Al-Ghazali, Abū Hāmid. *'Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn (Revival of Religious Learning).* Fazl-ul-Karim (Trans.). 4 Vol. Karachi, Pakistan: Darul-Ishaat. 1993.

Al-Hajri, Hilal. *British Travel-writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised.* Bern: Peter Lang AG. 2006.

Al-Jawzīyah, Ibn Qayyim (d.1350). *Ḥādi al-Arwāḥ ila Bilād al-Afrāḥ.* (The Guide of Souls to the Lands of Joy). Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbi, n. d.

Al-Mobarakfori, M. (d.1934). *Toḥfat al-Ahwazi fi sharh Jami' al-Tirmidhi.* Abdul Wahab Abdul Latif (ed.). 12 Volumes. Cairo: Darul Fikr for Publication. n. d.

Al-Qaddouri, Abdul-Majīd. *Sufarā' 'Arab fī 'Urubā 1610-1922: al-Wa'i bil Tafāwot.* (Arab Ambassadors to Europe 1610-1922: The Awareness of Disparity). Lebanon:Al-ahliyya Publishing House. 2006 [in Arabic].

Al-Qadi, Wadad. "The Impact of the Qurʿan on the Epistolography of ʿAbd al-Hamid'". In Hawting, G.R. and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds). *Approaches to the Qur'ān. London.* New York: Routledge. 1993. 285- 314.

Al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq.* 2 vols. Beyrouth: Dār Bayrūt- Dār al-Nafā'is. 1997. [in Arabic]

Al-Wansharīsī, Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā (d. 914/1508). *Al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib wa 'l-Jami' al-Mughrib 'an Fatāwī 'Ahl Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib* (Clear Criterion and Comprehensive Compendium of Fatāwī of the People of Africa, Andalusia and Morocco). Muhammad Hajji (ed.). 13 Vols. Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqāf wa'l-Shu'un al-Islamiya. 1981-1983.

Al-Ziriklī, Khair al-Dīn. *Al-A'lam* (Celebrities). 8 Volumes. Beirut: Darul 'Ilm lil Malaiyyn. 15th Edition. 2002.

Amelang, James S. *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998.

Amelang, James S. "Popular Autobiography in Early Modern Europe: many questions, a few answers". *Memoriay Civilización (MyC).* Vol. 5 (2002):101-118.

Amelang, James S. *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2013.

Andrews, Walter G. "A Critical- Interpretive Approach to the Ottoman Turkish Gazel". *Int. J. Middle East Studies.* Vol. 4 (1973): 97-110.

Andrews, Walter G. 2004. "Stepping Aside: Ottoman Literature in Modern Turkey". *Journal Of Turkish Literature.* Vol. 1 (2004): 9-33.

Andrews, Walter G. and Mehmet Kalpakli. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005.

Andrews, Walter G., Najaat Black, and Mehmet Kalpakli (Eds and Trans.). *Ottoman Lyric Poetry: An Anthology.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. 2006.

Anidjar, Gil. '*Our place in al-Andalus': Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish letters*. California: Stanford University Press. 2002.

Antoon, Sinan. "*Sukhf*, Scatology, and Society". In his *The Poetics of the Obscene in Premodern Arabic Poetry*, Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. 125–134.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Cosmopolitan Patriots". *Critical Inquiry.* Vol. 23, No. 3. (Spring) 1997: 617-639

Aquinas, Thomas (d.1274). *Summa Theologica* (1265-1274). Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Trans.) [Electronic version]. Available on <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.html> and <http://www.basilica.org/pages/ebooks.php>.

Arabi, Ibn (d.1240). *Sufis of Andalusia. The Rūḥ al-quds and al-Durrat al-fākhirah of Ibn Arabi.* R.W.J. Austin (Ed. and Trans.). Los Angeles: University of California Press.1971.

Aristotle. *The Poetics of Aristotle*. S. H. Butcher (Trans.). 4th ed. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1922. eBook available on: <https://archive.org/details/poeticsofaristot00arisuoft>

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000.

Ashour, Radwa. *Granada: A novel*. Willian Granara (Trans.). New York: Syracuse University Press. 2003.

Assis, Yom Tov. "The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain". In Daniel Frank (ed.). *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity.* (Proceedings of an International Conference held by the Institute of Jewish Studies. University College London 1992). Leiden: Brill. 1995.

Austin, John Langshaw. *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1962] 1975.

Avicenna. "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina". Emil L. Fackenheim (Trans.). *Medieval Studies*. Vol. 7 (1945): 208–228. <http:// www.muslimphilosophy.com/sina/works/avicenna-love.pdf>

Awn, Peter. *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblis in Sufi Psychology*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

Aydin, Kamil. *Images of Turkey in Western Literature.* Ankara: British Council. 1999.

Azimī, Fakhreddīn. "Fatwā". In Richard C. Martin. *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. 2 Vol. New York: Macmillan Reference USA. 2004. Vol. I (A-L): 255-256.

Bak, Greg. "Who Built the Organ for the Sultan?" *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies.* Vol. 25 (2001): 135–43.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World.* Helen Iswolsky (Trans.). Cambridge and London: MIT Press. 1968.

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [1985] 2009.

Baranski, Zygmunt G. "Scatology and Obscenity in Dante". In Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey (eds.). *Dante for the New Millenium.* New York: Fordham University Press. 2003. 259–273.

Barbour, Nevill. "North West Africa from the 15th to 19th Centuries". In Hans Joachim Kissling et al (Eds). *The Last Great Muslim Empires*. Leiden: Brill. 1997. 97-152.

Barbour, Richmond. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008.

Baroni, Raphaël. "Tellability", Paragraph 1-27. In Peter Hühn, et al. (eds.): *The Living Handbook of Narratology*. Hamburg: Hamburg University Press. Available on: <hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/lhn/index.php?title=Tellability&oldid=2035. [view date: 03 Dec 2014]

Bartels, Emily C. "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. No. 41 (1990): 433–54.

Bartels, Emily C. "Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa." *Criticism*. No. 34 (1992): 517–538.

Bartels, Emily C. *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993.

Bassnett, Susan. "Constructing Cultures: the Politics of Travellers' Tales". in Susan Bassnett *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

Beck, Richard. *Unclean: Meditations on Purity, Hospitality, and Mortality.* Eugene, Or: Cascade Books. 2011.

Beck, Ulrich. "The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies". *Theory, Culture & Society.* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE. Vol. 19, No. 1–2 2002: 17–44. Available from <http://tcs.sagepub.com/content/19/1-2/17.full.pdf>

Beck, Ulrich. *The Cosmopolitan Vision.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 2006.

Beckingham, C.F. "The Rihla: Fact or Fiction?", in Ian Richard Netton. *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam,* London: Routledge, 2005, 72-79

Bell, Joseph Norment . *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam.* Albany: State University of New York Press. 1979.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Story-Teller: Reflections on the Works of Nicolai Leskov". Harry Zohn (Trans.). *Chicago Review* (1963): 80-101.

Bent, J. Theodore (Ed.). *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.* London: Hakluyt Society. 1893. 1-98.

Beverley, J. "Testimonio, Subalternity, and Narrative Authority". In N.K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* 2nd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 2000. 555–566.

Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961

Borm, Jan. "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology". In Glenn Hooper and Tim Younges (Eds.). *Perspectives on Travel Writing.* Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2003. 13-26.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice.* Cambridge: Polity. 1990.

Bouzineb, Hossain. "Evaluating the Aljamiado Morisco Writings". *Mjallat Darul Niyyaba.* Year 2, Vol.6 (1985): 64-71.

Bouzineb, Hossain. "The Morisco Language Named al-'Ajamiyya (Aljamiado)". *The Proceedings of Linguistics and Semiotics Research.* Casaplanca. (1981): 107-119.

Bouzineb, Hossain. "The Real Value of the Symbolic Scripts in the 'Ajami (Aljamiado) Literature". *The Proceedings of the Morisco Aljamiado Literature.* Tunisia (1986): 29-37.

Brann, Ross. "The Arabized Jews". In María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Eds.). *The Literature of Al-Andalus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2006. 435-454.

Brooke, Iris. *English Costume from the Early Middle Ages Through the Sixteenth Century.* New York: Dover Publication. [1937] 2000.

Brown, Eric. "Hellenistic Cosmopolitanism". In Mary Louise Gill and Pierre Pellegrin (eds). *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy.* Blackwell Publishing. 2006. Blackwell Reference Online. 24 October 2015

Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Bruinessen, Martin van and Hendrik Boeschon. *Evliya Celebi in Diyarbekir*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 1988.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy.* S.G.C. Middlemore (Trans.). Vienna: The Phaidon Press. I937. Available on: <https://archive.org/details/civilizationofth005644mbp>

Burian, Orhan. "Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance". *Oriens* Vol. 5 No. 2 (1952): 209–29. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1578824>.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Reprint edition. Hants, England: Wildwood House, 1988.

Burke, Peter. "The Cultural History of Dreams". In his *Varieties of Cultural History*. New York: Cornell University Press. 1997. 23- 42

Burke, Peter. "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes". In Roy Porter (ed), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present.* London: Routledge, 1997. 17-28.

Burke, Peter. "The Philosopher as Traveller: Bernier's Orient". In Jaś Elsner and Joan Pau Rubiés (eds.). *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel.* London: Reaktion Books. 1999. 124-125.

Burke, Peter. "The Rhetoric of Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century". In Marijke J. van der Wal and Gijsbert Rutten (eds.). *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-documents.* Amesterdam: John Benjamin Publishing. 2013. 149-164.

Burton, Jonathan. "English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion: Five Perspectives on 'Turning Turk' in Early Modern Texts". *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies.* Vol. 2, No. 1. Spring/Summer (2002): 35-67.

Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de. *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq.* Charles Thornton Foster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell (Eds. and Trans.). 2 Volumes. New York: Cambridge University Press. [1881] 2012.

Cachia, Pierre. *Arabic Literature: An Overview*. London: Routledge Curzon. 2002.

Campbell, Mary Baine. "Travel Writing and its Theory". In Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Cantineau, J., "Lettre du Moufti d'Oran aux Musulmans d'Andalousie". *Journal Asiatique*, CCX, Paris. 1927. 1-17.

Carrithers, Michael, Steven Collins, and Steven Lukes (eds.). *The Category of the Person. Anthropology, Philosophy, History.* Cambridge University Press: 1985.

Chejne, Anwar G. *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, A Cultural and Social History.* Albany: State University New York Press. 1983.

Chew, Samuel C. *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1937.

Chittick, William C. "Love in Islamic Thought". *Religion Compass.* Vol. 8, No. 7 (2014): 229- 238.

Chittick, William C. *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2005.

Chittick, William C. *Sufism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2008.

Chittick, William. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination.*

Albany: SUNY Press. 1989.

Clark, Elizabeth A. *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn.* Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press, 2009.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (eds.). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1986.

Cohn-Sherbok, Dan, and Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok. *Jewish & Christian Mysticism: An Introduction.* New York: The Continuum Publishing Combany. 1994.

Collins, Roger. *Visigothic Spain 409-711.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. 2004.

Constable, Olivia Remie. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1997.

Cornelius, Randolph R. "Theoretical approaches to Emotion". *ISCA Tutorial and Research Workshop (ITRW) on Speech and Emotion.* 2000. Available on <http://www.cs.columbia.edu/~julia/papers/cornelius00.pdf>

Corriente, Federico. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle.* Madrid: Instituto híspano-árabe de cultura, 1977.

D'Amico, Jack. *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama.* Tampa, Fl.: University of South Florida Press. 1991.

D'Arms, Justin. "Envy", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.). Available on: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/envy/>

Dalrymple, William. "Foreword: The Porous Frontiers of Islam and Christendom: A Clash or Fusion of Civilisations?" In Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

Dankoff, Robert (Ed. and Trans.). *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatnâme (Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels): Land and People of the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century.* A corpus of partial editions. Vol. 11. Leiden: Brill. 1990.

Dankoff, Robert. *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662) as portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels.* Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press. 1991.

Dankoff, Robert and Klaus Kreiser. *Materialien Zu Evliya Celebi: II. A Guide to Seyahat-name of Evliya Celebi. Bibliographie Raisonnee.* Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag. 1992.

Dankoff, Robert. "Evliya Celebi and the Seyahatnâme". In Hasan Celal Guzel (Ed.). *The Turks.* Vol. 3: Ottomans. Ankara: Yeni Turkiye Publications. 2002. 605-526.

Dankoff, Robert. "The Seyahatnâme of Evliya Çelebi as a Literary Monument". *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 2 (2005): 71-85.

Dankoff, Robert. *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi.* Leiden: Brill. [2004] 2006.

Dankoff, Robert. "Ayıp değil! (No Disgrace!)". *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 5 (2008): 78-128.

Dankoff, Robert and Sooyong Kim (trans. and eds). *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi.* London: Eland. [2010] 2011.

Dankoff, Robert and Semih Tezcan. *An Evliya Çelebi Bibliography.* 3rd edition. 2012. Available on <tebsite.bilkent.edu.tr/evliya.pdf>.

Danson, Lawrence. "The Sultan's Organ: Presents and Self-presentation in Thomas Dallam's

Diary". *Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23, No. 5. (2009): 639- 658.

Dascal, M. "Types of Polemics and Types of Polemical Moves". In A. Capone (Ed.). *Perspectives on Language Use and Pragmatics: A Volume in Memory of Sorin Stati*. Münich: Lincom. 2010. 77-97.

Dascal, M. "On the Uses of Argumentative Reason in Religious Polemics". In T. L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (Eds.). *Religious Polemics in Context*. Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2004. 3-20.

Dash, Mike. *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & The Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. New York: Three Rivers Press. 2001.

Davis, Lloyd. "Cultural Encounters and Self Encounters in Early Modern English Travel Autobiographies". *Parergon*. Vol. 19, No. 2 (July 2002):151-167.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France". In T.C. Heller, M. Sosna and D.E. Wellberry (eds), *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1986. 53–63.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Stanford University Press. 1987.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Towards Mixtures and Margins". *American Historical Review*. Vol. 97 (1992): 1409-1416.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus*. England: Mackays of Chatham Ltd. [2006] 2008.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World". *History and Theory*. Vol. 50, No. 2 (2011): 188-202.

Degenhardt, Jane Hwang. "Seduction, Resistance, and Redemption: "Turning Turk" and the Embodiment of Christian Faith". In Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2010. 1-31.

Dekker, Rudolf. "Dutch Travel Journals from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries". In Gerard T. Moran (Trans.). *Lias. Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*. No. 22 (1995): 277-300; Cited here an online edition available at <http://www.egodocument.net/egodocument/publications.html>

Dekker, Rudolf. "Egodocuments in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century". In Erin Griffey (ed.). *Envisioning Self and Status: Self Representation in the Low Countries, 1400–1700*. Hull: *Crossways* No. 5 (1999): 255-284. Cited here the online edition at <http://www.egodocument.net/pdf/Egodocuments_in_the_Netherlands.pdf>

Dekker, Rudolf (ed.). *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002.

Derman, M. Uğur. *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection*, Istanbul. New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1995.

Descartes, René. *The Passions of the Soul*. 1649. eBook. Available from: <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdfs/descartes1649.pdf>

Dimmock, Matthew, and Andrew Hadfield (eds.). Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England. Farnham: Ashgate. 2009.

Dimmock, Matthew. "Converting and Not Converting "Strangers" in Early Modern London".

Journal of Early Modern History. Vol. 17, Issue 5-6. (2013): 457 – 478.

Dimmock, Matthew, Andrew Hadfield, and Abigail Shinn. "Introduction: Thinking About Popular Culture In Early Modern England". In Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England.* Farnham: Ashgate. 2014. 1-9

Dorschel, Andreas. "Passions of the Intellect: A Study of Polemics". *Philosophy/ FirstView Article*, Cambridge Journals-CJO. (May 2015): 1- 6 . Available on <http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0031819115000224>

Duplessis, Robert S. *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University press. 1997.

Duyfhuizen, Bernard. "Diary Narratives in Fact and Fiction". *Novel.* Vol. 19, No. 2 (1986): 171-178.

Ebstein, Michael, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus. Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabi and the Isma'ili Tradition.* Leiden: Brill. 2013.

El Habbouch, Layachi. "Moroccan Acrobats in Britain: Oriental Curiosity and Ethnic Exhibition". *Comparative Drama.* Vol. 45, No. 4 (2011): 381-415. Available on: <https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/comparative_drama/v045/45.4.el-habbouch.pdf>

Elfenbein, Madeleine, Chris Gratien and Elçin Arabacı. ″Evliya Çelebi: Early Modern Travel and Ottoman Sensibilities". *Ottoman History Podcast*, No. 63 (August 7, 2012). Available http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/08/evliya-celebi-early-modern-travel-and.html.

Elger, Ralf. "Lying, Forging, Plagiarism: Some Narrative Techniques in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travelogue". In Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.) *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2010. 71–87.

Elger, Ralf and Yavuz Köse (eds). *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2010.

Elias, Jamal. "Ṣūfī *tafsīr* Reconsidered: Exploring the Development of a Genre". *Journal of Qur'anic Studies.* Vol. 12 (2010): 41–55.

Elinson, Alexander E. *Looking Back at al-Andalus: The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature.* Leiden: Brill. 2009.

Ellinghausen, Laurie. *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567-1667.* Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2008.

El-Rouayheb, Khaled. "The Myth of the Triumph of Fanaticism in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *Die Welt des Islams, New Series.* Vol. 48, No. 2 (2008):196-221.

Elsner, Jaś and Joan-Pau Rubiés. "Introduction". In Jaś Elsner and Joan Pau Rubiés (Eds). *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel.* London: Reaktion Books. 1999. 1- 56.

Epstein, Mordecai. *The Early History of the Levant Company*. London: Routledge. 1908.

Epstein, S. R. and Maarten Prak (eds.). *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy,1400–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008.

Ernst, Carl W. ″Muḥammad as the Pole of Existence". In Jonathan E. Brockopp (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. 123-138.

Erving, Goffman. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Doubleday. 1959.

Eschenbaum, Natalie K. and Barbara Correll (ed). *Disgust in Early Modern English Literature.* Ashgate, (forthcoming May 2016)

Esposito, John L. (ed.). *The oxford dictionary of Islam.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2003.

Euben, Roxanne L. *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. "An Ulema Grandee and His Household". *Journal of Ottoman Studies.* Vol. 9 (1989): 199-208.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*. London: I.B.Tauris. 2004.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire.* Martin Bott (Trans.). London, New York: I.B.Tauris. 2005.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans,* London: IB Tauris, 2009.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and its Reception*. New Jersey: Gorgias Press LLC. 2009b.

Faroqhi, Suraiya and Randi Deguilhem. *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean.* London: IB Tauris. 2005.

Farr, James. *Hands of Honor: Artisans and their World in Dijon, 1550–1650.* New York: Ithaca. 1988.

Fattah, Hala. "Representations of Self and the Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman period". *Int. J. Middle East Stud*. Vol. 30 (1998): 51-76. Cambridge University Press.

Felek, Özgen. *"(Re)creating Image and Identity*: *Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III's Self-Fashioning".* In Ozgen Felek and Alexander Knysh (eds.). *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*. Binghamton: The State University of New York Press. 2011.

Felek, Özgen and Alexander D. Knysh. *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies.* Albany: The State University of New York Press. 2011.

Ferdowsi, Abolqasem. *Shahnama: The Persian Book of Kings.* Dick Davis (Trans.) and Azar Nafisi (Foreword), New York; London: Penguin Classics. 2007.

Fierro, Maribel. "The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs and Ibn Rushd's *Bidayat Al-Mujtahid". Journal of Islamic Studies.* Vol. 10, No. 3 (1999): 226-248.

Fierro, Maribel. "A Muslim land without Jews or Christians: Almohad policies regarding the 'protected people'". In Matthias M. Tischler and Alexander Fidora (eds.), *Christlicher Norden- Muslimischer Süden: Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch-und Spätmittelalter*. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2011. 231-247.

Fierro, Maribel. "Christian Success and Muslim Fear in Andalusi Writings during the Almoravid and Almohad periods". In Uri Rubin and David Wasserstein (eds.). *Dhimmis and others: Jews and Christians and the world of classical Islam*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press. 1997. 155-178.

Fierro, Maribel. "Proto-Malikis, Malikis, and Reformed Malikis in Al-Andalus". In Peri Bearman,

Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (eds). *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 2005. 57-76.

Fisher, Will. "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England", *Renaissance Quarterly*. Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring, 2001): 155-187

Foley, Susan. "Becoming a Woman: Self-fashioning and Emotion in a Nineteenth-century Family Correspondence". *Women's History Review*. Vol. 24, No. 2 (2015): 1-19.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London and New York: Routledge Classics, [1966] 2003.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge.* R. Sheridan (Ed and Trans.) London: Routledge. [1972] 1995.

Foucault, Michel. "My Body, this Paper, this Fire". *Oxford Literary Review.* Vol.4, No.1 (1979): 9-28.

Freedman, Paul. *Images of the Medieval Peasant.* Stanford University Press. 1999.

Freely, Maureen. "Confessions of a World Traveler". *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 7 (2010): 13-17.

Fulbrook, Mary and Ulinka Rublack. "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents". *German History.* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010): 263–272.

Fuller, Mary C. "English Turks and Resistant Travelers: Conversion to Islam and Homosocial Courtship', in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge.* Palgrave and New York: Palgrave. 2001. 66–73.

Fussell, Paul. *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Gammerl, Benno. "Emotional Styles- concepts and challenges". *Rethinking History.* Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 2012):161-175.

Garcia-Arenal, Mercedes. "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada". *Arabica.* Vol. 56 (2009): 495-528.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic books, 1973

Geertz, Hildred. "The Vocabulary of Emotion". *Psychiatry.* Vol. 22 (1959): 225-37.

Gerard Wiegers, "Moriscos and Arabic studies in Europe", *Al-Qantara (AQ)* XXXI 2 (July-December 2010): 587-610. Available on UvA-DARE, the institutional repository of the University of Amsterdam (UvA). http://hdl.handle.net/11245/2.145372.

Gert Ronberg, *A Way with Words: The Language of English Renaissance Literature*. London: Arnold. 1992.

Ghazi bin Muhammad, bin Talal. *Love in the Holy Quran*. Chicago IL: Kazi Publications, Inc. 2013. Avaliable on <http://altafsir.com/LoveInQuranIntroEn.asp#.UxC4Jl6x9GE>.

Giffen, Lois A. *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*. New York: New York University Press. 1971.

Ginio, Alisa Meyuhas (ed.). *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492*. New York: Routledge, [1992] 2002.

Ginzburg, Carlo "High and Low: The Theme of Forbidden Knowledge in the Sixteenth and

Seventeenth Centuries". *Past & Present,* No. 73 (Nov. 1976): 28-41.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. John and Anne Tedeschi (Trans.). Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, [1980] 1992.

Glete, Jan. *Warfare at Sea, 1500-1650: Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Glick, Vivian Mann Thomas and Jerrilyn D. Dodds (eds). *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain.* New York: Braziller. 1992.

Goddard, Cliff, and Anna Wierzbicka. "Cultural Scripts: What are They and What are They Good for". *Intercultural Pragmatics.* Vol.1, No.2 (2004): 153-166.

Gómez-Ruiz, Raúl. *Mozarabs, Hispanics and Cross*. New York: Orbis Books. 2014.

Gracián, Baltasar. *The Pocket Oracle and Art of Prudence*. Jeremy Robbins (Trans.). London: Penguin Books. [1647] 2011.

Graf, Arndt (ed). *Orientalism and Conspiracy: Politics and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World*. I.B. Tauris, 2010.

Green, Nile. "The Religious and Cultural Roles of Dreams and Visions in Islam". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Third Series, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Nov., 2003): 287-313. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25188388>.

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1980] 2005.

Greyerz, Kaspar von, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?". *German History.* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010): 273-282.

Greyerz, Kaspar von. "Observations on the Historiographical Status of Research on Self Writing". In Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer (Eds.). *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland*. Leiden: Bill, 2014. 34 –57.

Griffiths, Paul E. *What Emotions Really Are: The Problem of Psychological Categories.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997.

Grunebaum, Gustave von. *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation"*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956.

Güllüoğlu, Abdullah. *"*The First Ottoman Delegation to Prussia in 1763-1764 and its Representation in the Berlin Costume Book". In Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (ed.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives,* Würzburg: Ergon Varlag. 2015. 223-260. Cited here an early version available online on: <https://independent.academia.edu/AbdullahGüllüoglu>

Gusdorf, Georges. "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography". In Olney James (ed.) *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980.

Hagen, Edwina. "Fashioning the Emotional Self: The Dutch Statesman Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825) and the Cult of Sensibility", *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* [Online], Vol. 129, No. 2 (2014): 138-162. Available at: <http://www.bmgn-lchr.nl/index.php/bmgn/article/view/9544>. Date accessed: 07 Apr. 2015.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation.* 12 Volumes. Glasgow: MacLehose, (1903–05).

Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. *Maqāma: A History of a Genre*. (Diskurse der Arabistik Vol. 5).

Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2002.

Harpham, Edward J. "Gratitude in the History of Ideas". In Robert A. Emmons and Michael E. McCullough (eds.). *The Psychology of Gratitude.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. pp. 19-36. Available on <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150100.001.0001/acprof-9780195150100-chapter-2.>

Harré, Rom, and W. Gerrod Parrott (eds.). *The Emotions: Social, Cultural and Biological Dimensions*. London: Sage. 1996.

Harris, A. K. *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007.

Harvey, L. P. "The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter", *Miscelánea de-Árabes y Hebraicos.* Vol. 8 (1959): 67-97.

Harvey, L. P. "Crypto-Islam in Sixteenth-Century Spain". *Actas del Primer Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos.* Madrid: Congreso de Estudios Arabes e Islamicos. 1964. 163-178.

Harvey, L. P. "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595 ." *Al-Andalus* 36 (1971): 81 –115.

Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992.

Harvey, L. P. "Ahmad Ibn Qāsim al-Hajarī c.1570-c.1640". In Jennifer Speake (ed.). *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia: Volume 2 G-P*. London: Taylor & Francis Books. 2003.

Harvey, L. P. *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005.

Haynes, Jonathan. *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys' Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*. London: Associated University Press. 1986.

Heath, Peter. "Knowledge". In María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.) *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000: 96-125.

Hebdige, D. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen. 1979.

Hegyi, Ottmar. "Tradition and Linguistic Assimilation Among the Spanish Moriscos During the Sixteenth Century." In M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 1990. 381-88.

Heijkoop, Henk, and Otto Zwartjes (eds.). *Muwaššah, Zajal, Kharja: Bibliography of Eleven Centuries of Strophic Poetry and Music from Al-Andalus and Their Influence on East and West*. Leiden: Brill. 2004.

Hendrickson, Jocelyn N. *The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's Asnā al-Matājir Reconsidered*. Ph.D. Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University, 2009. Available on: Emory University's Electronic Thesis and Dissertation repository. <https://etd.library.emory.edu/view/record/pid/emory:53vmf>

Hermansen, Marcia, "Genealogy". In Richard C Martin. *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. 2 Vol. New York: Macmillan Reference USA. 2004.

Hess, Andrew C. *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the 16th-Century Ibero-African Frontier*. USA: University of Chicago Press. 1978.

Hickman, Katie. *The Aviary Gate: A Novel.* New York: Bloomsbury. 2012.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. R. Tuck (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [1651] 1991.

Hochschild, A.R. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1983. <http://www.isca-speech.org/archive_open/archive_papers/speech_emotion/spem_003.pdf>

Hübinette, Tobias. "Orientalism past and present: An introduction to a postcolonial critique". *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*. Vol. 13 (2003): 73-80.

Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs, "Introduction". In Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon and Schuster. 1996.

Ibn Ḥazm. *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*. Iḥsan ʿAbbās (Ed.). Tunis: Dār al-Maʿārif lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Našr, 1992.

Ibn Hazm. *The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*. A. J. Arberry (Trans.). London: Luzac and Company. 2004. Cited here is the online edition available: <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/hazm/dove/index.html>.

Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Franz Rosenthal (trans.) New York: Pantheon. 1958.

Ibn Ṭawq, Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad. *At-Taʼlīq*. Jaʼfar al-Muhājir (Ed.) 4 Vol., Damascus 2000–2007.

Illouz, Eva, Daniel Gilon, and Mattan Shachak. "Emotions and Cultural Theory". In Jan E. Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (Eds.). *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*. Vol. 2. Springer. 2014. 221-244.

Illouz, Eva. *Saving the Modern Soul: Therapy, Emotions, and the Culture of Self-help*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2008.

Illouz, Eva. *Why Love Hurts: A sociological Explanation*. Cambridge: Polity. 2012.

Imamuddin, Sayyid Muhammad. *Muslim Spain: 711-1492 AD: A Sociological Study*. Leiden: Brill, [1965] 1976.

İnalcık, Halil *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600,* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson. 1973.

İnalcık, Halil. "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets", Michael D. Sheidan (Tr.) . *Journal of Turkish Literature*. Vol. 5 (2008). 5-77.

'Inan, Muhammad 'Abd Allah [Mohamed Abdulla Enan]. *Dawlat al-Islam fi'l-Andalus*. 6 Volums. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji. 2nd. Edition. 1990. [In Arabic].

'Inan, Muhammad 'Abd Allah [Mohamed Abdulla Enan]. *Nihayat al-Andalus wa tārikh al-'Arab al-Mutanaṣṣirīn (The End of al-Andalus and the History of the Christianized Arabs)*. 3rd ed. Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa 'l-Tarjama wa 'l-Nashr, 1966. [In Arabic]

Irving, Washington. *Tales of the Alhambra*. Paris: Baudry's European Library. 1840.

Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane, 2006.

Jacob, Margaret C. *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006.

Jancke, Gabriele. "Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive". In *zeitenblicke* Vol.1, No. 2 (2002). URL: <http://www.zeitenblicke.historicum.net/2002/02/jancke/index.html>.

Jancke, Gabriele. "Autobiography as Social Practice in Early Modern German Speaking Areas: Historical, Methodological, and Theoretical Perspectives". In Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (eds.). *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 6). Würzburg: Ergon Verlag. 2007. 65-80.

Jancke, Gabriele. "Exchanging, Protecting, Collecting, Signifying: Clothes, Person, and Civilisation in Georg Forster's 'Voyage Round the World' (1777)". In Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag. 2015. 45-70

Jancke, Gabriele. "Autobiographical Texts: Acting within a Network Observations on Genre and Power Relations in the German-Speaking Regions from 1400 to 1620". In Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer (Eds.). *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland*. Leiden: Brill. 2014. 118-165.

Jancke, Gabriele and Claudia Ulbrich. "From the Individual to the Person: Challenging Autobiography Theory". In Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer. *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland*. Leiden: Brill. 2014. 15-33

Jawad, Ahmed. "The Great Orientalist Bernard Lewis". *Outstanding Honors Theses* University of South Florida. Paper 108 (2012). Available here: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/honors_et/108>

Jones, John Robert. *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)*, unpublished PhD thesis, London University, SOAS, 1988. Available on e-theses online service (EThOS): <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.339901>.

Kafadar, Cemal. "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature". *Studia Islamica* (1989): 121-50.

Kafadar, Cemal. "Mütereddit bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküp'lü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641–43". *Topkapı Sarayı Mu ̈zesi,* Yıllık 5, (1992) 168–222. [in Turkish]

Kafadar, Cemal. "The New Visibility of Sufism in Turkish Studies and Cultural Life". In Raymond Lifchez (ed.), *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, no. 10)* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 307- 322.

Kamada, Shigeru. "A Study of the Term Sirr (Secret) in Sufi Lata'if Theories". *Orient,* Vol.19 (1983): 7-28.

Kamen, Henry. *Spain 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict.* New York: Routledge. [1983] 2014.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna G. Singh. *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Karababa, Emınegül, and Gülız Ger. "Early modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject". *Journal of Consumer Research.* Vol.37, No.5 (2011): 737-760

Katz, Jonathan G. "An Egyptian Sufi Interprets His Dreams: 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha'ra ̂nı ̂ 1493–1565". *Religion* Vol. 27 (1997): 7–24

Katz, Jonathan. "Dreams and Their Interpretation in Sufi Thought and Practice". In Özgen Felek and Alexander Knysh (eds.). *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*. Binghamton: State University of New York Press. 2011.

Keltner, Dacher, and Jonathan Haidt. "Social functions of emotions at four levels of analysis". *Cognition & Emotion* Vol.13, No.5 (1999): 505-521.

Kemper, Theodore D. "Toward a Sociology of Emotions". *American Sociologist* 13 (1978): 30-41.

Kennedy, Hugh. *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A political History of al-Andalus*. New York: Routledge, [1996] 2014.

Kennedy, Philip F. (Ed.). *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2005.

Kirmani, 'Ali Akbar Ranjbar, "Sufism in Andalusia". In Gholamali Haddad Adel, Mohammad Jafar Elmi, and Hassan Taromi-Rad (eds.) *Sufism: An Entry from Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam*. London: EWI Press. 2012. 149-156.

Knysh, Alexander. "Introduction". In Özgen Felek and Alexander Knysh (eds.). *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*. Binghamton: State University of New York Press. 2011.

Korhonen, Kuisma. "Introduction". In Kuisma Korhonen (ed). *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the history/literature Debate.* Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi. 2006. 9-20.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *The Jamestown Project*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007.

Lamoreaux, John C. "An Early Muslim Autobiographical Dream Narrative: Abū Ja'far al-Qāyinī and His Dream of the Prophet Muhammad". In Louise Marlow (ed.). *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008.

Lamoreaux, John C. *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002.

Landry, Donna. "Evliya Çelebi and Ottoman Enlightenment". In Oğuz Öcal (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi'nin Sözlü Kaynakları.* Turkey: Turkish National Commition for UNESCO. 2012. 91-98. Available at <http://unesco.org.tr/dokumanlar/kitaplar/evliya_celebi_sozlu_kaynak.pdf>

Laporte, Dominique. *History of Shit,* Nadia Benabid and Rodolphe el-Khory (Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2000.

Lee, Jae Num. *Swift and Scatological Satire.* University of Mexico Press. 1971.

Lee, Spike W. S. and Phoebe C. Ellsworth. "Maggots and Morals: Physical Disgust is to Fear as Moral disgust is to Anger". In Johnny R. J. Fontaine, Klaus R. Scherer, and Cristina Soriano. *Components of Emotional Meaning: A Sourcebook.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Tristes Tropiques*. John Russell (Tran.) London: Hutchinson & Co. 1961.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Muslim Discovery of Europe.* New York: Norton. 1982.

Lewis, Bernard. "The Roots of Muslim Rage". *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1990. Available here: http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/

Lewis, Bernard. "Legal and Historical Reflections on the Position of Muslim Populations under Non-Muslim Rule." *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* Vol.13, No.1 (1992): 1-16.

Lewis, Bernard. *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East*. Illinois: Open Court Publishing. 1993.

Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West.* Oxford University Press. 1994.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East.* Oxford University Press. 1994.

Lewis, Bernard. *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery.* Oxford University Press, 1995.

Lewis, Bernard. *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response.* Oxford University Press, 2002.

Lewis, Bernard. *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East.* Oxford University Press. 2004.

Lewis, Bernard. "Seven Questions: Bernard Lewis on the Two Biggest Myths about Islam", *Foreign Policy*, Aug. 2008. Available on: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2008/08/20/seven-questions-bernard-lewis-on-the-two-biggest-myths-about-islam/>.

Lockey, Brian. *Early Modern Catholics. Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited. 2015.

Long, Graham. "Moral and Sentimental Cosmopolitanism". *Journal of Social Philosophy.* Vol. 40. 2009: 317–342.

López-Morillas, Consuelo. "Language". In María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2006. 31-59.

López-Morillas, Consuelo. "'Trilingual' Marginal Notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo". *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 103, No. 3 (July- Sep 1983): 495-503.

López-Morillas, Consuelo. "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam". *Hispanic Review.* Vol. 63, No. 2 (Spring, 1995): 193-210.

Lupton, D. *The Emotional Self: A Sociocultural Exploration.* London: Sage. 1998.

Lutz, Catherine. *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988.

Lutz, Catherine and Geoffrey M. White. "The anthropology of emotions." *Annual review of anthropology.* (1986): 405-436.

Lutz, Catherine and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.). *Language and the Politics of Emotion.* (Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction I.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.1990.

Lybyer, Albert Howe. "The Travels of Evliya Effendi". *Journal of Turkish Literature.* Vol. 2 (2005):127-145.

MacKay, Pierre. "Real and Fictitious Journeys in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*: Some examples from Book VIII". *Journal of Turkish Literature.* Vol. 6 (2009): 111-130.

MacKay, Pierre. "The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatnâme* of Evliya Çelebi, Part I: the Archetype". *Der Islam* Vol. 52 (1975): 278-98.

MacKay, Pierre. *An Introduction for the World Traveler*, 2007. <http://angiolello.net/EvliyaLetter-2.pdf>.

MacLean, Gerald. "Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant". In Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2001.

MacLean, Gerald. *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire.* Houndsmill and New York: Palsgrave. 2004.

MacLean, Gerald (ed.). *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*.

Houndsmill and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005.

MacLean, Gerald. *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800.* Houndsmill and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007.

MacLean, Gerald. "Courting the Porte: Early Anglo-Ottoman Diplomacy. *University of Bucharest Review*. Vol. X, No. 2. (2008): 80-88. Available on: <http://ubr.rev.unibuc.ro/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/geraldmaclean.pdf>

MacLean, Gerald. *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press. 2011.

MacLean, Gerald. "Evliya Çelebi, Travel and Travel Writing". In Oğuz Öcal (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi'nin Sözlü Kaynakları,* Turkey: Turkish National Commition for UNESCO. 2012. 99-105. Available at <http://unesco.org.tr/dokumanlar/kitaplar/evliya_celebi_sozlu_kaynak.pdf>

MacLean, Gerald. "Performing at the Ottoman Porte in 1599: The Case of Henry Lello". In Sabine Schülting, Sabine Lucia Müller, Ralf Hertel (eds.) *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures.* Farnham: Ashgate. 2012. 27-41.

MacLean, Gerald and Nabil Matar. *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2011.

Maimonides, Moses (d. 1204). *The Guide for the Perplexed (c.1190).* S. Pines (Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963.

Makdisi , George. 1986. "The Diary in Islamic Historiography: Some Notes". *History and Theory*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (May, 1986):173-185. Available on <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505304>. Accessed: 25/12/2013 06:08

Makdisi, Ussama. "Ottoman Orientalism". *The American Historical Review.* Vol. 107, No. 3 (June 2002): 768-796. Available on <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532495>

Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific.* New York: E. P. Dutton. [1922] 1961.

Mans, Pierre Belon du. *Travels in the Levant: The Observations of Pierre Belon du Mans (1553).* Alexandra Merle (Ed.) and James Hogarth (Trans.). London: Harding Simpole. 2012.

Martels, Z. R. W. M. von (ed.). *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing.* Leiden: Brill. 1994.

Masatoshi, Kisaichi. "Institutionalized Sufism and Non-Institutionalized Sufism: A Reconsideration of the Groups of Sufi Saints of the Non-*Ṭarīqa* Type as Viewed through the Historical Documents of Medieval Maghreb". *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies.* Vol.2, No.1 (2008): 35-46.

Mascuch, Michael. *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 1997.

Masud, Muhammad Khalid. "The Obligation to Migrate: The Doctrine of Hijra in Islamic Law". In Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.). *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1990. 29-49.

Matar, Nabil. "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination". *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900.* Vol. 33, No. 3. Summer (1993): 489-505.

Matar, Nabil. *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1998.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1999.

Matar, Nabil. *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 2003.

Matar, Nabil. *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009.

Matt, Susan J. "Current emotion research in history: Or, doing history from the inside out." *Emotion Review* Vol. 3, No. 1 (2011): 117–24.

May, Georges. *L'autobiographie.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1979.

Mayes, Stanley. *An Organ for the Sultan*. London: Putnam. 1956.

Mazur, Peter and Abigail Shinn, "Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World". *Journal of Early Modern History.* Vol. 17, Issue 5-6. (2013): 427-436.

McCarthy, E. Doyle, "The Social Construction of Emotions: New Directions from Culture Theory". *Sociology Faculty Publications.* Paper 4. (1994). <http://fordham.bepress.com/soc_facultypubs/4>

McCullough, Michael E., Shelley D. Kilpatrick, Robert A. Emmons, and David B. Larson. "Is Gratitude a Moral Affect?". *Psychological Bulletin* Vol. 127, No. 2 (2001): 249-266.

Melchert, Christopher. *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th-10th Centuries.* Leiden: Brill. 1997.

Melman, Billie. "The Middle East / Arabia: 'the cradle of Islam". In Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Menninghaus, Winfried. *Disgust: Theory and History of a Strong Sensation.* Howard Eiland and Joel Golb (trans.), Albany, NY: SUNY Press. 2003.

Menocal, María Rosa, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.). *The Literature of Al-Andalus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2006.

Menocal, María Rosa. *"Visions of al-Andalus".* In María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (eds.). *The Literature of Al-Andalus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2006.

Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain.* New York: Back Bay Books. 2002.

Middleton, Dewight R. "Emotional Style: The Cultural Ordering of Emotions". *Ethos.* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Jun., 1989):187-201.

Miller, H. D. "The Mozarabs". In María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 415-434.

Miller, Kathryn A. "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two fatwās from Fifteenth-Century Granada". *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (2000): 256-288. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3399402>.

Miller, Kathryn A. *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008.

Miller, William Ian. *Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press. 1997.

Misch, Georg, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity.* E. W. Dicks (Trans.). 2 Vol. London: Routledge. [1950] 2002.

Misch, Georg. *Geschichte der Autobiographie.* 4 Vols. Bern and Frankfurt: A. Francke and Gerhard Schultke-Bulmke. 1949–69.

Mole, John. *The Sultan's Organ: The Diary of Thomas Dallam, 1599, London to Constantinople and Adventures on the Way*. Great Britain: Fortune Books. 2012.

Monroe, James T. "Zajal and Muwashshahat: Hispano-Arabic Poetry and the Romance Tradition". In Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (eds.) *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Leiden: Brill [1992] 1994. 398-419.

Monroe, James T. *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*. Berkeley: University of California press. 1974.

Morrison, Susan Signe. *Excrement in the Late Middle Ages: Sacred Filth and Chaucer's Fecopoetics*. New York and Basingstoke, Eng.: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008.

Moulton, Ian Frederick. *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England,* New York: Oxford University Press. 2000.

Moulton, Ian Frederick. "Courtship, Sex and Marriage", in Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, Abigail Shinn (eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014. 133-147.

Mughulṭāy, 'Alaa' al-Dīn. *Al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn fī Dhikr man Ustush.hida min al-Muḥibbīn.* Beyrouth: Muʾassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 1997.

Netton, Ian Richard. "Myth, Miracle and Magic in the Rihla of Ibn Battūta". *Journal of Semitic Studies.* Vol. 29, No.1 (1984): 131-140

Netton, Ian Richard. *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam.* UK: Curzon Press Ltd. 2005.

Niyazioğlu, Aslı. "Dreams of the Very Special Dead: Nevizade Atai's (d.1635) Reasons for Composing His Mesnevis". *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25 (2008): 221-33.

Niyazioğlu, Aslı, "Dreams , Ottoman Biography Writing, and the *Halveti-Sünbüli Şeyhs* of 16th-Century Istanbul". In Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.) *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2010. 171-184.

Niyazioğlu, Aslı. "In the Dream Realm of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Biographer: Taşköprizade and the Sufi Sheikhs". In John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander (eds). *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200-1800 C.E.* Oxon: Routledge. 2012. 243-258.

Niyazioğlu, Aslı. "How to Read an Ottoman Poet's Dream? Friends, Patrons and the Execution of Fiġānī (d. 938/1532)". *Middle Eastern Literatures: incorporating Edebiyat*, Vol.16, No.1 (2013): 48-59.

Niyazioğlu, Aslı, Chris Gratien, and Nir Shafir. "Dreams in Ottoman Society, Culture, and Cosmos", *Ottoman History Podcast*, No. 64 (August 13, 2012). Available from <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/08/dreams-in-ottoman-society-culture-and.html.>

Nizri, Michael. "The Memoirs of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi (1638–1703): Self, Family and Household". In Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.) *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2010. 27-36.

Nizri, Michael. *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Núñez Muley, Francisco (c. 1492–1570). *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada (1567)*. Vincent Barletta (Ed. and Trans.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2007.

Nussbaum, Martha C. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001.

Nussbaum, Martha. "Cosmopolitan Emotions?". *New Humanist* . Vol. 116, no. 4. 2001. Available from <http://www.newhumanist.org.uk/470.>

Nussbaum, Martha. "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism", in Joshua Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism.* Boston: Beacon Press. [1996] 2002.

Oatley, Keith. "Social Construction in Emotions". In Michael Lewis and Jeanette M. Haviland (Eds). *Handbook of Emotions.* New York and London: Guilford Press. 1993. 341-352.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain.* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1975.

O'Day, Rosemary. *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonweal.* London and New York: Routledge, [2000] 2014.

Pagani, Samuela. "Illlibro come maestro: Sufismo e storia della lettura nel medioevo islamico (The Book as Master: Sufism and History of Reading in Medieval Islam)". *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies,*Vol. 12 (2012): 144-185.

Park, Mungo. *Travels in the interior districts of Africa: performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797*. London: W. Bulmer and Co. 1799.

Park, Thomas K. and Aomar Boum. *Historical dictionary of Morocco*. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press. 2006.

Pascal, Roy. *Design and Truth in Autobiography.* Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press. 1960.

Paster, Gail Kern, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.). *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004.

Peers, E. Allison. *The Mystics of Spain*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publication, [1951] 2002.

Pellat, Ch. "al-Masālik Wa ʿl-Mamālik". In P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Second Edition. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. 02 August 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-masalik-wa-l-mamalik-SIM_4994>.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. "Finding Fatima, a Slave Woman of Early Modern Spain." *Journal of Women's History.* Vol. 20, No.1 (2008): 151-167.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 2005.

Persels, Jeffery C. and Russell Ganim (eds.). *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2004.

Peterson, Gretchen. "Cultural Theory and Emotions". In Jan E. Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (eds.). *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*. New York: Springer. 2006. 114-134.

Phillips, Amanda. "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma". In Marios Hadjianastasis (Ed.). *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*. Leiden: Brill. 2015. 111-138.

Plamper, Jan. "The history of emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns." *History and Theory*. Vol. 49 (2010): 237–65.

Pollock, Sheldon, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty. "Cosmopolitanisms". *Public Culture* Vol. 12, No. 3. 2000: 577–89 (p. 577). Available from: <http://publicculture.dukejournals.org.chain.kent.ac.uk/content/12/3/577.full.pdf+html?sid=9363e2ca-4610-40c9-94db-ccb2fe79b7e4>

Pratt, Mary Louise. "Fieldwork in Common Places". In James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Prochazka-Eisl, G. "Modernism in Turkish Society as Reflected in the Cartoons of the Satirical Magazine Papagan (1924-1927)". In Urbain Vermeulen and J. M. F. van Reeth (eds.). *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*. Leuven: Peeters Press & Department of Oriental Studies. 1998. 259- 272.

Pufendorf, Samuel. *On the Duty of Man and Citizen according to Natural Law*. In J. Tully (Ed.) and M. Silverthorne (Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1991.

Purshouse, Luke. "Jealousy in Relation to Envy". *Erkenntnis* (1975-). Vol. 60, No. 2 (2004):179-204. Available on <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20013252>.

Raban, Jonathan. *For Love & Money: Writing- Reading- Travelling 1968-1987*. London: Picador. 1988.

Razuq, Muhammad. *Al-Andalusiyūn wa-Hijratuhum ilā al-Maghrib khilāl al-Qarnayn 16-17*. Rabat: Ifriqiya al-Sharq. 1998.

Reddy, William M. "Emotional Styles and Modern Forms of Life". In Nicole C. Karafyllis and Gotlind Ulshöfer. *Sexualized Brains: Scientific Modeling of Emotional Intelligence from a Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. 2008. 81-100.

Reddy, William M. "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions". *Emotion Review* Vol. 1, No. 4 (2009): 302-315.

Reddy, William. M. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2001.

Renard, John. *The A to Z of Sufism*. Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2009.

Reynolds, Dwight (ed.). *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001.

Reynolds, Dwight F. "Symbolic Narratives of Self: Dreams in Medieval Arabic Autobiography." In Philip Kennedy (ed.). *Defining Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2005. 259-284.

Riches, Daniel. *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden: Brill. 2013.

Riggan, William. *Pícaros, Madmen, Naïfs, and Clowns: The Unreliable First-person Narrator*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1981.

Robinson, Cyinthia. "The Arts of the Taifa Kingdoms", in Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise (ed). *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1992. 49-61.

Rodriguez, D. Cabanelas. "El- Caid Marroqui Abd al-Karim ibn Tuda, Refugiado en la Espana de Felipe II". *Miscelanea de Estudios arabes y Hebraicos.* Vol. XII (1963-4): 75-88.

Ronberg, Gert. *A Way with Words: The Language of English Renaissance Literature*. London: Arnold. 1992.

Root, Deborah. "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain". *Representations* No. 23 (Summer, 1988):118-134.

Rosa-Rodriguez, Maria del Mar. "Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa". *Medieval Encounters.* Vol. 16 (2010): 143-180.

Rosenthal, Franz. "Die Arabische Autobiographie". *Analecta Orientalia.* Vol.14 (1937): 1-40.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. (ed). *Anger's past: the social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press. 1998.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. "Worrying about Emotions in History". *The American Historical Review* Vol. 107, No. 3 (2002): 821-845.

Rosenwein, Barbara, H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages.* Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press. [2006] 2007.

Rosenwein, Barbara, H."Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* 1/1 (2010): 1-32. Online at <http://www.passionsincontext.de/>

Rosenwein, Barbara H. "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions". *History Compass* Vol.8, No.8 (2010): 828-842.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. "The Place of Renaissance Italy in the History of Emotions". In Fabrizio Ricciardelli and Andrea Zorzi (eds.), *Conference Proceedings 2012 - Emotions, Passions, and Power in Renaissance Italy.* Georgetown University Press. 2012. Available online on <https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/handle/10822/707326>, Date accessed: 07 Apr. 2015.

Roth, Norman. *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict*. Leiden: Brill. 1994.

Rozin, Paul, Jonathan Haidt, and Clark R. McCauley. "Disgust". In Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (Eds.). *Handbook of Emotions*. New York: Guilford Press. 2008. 757-776.

Rubiera Mata, María Jesús. La taqiyya y la fatua del Muftí de Orán / Ahmad Ibn Abi Yumu'a. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001. Available on: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-taqiyya-y-la-fatua-del-mufti-de-oran--0/html/ff58d1ca-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_7.html#I_0_>

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. "Travel writing and ethnography". In Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe". *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*. NY: Berghahn Journals. Vol.1, No. 1/2 (2000): 5- 35.

Rumi, Jalal al-Din. *Fihi ma Fihi (Discourses of Rumi)*. A. J. Arberry (Trans.). Ames, Iowa: Omphaloskepsis. [1961] 2000.

Rumi, Jalal Al-Din (c.1273). *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book One.* Jawid Mojaddedi (trans.). New York: Oxford University Press Inc. 2004.

Rumi, Jalal Al-Din (c.1273). *Rumi The Mesnavi: Book Two.* Jawid Mojaddedi (trans.). New York: Oxford University Press Inc. 2007.

Rushdie, Salman. *The Moor's Last Sigh.* London: Jonathan Cape. 1995.

Sa'di Shirazi, Sheikh Muslih-Uddin (d. 1292). *The Gulistan of Sa'di* (The Rose Garden of Sa'di, 1258). New York: Cosimo Cosimo, Inc. [1885] 2007.

Sabbagh, Leila. "La Religion des Moriscos entre deux Fatwas". In *Les Morisques et leur Temps.* Table Ronde Internationale 4-7 Juillet 1981, Montpellier, 45-56. Paris: Éditions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique. 1983.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* Penguin Books Limited, [1978], 2003.

Said, Edward. *Beginnings,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Said, Edward. "Introduction to Orientalism". In David Richter (ed.). *The Critical Tradition, 3rd ed.* Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's. 2006. 1801-1813.

Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael Benítez. "The Religious debate in Spain". In Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wiegers (eds.). *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2014. 102-131.

Sanderson, Alexis. "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir". In Michael Carrithers, Steven Collins and Steven Lukes (eds). *The Category of the Person. Anthropology, Philosophy, History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.1985. 190–216.

Sanseverino, Ruggero Vimercati. "Light". In Coeli Fitzpatrick and Adam Hani Walker (Eds.), *Mohammed in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God.* 2 Vol. Sant Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO. 2014. 344-348.

Sarnelli Cerqua, Clelia. "La fuga in Marocco di as-Shihab Ahmad al- Ḥağarī al-Andalusi", *Studi Maghrebini*, Vol. 1 (1966): 215–29.

Sarnelli Cerqua, Clelia. "Lo scrittore ispano-marochino al- Ḥağarī e il suo Kitâb Nasir ad-Dîn". In *Atti del terzo Congresso di studi arabi e islamici* (Ravello, 1-6 settembre 1966). Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale. 1967. 595-614.

Sarnelli Cerqua, Clelia. "al- Ḥağarī in Andalusia". *Studi Maghrebini,* Vol. 1II (1970): 161-203.

Sarnelli Cerqua, Clelia. "Un voyageur arabo-andalou au Caire au XVIeme siècle: al-Shih ab Ahmad al-Hadjari", in Colloque international sur l'Histoire du Caire (23 Mars-5 Avril 1969), s.l., Publisher: Ministry of Culture of the Arabic Republic of Egypt, General Egyptian Book Organization, Printed in the German Democratic Republik, Grafenhainichen, s.d. 1971. 103-106.

Sarnelli Cerqua, Clelia. "L 'écrivain ispano-marocain al- Ḥağarī et son «Kitâb Nâsir al-Din», in Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie, ed. M. de Epalza–R. Petit, Madrid, Istituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura–Tunis, Centre d'Études Hispano-Andalouses, 1973. 248-257.

Saukko, Paula. *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An introduction to classical and new methodological approaches.* London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2003.

Schülting, Sabine. "Travellers' Tales: Narrativity in Early Modern Travelogues". In Bernhard Reitz and Sigrid Rieuwerts (eds.). *Anglistentag 1999 Mainz. Proceedings of the Conference of the*

German Association of University Teachers of English. Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. 2000. 429-438.

Schülting, Sabine. *Dirt in Victorian Literature and Culture: Writing Materiality* - Routledge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature. Taylor & Francis Ltd, (forthcoming February 2016).

Schülting, Sabine, Müller SL, Hertel R (eds). *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures.* Farnham: Ashgate. 2012.

Searle, John R. *Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge University Press. 1969.

Sell, Jonathan P. A. *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 2006.

Sell, Jonathan P. A. "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing". *Studies in Travel Writing.* Vol. 16. No.3 (2012): 227-41.

Şen, Ahmet Tunç. "A Mirror for Princes, A Fiction for Readers: The Habnâme of Veysî and Dream Narratives in Ottoman Turkish Literature". *Journal of Turkish Literature.* Vol. 8 (2011): 41-67.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *On Benefits*. Aubrey Stewart (trans). London: George Bell & sons, 1887. Available on <https://archive.org/details/lannaeussenecao00stewgoog>.

Shannon, Jonathan Holt. *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 2015.

Shepard, Alexandra. "Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England." *Past & Present* 201 (2008): 51-95. Web.

Shweder, Richard A., and Robert A. LeVine (eds.). *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Shweder, Richard A., Jonathan Haidt, Randall Horton, and Craig Joseph, "The Cultural Psychology of the Emotions: Ancient and Renewed". In Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (eds.). *Handbook of Emotions*. New York, London: Guilford Press. 2010.

Siddiqi, M. H. "Thanksgiving in Islamic Thought". In J. B. Carman & F. J. Streng (Eds.). *Spoken and Unspoken Thanks: Some Comparative Soundings*. Dallas, TX: Center for World Thanksgiving, 1989. pp. 145-154.

Singh, Jyotsna G. (eds.). *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion,* West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell. 2009.

Skilliter, Susan, A. "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I". In Stern, S. M., & Aubin, J. (1965). *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1965. 119-157.

Skinner, Quentin. "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas". *History and theory* (1969): 3-53.

Skinner, Quentin. "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts". *New Literary History* Vol. 3, No.2 (1972): 393-408.

Slack, Paul. *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Longman, 1988.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (6th ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press. [1790], 1976.

Solomon, Robert C. *What is an Emotion? Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press [1984] 2003.

Stade, Hans, *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse: In AD 1547-1555, Among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*. Albert Tootal (Trans.) and Richard F. Burton (Annot.) London: The Hakluyt Society, 1874.

Stathi, Pinelopi. "A Greek Patriarchal Letter for Evliya Çelebi'. *Archivum Ottomanicum* Vol. 23 (2005/2006): 263-68.

Stelzer, Steffen A. J. "Ethics", in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 161-179.

Stern, Samuel Miklos. *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies.* Selected and edited by L.P. Harvey. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1974.

Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney. *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad*. Indiana: Indiana University Press. 2010.

Stevenson, Laura Caroline. *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1984.

Stewart, Devin. "The identity of 'the Muftī of Oran', Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum'ah al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511)". *Al-Qanṭara.* Vol 27, No 2 (2006): 265-301.

Stock, Brian. "History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality". *Yale French Studies* (1986): 7-17.

Stock, Brian. *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1990.

Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1983.

Stoler, Ann Laura and Frederick Cooper. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda". In Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.). *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997. 1-56.

Strohm, Paul. *Theory and the Premodern Text.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2000.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*. (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures). Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2011.

Terzioğlu, Derin. 2002. "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyazi-i Misri (1618-94)". *Studia Islamica*, No. 94. (2002): 139-165.

Tezcan, Nuran, Semih Tezcan and Robert Dankoff (eds. English Edition). *Evliyâ Çelebi Studies and essays Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of his Birth*. Istanbul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism and The Bank Association of Turkey. 2012.

Thompson, Carl. *Travel writing*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge. 2011.

Tibawi, A. L. "English-speaking orientalists", *Islamic Quarterly* Vol. 8, No. 1-4 (1964): 25-45.Also published in A.L. Macfie (ed.). *Orientalism: A Reader.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2000. 66-76.

Toulalan, Sarah. *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth Century England.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2007.

Tov-Ruach, Leila. "Jealousy, Attention and Loss". In A. O. Rorty (ed.), *Explaining Emotions*, London: University of California Press. 1980. 465-488.

Turner, Jonathan H., and Jan E. Stets. "Sociological Theories of Human Emotions". *Annual Review*

of Sociology. (2006): 25-52.

Ulbrich, Claudia, "Person and Gender: The Memoirs of the Countess of Schwerin". *German History.* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010): 296–309.

Ulbrich, Claudia. *"Self-Narratives as a Source for the History of Emotions".* In Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley (eds.). *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures 1450-1800.* London and New York: Routledge. 2014. 59-71.

Ulbrich, Claudia and Richard Wittmann (Ed.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives.* Würzburg: Ergon Varlag. 2015.

Ulbrich, Claudia, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer. *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland.* Leiden: Brill. 2014.

Urvoy, Dominique. "The ˁUlamaˁ of al-Andalus". In Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (eds.) *The Legacy of Muslim Spain.* Leiden: Brill [1992] 1994. 849-877.

Van Koningsveld, P. S. van, and G. A. Wiegers. "Islam in Spain during the Early Sixteenth Century: The Views of the Four Chief Judges in Cairo." In by Otto Zwartjes, G.J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds.). *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.* Amsterdam: Rodopi. 1996. 133-52.

Van Koningsveld, P. S. van, and G. A. Wiegers. "The Islamic Statute of the Mudejars in the Light of a New Source". *Al-Qantara.* Vol.17, No.1 (1996): 19-58.

Van koningsveld, P. S. and G. A. Wiegers. "The parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana': The Original Document and its Early Interpreters". *Al-Qantara* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2003): 327-358

Vanoli, Alessandro. "The borders of Muslim Spain". In Tottoli, Roberto (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West.* New York: Routledge. 2015. 21-37.

Verskin, Alan. *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista: The Debate on the Status of Muslim Communities in Christendom.* Leiden: Brill. 2015.

Vitkus, Daniel (ed.). *Three Turk Playsfrom EarlyModern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, and The Renegado.* New York: Columbia University Press. 2000.

Vitkus, Daniel. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003.

Wahyu, A. Widhiarso. "Note on Emotion Words Translation on Different Cultures". *Social Science Research Network.* (November 13, 2009). Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1505307 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1505307

Ward, J. P. *Metropolitan, Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Wasserstein, David J. "The Muslims and the Golden age of the Jews in al-Andalus". In Uri Rubin and David Wasserstein (eds.). *Dhimmis and others: Jews and Christians and the world of classical Islam.* Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press. 1997. 179-196.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: and Other Writings.* Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells (Trans.), London and New York: Penguin Books. 2002.

Wedel, Gudrun. *Autobiographien von Frauen. Ein Lexikon.* Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2010.

Werbner, Pnina (ed.). *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives.* Oxford; New York: BERG. 2008.

Wheeler, Valerie. "Travelers' Tales: Observations on the Travel Book and Ethnography".

Anthropological quarterly. (1986): 52-63.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

White, Hayden. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

White, Hayden, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact". In Hayden White (ed.) *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. 81-100.

White, Hayden. "The Fictions of Factual Representation". In Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1978. 121- 134.

White, Hayden. *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1987.

White, Hayden, "The Context in the Text: Method and Ideology in Intellectual History". In Hayden White (ed.), *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1987. 185-213

White, Hayden, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing". In Kuisma Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the history/literature Debate.* Amsterdam - New York, NY: Rodopi. 2006. 25-33.

Wiegers, Gerard A. "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings of Ahmad b. Qâsim al-Hajarî al-Andalusî (born ca. 977/1569-70)". In G. J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds). *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges.* (Yearbook of the Dutch association for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies). Vol. 1. Amsterdam, Atlanta. 1993. 87-115.

Wiegers, Gerard A. *A Learned Muslim Acquaintances of Erpenius and Golius. Ahmed b. Kasim al-Andalusi and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands.* Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit. 1988.

Wiegers, Gerard A. ″Learned Moriscos and Arabic studies in the Netherlands, 1609-1624". In Jens Lüdke (ed.). *Romania Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag. 1996. 405–417

Wiegers, Gerard. "The Expulsion of 1609-1614 and the Polemical Writings of the Moriscos Living in the Diaspora". In Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wiegers (eds.). *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2014. 389-412.

Wierzbicka, Anna. *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999.

Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2000.

Wills, Simon. *Voyages from the Past: A History of Passengers at Sea.* Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd. 2014.

Wolff, Cynthia Griffin. "Literary Reflections of the Puritan Character." *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 29, No. 1 (2008): 13-32.

Wollina, Torsten, "Ibn Ṭawq′s Taʼlīq. An Ego-Document for Mamlūk Studies". In Stephan Conermann (ed.) *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies–State of the Art.* Bonn

University Press. 2013. 337-362.

Woodhead, Christine. "Circles of Correspondence: Ottoman Letter-writing in the Early Seventeenth Century". *Journal of Turkish Literature,* Vol. 4 (2007): 53-69.

Yıldız, Nazan. "A Bird after Love: Ibn Hazm's The Ring of the Dove (*Tawq al- Hamamah*) and the Roots of Courtly Love". *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies.* Vol. 2, No. 8 (October 2013): 491-498.

Zilfi, Madeline. "Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul". *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies.* Vol. 45, No. 4 (Oct., 1986): 251-269.

Declaration

I declare that I have referenced all resources and aids that were used and assure that the paper is authored independently on this basis.

Date	Signature
18 May 2016	Laila Hashem Abdel-Rahman El-Sayed