

Early Modern Travel Books (1500-1700)⁽¹⁾
A Pragmaphilological Approach

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Introduction

The present paper meshes models from philology and historical pragmatics, i.e. a pragmaphilological approach, to highlight the early modern travel book genre. The present study suggests that both a philology (documenting, editing, and writing historical commentary on texts) and historical pragmatics can provide more historically accurate interpretations of texts from the past.

The paper has two objectives: (1) to stimulate a scholarly discussion on the methodologies of historical pragmatics and (2) to draw the attention of my fellow linguists, particularly in Egypt, to the travel book genres as classroom teaching material at the undergraduate courses on history of the English

⁽¹⁾ 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).

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Language, philology and/or pragmatics. I also pinpoint how the genre is a valid source for teaching about early modern cultural encounters between Europe and the Arab communities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The travel book genre is a gateway to studying several sociocultural and linguistic aspects of the histories of ideas, mentalities, self, emotions, ethnographies of the early modern world (1500-1700).

1- Theoretical framework:

Historical Pragmatics and Philology

The present study relies on two compatible views on the scope and definition of historical pragmatics. A relatively more recent definition by Irma Taavitsainen and Susan Fitzmaurice, who state that historical pragmatics “focuses on language use in past contexts and examines how meaning is made. It is an empirical branch of linguistic study, with focus on authentic language use in the past”.⁽²⁾

The second definition is by Jacobs and Jucker who have exerted a great authoritative effort to define historical pragmatics.⁽³⁾ They argue that “the task of historical pragmatics is to describe pragmatically how language was used in former

⁽²⁾ Irma Taavitsainen and Susan Fitzmaurice, “Historical pragmatics: What it is and how to do it.” *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007, pp: 11-36 (p.13).

⁽³⁾ Andreas Jacobs and Andreas H. Jucker. “The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics” in Andreas H. Jucker (ed.), *Historical pragmatics: pragmatic developments in the history of English*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1995, pp: 3-38 (p. 5-6).

times as transmitted in historical texts [...] What types of rules, conditions, and functions of social acts were effective in earlier language stages or processes of language change [...]?” They classify research in historical pragmatics into two approaches: pragmaphilology and diachronic pragmatics”.⁽⁴⁾ Pragmaphilology, the approach used in the present study, “describes the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text”.⁽⁵⁾

2- Data Sources

Previous studies on historical pragmatics have addressed several early modern ‘speech-based genres’ such as wills, personal letters, newspapers, manuals on good table, conversation, and court manners, to mention a few. i.e

varieties originating in speech that have been permanently preserved in writing. These include various kinds of transcribed speech, such as court proceedings, political debates, town meetings, and some public speeches and sermons, as well as various literary representations of speech (Biber and Finegan 1992: 689).⁽⁶⁾

⁽⁴⁾ Jacobs and Jucker. “The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics”, p.4

⁽⁵⁾ Jacobs and Jucker, “The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics”, p.11.

⁽⁶⁾ Quoted in Jacobs and Jucker, “The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics”, p. 7-8. Original text: Biber and Edward Finegan “The linguistic evolution of five written and speech-based English genres from the 17th to the 20th centuries.” In: Matti Rissanen, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen, and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.). *History of Englishes. New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992. pp: 688-704 (p. 689).

The present study treats travel books as an example of speech-based genres for two reasons. First, travellers' tales was originally an 'oral' activity that became heavily recorded during the late medieval and early modern periods. The genre exhibits oral styles such as, dialogues, intimate colloquial language, swearing, truth adverbials, address formulae, directives, politeness markers, apologies, and so on. Second, early modern travel books is like any "[w]ritten texts can be understood as communicative manifestations in their own right, and as such they are amenable to pragmatic analyses".⁽⁷⁾ The travel book, after all, is a communicative act between the traveller, his intended audience, and the patron(s) who paid for the expenses of the journey and the publication of the travel book. The interpretation of these relations is crucial to the interpretation of the meaning of the travel book, as will be demonstrated in the example below.

The present study consulted several computerised corpora databases on Early Modern self-narrative and autobiographical genres, including travel books. The corpora databases were available to the researcher at the British Library (London) and the Staatsbibliothek (Berlin) during the period of (2012-2014). Unfortunately, there are no similar corpora on early modern Arabic or Ottoman self narratives. In this respect, the present study used previous surveys and reviews on the Arabic *rihla*

⁽⁷⁾ Jacobs and Jucker, "The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics", p .9.

and Ottoman *seyahat* genres.⁽⁸⁾ For a close reading analysis, the present paper focuses on one example from one Arabic travel book, as will be discussed below.

3- The Early Modern Travel Book genre: (Example A)

This section is a demonstration on the pragmatic interpretation of texts from the past. It is also a demonstration on how the pragmaphilology approach can open up more linguistic interdisciplinary horizons. I chose one quote from an Arabic *rihla* genre followed by a NON-pragmaphilological interpretation, then I apply the pragmaphilological approach to the same example. The juxtaposition of these two analyses aims to show the power of pragmaphilology in interpreting historical text.

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!"

⁽⁸⁾ Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009; Dwight F. Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001; 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.

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 Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusi, 1611⁽⁹⁾

The above dialogue is from the seventeenth-century travel book The travel book has the title *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn `alā al-*

⁽⁹⁾ Ahmed bin Qasim al-Hajari, *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 Wieggers (eds.), Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1997, 142-144.

Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Wa huwa al-Saiḥ 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-Faqīh Qasim ibn al-Saykh al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī, henceforth referred to as al-Ḥajarī.

3.i. A NON-pragmaphilology analysis

The dialogue is between the narrator, an Andalusian traveller, Ahmed bin Qasim al-Hajari (c.1570-1640), and “a girl from among the circle of the French notables from the city of Funtani [Fontenay]”.⁽¹⁰⁾ At first glance, the dialogue catches the attention for its language of alterity, exotic otherness, racial attitudes and perceptions. The conversation sets the self/other encounter as one which is based on doubt and dismissal. For some reason, the western ‘girl’ dismisses the man for a Turk, and no other ‘nation/ethnicity’. The lack of communication and the emphasis on different ideologies appear immediately in the eastern man’s answer, that he is a Muslim. This creates a contrast between two zones of beings: the western girl’s idea of the *nation/ethnicity*, and the eastern man’s idea of *ummah*, ‘community of believers’. This kind of identity is supported further by thanking God for being a Muslim and not any ‘Other’.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Al-Hajari, *Kitāb Nāsir l-Dīn*, p. 141.

Then, a stereotypical attitude emerges, when the western girl asks a subtle question about the veil of the eastern women. It is subtle because the phrase “your women” is highly interpretative. It can either indicate the wives of the man, and can be linked immediately to the taken-for-granted conception of polygamy, or it might mean the women from where the man is. In either case, the question is based on universalization, which is a cornerstone in the construction of orientalism/occidentalism, as described by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). There is also an insinuation about the women in the east being mere properties, owned by men. This is indicated through the possessive adjective, “your”. The question might also refer to the self-centred attitude of the western woman, where she first thinks of the issue of gender. The French girl's typical Orientalist ‘style of thought’ is evidenced through her question about the ‘unfamiliar’ act of eastern women wearing the veil, and the ‘irrationality’ of such an act, which prevents them from expressing their love. Her question implies the “widely influential model of the Oriental woman [who] never represented her emotions”.⁽¹¹⁾ This is the subtext which might be inferred from the eastern man’s description of the western way of marriage, and is further supported by thanking God at the end, for not being a westerner. The eastern man is critical of the way in which marriage is processed in the west. For him, the western method is deemed impure.

⁽¹¹⁾ Edward Said, “Introduction to Orientalism”, In David Richter (ed.), *The Critical Tradition*, 3rd ed. Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's, 2006. 1801-13, (p. 1802).

Was the above analysis appealing? May be appealing, but it is, definitely, neither pragmatically reliable nor historically accurate. To approach the above dialogue, I have *intentionally* ‘adopted’ what Nabil Matar, critically, calls “the postcolonial template”.⁽¹²⁾ I have *deliberately teased out* the dialogue in order to force it into the postcolonial binary Orient/Occident mind-set. I did this *twisted analysis* to demonstrate two major issues in the study of early modern travel books. First, the analysis, even if it sounds plausible, may mislead, because it focuses exclusively on the language of the text, and overlooks its historical and cultural context, as well as its situational context of production. The simple pragmaphilological rule states that:

The meaning of any particular text exists somewhere in the range between broad tradition and unique articulation, between authorial intent and a broadened diversity of uses and appropriations, between the work’s meaning to its intended and actual and subsequent audiences. Never unitary, a meaning’s history and status (when? to whom? for what?) must always be specified.⁽¹³⁾

Second, in the above twisted analysis, postcolonial concepts, particularly Edward Said’s Orientalist paradigm, have been applied to a pre-colonial text, and instead of “identify[ing] and

⁽¹²⁾ Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, p. 8.

⁽¹³⁾ Paul Strohm. *Theory and the Premodern Text*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. xv.

investigat[ing] the text's exceptionalities", the postcolonial vocabulary has been allowed to "override" the text.⁽¹⁴⁾ Such anachronistic use of postcolonial concepts, therefore, does not "listen to the traveller";⁽¹⁵⁾ rather, it rehearses and reapplies to the early modern text the rhetoric of the twentieth century, which culminates in a metanarrative clash between Christianity and Islam, Europe and Other, West and East or Us and Them. Similar historiographically twisted analyses have relied on Bernard Lewis' notion of the *clash of civilizations*, one of the obsolete readings of early modern Muslim-Christian encounters is.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is regrettable that a perusal of studies on the early modern Arabic *Rihla*, English travel books and Ottoman *Seyahat* genres reveals many examples of such textually problematic and dichotomous readings.

3. ii. A pragmaphilology analysis: *Kitāb* as a Communicative Act

What would a scholar of comparative philology and historical pragmatics make of this dialogue? Reading *Kitāb* as a communicative act searches into the situational context of *Kitāb* and the relation between the traveller-author and his

⁽¹⁴⁾ Strohm. *Theory and the Premodern Text*, p. xvi.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p.xiii.

⁽¹⁶⁾ 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.

intended audience. This pragmatic reading is a preamble to the interpretation of al-Ḥajarī's writing style, his authorial intentions and his modes of self-fashioning.

- **The narrator/traveller**

Al-Ḥajarī was born in c. 1570 in Andalusia; then he moved to live in Granada. He voluntarily immigrated to Marrakesh, Morocco in 1597. Like most Muslims who lived under the Catholic rule in early modern Spain,⁽¹⁷⁾ al-Ḥajarī had both a Spanish and an Arabic name. He used the name Ehmed bin Qasim Bejaranos before his immigration to Morocco. After he moved to the Arabic Maghrib, he added the *nisbah*⁽¹⁸⁾ 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).⁽¹⁹⁾ Although the fall of Granada in 1492 was the official end of Muslim Spain, and

⁽¹⁷⁾ 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.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *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, Hanafī, 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.

⁽¹⁹⁾ 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.

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 text**

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 of *Kitāb* was discovered by the Italian orientalist Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua during her work in the Egyptian National Archives (MS No. Ṭ. 1634) in 1964.⁽²⁰⁾ However, before Sarnelli unveiled the Cairo MS, a few scholars had already known about *Kitāb* from a fragment of another manuscript.⁽²¹⁾ This fragment was part of the personal collection of orientalist scholar Georges Colin⁽²²⁾ and is now in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Arabe 7024).⁽²³⁾ The Paris MS “represents a scribal copy of a revised version of the

⁽²⁰⁾ 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.

⁽²¹⁾ 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.

⁽²²⁾ 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).

⁽²³⁾ For information on this MS see http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000078185&c=FRBNFEAD000078185_e0000015&qid=sdx_q15

text preserved in the Cairo MS which was mainly directed towards a Maghribi audience”.⁽²⁴⁾

Based on the Cairo MS and Paris MS, *Kitāb* has been edited twice. One edition was published in Arabic by Mohammed Razzuk in 2004.⁽²⁵⁾ 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. Wiegiers in 1997.⁽²⁶⁾ 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*.⁽²⁷⁾ 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

⁽²⁴⁾ P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegiers. “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. Wiegiers (eds, trans.). Madrid: CSIC/AECI, 1997, p. 59.

⁽²⁵⁾ 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]

⁽²⁶⁾ Ahmed Ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī (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. Wiegiers (eds, trans.). Madrid: CSIC/AECI. 1997.

⁽²⁷⁾ 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.

references to quotations from al-Ḥajarī's travel book in this paper are given parenthetically to the Van Koningsveld et al. edition and to their English translation of the text.

The storyline in *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. 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-Ḥajarī 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).⁽²⁸⁾ The narrative presents several episodes from the everyday life of the Andalusian community in Granada and its encounter with

⁽²⁸⁾ See P. S. van Koningsveld and G. A. Wieggers. “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.

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).⁽²⁹⁾ 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".⁽³⁰⁾ 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 (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

⁽²⁹⁾ The Golden al-Mansour was a pen-friend of Queen Elizabeth. Source: Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 9.

⁽³⁰⁾ Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, p.72.

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).

***Kitāb* exhibits several Literary Genres.** 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),⁽³¹⁾ Maqāmāt (picaresque narrative),⁽³²⁾ and ta'rīkh (historiography). As a historical document, *Kitāb* has been studied as a source for early modern archaeology in Granada,⁽³³⁾ the history of Arabic studies in Europe,⁽³⁴⁾ and the political and cultural history of Muslims in Spain.⁽³⁵⁾

⁽³¹⁾ *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>

⁽³²⁾ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*. (Diskurse der Arabistik Vol. 5). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.

⁽³³⁾ 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.

⁽³⁴⁾ 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>.

⁽³⁵⁾ 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].

In addition, *Kitāb* has two more salient genres. First, it is a self-narrative. It holds many features of the *tarjama* (autobiography, self-interpretation) genre. The storyline of *Kitāb* 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 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)⁽³⁶⁾. 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.

The second most salient genre conventions in *Kitāb* is the *munādhara dīniyya* (interfaith-polemics).⁽³⁷⁾ Al-Ḥajarī structures his narrative around several debates and disputes with the *Nasara* (Christians) whom he met in his travels. He

⁽³⁶⁾ 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.

⁽³⁷⁾ 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*, München: Lincom, 2010, pp. 77-97.

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 disputes with Christians and Jews run constantly through the text, turning *the rihla* narrative into a polemical treatise par excellence.⁽³⁸⁾

⁽³⁸⁾ 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].

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.⁽³⁹⁾ In addition to such rationality, as the epigraph of this chapter shows, he maps out his polemics as an emotional enterprise.⁽⁴⁰⁾

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!’ (p. 113-114.)

The willingness to dispute over religion is projected as either a powerful emotional force or a sign of emotional weakness.

⁽³⁹⁾ M. Dascal, “On the Uses of Argumentative Reason in Religious Polemics”. In T. L. Hetteema and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *Religious Polemics in Context*. Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2004, pp. 3-20.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ 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.

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.

- ***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*.⁽⁴¹⁾ 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)

⁽⁴¹⁾ 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 *'ansab* (genealogy) dictionaries on the sixteenth-century Moroccan dynasty al-Ashraf al-Sa`diyyin (the Sa`dids). See Muhammed al-Saḡīr 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.

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 Rabi' 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 have mercy on him) occurs after each mention of Shaykh al-Ujhūrī, who died in 1655.⁽⁴²⁾ The Cairo MS has several marginalia, on the title and last pages, which celebrate

⁽⁴²⁾ Van Koningsveld et al., "Introduction", p. 54.

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-‘Aṭṭār the appointed Shaykh of al-Azhar Mosque”. Shaykh l-‘Aṭṭār (1766-1835) was the grand Imam of al-Azhar (1830-1835).⁽⁴³⁾ Another marginalia dated 1317 [1899] is signed by an unidentified Libyan scholar named Muhammad ibn al-Shaykh ‘Omar 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.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Coupled with

⁽⁴³⁾ Peter Gran, “Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār”, in Joseph Edmund Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (eds.) *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1350-1850*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag. 2009, pp. 56–68.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ 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.

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 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'; however, it has the illocutionary force of self-promoting, or rather showing off. Nevertheless, these details support the hypothesis of the present study that *Kitāb* tells 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 polemical style and his modes of 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).⁽⁴⁵⁾ 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.⁽⁴⁶⁾

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)

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.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Al-Ḥajarī’s career as a translator in the Sa’did Moroccan court is evident in several

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Van Koningsveld et al., “Introduction”, p. 36. They are referring to MS Arabe 4119, Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ 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.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ L.P. Harvey, “The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan’s Spanish Interpreter”, *Miscelánea de -Árabes y Hebraicos*, 8, 1959: 67-97.

surviving works.⁽⁴⁸⁾ 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,

⁽⁴⁸⁾ 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-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-`Izz wa al-Rif'a w al-Mānāfi` lil-Mujāhidīn fi 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-`Askariyah, 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.

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)⁽⁴⁹⁾

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)

In Leiden, al-Ḥajarī associated with two Dutch Arabists: Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) and Jacobus Golius (1596-1667).⁽⁵⁰⁾ 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,

⁽⁴⁹⁾ This passage is absent from Cairo MS.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Wieggers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic studies in the Netherlands", pp. 413-415.

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*.⁽⁵¹⁾

This scholarly situation of writing *Kitāb* is reflected in al-Ḥajarī's vocabulary choice. Al-Ḥajarī draws heavily on Qur'anic and scholarly vocabulary in his text. 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)⁽⁵²⁾ (p. 82,140), Imam Abu Ḥamid al-Ghazālī and his Sufi Compendium *Ihya' 'Ulum ad-Dīn* (Revival of Religious Learning)⁽⁵³⁾ (p. 74), Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī 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

⁽⁵¹⁾ Wieggers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands", p. 412.

⁽⁵²⁾ Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010, pp. 70-150.

⁽⁵³⁾ Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī, *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Dīn (Revival of Religious Learning)*. Fazl-ul-Karim (Trans.). 4 Vol. Karachi, Pakistan: Darul-Ishaat. 1993.

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,⁽⁵⁴⁾ such as: *al-Risala* (The Treatise) by Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (p.151), *Irshād al-Ḥayārā fī 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 fī '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.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ 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 Mediterranean Diaspora*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014, pp. 389-412.

4- Pragmaphilology and the the language of emotions in *Kitāb*

The above pragmaphilology analysis of **Example A** from *Kitāb* is structured to raise a discussion on the cross-cultural meaning of emotions in the text and its relation to the historical and cultural contexts. Therefore, the works of scholars in history, anthropology and the language of emotions are of particular interest to the present paper. Al-Ḥajarī constructs his views on the cultural variation of the meaning of love as “part and parcel of [his] system of ethical reasoning”; emotions, for him, “include in their content judgments that can be true or false, and good or bad guides to ethical choice”⁽⁵⁵⁾. This pragmatic reading pinpoints the influence of al-Ḥajarī’s ‘emotional community’, using Barbara Rosenwein’s concept.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In his assessment, the narrator uses his “values, goals, and presuppositions – products of [his] society, community, and individual experience, mediators all”⁽⁵⁷⁾. Precisely, the dialogue speaks of the “norms, codes, and modes of expression” of love, in both the narrator’s and the girl’s cultural contexts, in the seventeenth century Europe⁽⁵⁸⁾. These codes and norms are the community’s ‘emotional style’, which indicates the way in which the emotional community organizes its “modes of

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Martha C. Nussbaum. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 1.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 2006

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 191.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 193.

thinking about, handling, generating and expressing emotions”⁽⁵⁹⁾ or “the cultural ordering of emotions”.⁽⁶⁰⁾

These two notions of ‘emotional community’ and ‘emotional style’ are products of the socio-constructionist theory of emotions. As Clifford Geertz states, “not only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artefacts”⁽⁶¹⁾ and “cultural products”.⁶² The theory accepts that emotions are natural bio-physiological phenomena across different cultures, and it further stresses that emotions are “sociocultural constructs”⁽⁶³⁾. Emotion concepts are not mere “labels for internal states”,⁽⁶⁴⁾ 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”.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The cultural-constructionist theory also reinforces emotions as a social practice, whereby an emotion may enact various

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Benno Gammerl, “Emotional Styles - Concepts and Challenges.” *Rethinking History*. Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 201): 161-175 (p. 161).

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Dewight R. Middleton, “Emotional Style: The Cultural Ordering of Emotions”. *Ethos*. Vol. 17, No. 2 (Jun., 1989):187-201(p. 187).

⁽⁶¹⁾ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 81.

⁽⁶²⁾ Geertz, *Interpretation*, p. 50.

⁽⁶³⁾ 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.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*, University of Chicago Press, 1988 , p. 5.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, p. 6.

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”.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The pragmaphilology approach illuminates the travel book’s context of production, and projects the complex interrelation between the traveller and his intended audience, and the way in which the enactment of emotions in the travel book reflects his notion of “self-fashioning”⁽⁶⁷⁾ and “self-presentation”⁽⁶⁸⁾. Emotions may also have been used to construct community solidarity, or simply to amuse, teach, and entertain the reader.

In the dialogue, the narrator/traveller constructs (to his intended readers) his emotional encounter: “*looked at me askance*”, “*her face showed anger*”, and most importantly, he talks about the nature of “*love*” and “*marriage*”. The narrator projects the French girl’s question of love and self-expression as a criterion which sets two “emotional communities” apart. The openness and concealment of love are projected as the main cultural question between these two ‘emotional communities’. The two interlocutors, rendered in the narrator’s

⁽⁶⁶⁾ 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]

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1980] 2005.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Goffman Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.

words, evaluate love and the modes of its expression from two perspectives that match the norms of their sub-cultures. For the ‘French elite girl’, the invisibility and phantom-like presence of a woman makes the question of love and self-expression necessary. The narrator projects the girl’s inability to understand how concealment might be able to play a part in love, which is all about openness. The girl enquires about the absence of the bodily 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.

Approaching *Kitāb* as a communicative act has established several important textual and cultural cues for interpreting al-Ḥajarī’s discourse on love in **Example A**. First, *Kitāb* was written as a social activity between al-Ḥajarī and other Mālikī scholars. Second, this 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. Third, the intriguing trope of the dialogue is the traveller's polemical ‘emotional style’, which at first glance tricks the reader into the trap of a binary mindset. Nevertheless, if the text is read against its context of production and readership, as explained above, 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”. The traveller does not necessarily describe his own feelings. Nevertheless, this dialogue, and similar stories on emotions that are very often embedded in travel books can

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.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The pragmatic analysis unfolds the way in which al-Ḥajarī embeds his emotions in cultural scripts, historical events, *Māliki* jurisprudence and Sufi discourses. He narrates his emotions in a polemical style, in order to fashion himself to his intended audience, namely the *Māliki* jurists in Egypt and North Africa.

These intertextual references to contemporary polemical texts 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

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 193.

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.⁽⁷⁰⁾

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 from al-Andalus to North Africa. 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.

Conclusion

The dialogue in (**Example A**) is just one of hundreds early modern travellers’ stories and comments on emotions and emotional encounters. The discourse on emotions in travel genres cannot appropriately be interpreted through the dichotomies of Self-Other or East-West. Emotions, even though they have natural biological aspects, are relational concepts that can only be understood in the pragmaphilological terms of interactions between the traveller, his community, and

⁽⁷⁰⁾ 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.

his intended audience.

Apart from that, the travellers' narratives of their emotions and emotional encounters qualify the travel book to be read as an "ego-document", or a "self-narrative", i.e. a "text in which an author writes about his or her own acts, thoughts and feelings".⁽⁷¹⁾ Furthermore, indeed, travel books can be valuable sources for learning about early modern language of selfhood and emotions in texts and cultures of the past. These embedded stories on emotions make historical pragmatics a proper approach among historians, philologists, philosophers, anthropologists, sociolinguists, and cognitive psychologists to the study of the nature and the history of emotions.

Finally, the pragmatology approach highlights the larger historical context of the early modern travel genres in different cultures. 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

⁽⁷¹⁾ Rudolf Dekker, *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002, p.7.

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 Age’ (1400-1800), in which all the civilizations and cultures came to varying shades of mutuality, dialogue, and reciprocity.⁽⁷²⁾ 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 example illustrates. Within this historical context, the study of early modern travel genre became a study of a connected history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self.⁽⁷³⁾

⁽⁷²⁾ Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

⁽⁷³⁾ Susan Bassnett, “Constructing Cultures: the Politics of Travellers’ Tales”, in *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

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