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


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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

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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.”

Pragmaphilology, the approach used in the present study, “describes the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressee and addressee, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text”.

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).

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

and Ottoman *seyahat* genres. 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 form 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!"

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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

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

Qawm al-Kāfirīn: Wa huwa al-Saif al-ʿash.har ʿala kul man kafar: Mukhtaṣar Riḥlat al-Shihāb ʿila Liqāʿ 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.

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.

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 pragmaphilologolological 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


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 reappplies 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


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, 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* to his name; he added the name al-Ḥajarī in relation to his home village al-Ḥajar al-Ahmarr (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). Although the fall of Granada in 1492 was the official end of Muslim Spain, and

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(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.

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. However, before Sarnelli unveiled the Cairo MS, a few scholars had already known about *Kitāb* from a fragment of another manuscript. This fragment was part of the personal collection of orientalist scholar Georges Colin and is now in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Arabe 7024). The Paris MS “represents a scribal copy of a revised version of the

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

Based on the Cairo MS and Paris MS, Kitāb has been edited twice. One edition was published in Arabic by Mohammed Razzuk in 2004. 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. 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. 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 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-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). 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). (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


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 Ruʾiyya (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)


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 *ḥijrah* 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

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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 *Munādharah*. See for example this online library of Arabic books. It classifies *Kitāb* within *rudud wa munādharat* genre [http://www.almaktabeh.com/catplay.php?catsmktba=42&page=5](http://www.almaktabeh.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’ān, 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.


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 ʿila Liqāʿ 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, *Rihlat*.(41) He read his *Rihlat* 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 *Rihlat*. This explains why he added the subordinate title of *Mukhtasar Rihlat 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. *Rihlat*]. 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)

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Al-Ḥajārī returned to Tunis and, according to al-Uḫūrī’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-Ḥajārī showed his Kitāb to the mufti of Tunisia, Shaykh Ahmed al-Ḥanafī, who also approved and praised the text (p. 241). Later al-Ḥajārī made several edited copies of Kitāb. The Cairo MS is one of these later copies, because al-Ḥajārī 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-Uḫūrī, who died in 1655. 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-Faqīḥ 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). (43) Another marginalia dated 1317 [1899] is signed by an unidentified Libyan scholar named Muhammad ibn al-Shaykh ʿOmar al-Qādī 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 fiqhi), which was predominant in early modern al-Andalus and North Africa. (44) Coupled with


this Mālikī network are other intersecting Sufī 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-Ḥājarī is more liberal on these private matters. For example, during his stay in Paris, al-Ḥājarī wrote two texts. In April 1612, he wrote a poem in Spanish and Arabic to his wife “la blanca paloma” (the white dove). 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.

Nevertheless, in Kitāb, al-Ḥājarī 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. Al-Ḥajari’s career as a translator in the Sa’did Moroccan court is evident in several

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


surviving works. 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)\(^{(49)}\)

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.

\(^{(50)}\) Wiegers, “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 Iḥya’ ʿUlam ad-Dīn (Revival of Religious Learning)\(^{(53)}\) (p. 74), Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and his book al-Khasāʿis al-Kubrā (The Miracles and Characteristics of Prophet Muhammed) (p.48, p.146), and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d.1149) and his book Kitāb Al-Shifā’ bi-taʾrīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā (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,\(^{(54)}\) such as: *al-Risala* (The Treatise) by Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (p.151), *Irshād al-Ḥayārā Ḷī rad’ man mārā Ḷī adillat al-tawhīd wa’l-radd ‘ala ‘l-Nāṣārā* (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 ʿabd al-Haqq al-Islami, a late fourteenth-century Jewish convert to Islam (p.165), and *Tuhfat al-Ar ī b Ṣī ‘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.

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

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

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 biophysiological 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

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\(^{(62)}\) Geertz, *Interpretation*, p. 50.


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”. 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” and “self-presentation”. 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

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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-Ḥajārī embeds his emotions in cultural scripts, historical events, Mālikī jurisprudence and Sufi discourses. He narrates his emotions in a polemical style, in order to fashion himself to his intended audience, namely the Mālikī jurists in Egypt and North Africa.

These intertextual references to contemporary polemical texts in Kitāb are significant to the analysis of al-Ḥajārī’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

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 pragmaphilology 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

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.\(^{73}\)


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