

**THE IMAGE OF TURKEY AND THE TURKS AS “THE OTHER”  
IN AL-KHIYĀRĪ'S TUḤFAT AL-'UDABĀ' WA SALWAT AL-  
GHURABĀ' :  
A TRAVELOGUE FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

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**The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own work and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.**

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## Abstract

There are many studies that discuss the image of the "other" in the Arab heritage and the image of the Arab heritage from the perspective of the "other." However, most of these studies focus on the present era and the western "other". This study is different in theme and period than studies which have been done previously. Its theme is the image of Turkey and the Turks in a work which belongs to Arab travel literature and which was written more than three centuries ago. There is a noticeable lack in studies that examine the image of the "other" in Arab travel literature by writers belonging to the Arabian Peninsula. The travelogue of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī is a literary work written by one of the citizens of that area, therefore, the researcher hopes that his effort will represent an approach which contributes to filling this gap and which sheds light on the cultural production of intellectuals from the Arabian Peninsula in the past centuries.

Using the descriptive analytical method, this study has tried to cover aspects of the topic within the conditions available and has written six chapters on the following topics: previous studies on the subject, histories of the Ḥijāz and the Ottoman Empire, the classification of travel writings, a presentation of the travelogue as an object of this study as well as the author and his context, Turkey in the seventh century, its civilization and culture, and finally, the image of non-Muslims in Turkey in the text of the writer. Through an extrapolation of texts that talk about the "non-Muslim other" it is clear that the author of this travelogue - like many writers in past and present - was under the influence of cultural and historical influences especially with regards to the aforementioned minorities, as bias seems to be evident in multiple texts. It therefore seems as though he was writing a personal impression of the "other" rather than simply describing what he saw and experienced.

# Arabic Transliteration System

## I. Arabic Letters

Arabic Letter	Transliteration
ء	'
أ	a
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ

ط	t
ظ	ẓ
ع	‘
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
هـ	h
و	w
ي	y

## II. Arabic Short-Long Vowels

Arabic Letter	Transliteration
ا	a
آ	ā

Arabic Letter	Transliteration
و	u
وو	ū

ـ

i

ي

ī

### III. Arabic Diphthongs

Arabic Letter

Transliteration

ـو

aw

ـي

Ay

ـي

iy (final form ī) [Ex. lughawiyy – linguistic]

ـو

uw (final form ū)

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## **Declaration**

**I, the author of this thesis, declare that none of the material in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other candidate for a degree in this or any other University.**

# Introduction

For Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, who came from a confined desert area with limited resources, Turkey is a completely charming and different world in every way to his homeland: green areas, hills, mountains, spring flowers, winter snow, lakes, seas, rivers, bridges, various industries and architectural arts in the shape of mosques, buildings and castles, Turkish baths, hippodromes, various large markets, huge ports which were busy around the clock and huge numbers of people. All this was astonishing for both the writer and his readers, since almost nothing of these aspects existed in the Ḥijāz (in the west of the Arabian Peninsula) where the writer was born. For this reason, the travelogue of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī “*Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā*” is a fascinating work.

## 1. Aim and Questions of the Research

The aim of this research is to find out how Turkey and the Turks in the eleventh century A.H/seventeenth century A.D. were portrayed through an Arabic work by a writer from the Ḥijāz during his visit and stay in Turkey in the second half of that century. This work will attempt to answer one major question and three minor questions:

The major one is:

- 1- How was eleventh century A.H./seventeenth century A.D Turkey was portrayed (in terms of its nature, population, civilization, culture, customs, traditions, etc) in the travelogue of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī?

The minor ones are:

- 2- What role did the cultural mentality of the writer, and indeed any writer, play in imaging "the other"?
- 3- How travellers (Muslims and Christians) portray "the other" who is different in terms of religion in that era? And how did that "other" appears in al-Khiyārī's travelogue specifically?
- 4- As the territory of the writer, the Ḥijāz, was under the Ottoman rule, did al-Khiyārī's work portray the Ottoman Turks as detestable occupiers or desirable legal rulers?

## **2. The Importance of the Research**

Although there are a sufficient number of researchers who have provided the Arabic library with works about the image of other peoples in the Arab heritage, this researcher believes that this study will provide an addition to the intellectual field for the following reasons:

- 1- Because cultural progress in the Arabian Peninsula has been fairly hesitant, especially compared to other Arab countries such as Egypt, the Levant, Iraq and North Africa, there was a delay in publishing texts written through ages by the authors of that area. Higher education, publishing and writing only became popular in the Arabian Peninsula (especially present-day Saudi Arabia) in the last decades of the twentieth century. Writers and authors in the above mentioned Arab countries have written about their heritage since the nineteenth century, but because they were interested in publishing the literary heritage of their own countries, they were scarcely interested in writing about the heritage of the Arabian Peninsula. Hence, the study of these few works belonging to the Arabian Peninsula is an important contribution, and is essential to this field. In addition, it could be considered to be a moral duty towards the scholars and writers who have contributed in preserving this cultural development, particularly in this field;
- 2- The writer, Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, is not a well known writer in Arab critical and literary circles, because what is written about him and his work is so scarce. This may be because of his early death (his early forties), and also because this travelogue is his only book. Highlighting this sizeable work (three volumes) is a significant addition to human knowledge;
- 3- As far as I know, there is no academic study which has examined the image of Turkey and the Turks in Arabic literature during the eleventh century A.H./seventeenth century A.D., and no study has examined this image in the literary works of writers belonging to the Arabian peninsula in any era;



- 4- The date of al-Khiyārī's text goes back to the early period when the Arab-Turk relations were good i.e., before it became tense towards the end of the nineteenth century and subsequently aggressive since the beginning of the twentieth century. This means that the aggressive and detestable opinions of most of the Arab intellectuals towards the Turks in the latter part of the Ottoman era up until now had not yet taken shape. As a result, it is posited that he wrote the text objectively and with respect towards Turkey;
- 5- The research tries to pinpoint the role played by the cultural conflict in stereotyping the image of “the other”, particularly if “the other” differs with regards to religion, and how cultural components have been evoked, especially religious ones, to deform image of "the other" by imaging him to be a “devil”.

### **3. Methodology of the Study**

The researcher has employs the descriptive analytical approach, because it is believed that this is the proper approach for studying texts that have various subjects, styles and targets. Al-Khiyārī's book consists about 750 pages divided into three volumes. This work includes various observations and discussions about Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Turkey. Thus it was necessary to analyze the text and classify it according to its subject, then to concentrate on the part that deals specifically with Turkey which is more than a third of the book (300 pages). After analysis and classification, the researcher depends on the descriptive approach, since the texts have various subjects and because the cultural context of the writer is different from

those he wrote about. The writer's concentration on the beauty of nature cannot be separated from the fact that he came from a desert environment. Another fact that cannot be ignored is that the cultural perception about the European Christians affected the image of "the Christian other" in Turkey in the writer's texts. Arab preconceptions that Christianity as a religion and the Europeans as a human group had common characteristics caused the image of the non-Arab Christians to be connected with the Byzantine occupiers and the European crusaders and invaders. Accordingly, the image of the Christians in the writer's mind was affected by these different contexts. That partially explains why the writer keeps this stereotyped image as it is and is unable to get it out his mind, apparently being so deeply affected by that cultural context that it directs his pen more than the visual reality. The descriptive approach seems useful for studying such texts, as it helps in observing the cultural phenomenon and tracking its path from the perspective of the writer, as well as its effect on the conceptualisation of the community about which al-Khiyārī writes.

In order to understand al-Khiyārī's work within the framework of its cultural and historical context, it was necessary for the researcher to read many Arabic travelogues written during and before the writer's lifetime. It was also essential to read a number of writings and studies about travel literature and to study works of western travellers who visited the Muslim Arab countries, in order to know how those writers conceived of the peoples they visited and to what extent their texts are affected by their own cultures (national and religious) in thinking about those nations. The researcher believes that reading the works of western writers who

wrote about Muslims as "the other" may also contribute in understanding the cultural effects that directed al-Khiyārī in his writing about "the non-Muslim other" in the areas that he visited during his journey. Studying what the Muslim Arabs and the Christian westerners wrote about each other helps the researcher to understand the cultural relationship between the two parties, since writers are important contributors to the culture of their own country and nation.

#### **4. The Research Difficulties**

Like any academic work, the researcher faced a number of difficulties during the research process. These are listed as follows:

1- It was difficult to understand many of al-Khiyārī's texts, because the style of writing used in these texts which is an Arabic style from the period of decadence of Arabic literature. This style differs completely from modern Arabic and many Turkish words have been used in the text making it difficult to know the writer's intent;

2- The writer depends on figurative literary language and uses a huge amount of poetic texts. The prose language itself utilises simile, metaphor, metonym and other rhetorical styles, which make the text look to some extent like prose poetry. The

translation of the selected texts from this intensive literary language into contemporary English, whilst reserving the writer's meaning, is a challenging process in which a lot of time and effort were exerted;

3- All the geographical places mentioned in the writer's texts are written in Arabic and correspond with the Ottoman alphabet at that time, as the Ottoman Turkish language was written with the Arabic alphabet. The researcher faced difficulty in pinpointing places on the map, as they are now written in contemporary Turkish which uses the Latin and Greek alphabet, since parts have now become a part of Greece. In addition, some of these places no longer exist on the map because of changes through the centuries; some of these places were important for economic, military or other reasons, and when circumstances changed some of them disappeared. Although pinpointing the geographical places which the writer visited on the map is not a part of the researcher's main task, it is very important to help understand the context of the text and to know the history of such places, its current position and its importance in the past and the present. In addition, it is important to identify the current name of such places in order that they be presented in English or modern Turkish using the methods followed in academic studies;

4- The writer dated all events by the Islamic Hijri calendar which started in 622 A.D. If it is left as it is, it will be meaningless for the non-Muslim and non-Arab reader. As a result, I had to convert all of the dates which were mentioned in this

dissertation to the western Gregorian calendar along and they are presented along with the Hijri equivalent;

Furthermore the above mentioned difficulties related all to the relevant text, the researcher met some personal obstacles, the most important two are:

- 5 In October 2010 he suffered from sclerosis in the neck as a result of a traffic accident near the university which prevented him from working on the computer; and
- 6- There was a burglary on his home while he was spending the summer holiday outside the United Kingdom (August 2012) and all of his computers were stolen, so all the research files were lost, as well as the saved references on the computer.

After being provided with all of the documents as proof of the two mentioned incidents, the authorities at the University of Leeds extended the period of his study by three months for the traffic accident and six months for the burglary. Nevertheless the work was hard, as he is still suffering from neck pain up until now. Recouping the lost work within six months was an almost impossible task.

## 5. General View on the Dissertation's Contents

Besides this introduction, conclusion, recommendations and indexes, this dissertation contains six chapters which discuss the following topics:

- 1- The first chapter is a literature review of the relevant studies i.e., the image of "the other" in the Arab literature, and it reviews examples of Arabic studies and research that dealt with the image of "the other" in both ancient and contemporary Arab works. The chapter also points to some studies that were interested in the opposite i.e., the image of the Arabs from the perspective of "the other". The chapter contains two main points: 1- The contemporary Arab studies about the image of the west and Turks as being "the other", 2- Previous studies about al-Khiyārī's travelogue "*Tuḥfat al-'Uḍabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'*";
- 2- The second chapter is divided into two main sections: 1- the Ḥijāz's history, as the writer's place where he was born, lived and where he obtained his culture. The researcher tried to introduce a brief history about the Ḥijāz from ancient times up until the period where it came under Ottoman rule in the early tenth century A.H./sixteenth century A.D., 2- An excerpt about the Ottoman Empire from its emergence to its collapse, concentrating on the general status of the Ḥijāz in the eleventh century A.H./seventeenth century A.D. as being one of the most essential

territories in the Ottoman Empire, owing to its religious position for Muslims who are the majority of the empire's citizens;

- 3- The third chapter is about travel writing in the Arab heritage. The beginning of the chapter handled the dilemma the critics and literature historians have faced in classifying that type of writing, due to its various types, styles and contents which came about as a result of different writers, times and places. The rest of the chapter discusses the history of Arabic writing which had suffered from a long depression until the Abbasid era which witnessed a cultural revolution in all intellectual fields, travel writing being one of them. It is believed that the writings of Arab travellers, including the Hijāz's intellectuals, in the eleventh century A.H/seventeenth century A.D. were an extension of that type of writing which notably appeared in Baghdad since the second century A.H/the eighth century A.D.;
- 4- The fourth chapter identifies the writer and his book. It is also divided into two sections: in the first one, the researcher sought to provide the reader with a sufficient background about the writer in respect of his life, education, personality and the reasons behind his journey to Turkey. In the second section, the book was reviewed in terms of the writer's style, connecting this style with the common style of writing at that time. This study also reviews the writer's approach to writing, and to what extent he was accurate in writing down his notes or narrating others' notes. The last paragraph of this chapter shows the book's history, from being a draft in

the shape of a diary to being a printed and edited copy, upon which the researcher depended for this dissertation;

- 5- The fifth chapter is about the cultural image of Turkey. In this chapter the researcher discusses the stereotypes of "the other", whoever they happen to be, and how this is affected by cultural and political factors, causing the image of "the other" to seem different from the reality. Whether the image of "the other" is presented more negatively or more positively than what they actually are, in both cases it is a counterfeit image since it presents a deceptive concept to the reader. Turkey's moral image in the Arab conscience is presented as being at the centre of the Muslim world at that time in al-Khiyārī's account, and its material image is represented in the architectural buildings and public utilities all over the country, especially in Istanbul. Finally, the research tackles the text's portrayal of Turkish society; and
- 6- The sixth and final chapter discuss the image of non-Muslims in Turkey. Since the issue is a cultural one, some pages of this chapter were allocated to discussing the image of Muslims according to the western Christian world in the seventeenth century, to identify the general conceptualisation towards each other on the part of both parties: the eastern Muslims and the western Christians, considering that the writer's situation is strongly related to this general cultural concept.



To conclude, I hope that this research will be considered to be a useful contribution in this intellectual field and an incentive for others to continue in providing further studies and research that seek to explore the image of non-Western peoples in the Arab heritage, considering that the latter (image of the West) has been handled by a large body of work already which continues to expand in most of the Arabic cultural centres.

## **Chapter One: Literature Review:**

### **Arabic Studies on the "Other"**

#### **Preface**

In recent decades, written texts that have dealt with the image of the 'Other', either through Arabic literature or other means of representation have multiplied. These various writings have come in the form of academic research, scientific conferences, journal articles and the like. They have also examined the image of the 'other' in poetry (both classical and modern), narratives, cinema, theatre and in the curriculum. Despite the abundance and variety of these writings, and despite the fact that many different peoples have relationships with the Arab people, it can be noted that the majority of the Arabic texts and studies which discuss the relations between the Arabs and others puts the Arabs on one side and the Westerners on the other, and therefore deals with them as two opposing parties. As a result of extrapolation from these representations of Arabic texts, it could be said with confidence that the term "the other" has most commonly come to refer to the West in all of its cultural dimensions; cognitive, social, political and religious (Labīb, 1999, p. 221). Thus, even though the West (in the sense of a certain territory and its people) occupies only a small percentage of what was written about in ancient Arab history about other world peoples, it can be said that the West (meaning Western Europe and North America) occupies more than three quarters of contemporary

Arab studies about the "other." This development is seen as a notable paradox, and therefore is worthy of discussion so that we may shed light on its causes.

### **1. The Concept of the "Other"**

The concept of the "Other" is primarily a philosophical concept, as it is mainly linked to the process of individual thinking and collective perception, consciously and unconsciously. So due to its close association with thinking and culture, we find that the sources which discuss the issues of the "Other", both in terms of the concept and in terms of the position, are mostly philosophical sources, followed by psychological studies. The "Other" is a nebulous and floating concept to a certain degree, because it depends on the awareness of the concepts of "self", "ego" and "we". Otherness and Alterity are cultural classifications rather than a tangible reality. In the sense that the "Other" is placed in a specific position at a certain time, then this "Other" itself is placed in another entirely different position. As the second party, i.e. the "Other", is the same in both cases, the most logical explanation for this difference positioning is probably due to the cultural attitude of each party towards that "Other". It can be said that cultural Othering is both a way, among many, of constructing self-identification and a method of different ways of self-definition. The cultural conflict between different parties, individuals and peoples, is a phenomenon much more complicated than being confined in such theoretical models in the academic environments, let alone limiting this conception to a set of dual opposites— Other/Self, civilized/savage, white/coloured, East/West, and so on. (Hermes, 2012. p 37).

Since these are generally philosophical concepts, the consensus on the specific definitions for them is almost impossible. This is because of the association of this concept with culture, experience and each philosopher or writer's point of view. Whatever the case is, what can be concluded from the debate about the concept of "Alterity" and "Otherness" is that the concept of the "Other" represents the different entity from the self, which means that the term necessarily requires that there is a distance of a certain type separating the Self from the "Other". (Hazell, 2011. p. xvii). There is a belief that the question of identity requires searching for the "Other" or even creating it, because the self-consciousness depends on the distance that you perceive or occur between you and others, "We know that the self needs the other in order to be the self at all". (Sampson, 1993. p 153). Despite the importance of this distance between self and "Other", it is also important for the "Other" to be close, visible and conspicuous. The notion here is that whenever the image of the "Other" is clear, the self-image becomes more manifest, just like a mirror that we should keep it away "a little" to see ourselves clearly (Guillaumin, p 56). When we clean and polish the mirror surface, we do not do that for the mirror itself, but in fact, we do that in order to get the best reflection, to see our faces in the neatest possible view. Some of those interested in this area have reached the conclusion that the attempt to depict the "Other" or to define it, is in fact an endeavour, often unconsciously, to create a self-definition (See: Bailey. 2008. P 189 ff). Our identifying of the elements that characterize the "Other", such as race, religion, colour and the like is defining the self but in an inverse way, on the grounds that "'we' understand ourselves in relation to what 'we' are not" (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996. P 8). In other words, obsession of searching the definition of the "Other" is a tacit admission of ignorance of the self, and a recognition of the need of others, simply because it has no value or meaning of the self without the "Other". The

latter has become another only because it differs from the self. Hence, some philosophers believe that transcendence and selfishness play a very important role in making many people deal with the "Other" in the hope of minimizing his/her otherness by attempting to withdraw them to the self, whereas it should be dealt with within the framework they are in, and keep it as an "Other" if he/she wants to remain so (Levinas, 1979. p 33 ff).

Finally, we can say that the "Other" has no accurate definition, because of its reliance on the frame, where the "self" stands to see others from. For example, when an English person looks from inside the framework of England, the Scottish one becomes an "Other" (ethnic "Other"), but the latter becomes a "self" when viewed from inside the British framework. Also, the French person, for instance, becomes an "Other" for the British "self", which includes the English and the Scottish amongst other races, while he (the French) becomes "self" when looking from the European framework. As well as other frameworks such as religious, linguistic, cultural and so on. In the face of the dilemma of not finding precise definition, every researcher should determine the "Other" which he/she studies, indicating the foundations that made him/her consider that as an "Other". This is what has been done by the researcher here, as he has studied al-Khiyārī's attitude, the writer of the travelogue of the Turks as an ethnic "Other". This was then followed by examining his attitude of some of non-Muslim minorities in Turkey as a religious "Other".

## **2. In Modern Arab Studies: the “Other” is “the West”**

Relations between the Muslim East and the Christian West have been characterized by tension in most stages of history, especially at geographical seam zones. A significant part of this conflict is attributable to historical and cultural reasons, and its roots may extend to the pre-Islamic era, the period of the Roman/Byzantine control over parts of what is now the Arab world. Muslims believe that Islam is an extension of Allah (God)'s message to the prophets, and that it is the final version of the commandments of Allah (God) to all people. They also believe that they must convey the message of Allah to every human being at any point on the earth so that he understands it well and may be able to take an independent decision to accept or reject its teachings without fear of a ruler, community or pressure from a certain party. Therefore, Muslims spread into many nations in order to deliver the message and they arrived at some parts of southern Europe in the early eighteenth century. Western Christians from their side viewed Muslims as atheists, gentiles and outlaws against the teachings of the Lord (McIntire and Burns, 2009, p. 92). But the notion of attacking the East became a central issue from the second half of the eleventh century, especially after the Byzantines appealed to the West for help in reconquering the Christian territories that had been seized by the Muslim Seljuks in Asia Minor. Thus, the Catholic Church in the time of Pope Gregory VII (1073 - 1085) felt that support should be provided to their brothers the Christian Byzantines and that they should work to stop the advance of Muslims by any possible means. Based on the concept that "the best way to defend is to attack", the idea of invading Muslims in their own homeland was taken seriously to help the Eastern Christians and for the sake of the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb of Jesus

Christ in Palestine. For several reasons the Crusades were delayed for nearly two decades, and regardless of the dispute over the real motives of those campaigns the public and famous appeal by Pope Urban II in 1095 was the actual beginning of the waves of the Crusades, when thousands of European volunteers flocked to join the Crusaders on their way to invade the Arab East, reaching as far as Jerusalem which was brought under control in 1099 (Riley-Smith, 2005). Westerners had been confronting the Muslims (Arabs and Berbers) in south-western Europe since the eighth century, and then clashed with Muslim Seljuks in Asia Minor at the beginning of the Crusades. Since the fourteenth century many conflicts broke out between them and the Ottomans in Asia Minor and its environs, initially to render support to the Byzantines, then to hinder the Ottoman advance into South-Eastern Europe after the fall of the Byzantine capital in the middle of the fifteenth century. This was in addition to more than two centuries of wars between the Crusaders from Europe and the Arab Muslims in both the Levant and Egypt.

Regarding the Crusades, the Arabs considered an extension of the conflict with the Arubans Mizrahi/Byzantines, especially as the Crusaders came via Constantinople, so they called the new invaders Al-Rûm (Romans), but when they later noticed the difference between Western Europeans and the Byzantines, they named them the Franks (Afāyah, 2000, p. 164). Some argue that the period of the Crusades was an invaluable opportunity for both sides: that is, for the Muslim Arabs and Christian Europeans to know each other better because they lived in the same geographic region (the Levant), on the grounds that the misunderstanding was due basically to ignorance of the "other", an ignorance that had deepened because of geographical distance (ibid. p. 123 ff). There

had occurred a notable change in the perception of both sides towards the other party and a part of the mystery which characterized the image of the "other" had dissipated. There had been direct non-hostile relations between the two parties in the fields of commerce and politics, and sometimes friendly relations based on friendship and direct participation in governance and security (ibid. pp. 188 - 189). However, the issue of the mental image for both sides, the Arabs and the Europeans, is more complex and far deeper than some can imagine. The belief that a radical change in the negative visualization would occur because of the presence of the Crusaders in the Arab East only serves to oversimplify this issue. The circumstances in which European and Arab groups met were in an environment of invasion, war and hostility and of attempts to exterminate the adversary. These circumstances do not help in cultural intercommunication, nor do they encourage this or that party to consider impartially the image of its opponent in all its aspects.

The warrior and writer Usāma ibn Munqidh (died: 584/ 1188), who was a contemporary of the first and second Crusades, lived through more than ninety years of that conflict and gave us important clues about the perception the Arabs had of the Europeans. It is clear that Usāma felt the superiority of his own civilization against those whom he considered to be barbarians and ignorant people. Thus, he criticizes them in everything related to morality and humanitarian treatment, while he praises their superior bravery. Based on this perception, he does not see a big difference between these invaders and powerful animals:



إذا خَبِرَ الإنسانَ أمورَ الإفرنجِ سَبَّحَ اللهُ تَعَالَى وَقَدَّسَهُ، وَرَأَى بَهَانِمَ فِيهِمْ فَضِيلَةَ الشَّجَاعَةِ وَالْقِتَالِ  
لَا غَيْرَ، كَمَا فِي الْبَهَانِمِ فَضِيلَةُ الْقُوَّةِ وَالْحَمْلِ

For he will see them to be mere beasts possessing no other virtues but courage and fighting, just as beasts have only the virtues of strength and the ability to carry loads (Ibn Munqidh, n.d. p. 132).

However, he noted that they are not on the same level of barbarism, as those who have just arrived are more barbarous and fanatical than the second generations of crusaders who have spent quite a long time among Muslims.

وَمِنَ الْإِفْرَنْجِ قَوْمٌ قَدْ تَبَلَدُوا وَعَاشَرُوا الْمُسْلِمِينَ، فَهَمُ أَصْلَحُ مِنَ الْقَرِيبِيِّ الْعَهْدِ بِبِلَادِهِمْ وَلَكِنْهُمْ  
شَاذٌ لَا يُقَاسُ عَلَيْهِ

Among the Franks there are some who have become acculturated and frequent the company of Muslims. They are much better [in their manners and dealings] than those recently arrived from their lands, but they constitute the exception and should not be considered as a rule. (ibid. p. 140).

In the humanitarian and medical field he recorded the backwardness of the medicine they had and how their physicians treated patients without any pity. Usāma tells us about a physician who came to treat a patient in whose leg an abscess had grown:

initially he persuaded the patient that he could live with only one leg, and then the physician asked for a sharp axe and he hit two blows, so that the marrow of the leg flowed out and the patient died on the spot. The same physician offered to treat a woman who suffered from dryness of humours (imbecility). After saying that the devil had entered her head, the physician made an incision in the skin using a razor and rubbed the exposed bone of the skull with salt, so that this woman died instantly as well (ibid. pp. 132- 133). Likewise in the social sphere, Usāma criticizes some affairs of the Franks in which he sees primitive and uncivilized types of behaviour, such as the lack of modesty of their women and the absence of zeal and jealousy by men with respect to their wives and daughters (ibid. pp. 135- 137), and the disrespect for the seniors, such as when they arranged a race between two elderly women so as to make fun of them, so that the audience laughed as the two ladies fell and stood up again while racing (ibid. p. 138).

Despite the painful memories of Ibn Munqith in interacting with the Franks and dealing with them as enemies, invaders and occupiers, their image is not an absolutely melancholic one in his book. There are many positive images, to the extent that he describes some of them as friends and allies or even as brothers (ibid. pp. 90, 120, 132, 140).

In the context of acclimatizing to the social milieu referred to above, Usāma ibn Munqith tells us that some of the Franks became more civilized after living among the Muslims and acquired benign qualities such as generosity, loyalty, gallantry and

cleanliness. Usāma says he sent one of his companions to Antioch on a task and, after his return, he told Usāma that he was invited to the home of an old Frankish knight, one of those who came with the first Crusade, where:

أحضَرَ مائدةً حسنةً وطعاماً في غاية النظافة والجودة، ورآني متوقفاً عن الأكل، فقال: كُنْ طيِّبَ النفس، فأنا ما أَكُلُ من طعام الإفرنج ... ولا يدخُلُ داري لحمُ خنزيرٍ

He offered an excellent table, with food extraordinarily clean and delicious. Seeing me abstaining from food, he said, "Eat, be of good cheer. I never eat Frankish food, but I have Egyptian women to cook and never eat anything except their cooking. Besides, pork never enters my house (ibid. pp. 140-141)..

After the Arab man left, he faced a serious dilemma that almost cost him his life, had it not been for the intervention of that gallant Frankish knight. What happened was that a Frankish woman hung onto the Arab man's clothes in the market and shouted at people to kill him, and then

فاجتمع عليّ خلقٌ من الأفرنج، فابقتُ بالهلاك. وإذا ذلك الفارس قد أقبل فرآني، فجاء، فقال لتلك المرأة: مالكِ ولهذا المسلم؟ قالت: هذا قتل أخِي ... فصاح عليها، وقال: هذا رجل برجاسي، أي تاجر، لا يقاتل ولا يحضر قتالا. وصاح على أولئك المجتمعين، فتفرقوا، وأخذ بيدي ومضى. فكان تأثير تلك المؤكلة خلاصي من القتل.

A big crowd of Franks surrounded me. I was convinced that death was at hand. But all of a sudden that same knight approached. On seeing me, he came and said to that woman, "What is the matter between you and this Muslim?" She replied, "This is he who has killed my brother ... then he shouted at her, saying, "This is a bourgeois (i.e., a merchant) who neither fights nor takes part in any fighting." He also yelled at the people who had assembled, and they all dispersed. Then he took me by the hand and went away. Thus the effect of that meal was my deliverance from certain death. (ibid. pp. 140-141).

Even in the case of the story of the physician who treated the Frankish knight and women and ended their lives, Usāma did not witness it himself, but rather narrated it following an Arab Christian physician who told Usāma that he had seen it all with his own eyes. As for Usāma, he says that he had, nonetheless, witnessed a case of their medicine which was quite different from that and he presents two of the medical success stories that the Frankish invaders had produced (ibid. pp. 133-134). This was in addition to repeated praise for their valour and mastery of the arts of war, of which there are dozens of examples to be found in his book. Thus, it is obvious that although the perception of the Frankish "other" had taken a step forward so as to become less of a generalization and closer to explaining the negative and positive judgments, it did not reach the level of a panoramic and deep perception of the Frankish personal character nor the European cultural environment that produced it.

Feelings of cultural superiority remained associated with the Arab mentality for several centuries after the era of Usāma bin Munqith. The Arabs have realized that they are in a very backward stage of civilization when compared with the descendants of the Franks only since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Anyone who reads what was written by the Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1168/1756 - 1240/1825) about the French campaign in Egypt (1213/1798 - 1216/1801) would find that the Arabs in the eighteenth century were completely unaware of which historical phase they were living in. Indeed, the way they dealt with the "other" indicates that they were still living in the context of distant past history. Al-Jabarti tells us that twenty-five English ships stopped off the coast of Alexandria on 08.01.1213/22.06.1798 and ten men from them came to tell the Alexandrians that they were chasing a big French campaign force that had gone off to an unknown destination, and might attack Egypt at any time, and if so, that it was likely that they (the Egyptians) would not be able to repel them on their own. The town elders did not accept that claim and did not allow them to disembark on the beach. Then the British asked the Egyptians to provide them with paid supplies to stay in the open sea for the protection of the town. The leaders doubted the whole story and therefore refused the request in a coarse way. When officials in Cairo were informed, they underestimated it and did not take the matter seriously and did not see it as a threat which required extraordinary precautions, even if both the French and English military forces had gathered to attack Egypt!

وأما الأمراء فلم يهتموا بشيء من ذلك، ولم يكثرثوا به اعتمادا على قوتهم وزعمهم أنه إذا  
جاءت جميع الأفرنج لا يقفون في مقابلتهم وأنهم يدوسونهم بخيولهم

...As for the princes (rulers), they did not pay attention to anything of that, and did not care, depending on their strength and their claim that if all the Franks [Europeans] came, they could not stand up to them [the Egyptians] and they would trample them down with their horses (al-Jabarti, 1998. III: p. 1).

It is quite clear that in their minds they were still reliving the greatness of overwhelming victories so many centuries ago, such as the Battle of Hattin in Palestine in 1187 against the Crusaders, and the Battle of Mansoura against the Franks in 1250, where they captured the commander of the campaign, Louis IX of France with a group of his relatives and commanders, and then again the Battle of Ain Jalut [the Spring of Goliath] near Jerusalem, where the expansionist dreams of the Mongols crashed forever in 1260. And so it was that the princes of Cairo did not show any concern for the French campaign, as if to say that today is no different from yesterday; that Bonaparte is a descendant of Louis IX and his soldiers are descendants of the Templar Knights, the victims of the Battle of Mansoura. As a result, the French troops overran the Egyptian coast more easily than they had ever dreamed, so that Napoleon entered Cairo within less than a month of disembarking on the Egyptian coast.

After this trauma and having adapted themselves to the tragedy, the intellectuals of the country realized that the Arabs had fallen behind dramatically in knowledge, sophistication, military force, and so on. Thus they began to grope for the way ahead and to explore the development of this "other" who came without permission. Al-Jabarti

tells us that scientific teams prepared sites for researchers and the means to do research, and they welcomed those who wanted to visit those places as citizens. Certainly al-Jabarti and his associates had seen what had been written about these 'retarded' Franks as they appeared in the writings of Usāma bin Munqith and his contemporaries when they were in the region several centuries earlier. Among others, al-Jabarti decided to go to see what new kinds of knowledge the descendants of those Franks could have, other than what "We" have. The Egyptian historian did not hide from his readers his astonishment at what he saw. He spoke up about what he had observed during some chemical processes and the generating of electricity by kinetic energy, and then he expressed how surprise appeared on their faces and how that made the French laugh at their simplicity; and so al-Jabarti stated that the minds of his readers might not assimilate what he saw:

ولهم فيه أمور وأحوال وتراكيب غريبة، ينتج منها نتائج لا تسعها عقول أمثالنا

They have strange things, conditions and processes that lead to results which are not readily assimilated by minds like ours (ibid III: p. 60).

It is not surprising for uneducated people to be fascinated by such great scientific developments which their people have never experienced or heard about. But what is really strange is when this happens with a person who belongs (culturally) to the same civilisation which brought the likes of Jābir ibn Hayyān or "Geber", who was known as the "father of chemistry", more than a thousand years ago (Doak, 2009. p 119). Furthermore, al-Jabarti, who hinted that language seemed unable to express what he saw

and felt, was considered one of the prominent scholars in Egypt at the time. In order to imagine the incredible cognitive decline, we should point out that Egypt at that time was most likely the best of Arab territories at all levels, whether culturally, epistemologically, militarily or other. So if this was the case in Egypt, then what was it like in other Arab territories?!

The Kingdom of Morocco was the only Arab region which was outside the control of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa and as the closest Arab country to Europe it was expected to be more affected by the intellectual and cognitive progress of its northern neighbours. Unfortunately, however, that did not happen. Morocco was an eligible candidate for the leadership of the Arab renaissance because of its location and the consequent need for semi-permanent relationships with a number of European countries, particularly France, Spain and Britain since the sixteenth century. Although the Royal Court of Morocco received several reports about various affairs in Western European countries by sending some diplomatic envoys to the capitals of these countries, for example the visit of Aḥmad al-Ḥajarī, known as "Afoqāi", to France and the Netherlands in 1611-1613, then the visit of Ibn Uthman Al-Maknasi to Spain in 1779-1780 and to Italy in 1782, nevertheless, that did not lead to any significant results in the way of progress, nor did it even arrest the decline. Thus, Moroccans did not clearly realize the extent of the cognitive gap between the two shores of the Mediterranean until the mid-nineteenth century, after its harsh defeats in both the Battle of Easley in 1844 by France and the Battle of Tetuan in 1860 by Spain (Ḥaymar, 1999, p 323).



Seeking to take advantage of others is, explicitly or implicitly, a way of recognizing the superiority (at least in some areas) of the party being emulated. Moroccans who visited Europe before the nineteenth century did not consider the Europeans as more advanced than their own nations. In other words, they did not have a sense of inferiority and therefore there was no motivation to search for distinctive things because these simply did not exist. After the two defeats referred to above, however, Moroccans woke up to a different reality and realized that there was an urgent need to deal with the European "other" quite differently from what they had been used to in the past, and that required exploring what the "unapproachable" neighbour in the North had to offer. Thus, immediately after these events, the Moroccan authorities began to send delegates to some significant European capitals so that a competent writer was specially attached to each delegation in order to write down notes about important things that were thought to have a role in the recovery of the country and in improving its condition. Examples of this are the reports of Muhammad al-Ṣaffār, the writer attached to the delegation sent to France in 1845, and those of both Idrīs al-Imrāwī and Muhammad al-Fāsī, who accompanied the delegations sent in 1860 to Paris and London, respectively (ibid). All three writers gave accurate and detailed reports on most of what caught their attention by way of the manifestations of progress, knowledge and technology, and expressed, albeit to varying degrees, some real astonishment at the level of progress in both France and England in particular. One of the extraordinary things that occurred to the two delegations of 1860 was that they contacted each other, for the first time, between London and Paris by telegraph to inquire about some common concerns. Nevertheless, that exploration and those reports did not lead to any fundamental positive change, nor did they stem the process of decline in Morocco (ibid).

For Egypt, the case was different, for the missions to Europe had achieved many of their goals and the situation has changed in Egypt for the better in the nineteenth century at all levels: militarily, scientifically, socially and so on. Egyptian missions to Italy, France and England, which began in 1813 from the reign of Muhammad Alī Pasha, awakened an awareness of cultural identity and pushed the Egyptian and Arab mind to think seriously about the means of renaissance (Āmir, 2005). The Eastern Arabs had benefited from the Egyptian renaissance for decades at many levels, but Egypt itself went back into retreat once again from the mid-twentieth century, for many reasons.

Moroccan failure to take advantage of communication with Europe compared with the Egyptians' relative success was probably due to the fact that the Egyptian missions targeted universities and scientific centres, and its purpose was to obtain knowledge and bring it home to improve the country, while the Moroccan missions were diplomatic envoys and were sent to the political decision-making centres with the aim of exploring causes of European military force to achieve some kind of balance or deterrence in the future. Like any authoritarian regime, the goal wanted by both polities was not to serve their peoples but to support self-authoritarian goals and to find better means for control and permanence. Determining the best way to achieve this end is the difference between the two authorities. Sultans of Morocco saw only the military side of the European force which resulted in the bitter defeat for their troops. So it seems that they were not able to envisage that military force is only one of the manifestations of strength rather than the sum total of their strength. Egyptian rulers, intellectuals and even the public saw the breadth of the Europeans' strength because of the coexistence with the French for more than three years (during the French occupation 1213/1798 - 1216/1801). As a result they

realised that military force was only a facet of their overall strength, and may be said it is a result of the other real aspects of strength which include sciences of chemistry, physics, mathematics, history, geography, sociology and so on. That occupation, despite its many disadvantages, had enabled the Egyptians to realize that the country is like a body which will not be healthy only parts of it are active; in other words the nation will not be strong in one aspect (the military, for instance) if it is feeble in other aspects. Thus, Moroccans construed their strength based on what they saw only, and this is perhaps is what made them focus on the military side and ignore other aspects to the extent that Muhammad al-Fāsī, for example, avoided talking about intellectual aspects and the consequent results of them in political, social, administrative and other fields. He reported accurate details of the manifestations of the renaissance in England, but did not refer at all to the prosperity in the political field, while Egyptians translated the French Constitution fully in Cairo after returning from their missions.

Although the aim of dictators in Egypt and Morocco was the same, seeking to keep power and control, the concept of strength that was particular to the Egyptian leadership had allowed the Egyptian people and the Arabs to gain benefit from those envoys to Europe so that they could enjoy a sort of renaissance. The notion of force particular to the Sultans of Morocco, on the other hand, destroyed the hopes of Moroccans for progress despite the distinctive conditions that distinguished them from others, such as the availability of information about Europe since the seventeenth century, their full independence from Ottoman power, the geographical proximity of the developed countries and the presence of firm diplomatic and economic relations with many regions of the north.

The French campaigns in Egypt and North Africa referred to above were an extension of the conflicts that are hardly at an end between the European North and the Arab-Muslim South, a conflict which often occurs on Arab territories. These recurrent conflicts have led to the spread of hatred and caused a profound misunderstanding, which that has grown with time to become itself a problem that needs to be resolved. If one of the important reasons for the misunderstanding resulted from ignorance of the other party in terms of cultural background, past and present, it means that both parties need to deeply study the "other's" identity to dispel the dark halo surrounding the image in order to deal with this or that party in an appropriate manner. The stage of Western colonialism was a pivotal point in the history of relations between Arabs and the West. With regard to the West, a number of European countries had studied the Arab and Islamic heritage to understand the Arab-Muslim mentality and commissioned a number of scholars and intellectuals to do the exploratory missions. The overall objective of these studies was not so much to gain knowledge and to learn from other cultures, but to understand the thinking of those peoples through understanding their cultural components and what could affect them positively and negatively, so as to employ it all in controlling them (the peoples in question) efficiently. However, these studies did present to the European leaders, and then to the intellectuals among their citizens, concepts about the Arabs that were much clearer and could not have been understood in this way before those studies were carried out. For their part, the Arabs were surprised at how large the disparity was between the imagined idea and the reality that they had seen with regard to the European communities. It can be said that both parties found that concept each had were distorted in one way or another. This, for the educated class in the Arab world, was the starting point of their interest in studying the western "other".

### 3. Studies on the Image of the West

Within the growing interest in this field of studies, many conferences and gatherings have been held at scientific and cultural centres in both the Arab and the Western worlds to discuss the issue of perceptions of both cultures towards the other party. From these gatherings, two meetings were held in Tunisia in 1993 and 1996, and included nearly sixty conference papers presented by group of Arab and non-Arab speakers. They were dedicated to discussions regarding the way Arabs and non-Arabs see each other. Most of the academic papers that were presented in the two meetings were edited later by al-Ṭāhir Labīb (1999) in a book entitled: "*Ṣūrat al-ākhar: al-‘Arabī nāẓiran wa-manẓūran ilayh*" (The Image of the Other: the Arab as a Seer and Being Seen by Others).

Both symposia held in Tunisia were dedicated to discussing the image of two parties; one of them is specified (the Arabs), and the other is unspecific and could probably be any people or group of non-Arabs. In other words, the two parties are the Arab people on one side and the other peoples of the world on the other side. However, confirming that the "other" from the contemporary Arab point of view turned out to become the "West", the non-Arab invitees consisted of twenty-six presenters, twenty-four of them belonging to the European continent with the remaining two papers by researchers from Japan and Russia. The paper given by the Japanese presenter was not about the Arabs, but about the image of Islam in Japan. However, he acknowledges that 80% of Japanese students surveyed knew almost nothing about the Arabs and their history in both the

past and present. When the sample of more than 600 students were asked about the Arabs, more than 90% of them found there was nothing in their minds about this people except for oil, deserts, camels, turbans and nomadism (Tāmūra, 1999). It should be noted that the sample chosen by the researcher was made up of students of the Department of History at the International University in Tokyo, and that the research lasted ten years, which means that he chose a sample of a highly educated category of people with an interest in the field of the history of nations and peoples. The essence of the Japanese paper, which is less than four pages in length, is that there is no image of the Arabs in the Japanese mind, and therefore there is no sense in telling the Arabs about their image in the mind of a people that does not imagine them in the first place. With respect to the diversity of papers, the Russian paper is like the Japanese one to some extent, for if the Arabs divided the world into East and West, Russia would be considered as a Western country, on the grounds that Russians are culturally closer to the European nations than to the Eastern peoples. On the other hand, the twelve papers given by the Arab invitees discussed the image of the other nations in the Arab mind and the West was either the main topic or part of the subject in ten of those twelve papers. Consequently, it can be said that the concept of the "other" in both symposiums has meant "the West" exclusively, as the peoples of the Far East, India, Central Asia and Africa were not represented at all.

Al-‘Arabī Magazine, a prestigious Kuwaiti cultural magazine, convenes an annual symposium on a specific topic and calls for interested parties to present papers. The symposium in December 2003 was held in Kuwait City under the title of “*al-gharb bi’iyūn ‘Arabīyah*” (The West through Arab eyes), where twenty-four papers were

presented over a two-day series of sessions. According to Jābir 'Asfūr, the General Secretary of the Supreme Council for Culture and the Director of the National Centre for Translation in Egypt, in his speech on behalf of the invitees at the symposium, the choice of this topic at that time by the organizers of the symposium was not a random one, but was because of their awareness of the radical transformations at the Arab national level were being experienced, which were closely linked to the rapidly changing scene worldwide.

These transformations and variables require us (the Arabs) to review everything about ourselves and others, and to put our cognitive and cultural situation in a position of accountability, in terms of both our relationship with ourselves and with the Western "other", whose manifestations are numerous, so that the conditions of our relationship with them vary in many areas. This review should not overlook the historical track of relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean, so that the way in which our eyes saw the West in the past may be a logical basis for the study of our vision, through the eyes themselves, of this West. Knowing this historical background would be useful for the present that we seek to develop, in order to form the basis for better perceptions of the future that we dream of for ourselves and for others ('Asfūr, 2003)

It is interesting to consider that there is almost certainly a recognition, in the awareness among Arab intellectuals, of the existence of a definite correlation between the crisis

with the West and the review of perceptions, their perception of the "other" and vice versa. These two symposia, for example, are linked with armed conflict on Arab soil. According to al-Ṭāhir Labīb (1999, p 20), the editor of the works presented there, the Tunisian symposium was occasioned by the impact of the First Gulf War, or so-called war to liberate Kuwait, in 1991. The Kuwait symposium was held immediately after the American-British invasion of Iraq in 2003, which in turn was related to the implications of the September 11th 2001 attacks in the United States; just as Arab attention (in Egypt and Morocco in particular) to the West had been stimulated after the French occupation of Egypt by the end of the eighteenth century and the French-Spanish attack on the North African coast in the mid-nineteenth century. This western insistence on the eastward orientation may be what has made the Arabs more interested than others in discussing image and perception, and in urging their community to study that "other" in greater depth to find out the factors behind its progress on the one hand and its aggressiveness on the other.

The book *al-Ākhar fī al-thaqāfah al-'Arabīyah min al-qarn al-sādis ḥattá al-qarn al-'ishrīn, 'arḍ tārīkhī* (The "other" in Arab Culture from the Sixth Century to the Twentieth Century), by the Syrian writer Ḥusayn 'Awdāt (2010), is a work dealing with the Arabs' view of other nations who are different religiously, racially and ethnically, from pre-Islamic times to the present. The author stresses that his work is not a critical or analytical work but merely a historical review aiming to group together the images formed of other peoples outside the Arab culture. It is an approach designed to show their image as seen by the Arabs as being entrenched in the awareness and culture, in the light of what is written in the works of the Arab historians, geographers and



travellers. Even though this work covers an era extending over fifteen centuries, and includes many nations and peoples, it is the Arab-European relationship that occupies a large portion of the book in terms both of size and analysis. Awdāt finds that the correlation between the concepts of the West/Europe and the "other" began at the time of the Crusades; however since the European colonial campaigns in the recent centuries, the term "the other" has almost become limited simply to the West.

In the same year (2010), the "other" was the topic of a cultural gathering in the Saudi city of al-Bāḥa. Features of the "other" in creative narrative texts formed the general framework of discussions of the Fourth Forum held in al-Bāḥa Literary Club during the period 24-25 October 2010, where the subject was discussed in the twenty-four papers presented by a group of interested researchers from various Arab countries. The full proceedings were published later in Beirut in a book titled *Tamthīlāt al-ākhar fī al-riwāyah al-‘Arabīyah* (Representations of the "Other" in Arab Novel). Papers presented were different in terms of the level on which they approached the topic: some studies had gone into some depth in the discussion of different contexts of the issue of "ego" and the "other", and the role of those contexts in the narrative text, whereas some papers were descriptive studies, somewhat similar to the review of cultural and literary works. Despite the fact that the Western "other" had a noticeable dominance as expected, the main feature in this forum is that the concept of the "other" had expanded to include the "other" of colour (black people) and of the physiological sense (such as the blind) which had been broached by Usāma al-Beḥīrī in his paper: *Tamthīlāt al-sūd fī al-riwāyah al-‘Arabīyah al-jadīdah* (Representations of Black People in the Modern Arab Novel) and Shīmah Shammarī in her paper: *al-ākhar biwaṣfīhi a'mā* (The "other" as a Blind Person).

Furthermore, some papers, succeeded in escaping from the cocoon of the concept of the relationship between the ego/the Arab and the "other"/the West) to discuss the "other" as a victim of racial arrogance by the Arab community (Saudis in this case) such as in the paper of Saudi researcher Ḥassan al-Ni'mī: *khiṭāb al-'unṣuriyyah fī al-riwāyah al-su'ūdiyyah* (Racist Discourse in the Saudi Novel). Otherwise, it was the Western otherness that remained the focus - explicitly or implicitly - in most of the papers which were presented.

Distorted images of others are not always linked to ignorance and lack of awareness, on the contrary, knowledge and its products such as technology may be used as a weapon to tarnish the image of the "other" and destroy his identity. The three following works by Jack Shaheen come within this framework. Shaheen focuses on his "American" society, expressing particular attention to stereotypes of the Arabs and Muslims in American culture in several studies such as the book *"Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People"* (2001). This study, which covered more than a century and included more than nine hundred movies, showed that American moviegoers believe all Muslims are Arabs and all Arabs are Muslims. Approximately five percent of roles depict the Arabs as humane and ordinary figures. The rest portray the Arabs as savage, remorseless, uncivilized people who are greedy for wealth and prestige, and suggest that the Arabs do not hesitate to kidnap and rape women, in addition to which they explicitly express hatred against other faiths, especially Christians and Jews. The study also found that the means that have been used to discredit the Arabs are broadly similar to those used by the Nazi media against the Jews.

The book "*The TV Arab*" (Shaheen, 1984) is the result of a study that was conducted over ten years, starting in 1974. In this work, Shaheen concluded that American filmmakers and writers had portrayed the Arab as evil in various television programs, from children's cartoons to movies that were specially produced for television. Two decades after the publication of the previous book, Shaheen published his other book "*Arab and Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture*", in which the author of both books acknowledges that since the mid-seventies to 2004, the year when the latter work came out, no significant change happened in the American perception. Arab men still appear on screens as billionaires, suicide bombers or nomadic bandits and Arab women are portrayed as either bellydancers who offer fun for men or as creatures that are covered up in black, carrying exhausting burdens on their backs, and in both cases they have no right to give an opinion on anything.

Some articles paid attention to the image of the Arabs in the psyche of others (West/North), based on what is being presented in the school curriculum in a number of Western countries. Examples are from Germany (Amīn, 2009) with *Şūrat al-'islām fī al-kutub al-madrasiyyah al-'almaniyyah: 'ahdāf al-ḥajj hiya: taqbīl al-ḥajar al-'aswad wa al-ḥaqq fī irtidā' 'imamah Khadrā'!* (The Image of Islam in German Textbooks: The Objectives of Pilgrimage are: Kissing the Black Stone and Having the Right to Wear a Green Turban); from the United Kingdom (Al-Sham'ah, 2009) with *Şūrat al-'arab wa al-muslimīn fī al-manāhij al-dirāsiyyah fī biraytanya "al-naz'ah al-markaziyyah al-'urubbiyyah" taşna' al-'ākhar.. al-iblis!* (The Image of Arabs and Muslims in the Curricula in Britain: the Eurocentric attitude Demonizes the Other); and also in Russia (Al-Māshiḥah, 2009) with *Şūrat al-'arab wa al-muslimīn fī al-manāhij al-rūsiyyah: qabl*

*al-inhiār...tuthīr "al-shafaqah", ba'd al-inhiār....tuthīr "al-ru'b"* (The Image of Arabs and Muslims in the Russian Curriculum: Before the Collapse...Arousing Pity, and After the Collapse ... Provoking Fear and Dread).

These are just a few examples of articles published in the special issue (No.92) of *Majallat al-Ma'rifa* (the Journal of Knowledge) about the image of Arabs and Muslims in the curricula of Western countries, such as Italy, France, Spain and the United States, in addition to Australia and Brazil. The issue of the above-mentioned journal contains an exceptional article which discusses the image of Arabs in Japan on the grounds that the Japanese have received the image of Arabs through Western media, which was provided via non-innocent means of disseminating ideology ('Abū al-'Azm, 2003).

In his two books *Al-Markaziyyah al-Islāmiyyah: šūrat al-'ākhar fī al-khayāl al-islāmī khilāl al-qurūn al-wustā* (2001) (Islamic Centralism: the Image of the Other in the Islamic Imagination During the Middle Ages), and *Al-Markaziyyah al-gharbiyyah: ishkaliyyat al-takawwun wa al-tamarkuz ḥawl al-dhat* (2003) (Western Centralism: the Dilemma of Formation and Concentration on the Ego), A. Ibrāhīm believes that the research should reach beyond the identification of perceptions, namely in order to discuss the issue of the focus on the self in both the Arab-Muslim world and the Western world. It is believed that, to a large extent, centralism is responsible for shaping an image with dimensions and shades of selected qualities which are dropped onto the others in a deliberate way in order to put the other within the framework of *ad valorem*

concepts, which therefore attracts the ego towards the centre and pushes the Other away from it at the same time.

#### **4. Studies on the Image of Turkey among the Arabs**

Contemporary Arabic studies that examine Turkey's image among the Arabs often focus on modern Turkey (the Republic of Turkey) according to the study of Arab-Turkish relations in the modern era. Therefore, it is not surprising that these studies have focused mainly on political, and sometimes economic, relations between Turkey and Arab countries in an attempt to explore the reasons for the tension that often characterize the Arab-Turkish relations in the period after the Arabs gained their independence from the Ottoman rule in the early twentieth century.

Regarding the contemporary Arabic studies on the image of Ottoman Turkey, a correlation is noticed between these studies, even though they are few, and between studies related to Arab travel literature. This is because a group of Arab scholars and intellectuals, who visited the capital of the Ottoman Empire during the four centuries in which the Arabs remained under the Ottoman rule, wrote their memoirs about those visits. Those writers have given us some written material through which we can obtain a general perception about the different conditions of Turkey through the Arab point of view. What is important here is not what was written by Arab travellers about Turkey during the Ottoman era, and about its capital and its affairs, but rather what was written by contemporary Arabs about Ottoman Turkey's image, depending on the texts of Arab travellers since the sixteenth century. There are some contemporary studies that have returned to the study of Ottoman Turkey through the written Arabic texts in that era, but

most of these studies discuss specific topics such as the Ottoman policy towards the Arab world, the economic movement and its connection with taxes and fees and the impact of this on the economic situation in the Arab regions, the inferior educational policy that led to the spread of ignorance almost entirely among the Arabs, and the influence of the Turkish words and language usage on the Arabic language and on other similar topics. Studies examining the public image of Ottoman Turkey in Arab literature from a cultural point of view are not abundant, and the researcher may find it difficult to find any examples of them in libraries or academic research centres.

*Al-Markaz al-'Arabī li-al-adab al-jughrāfī - Irtiyād al-āfāq. Abū Zabī* (The Arabic Centre for Geographical Literature – Exploring Horizons) is a growing modern cultural centre (founded in 2000) whose work is confined to the field of Arabic travelling writings, according to their official website (<http://alrihlah.com/books/about>, 2013). It is therefore natural that the writings about Ottoman Turkey are of interest to some researchers belonging to or collaborating with this centre. *Ṣūrat Istānbūl fī awākhir al-qarn al-thāmin 'ashar: min khilāl "iḥrāz al-mu'allā" li-ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī* (The image of Istanbul in the late eighteenth century: “his book: “*iḥrāz al-mu'allā*” by Ibn Osman Mekkassi) is the title of a conference paper in which Muḥammad Būkbūṭ in (2009) addressed this topic within the second symposium of the series “*Nadwat al-rahḥālah al-'arab wa al-muslimīn: Iktishāf al-dhāt wa al-aākhar* (Symposium on Arab and Muslim Travellers: the Discovery of the Self and the Other) hosted annually by the centre mentioned above.

Muḥammad ibn Uthmān al-Miknāsī was a Moroccan politician of the eighteenth century who visited Istanbul as an envoy to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid I, sent by the Moroccan Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh in the mid-1780s. As is clear from the title, as well as the text, *Būkbūṭ* discusses the image of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, as it appeared in the Moroccan envoy’s travelogue. Al-Miknāsī described Istanbul in detail; however, his concentration was focused mainly on security and economic aspects. For example, he described the area of the town (Istanbul) and the extent of its impregnability against external attack, and he expressed a significant interest in statistics, so he recorded the numbers of ports, mosques, public baths, and the walls of the city of Istanbul and its various gates which overlooked either the sea or the land, the boats that transported people and goods between the two shores of the Bosphorus, the number of machines for minting money, the number of police forces that operated around the clock to maintain security in Istanbul, and so on. He also wrote about the quality of the materials used in the construction of houses, and about military barracks, their organization, their order and their contents. This attention to purely material matters may perhaps be due to his official status, which made him feel the importance of the strength and invincibility of the country, or indeed any country, especially given that he had already visited some European metropolises, such as Malta, Naples and Spain, and had written two books on these visits in which he described the manifestations of civilization there (*Būkbūṭ*, 2009).

Although al-Miknāsī – if compared to al-Khiyārī - described Istanbul in more detail and gave a clearer image of the landmarks, facilities, the size of the city of Istanbul and its ports and walls and so on, he did not present to us the social aspects of the city (that is, information about the people and their affairs), but only offered small insights here and there which "do not cure the researcher's fetter" in *Būkbūṭ*’s words in the above-

mentioned paper. Thus, the paper of Būkbūṭ differs from the subject of this thesis on a time and target basis. In terms of time, the time period of this thesis is the seventeenth century, while that of Būkbūṭ's paper topic is the eighteenth century, which was because al-Miknāsī conveyed the image of Istanbul in the late eighteenth century (1785), more than a century after al-Khiyārī's visit (in 1669-1670). Furthermore, in terms of target or focus, al-Miknāsī did not pay much attention to the social aspect, as noted above, in addition to the fact that he limited himself to describing the city of Istanbul, while this thesis aims to highlight Turkey's image in terms of both land and population, and it is not limited about the city of Istanbul only.

Most of the other studies which deal with the image of the Turks among the Arabs are of the first type referred to above, which discusses the Arab-Turkish relations in the present era. Ibrāhīm al-Dāqūqī (2001) confined his work "*Ṣurat al-atrāk ladá al-'Arab* (The image of the Turks among the Arabs) to the period from 1980 to 2000, by analysing the contents of the research papers presented at Arabic symposia and conferences held during the years 1980-1998, which were dedicated to discussing Arab-Turkish relations within the frameworks of Islam, nationalism, secularism, neighbourhood relations and common interests. He also analysed the editorials, commentaries and investigative articles in about 13 newspapers from various Arab countries published during the six months from 01/10/1998 to 31/03/1999. Furthermore, the author devoted a good part of his work to analysing the history curriculum followed in the Eastern Arab countries.



## 5. Studies on *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'*

With respect to Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī's travelogue *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'* it should be noted that I have not found any study that has dealt with it in terms of the relationship between the Arabs and the Turks or the image of Turkey or Turks through al-Khiyārī's travelogue or indeed any other travelogue. In general, it can be said that studies which addressed this particular travelogue are very limited and confined to the four articles. Mohammed al-Fāsī, in his article *Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī wa Rihlatihi: Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā' (1380 H/1960)*, may be the first writer who sought to publicize the book and the author. However, the goal of al-Fāsī's article was limited to give a short presentation about the book in order to publicize it and to draw readers' attention to its importance. Al-Fāsī wrote this article after the Third Conference on Antiquities in Rabat. He says:

وقد كنتُ وقفتُ منذ عدة سنين على رحلة ذات أهمية بالنسبة لهذا الموضوع وذلك بخزانة غوطة  
بألمانيا ... وإني محاول في هذه العجالة أن أعطي نظرة عن محتويات هذه الرحلة مع وصف  
...المخطوط وذكر الخزانات الأخرى التي تضم نسخاً منها

Several years ago, in the Goethe Library, in Germany, I became acquainted with an important travelogue with regard to this topic ... and I will try in this short article to present an overview of the contents of this travelogue, along with a description of the manuscript, and some reference to the other libraries which hold copies of it .... (al-Fāsī p. 161).

Therefore, his article is about viewing the contents, describing the manuscripts, and also mentioning where they may be found.

Abd al-Qādir al-Rayḥāwī in his article *Rihlat al-Khiyārī ilā Sūriyyah fī al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar al-Hijrī (1965)*, goes no further than to deal with that portion of the book that is about Syria, which - as he said, amounts to no more than one fifth of the pages of the manuscript. He limited his article to discussing three issues related to Syria, which are: A - Description of the itineraries and places of residence of travellers. B - Landmarks of the ancient cities and the conditions of their inhabitants. C - Biographies of Syrian figures mentioned in the travelogue. Thus, al-Rayḥāwī's interest was in archaeological, historical and geographical matters, quite apart from the fact that the textual portion which he dealt with was only about 20% of the full text, as stated above.

Hamad al-Jāssir wrote two articles about the travelogue. The first is entitled *Ma'a al-Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī al-Madanī fī Rihlatih (1387 H/1967)*, and the content of the article indicates that he wanted to present the book and summarize its elements, in order to publicize it and the writer. While not focusing on a particular aspect of the book, he expressed his admiration in terms of its richness and diversity of contents to include literature, geography, history and biographies as well as abundant quotations of literary texts. Nonetheless, the article was generally consistent with the holistic view of the travelogue as a work containing many subjects.

Al-Jāssir devoted his second article, entitled *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'* (1390 H/ 1970), to a critique of the published part of al-Khiyārī's travelogue, which is the first part then, at the request of the editor. Thus, the aim of this essay was to review the published work and highlight errors of editing and writing, including some spelling mistakes and typos. Al-Jāssir drew up a glossary for some of the errors took up more than 10 pages of his article.

Abbās al-Jarrākh wrote an article entitled *Nadhrāt Naqdiyyah fī Rihlat al-Khiyārī al-Mosammāt "Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'"* (1420 H/1999). Even though the title of the article suggests that it offers a critical commentary on al-Khiyārī's work, it does not do so, and thus it is a misleading title; his criticism in fact was on the editor's work, similar to al-Jāssir's second article that has been mentioned above. With the exception of about five lines on the first page of al-Jarrākh's article which describe the manner of al-Khiyārī's writing, the rest of the article's observations are about the editor's work, and concentrate on three themes: the manuscript copies of the book, the references to the Qur'anic verses, the Prophet's Traditions and poems, and misunderstandings and errors in the editing.

What may be noted with regard to these articles is that, while they would be useful to those who have known nothing about the book, and to those who want to obtain a general idea about the topic and its author, nevertheless their usefulness to the researcher who wants to address the matter in some detail and depth is almost nothing.

Accordingly, the travelogue should be addressed by depending on the text itself primarily, in order to discuss the author through his text.

## **Conclusion**

In recent decades there have been many studies in the Arab world that make the "other" the main theme, as the "other" is a party that has different properties that can be observed, so that it can then be judged on the basis of these properties. The study of the "other" has taken different dimensions: some researchers study the image of the "other" in the Arab mind, while others try to explore how the Arabs appear in the cultural system of the "other". Although the "other" can be any nation or group of people, it has become confined to the West in most studies. There are several reasons why the concept of the "other" is limited to that geographical entity in particular. The course of relations between the Arabs and the West, which have been dominated by tension in most phases of history, has caused a correlation between the parties that cannot be ignored. The Arab-Islamic renaissance in medieval times coincided with the Europe's so-called Dark Ages, making Arabs feel culturally superior to the Europeans. From the fifteenth century, or perhaps before, the balance began to tilt in favour of the European West; however, the feeling remained of inherent superiority on the part of the Arabs several centuries later. The French campaign against Egypt in the late eighteenth century was the first real strike that awakened Arabs and made them aware of their true position among the nations. A few decades later a new stage began in the Arab world, namely the stage of Western colonialism, especially British and French, made dealing with the West almost an essential matter. The Arabs, like many other nations, found out that they

urgently needed to stop this tension in relations or at least reduce it, but that this would happen only by confidence-building, and this latter required a common understanding. In order to reach better understanding, we need to study the production of knowledge of the "other" to see how our image appears to the other party; at the same time we are required to revise our own cultural product to establish whether the image of the "other" – in this case the West - reflects the reality of it, or whether it is a distorted image which has been formed as a result of historical accumulations and should therefore be re-considered seriously. Hence, the meaning of the "other" has become "the West" in most contemporary Arab studies.

Throughout history, the Arabs have considered the Turks as the "other" only if there was a religious "other" such as Christians, for example, in which case the Turks become "ego" because of their participation in a religion. Since the late Ottoman era, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Turks have become the "other" absolutely, regardless of any cultural considerations. Despite a long and complex relationship with the Turks, the Arab studies of the Turkish "other" are not many. Moreover, even this small number of offerings tends not to be interested in the cultural issue when discussing the perception of both the Turkish and Arab nations. Arab researchers' attention is usually focused on the present era and on the issues of political and economic relations and the like. Some researchers have studied the ways in which the Turks and the Arabs imagine each other. "Ibrāhīm al-Dāqūqī" for example, has limited his studies on the present era. Some articles or papers that have studied the image of Turkey in the Ottoman era, (Būkbūṭ), for instance, were focused on the physical aspects of military architecture and infrastructure and so on, but almost completely ignored the social aspect which relates to human beings, their affairs,

thinking, normal ways of dealing with each other and daily life. Studies about al-Khiyārī and his journey are very limited, and often interested only in reviewing and publicizing the work and its author, sometimes containing revisions of the editing and publication aspects. To the best of my knowledge, however, there is no work that studies al-Khiyārī's text in an integrated manner, or that deals with the author or his work from a broad cultural perspective.

## Chapter Two: the History of the Ḥijāz and the Ottoman Empire

### Preface:

If there is something that leads to readers' misunderstanding and inability to assimilate a text, it is often the difficulty in understanding the circumstances that surround the writer. During the writing of the received text, the different economic, political and social circumstances, and the attendant realities of security and fear, poverty and wealth are the main factors that naturally create the personality of the writer, influencing his thoughts, his behaviour and his attitude to what is around him. The text, considered as intellectual property, is a list of repercussions that allow us to read the writer's thoughts and understand formative aspects of his character. The importance of writing about both the territory of the Ḥijāz and the Ottoman Empire takes this as its starting point. In the case of the Ḥijāz, it was the original environment of the writer; where he was born, lived and worked, and it is assumed to frame an important part of his character and thoughts. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, it was the dominant power in the Ḥijāz during the seventeenth century and therefore it is obvious that it played important roles in the different factors referred above, from which it may be assumed that it had formed the consciousness of the writer. Additionally, the writer would not have had the chance to travel to Istanbul, and thus would not have had the chance to write about this expedition, had it not have been the Turks who were ruling the writer's own province (the Ḥijāz) at that time. This chapter is necessary as it opens a window to the temporal and spatial background of where and when the text was written. Therefore, it gives the reader a better chance to be able to read the text within its natural context. Although it will

provide an idea about the general history of the Ḥijāz, it will also focus on the Ottoman period since the Ḥijāz remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for four centuries. Knowing that “the Ḥijāz” has not been ruled by any other empire or single state for such a long period throughout its history, the study is also going to clarify the general situation of the Ḥijāz during the seventeenth century, a period in which the writer lived and performed his work.

## **1. The History of the Ḥijāz to the beginning of the Ottoman Epoch (923/1517)**

### **1.1. The Ḥijāz Region and its Borders:**

According to ancient Arabic sources, the word “Ḥijāz” came from the linguistic derivation of the verb “reserve”, meaning to prevent. Many linguists and geographers decided that the name arose because of the “Chain of *Sarawāt* Mountains” located in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula which extends along the Red Sea from the northern Arabian Peninsula to Yemen. These mountains form a natural geographical barrier between the deepest soil on the Red Sea coast and the Arabian desert (Glassé, 2003, p. 175 ff). The geographical borders of the Ḥijāz had no fixed landmarks, but it was according to the power of the authority that was controlling the region that sometimes the Ḥijāz’s borders extended from Tabuk on the northern borders with Jordan to Jizan on the southern borders with “Yemen” and then reached eastwards to the mid-Najd region, and to the outskirts of the city of Riyadh today. Sometimes, its area was reduced so as to include only the holy city of Mecca and its surroundings such as Jeddah, Taif and nearby villages (al-Raddādī, 1984, p. 25 ff). Centuries ago, the name



“The Ḥijāz” in the general concept of the Arabs and Muslims became related to the lowest-lying area located between the mountain range and the Red Sea, especially the Muslim holy places and most important cities of Mecca, Medina, Taif, Jeddah, and Yanbu, which became a part of what has been known since 1925 as Saudi Arabia (Bowen, 2008, p. 135).

## **1.2. Before the Islamic Era**

### **1.2.1. The Ancient Era**

In the Arabic and Islamic culture there is a widespread belief that humans were present in the Ḥijāz region a long time ago, perhaps even from the very start of human history. Many Islamic sources reported that the tomb of Eve is to be found in the city of Jeddah, which is located about 75 Km from Mecca and is the main port of the Holy City on the Red Sea. People who believe such sources have argued that the name of the city proves that the mother of mankind is indeed buried there, for they believe that the real name of the city is “Jaddah”, in which the second letter is “a” instead of an “e” or “i” which gives a different meaning in Arabic. “Jaddah” with an “a” means in Arabic “grandmother” or “old mother”, whereas Jiddah” with an “i” means nothing but is simply a place-name. They believe that the place was so named because it contains the tomb of the ‘grandmother’ of humanity Eve, especially given that many Arabs still pronounce it as “Jaddah” with the “a” sound. However, there are several interested scholars and writers who regard this kind of discourse merely as a legend because such discourses cannot be proven (Landon, 2005. p. 218). According to Islamic sources, Mecca itself was inhabited from about the twentieth century B.C. The Qur'an (chapter:

14, verse: 37) indicates that the prophet Abraham made some of his family live in this barren spot in which, because of its aridity , there were no people living, and he asked the Lord Allah (God) for neighbours and to be blessed with food:

**Our Lord, I have settled some of my descendants in an uncultivated valley near your “sacred House, our Lord, that they may establish prayer. So make hearts among the people incline toward them and provide for them from the fruits so that they might be grateful.**

رَبَّنَا إِنِّي أَسْكَنْتُ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي بِوَادٍ غَيْرِ ذِي زَرْعٍ عِنْدَ بَيْتِكَ الْمُحَرَّمِ رَبَّنَا لِيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ فَاجْعَلْ أَفْئِدَةً  
مَنْ النَّاسِ تَهْوِي إِلَيْهِمْ وَارْزُقْهُمْ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْكُرُونَ

The Qur'an also declared (chapter: 2 verse: 127) that the prophet Abraham and his son Ishmael built the Ka'bah in Mecca, the holiest site in Islam, with their own hands in a more recent time:

**And [mention, O Muhammad] when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House and [with him] Ishmael, [saying], "Our Lord, accept [this] from us. Indeed You are the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing**

وَإِذْ يَرْفَعُ إِبْرَاهِيمُ الْقَوَاعِدَ مِنَ الْبَيْتِ وَإِسْمَاعِيلُ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ

Accordingly, Muslims believe that the Ka'bah was built during the epoch of Adam, and that over time it was destroyed and buried, and also its very site disappeared. Hence what Abraham and Ishmael did was to rebuild it over the pre-existing foundations. As evidenced in the above-cited verse, Abraham says that he made his family live near the Sacred House of Allah (God), although that was decades before he and his son started to rebuild it (see Peters, 1994a, p. 2 and Firestone, 1990, p. 25 ff).

Some studies indicate that different groups of people throughout history moved to the Ḥijāz from different places. Around the fifteenth century B.C. the *'Amālēq* (the Amorites and Canaanites) returned from Iraq to the Arabian Peninsula, their ancestors having emigrated primarily to Syria and Iraq a long time earlier, and after their return, they settled in the Ḥijāz and founded Yathrib (the present-day Medina). They had benefited from their agricultural expertise in the lands of the Fertile Crescent, so they founded a successful agrarian society in Yathrib. In addition, they promoted trading activities between the Ḥijāz and areas outside the Arabian Peninsula, which led to their creating an economically and agriculturally prosperous city (Jawād 'Alī, 1993.1: p. 585).

Although the authority of the Arabian kingdoms in Yemen was politically limited through most of its history to the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, they tried in several historical stages to extend their authority along the eastern coast of the Red Sea. In addition to agricultural activity, the economy in Ancient Yemen was based upon exporting local products such as dairy items, spices and certain types of weapons and other materials to the known countries at that time, including to Egypt and the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The continuation of this commercial activity between Yemen

and other countries beyond the north-western borders of the Arabian Peninsula required that the security of convoys transporting these goods be ensured, whether by sea or land. So it is believed that this security concern was one of the main reasons behind keeping the “Ḥijāz” under the control of the two big Yemeni kingdoms (the Maʿīn kingdom, or “Minaeans”, and the Sabāʾ kingdom, or “Sheba”) respectively, over the first half of the first millennium B.C. Archaeologists have found inscriptions dating back to the era of the Maʿīn kingdom proving that Yathrib (Medina), Gaza, and other places between them were among the cities of the Maʿīn kingdom. Maʿīn kings used to choose governors from the people of these regions to govern them in the name of the king. The inscriptions also showed that economic prosperity was a top priority, and was necessarily followed by the need for security. That is why the task of the governors (appointed by the Yemeni kings) was to collect taxes and maintain security. Hence, the civilizing influence of the southern kingdoms on the Ḥijāz community was limited, so that the main activity of most of the population continued to depend only on agriculture and grazing. However the dependence of this vital region on a country with such considerable regional status provided the Ḥijāzi people with a secure and stable environment, and this in turn led to an economic recovery, firstly for security reasons, secondly, by virtue of the movement of the commercial convoys in a semi-permanent way across the northern and southern regions of the province (ibid., 2: pp. 105-107 & 119-121).

After the demise of the Sabāʾ governors, around the middle of the sixth century B.C., the Chaldeans swept from the northern end of the Ḥijāz until they reached Yathrib, and those areas came under the authority of the Chaldean Kingdom. But the period of the

Chaldeans did not last more than a decade, because the Persian King Cyrus the Great invaded their capital Babylon, which finally led to the entire elimination of the Chaldean Kingdom and then to its absorption as a new province within the Persian Empire (ibid. 1: pp. 607-619). It is possible that some Jewish groups migrated to the Ḥijāz from the fifth century B.C. to escape from the bloody wars between the Jews and the armies of the Babylonians, led by their king Nebuchadnezzar; what is certainly true is that major groups of Jews swept down toward the Ḥijāz from the first century A.D. after the attack on Jerusalem by the Romans, who then destroyed the temple of Solomon and tortured and displaced the Jews (ibid..6: p. 511 ff).

In the first century A.D., the situation along the Arabian coast of the Red Sea deteriorated and trading activities faced a serious threat from pirates and terrorists, so that the Roman Empire decided to end this situation. Once they had occupied Egypt in 30 B.C., the Romans acted decisively to extend their authority to the eastern coast of the Red Sea and thus occupied the western parts of the Arabian Peninsula (the Ḥijāz).

However, it appears that the main motivation for the Roman expansion was to preserve maritime trade routes in the Red Sea, so as to keep them safe, and that is why it is believed that the Romans had no political or cultural influence on the residents of the interior regions of the Ḥijāz (O'Leary, 2000, p.74).

### 1.2.2. Pre-Islamic Era

From the fifth century A.D., the Ḥijāz and especially Mecca had an important and increasingly prominent role because of its important location as a route for goods coming from the south or east to the north and west, and vice versa.

As the water resources in Mecca were very scarce, residents could not rely on agricultural activities or grazing cattle and trade therefore seemed to be the only realistic proposition in order to provide a good and decent standard of living for the community of Mecca in particular, and the Ḥijāz in general. The religious status of the city granted the tribe of Quraish (the dominant tribe in Mecca in the pre-Islamic period) a position of great respect in the hearts of the Arabs, so the tribe had become a trusted neutral party among all the other parties. This confidence and that position allowed Quraish to guarantee security for their convoys during their passage through the northbound road to the region of 'Sham' (Greater Syria), or through the southern road to Yemen. Thus enabled Quraish trading activities to be improved in the first half of the sixth century so as to achieve a great level of prosperity, but it soon felt like they needed to expand their areas of work by searching for foreign markets, as their domestic markets were no longer able to accommodate the volume of their increased trading activities (Peters, 1994a, pp. 68-76). As a result of the conflicts between the Arab kingdoms in the south, and the bloody wars between the Persian Empire and the Byzantines in the north, all parties had been weakened, and the trade routes had gone out of their control, with the result that the commercial convoys of those parties were facing real challenges from hostile parties or tribes that were no longer afraid of their authority or of retaliation. It was because of all this that the role of Quraish emerged, because there was no hostility

between them and any other party in the region, so they became the key actor in performing a commercial carrier role north and south without any major problems. In order to strengthen this prospective role, business leaders of Quraish worked to obtain guarantees facilitating the movement of trading convoys from the rulers of the great powers at that time (the Byzantines, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and the Arab kingdoms in the south of the Arabian Peninsula), as well as developing closer relationships with leaders of Arab tribes along the trade routes through giving them some economic concessions to encourage them to maintain their pledges as far as the security of trading convoys was concerned (Al-Sayyid, 1981. p. 130)

#### **1.2.2.1. Arabic Markets and Seasonal Festivals**

Before addressing the subject of Arab markets, we should keep in mind that due to the lack of a central government, the region was teeming with a host of serious security problems as a result of the never-ending conflicts among the Arab tribes, such as the consequent acts of violence like murder or robbery committed with a view to satisfying a desire to take revenge for past events or simply through sheer irresponsibility. Whatever the case, this meant that moving from one place to another in the Arabian desert was fraught with difficulties and a real risk in many cases. Even though they were heathens, the Arabs had been glorifying the Sacred House since ancient times, and they made a pilgrimage to Mecca annually, for the people of the peninsula had inherited in ancient times the notion that in the lunar year there are four months which are called “the sacred or forbidden months”. In this period they were not allowed to fight at all, whatever the reasons, except in self-defence. These four forbidden months consist of three successive months, namely the eleventh month (Dhu al-Qi'dah), the twelfth month

(Dhu al-Ḥijjah), and the first month (Muharram), and then an individual month, the seventh month (Rajab); these were referred to in the Qur'an, with a stress on the need to respect them (chapter: 9, verse 36). All Arabs, including thieves and vandals, know very well that no one could harm any traveller, and even if this were to happen, no one could provide protection to the aggressor, including his own tribe, which will become a target for the other tribes and so undoubtedly forgo any benefits from this fixed security policy.

Like any other place in the world, the Arabian Peninsula had multiple markets, in which the residents of the village, city or region met for trading and exchanging goods. Those markets were limited to the local tribes or group of tribes and the market was located along the tribe's borders; however, some of the markets of the Ḥijāz were not. In fact, the Ḥijāz included several markets in the period before Islam, but the history books have described extensively the most famous three markets that existed through the sixth century and part of the seventh century, because of the national character that characterized all other markets (al-Afghānī, 1960). 'Ukāz, Majannah and Dhū al-Majāz were the only forums in which groups of Arab tribes from all parties could meet on a regular basis every year for nearly forty consecutive days. 'Ukāz market opened on the first day of the eleventh lunar month "Dhu al-Qi'dah" and remained open for twenty days, then Majannah opened over the ten remaining days of the month, and from the first of the month of Ḥajj (Dhu al-Ḥijjah) Dhū al-Majāz market started to receive visitors until the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> day in Dhu al-Ḥijjah, as the Ḥajj started on the 9<sup>th</sup> day (Abū Shahba, 1992. 1: pp. 100-102). One of the most important advantages of the Ḥijāz markets was their location as they were located within the geographical perimeter of Mecca, which gave these markets a very high level of immunity against any fighting



activities. The continuous and safe three-month period was a relatively long period of time and was a good opportunity to travel to the Ḥijāz to perform the Ḥajj and attend those groupings, through which one could achieve many objectives. Although these three markets shared a common time and general location, 'Ukāz market gained a greater position in history and culture than any other market, to the extent that most of the events which appeared in Arab culture in connection with the Jāhiliyah (pre-Islamic) markets were almost all related to 'Ukāz market. It was not just a traditional market dealing with the exchange of goods and products, nor an arena for meetings of politicians and the elite as in the case at conferences or even in parliaments, but rather it was a national and venerable festival attended by the elite and the public, men and women, young and old. It was an open space for conferences, semi-official tribal meetings and to discuss the issues of politics, war, security and culture, as well as a forum for the activities of buying and selling, given that goods were brought to it from Yemen, Syria and Persia as well as from the areas closest to it (al-Afghānī, 1960, pp 277 – 282). 'Ukāz was usually the right place for making treaties or agreements which could have included arrangements for peace, reconciliation and alliance; and probably also for the announcement of some celebrity marriages and so on (ibid., p. 316 ff). 'Ukāz is also known in the history of Arab culture – and especially the history of literature and criticism - because of its oral cultural activities such as oratory and poetry. The latter, however, was a popular cultural activity and there was a competition of poetry and expert arbitrators who decided, according to known monetary rules, who were the winners and what differentiated them from the others; and as well as the money prizes, winning such a competition gave the winner great fame among the Arab tribes and brought pride to the whole tribe (ibid., p. 281). It has been noted above that the events of 'Ukāz continued for nearly three weeks and thus were longer than the total

period that people spent in the two other markets (eighteen days), in addition to the fact that 'Ukāz is the first of the three markets and furthest from the pilgrimage season; so these factors are believed to have helped 'Ukāz to be the most active Arab market and to become famous. The 'Ukāz market and other similar public centres in the Ḥijāz may have helped in maintaining a common awareness of their unity in language, culture and self-determination. In addition, the winning poems, especially poems about pride and praise, had to be based on high-value content recognized at the time, such as courage, generosity, protecting and defending the land and honour and so on, as opposed to the lampooning poems which focused on defective values in a person or bad categories of behaviour which represented bad values in the society, such as treachery, cowardice, miserliness, lying and so on. People at those times knew about the arbitration process for those poems, which was carried out by experts in that field, which was an indicator of the high quality of those poems and the high degree of versatility on the part of the authors (ibid., p. 341). The highest values carried by those poems which were the subject of everyone's aspirations, as well as the defective attributes which were the subject of contempt in society, all these with their positive and negative implications were transmitted by narrators and minstrels in order to promote support between tribes and were circulated by people due to their famous authors and the high quality of their texts; and thus they floated around between people of the Arab nation in the sprawling peninsula, and this helped in the popularisation of traditions and customs, which had the effect of deepening the sense of national unity (Al-Zayyat, 1963. p.15).

Thus, in addition to the religious status which had been gained by Mecca for centuries, this active commercial traffic and the periodic political and cultural groupings led to

prosperity at all levels, whether economic, cultural, or political, and all this caused Mecca to become not only the most important city in the Ḥijāz, but probably also the most important city in the Arabian Peninsula, at least in the sixth century. These important and rapid changes represented in the wars and disputes in both the Arabian Peninsula and kingdoms and empires surrounding it eased the pressure in the Central and Northern areas of the Arabian Peninsula and especially in the Ḥijāz region, which over the centuries was a disputed area between regional powers. At that time the tribe of Quraish was able to make the Ḥijāz an attractive place for the Arabs of Mecca, who wanted to enjoy the religious, economic or cultural tourism, and perhaps all three at once in a single location. Most important of all was the fact that the status gained by Mecca as a location and the high prestige gained by Quraish as a tribe had combined to form an appropriate and necessary environment for the message of Islam, which then was to have a tremendous impact not only on local, but also regional and global history (Crone, 2004).

### **1.3. Islamic Era**

#### **1.3.1. The Sixth and Seventh Centuries**

It has already been stated that the Ḥijāz had reached a good level of intellectual and political maturity in the pre-Islamic period, which made the territory a meeting place for many of the Arab tribes in 'Ukāz and other markets as an annual National Conference. The city of Mecca itself had a very high degree of political maturity, so that they avoided any single opinion in the matters affecting in general the city and its habitants. There was a group of wise persons, representing all the clans of Quraish tribe, which

called for the meeting in the “Dār al-Nadwah”, which was a general town hall or public hall dedicated to holding consultations before making any important decision. Historians tell us that this house, which was founded in 475 by Qusai bin Kilab, the fourth grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), was a House that resembled a miniature parliament today or a sort of grand council. It was attended by a customary group of wise men representing the tribe of Quraish and elders who had sound opinions and true vision, who were not under the age of 50 years, and the tribe could not take any action without a decision from that group (Abū Shahba, 1992. 1: p. 105).

The Prophet Muhammad was from Mecca and began his mission in 610, trying in vain to convince his people of Quraish that his message, which was calling people to worship only one God, was not new, and that this message was the main reason for sending the previous prophets. But they did not listen to him. Instead, they tried to make him a laughing stock among the Arabs, and his uncle “Abū Lahab” took it upon himself to discredit his words; and whenever the Prophet went to a group of Arabs in their communities or Arab markets to announce the message of Islam, his uncle came to tell them not to believe him and told them that he was a liar, saying, “I’m his uncle and I’m the one knowing him well”. People therefore rebuffed him because of his uncle’s words who was assumed to know more about the religion of his nephew as he was an older man. The Prophet tried with Quraish and the Arabs who were close to Mecca as well as with the crowds who flocked to the Hijāz over thirteen years, but to no avail. They accused him of being a liar, a poet, a priest or a madman and subsequently described the Qur’ān as “legends of the ancients” (Qur’ān 83:13). However, a small group believed, and were subsequently tortured, imprisoned and displaced, which forced the Prophet to

send a mission of about 16 believers to the Christian king Oṣḥomah Negus, King of Abyssinia around the year 615, four of whom were women. He sent another mission to the same place in the following year, this time made up of about 100 people, including 19 women. Quraish did not give up and sent a delegation to the King of Abyssinia to attack the Muslims on the charge that they were talking improperly about Jesus, so the King asked to bring before him the Muslims. They came to him, and then they read “*Surat Maryam* [Arabic for Mary, mother of Jesus]” (chapter 19) causing the king and bishops around him to cry, so he refused to hand them over to the delegation, who returned to the Ḥijāz without achieving their goal (Mubārakpūrī, 2005. p. 98 ff).

In 620 A.D., the eleventh year of the prophet’s mission, during the Ḥajj, a small group from Yathrib had converted to Islam after listening to Prophet Muhammad read some verses of the Qur’ān (Abū Shahba, 1992, 1: p. 434). From then on, the new religion was still spreading faster than expected in Yathrib, and in the next year (621 A.D.), another group from Yathrib converted to Islam, and when they returned to Yathrib they worked to explain Islam to their families and friends. The numbers of Muslims in Yathrib gradually became bigger and bigger, and so they sent to the Prophet Mohamed, asking him to send one of his friends to Yathrib, in order to teach them the faith and the Qur’ān, and he approved their request, because the people of Yathrib loved the religion of Islam. They were used to hearing about the heavenly religions from Jewish tribes with regard to the Mosaic laws, and furthermore the Jews were saying that a new prophet would appear soon, that he would fight the heathens, and that they would follow him because they already followed the doctrine of Monotheism. Therefore Islam had quickly spread, and they intended to support the Prophet Muhammad against the persecution that he

lived under in Mecca. So they invited him to migrate to their city in the Ḥajj season in 622 A.D. with a certain promise to him that they would defend him as they would defend themselves and their own people, and they would not desert him even if all of them died (ibid., 1: p. 444 ff). Hence a new phase began in the history of the Ḥijāz, for the Arabs and then later the whole of the ancient world as well.

After this news, that the Prophet was seriously thinking of migrating to Yathrib, on 12<sup>th</sup> September 622 A.D. Quraish leaders held a meeting in Dar Al-Nadwa (as defined above) in order to dispose of the Islam because it was imposing a different reality on many levels in their lives. Eleven notables attended this meeting, representing 7 of the 8 clans of Quraish tribe, the eighth one being the Prophet Mohammed's own clan "Banū-Hāshim" which was not represented at the meeting. They believed that the problem of Islam was summed up in Muhammad himself, and that if they could just find a way to stop him spreading his message, then all his followers would forget about Islam over time and then go back to their original religions. At the meeting, they agreed that there were three different solutions; exiling him (to any other region except Yathrib), holding him in a secret place inside Mecca until he died, or killing him so that they could dispose entirely of this problem. The Qur'ān mentioned all the details of this meeting (in chapter 8, verse 30) and described it as a conspiracy. Doing anything against Muhammad was a real problem to Quraish on both the internal and external fronts. Internally, a civil war could occur inside Mecca. Externally, Quraish's religious reputation could be dissipated, given that they was known to the people outside Mecca as an example of tolerance, mercy and kindness because of their religious and holy status. Dissipating the reputation of Quraish meant that their trading activities and their

relations with others would be affected negatively; and so each of these suggestions had its supporters and opponents because of the expected consequences after implementation. After a full day of consultations in Dar Al-Nadwa, Quraish decided to kill Muhammad. It was the most dangerous decision, and could have had disastrous consequences for everyone. One of the leaders attending the meeting suggested an opinion that would make it difficult for Banu Hashim to take revenge for Muhammad's killing. His idea was to collect a cavalry of 10 men to attack the Prophet's house in order to kill him, so that Banu Hashim would never know who exactly killed him. Furthermore, it was not possible for Banu Hashim to attack all the seven tribes who shared in this process because it would be suicide, so in the end Banu Hashim would accept the blood money. Every party was trying to do what it planned for before the other so that it could impose a new reality, and the Prophet was planning to leave secretly, whilst Quraish was planning to abort his plan. Quraish thought that they were the faster, and so then they sent the chosen group of horsemen to the Prophet's home to implement the plan, but they failed. The Prophet escaped and left Mecca for Yathrib on the evening of Thursday, on the date indicated above (Mubārakpūrī, 2005. p. 150 ff), so that 622 A.D. is reckoned the first year in the Hijri Calendar of the Muslims.

In the sixth century, Yathrib was a small town inhabited by the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and some Jewish tribes, and as previously noted, the ancestors of both the Jewish and Arabian tribes came to Yathrib from agricultural environments. The Arabs were descendants of tribes who migrated from Yemen hundreds of years ago, and the same was true for Jewish tribes who came from Palestine and Iraq, where they found Yathrib as a niche because of the fertility of its land, and also because it was blessed with good

amounts of water. Thus, Yathrib's economy was primarily dependent on agriculture, and to a secondary degree on trading activities, as being located on the trade route of the trading trips to Syria, or Yemen. Convoys would be hastening to the north carrying the goods of Yemen, Africa and Mecca, in addition to the goods of India and the Middle East which were coming to Yemeni ports across the Indian Ocean, while on the other hand there were convoys that were returning to the south carrying the goods of Syria, the Byzantine Empire, and some European products coming from across the Mediterranean (Abū Shahba, 1992. 1: p. 58).

After the migration of the Prophet Muhammad to Yathrib in 622 it was renamed Medina and became the ruling centre of the new Islamic state, and over a period of eight years several skirmishes took place between Muslims and their enemies in different places across the Ḥijāz. The Muslims were attacked in the city and its environs several times, the most important two wars being: the Uhud Foray (3 A.H./625 A.D.), and El-Ahzab Foray (in 5 A.H./627 A.D.). In the first one, Quraysh and their allies were fighting back against the Muslims who had won the battle of Badr in 2 A.H./624. The second war was when Quraish and its allies were surrounding "the city" for nearly a month, but could not overrun it because of the trench created by Muslims around the city, with their desperate defence with arrows and stones from behind this trench, forcing the non-Muslims to withdraw without achieving their goal (Mubārakpūrī, 2005, p. 182 ff).



The Muslims' weak position and their dependence on a defensive policy ended in the eighth Hijri Year after the conquest of Mecca, for which the Prophet prepared an army numbering ten thousand men. They achieved their goal without any fight on Ramadan 20, 8 A.H. - January 11, 630 A.D. The conquest of Mecca is a great event in the history of Islam because of its effect on the Arab tribes' attitudes toward the Prophet and his call, as the religious, economic and political position gained by Mecca over the centuries had made it one of the most important places in the Arabian Peninsula, so that even the Qur'an described it as "*Umm-Alquraa*" or the Mother of Towns (Chapter 6, verse 92. and chapter 42, verse 7). Consequently, the Arab tribes were waiting to see Mecca's opinion about the new call from the Prophet Muhammad as one of the members of Quraish tribes, and since he belonged to one of the leading tribes. Quraish refused the Islamic call to worship Allah (the only one God) and to leave behind the worship of idols, taking an aggressive stance against the call and the Prophet, and they did everything to stop this call and kill it at its birth. As a result, the Arab tribes had not taken the matter of Islam seriously until the conquest of Mecca more than two decades after the beginning of the Prophet Mohammed's call, and this happened when Quraish converted to Islam after the conquest of Mecca (ibid., p. 347 ff). The Qur'an indicated that the Arabs were waiting for the acquiescence of Mecca and its acceptance of the new religion and that they would join the new religion in droves once the people of Mecca did this (the Qur'an: chapter 110, verses 1-2). And this was because of the position of Quraish and their correct decision, and they would not join the Muslims until they were convinced, especially when they knew that no one in Mecca was forced to convert to Islam (to read more about Mecca before and after Islam, see: Peters, 1994b).

After the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet returned with his companions to Medina, which had been the capital of the state of Islam for about thirty-five years, the duration of the period of the Prophet and his 3 successive Caliphs. Although that period saw profound changes in thought in all aspects of public life in Mecca, which led to raising the prestige of the Ḥijāz religiously, and politically, it also provided the Ḥijāz with stable security conditions, especially after the conquest of Mecca. On the other hand, the Ḥijāz was not economically prosperous, due to certain factors that seem very logical. First: the state was still in the process of establishment, with the aim of building a new society which was different in many of its circumstances, objectives, ideas and beliefs from the surrounding communities. Second: the Prophet Muhammad was not intending to acquire wealth because this issue was not a part of his message. Therefore, trade and the search for sources of wealth was not a priority during that period. The Ḥijāz did not get an adequate opportunity to participate in the leadership of the new state, which became in less than a century one of the most powerful and influential countries in that era. At first, the fourth Caliph 'Ali ibn Abi Talib", moved the capital of the Islamic state to Kufa in Iraq during his reign (656-660). After that, from 656 A.D. until the early twentieth century, the Ḥijāz became one of Islam's regions, affiliated politically to a number of other capitals located away from the Arabian Peninsula, except for very short periods extending over history, which were not sufficient enough for the emergence of full independence. The following table shows the most important capitals that ruled the Ḥijāz between 660 and 1517 AD:

<b>Rulers</b>	<b>Capital</b>	<b>Period</b>
The Umayyads	Damascus	660-749
The Abbasids	Iraq (Kufa, Anbar, Samarra and Baghdad)	750-1258
The Fatimids	Cairo	968-1171
The Ayyubids	Cairo	1171-1250
The Mamluks	Cairo	1250-1517

## **2. The History of the Hijāz during the Ottoman Era to the beginning of Twentieth Century**

### **2.1. A Brief History of the Ottoman Empire:**

#### **2.1.1. The Emergence of the Ottoman Empire**

Historians have dated the beginning of the Ottoman Empire to the end of the thirteenth century as one of the states created on the ruins of the Seljuk Turkish Empire. Osman was a military leader in the Seljuk army (Romanian Seljuks) succeeding his father, Ertugrul, who died in the eighties of the thirteenth century. Seljuk leaders, who were very weak at that time, were impressed by the courage of Osman and his prowess in the wars against their enemies, especially against the Byzantines. So they decided to give him more powers. They also gave him the authority and sovereignty over vast areas of land, cities and regions. The Mongols' intensive attacks against the Seljuk state led finally to its collapse in the late thirteenth century. The Byzantine Empire at this time was showing signs of weakness and ageing, and also its resistance had become much weaker than before. These factors led to the emergence of the Ottoman Empire, which benefited from the legacy of the Seljuk Empire, such as its infrastructure and military expertise, in addition to absorbing the Turkish small states based in Asia, and using their capabilities to establish and strengthen the new emerging state (Shaw, 1976. pp. 13-17).

### **2.1.2. Growth and Prosperity**

The emerging new Empire continued to grow day after day, as the Ottomans were able to extend their power smoothly over the other small Turkish states in Asia. From the second half of the fourteenth century the Ottoman expansion phase in effect started on European territory, beginning when Suleiman Pasha, son of Sultan Orhan (reign: 1326-1362) managed to pass through the Dardanelles Strait and lay his hands on the Gallipoli Peninsula (Çanakkale Province) in 1354 A.D. The Ottoman forces maintained their progress towards the Balkans, and achieved many victories, one of them being at the “Kosovo battle” of 1389 A.D., where Sultan Murad was wounded in the battle by one of the Serbians (Quataert, 2000. p 11 ff). In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Empire suffered a great setback which led to catastrophic results; one of them was the loss of most of the achievements made in the fourteenth century. There had been a severe disagreement between the Uzbek leader Tamerlane, founder of the Timurid dynasty, and the Ottomans on various issues, but it did not turn into an armed clash until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Tamerlane attacked Baghdad in 1401 and destroyed it completely, but its ruler Sultan Ahmed bin Uys escaped to Anatolia which was ruled in those times by Sultan Ba Yazeed. When Tamerlane wrote to Ba Yazeed asking him to expel Uys from his kingdom, otherwise he would attack him himself, making him face the same fate as other rulers, the Ottoman Sultan rejected his request. Tamerlane then attacked him in the summer of 1402 with a huge army of about two hundred thousand fighters against about eighty-five thousand Ottoman fighters. The two armies met in the plain of Ankara, where a fierce battle occurred between the two sides that lasted from morning to night and resulted in a crushing defeat for the army of the Ottomans; also the Sultan Ba Yazeed was captured and subjected to severe humiliation at the hands of Tamerlane that led to his death a short time after his capture. After the

battle the Ottoman force dispersed, the Balkan states and territories regained their independence, and the Ottoman Princes regained their powers and lands (Tucker, 2010. pp. 139-141).

This violent earthquake which hit the emerging powerful country led to chaos and instability at all levels, and then to a civil war between the sons of the Sultan. Finally, the Empire regained its balance from the beginning of the reign of Muhammad bin Ba Yazeed (1413-1421), son of Murad II (1421-1451), as the Ottomans regained all their lost lands in Asia, Anatolia and the Balkans, but also extended the empire further becoming stronger and more assertive (İnalçık, 1994. p. 11 ff). At this stage the Ottomans fought many successful battles against some of the forces surrounding their powerful empire, such as the Byzantines, Serbs, Hungarians and other Balkan forces in the West, then the Safavids and some other forces in the East, which resulted in their taking control of several regions in the Balkans, the South-Eastern Europe and almost all the Arab world, as well as the Horn of Africa. Thus, in less than a hundred and twenty years from the Ankara defeat, the Ottoman Empire was able to control large parts of the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa (ibid., p. 20 ff).

After the success of the Ottomans led by Sultan Mohammed Al-Fateh (1451-1481) in the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 (see the full story of the fall of Constantinople: Runciman, 1990), the idea of the leadership of the Islamic world under the flag of the Caliphate was one that flashed through their minds. Although the Mamluks formally kept the Caliph position occupied by one of the descendants of the Abbasid family in

their capital Cairo, Muslims and others knew well that since the invasion of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258, the Caliph position had been vacant. The absence of a real Caliph for the Muslims motivated the Ottomans to think about leading the Islamic world, and to take serious steps in this direction. However, the idea of leadership of the Muslims was not possible and not convincing without taking control of the Arab world in particular, and of the holy sites in the Hijāz. Therefore, from the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottomans' attention turned to the Middle East, where the Safavids and Mamluks controlled large portions of those areas.

Sultan Selim (1512-1520) was more determined to progress toward the implementation of this idea, so he translated those wishes into reality when he began his war against the Safavid and Mamluk Empires, in that order. Initially, in 1514 Selim succeeded in defeating the Persian army led by Shah Ismail himself at the battle of Chaldiran, which resulted in taking control of Azerbaijan and grabbing part of Iraq from the Safavids (Savory, 2008. pp. 40-43). Only two years later, in January 1516 A.D., the Mamlukes received a severe blow at the hands of the Ottomans in the battle of Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in northern Syria, where the Mamluk army suffered a humiliating defeat after the Sultan "Kansoa Al Ghorī" had been killed, after leading the battle. As a result, the Ottomans took control of Syria and Palestine, while they were still on their way to their main goal, Cairo, the capital of the Mamluks. Mamluk morale began to be seriously and negatively affected after they got the news of the defeat at the battle of Marj Dabiq, as they had mobilized the best and greater part of their forces to defeat the Ottomans in a space far from the Egyptian borders. So Egypt did not have new leaders and enough troops and equipment to repel the Ottoman army from the invasion of Cairo, especially

since the Ottoman army would attack enthusiastically as victors against the remnants of the Mamluk army who were still affected by the humiliation of defeat, and this led to their loss of control over more or less everything in the country.

The Ottoman army reached Cairo approximately five months after the Marg Dabiq battle, with the Ottoman army not facing any resistance along the way to Egypt until it met the Mamluk army on January 22, 1517 A.D., in a huge battle outside the walls of Cairo in a place called “Al-Ridanya” (near the neighbourhood of al-'Abbāsiyah in present-day Cairo). The Mamluks defended the country desperately and killed large numbers of the Ottomans army. Sultan Tumanbay fought valiantly and killed an important leader in the Ottoman army; however, after about eight hours of fighting the army of the Mamluks faced a crushing defeat the likes of which had happened in the battle of Marj Dabiq, so they fled. The Mamluk sultan remained in hiding for a period of time during which he tried to rally the remaining army and incite the population against the invading forces, but those efforts did not succeed. Despite their victory on the battlefield, the Ottomans only took full control of Cairo two months later, after they arrested the Mamluk sultan and hanged him on one of the gates of Cairo on 21.3.923 A.H./13.4.1517 A.D., proclaiming Egypt as a province in the Ottoman Empire, and with that ending more than two and a half centuries of Mamluk rule over Egypt and the Levant (Chase, 2003. pp. 104-107).

There was a common desire on the part of both the Hashemite Emirate in Mecca and Sultan Selim to put the Ḥijāz under the authority of the Ottomans. The Ottoman sultans



knew they would not gain sufficient legitimacy that would qualify them to become successors to the past Muslim nations unless the Ḥijāz was governed by them. This was because the Ḥijāz is the place that brings Muslims together from different ethnic and political affiliations, and also is the place where Muslims direct their faces and hearts during prayers. Muslims must go there during the Hajj and Umrah, and there is importance attached to visiting the holy places in Mecca and Medina. Therefore, the Ottoman Sultan agreed to be called: “the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques” (Peters, 1994b, p. 198). The Hashemites in turn were forced to be unified under the rule of the Ottomans for two main reasons: economic and security. On the economic side, during the Mamluk period, the Ḥijāz relied largely on grains and products coming from Egypt, and now Egypt had become an Ottoman province, so the smart choice here was to show good faith and to appear as one who was keen on the supreme interest of the nation and society, showing that the Islamic countries should work under the administration of the Ottoman Empire as the authority responsible for the Ḥijāz and the Arab and Islamic world, in the hope that this might raise the economic level in the Ḥijāz (Faroghi, 2006. p. 77). On the security side, the Hashemites faced serious threats from the Portuguese, who began trying to control the Indian trade routes and Red Sea coast in the south to besiege the Sultanate of Gujarat in India and to smash the Mamluk fleet in the Red Sea, then to try to obstruct the Mameluk fleet, and later the Ottoman fleet, from giving support to the Sultan of Gujarat (which was an independent sultanate in western India) against Portuguese attacks. The most serious issue is that there was a substantial risk that the Portuguese might attack the Ḥijāz, while there was not any adequate deterrent force to defend the region against the well-trained Portuguese forces. Thus, the Ḥijāz needed to be under the auspices of a strong power so as to be able to counter the Portuguese and stop their advance, and this is what the Hashemites wanted from the

Ottoman Empire. Hence, after the entry of the Ottomans with their victory over the Mamluk army in Ridaniya, which led to the demise of the state of the Mamluks, the Sherif of Mecca in the Ḥijāz, Sherif Barakat sent his son to Cairo to announce their recognition of the Ottoman power over the Ḥijāz and to hand over the keys of the Ka'aba to Sultan Selim as a proof of honesty, loyalty and recognition of the Ḥijāz's dependency on the new authorities (Inalcik, 1994. pp. 20, 320-322).

### **2.1.3. A Peak Followed by a Slow Decline:**

The sixteenth century was the longest and the best century for the Ottoman Empire, as its shadow fell over vast tracts of land. Sultan Selim inherited the Mamluk Empire and snatched some of the regions belonging to the Safavid Empire, in addition to receiving religious legitimacy as a result of gaining control of the holy places in the Ḥijāz. The ruling period of Sultan Selim was short (less than nine years), and furthermore he was made busy by his wars with the Safavids, Mamluks, and others, which explains why it was during the rule of his son Suleiman "Al-Kanouni"/ the Magnificent (1520-1566), the golden period of the Ottoman Empire (Inalcik, 1994. p. 5,21), that the Ottoman Empire reached its greatest power and its greatest expansion to both east and west (Goffman, 2002, p. 229). The extent of the Empire almost doubled after the annexation to it of North Africa and the Horn of Africa. Moreover, as the Ottomans during the reign of Suleiman became dominant on both sides of the Red Sea, it had become the Ottoman sea (Ehret, 2002. p. 379 ff). Meanwhile, in south-eastern Europe, Belgrade was besieged by the Ottoman armies in 1521, Hungary was invaded after the defeat of the Hungarian army at the battle of Mohács, killing King Louis II of Hungary in 1526,

and Vienna was besieged for the first time in 1529 by Suleiman's army, although they were not able to capture it (Black, 1996, pp. 25-30).

Reaching the peak is usually followed by a decline, a fate that has befallen most empires, and indeed it was the case with regards to the Ottoman Empire. Suleiman the Magnificent spent all the years of his reign at the apex of the glory days of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultans who came after him began driving the Empire slowly towards the downward slope. Studying Ottoman history led Lee (1984, p. 59) to state that the end of Suleiman's reign (1566), is usually considered to be the beginning of the process of regression. The most important reasons for the eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire can be summarized in two main factors. Firstly, there was the weakness of the sultans who came after Suleiman the Magnificent, who gave all their care and attention to the internal conflicts. Secondly, the deterioration of the military basis of the state was a reason that led to repeated defeats in the Balkans and other regions, in addition to several other economic problems (Lee, 1984, p. 59). The grip of the Ottoman Empire in Southern Europe began to slacken before the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, the reasons behind the decline had begun much earlier (Sugar, 1983, p. 187 ff), but it can be said that the defeat of the Ottoman army at the Battle of Vienna in 1683 formed the real beginning of an obvious process of contraction (Grygiel, 2006, p. 119).

In the Arab world, from the early eighteenth century, local leaders began (in Egypt, Syria, the Hijāz, and North Africa) to assume greater local leadership roles at the expense of the central authority in Istanbul. The more the grip of the Sultanate became weaker, the stronger would become the local leaders, which turned Istanbul into nothing more than a political supervisor over the Islamic world, rather than the centre of a real

Empire with absolute authority and control. In the late 18th century, Egypt came to be ruled by the Albanian family of Mohammed Ali, and from then on the Turks had only a semi-formal authority over Egypt (Hourani, 2002, p. 249 ff).

Despite the Ottoman authorities' attempts to halt this decline, the situation was getting worse day after day, until the Empire finally disintegrated after confronting rebel movements from various provinces. Between 1908 and 1912, the Ottomans lost several important parts of their sprawling Empire in both the East and West. They lost control of large areas in the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary, and also they ceded Libya to Italy and in Egypt were replaced by Britain (Murphy, 2008, p. 6).

The idea of Arab nationalism arose among the Arab peoples at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the support and encouragement of actors from among the Western powers, led by Britain, which encouraged Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the Sharif of Mecca, to lead the Arab revolt against the Ottomans. Great Britain fancied Hussein, suggesting that it would help the Arab world to establish a unified Arab state, consisting of the entire East Arab territories, ruled by Hussein himself, who would be crowned king. Therefore, in order to prove his cooperation, Hussein fought on the territory in order to repel the Turkish garrisons from the H̱ijāz. Moreover, he joined Britain and its allies in the First World War (1914-1918) against Germany and its ally Turkey. It has been clear since the war that the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of final collapse.

Britain pledged unequivocally to the Arabs it was committed to supporting their independence from Turkey as long as they, under the leadership of Hussein, revolted effectively against the Turks (Kent,1996, p. 178). The Arabs at that time knew nothing about the ongoing negotiations during the War between the United Kingdom and France on the sharing of the Ottoman legacy in the Middle East. The Arabs did not expect treachery from the allies, nevertheless, they may have observed some suspicious behaviour which indicated that Britain began to equivocate. Thus, Sharif Hussein wanted to impose a *fait accompli* and pre-empt any action that was expected to abort the drafted State, and based on this he declared himself a king of the Arabs on October 30, 1916 (Clayton, 1969. p. 10 ff). Hussein did not know that Britons had already decided to destroy Arabs dream of freedom during those negotiations, which lasted about six months prior to be adopted in mid-May 1916, in what is known in the Arab world by the Sykes-Picot agreement to divide Arab lands. The move surprised the allies who considered it somewhat of a challenge, and as a result, it was agreed by Britain and France to respond strongly to the move by way of announcing that they recognised him as the king of the Ḥijāz only (for more details see: Sicker, 2001, p. 5 ff).

In fact, the draft of the so-called Arab revolution exacerbated both the economic and the military problems of the Ottomans and directly contributed to the acceleration of the collapse of their empire. In other words, the Sultanate lost its legitimacy among the religious Muslim peoples due to the loss of the holy places in the Ḥijāz, and then because the Arabs became liberated from Ottoman rule. As a result, the Ottoman Empire lost a lot of support which was coming from the Islamic world, which was required by the political parties at that time. But it was defeated for standing on the side

of Germany in the First World War; it was precisely in 1918 that the last bullet was fired into the body of the enfeebled Empire, and then the world made sure that the Ottoman Empire had become a part of history. These dramatic and tragic events led Turks to believe that there was a new reality in the world and that it had to recognize this fact. Therefore, Turkey's new leaders, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, began to prepare the community to accept the new situation and to accept the important decisions ahead. Thus, Ataturk abolished the position of the Sultan in 1922, and proclaimed the Turkish Republic in 1923, finally abolishing the position of the Caliphate in 1924 (Findley, 2005, p. 205).

The Ottoman Empire lasted a little more than six centuries, expanding in the first three centuries to become one of the largest Empires in history, but then beginning to shrink in the last three centuries until it was officially ended by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, in 1923. Thus we can say that the Ottomans did not remain on top for very long, as they ruled for the first three centuries in an ascendant mode, and then for the last three centuries in a mode of gradual decline.

### **3. Economic, Social and Cultural Circumstances in the Ḥijāz in the 11th century A.H./17th century AD:**

In many respects, it seems that the Ḥijāz in the sixteenth century was in a better condition than in the seventeenth century. It seems paradoxical to state that the general situation in the seventeenth century in the Ḥijāz was inferior to what it had been a hundred years earlier. There was no doubt that the political, economic, cultural and social developments were interrelated, so that all of them were affected by the other aspects and were having an effect each other. Society will not be productive, unless it has a culture and awareness. Culture needs educational foundations and the belief in the importance of culture as a factor in the advancement of civilization. Educational processes need a powerful economic underpinning in order to meet the requirements of the operation of such facilities, personnel, human literatures, and other related aspects. Building the economic base needs hard and continuous work which needs political and security stability. Stability will only be available under a strong authority that is able to manage all those aspects in accordance with the public interest. Thus, it is clear that these aspects are like a connected chain, each of which are associated and connected to the other one.

The Ḥijāz in the sixth century and part of the seventh was self-reliant in all of those aspects, as its political leadership was established there; in Mecca first and then in Medina until after the mid-seventh century, its decisions being taken based on the best interests of the region. The economy was sustained by the trade caravans that roamed the Arabian Peninsula north and south, bringing all that was new and strange to the

Ḥijāz from other faraway nations. Culturally, despite the fact that there were no educational foundations to help people to read, write and to do research, the public seasonal forums referred to above such as the 'Ukāz Market served as the short awareness courses which helped people to learn about several things: they covered behavioural, ethical, linguistic and literary matters, and also some of the equestrian arts, courage, and public values, raising the general awareness of the public, especially if we take into consideration that at that time it was an oral culture that prevailed in most countries on earth. In addition, there was a great cultural impact of the trade relations with other nations, which gave the Ḥijāzis the chance to view many aspects of the cultural manifestations of the others and therefore to employ the good ones in their own environment.

Moving to the seventeenth century, we find by contrast that the political decision-making affecting the Ḥijāz was taken abroad (in Istanbul or Cairo), while the cultural situation seriously declined due to its need for financial support because of its association with the economy, which in turn was coming from abroad. The Ḥijāz differs from the other parts of the peninsula, because of the presence of the holy sites in it. A consequence of this is that all the Muslim caliphs or sultans who have the Ḥijāz under their authority have to show a special attention to it. This extraordinary attention suggests that the Ḥijāz should enjoy the best possible conditions in most historic stages, but the painful truth was that it did not in fact happen. Although the Ḥijāz contains the most important holy sites for all Muslims, and it was the land where the Prophet Muhammad was born, the place of establishing the Islamic *Da'wa* (the call to Islam), and the first capital of the state of Islam, nonetheless its economic and cultural aspects



were not at the level of many of the other Islamic capitals outside the Arabian Peninsula such as Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Istanbul, Marrakesh, Tunis, Cordoba, Sevilla in Andalusia and even other cities which were much smaller than those metropolises. The economy is the cornerstone of any community renaissance, and other aspects of social, cultural and political life suffer from disorder and instability in the absence of a thriving economy in any environment. Therefore, the next section will focus more on economic considerations as it is the most effective aspect.

The best way to investigate the situation in the seventeenth century is to view the comments and notes of the visitors who came to the Ḥijāz from abroad. This researcher has relied on two of those visitors who differ from each other in age, race, religion and cultural background, in order to see the two different visions about one place (the Ḥijāz) during the same period of time (seventeenth century). One of them was Joseph Pitts (1662-1735), a young British adventurer captured in the Mediterranean in 1678 when he was about sixteen years old who was then sold as a slave to a dealer from Algeria, who in turn sold him on to another person. After he became a Muslim, a third person bought him and dealt with him kindly and with a high degree of respect, and he offered him to be his companion for a Hajj trip. The convoy was launched in 1680 bound for the Ḥijāz, where they stayed for more than four months, during which time they visited Jeddah, Mecca, and Medina, but spent most of the time in Mecca, where Bates managed to enter the Ka'aba building twice during his stay. Bates' master was surprised by him, especially when he was able to endure the hardship of the pilgrimage trip at such a young age, and therefore he kept him in Mecca and handed him a "letter of freedom", considering him as one of his own sons. Pitts was never actually convinced by Islam,

but rather said that his second master forced him to convert, even though his heart remained ostensibly faithful to Christianity, as he said that he was grateful to the God who had helped him not to convert to the “Mohammedan” religion (Islam). So after returning to Algeria he stayed for several years, and then he found a way to escape, and finally succeeded in leaving Algeria in 1693 by way of Turkey so as to end up the following year back in his hometown Exeter, in the south of England (Pailin, 1984, p. 209). The other author is Abū Sālim 'Abd Allāh al-'Ayyāshī (1037-1090 A.H./1628-1679 A.D.) who was an intellectual Moroccan who presented long reports about the Ḥijāz through his book, which he wrote during his visit which lasted for about a year (Dhu al-Ḥijjah 1072- Muḥarram 1074/February 1662-May 1663), when he spent more than eight months in Medina and the rest in Mecca (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006,1: p. 315, 2: p. 401).

### **3.1. Economic Situation**

Although the Ḥijāz witnessed many events in the Mamluk and the Ottoman eras, it could be argued that the Ḥijāz remained unhappy over hundreds of years. It is undeniable that the Ḥijāz witnessed at some stages excellent economic conditions, especially in the first century of the Mamluk period because of the military nature of the Mamluk Empire, which led to their control of many trade routes because of their location which commanded both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea (see: Mubarakī, 2012, p. 24 ff). It was noticeable that taking care of the Ḥijāz undertaken by any of the empires started out strongly in order to gain the sympathy of Muslims and then to get the legitimate justification to fight those who opposed this Empire or opposed its policies, so the interest in the holy sites functioned was the label of Muslims' protection

and then was aimed at acquiring this legitimacy. But the situation in the Ḥijāz began to deteriorate once again shortly after it fell under the authority of a new Empire. We should point out that some opinions argue that showing concern for the Ḥijāz has not stopped in the case of any of the Empires which have ruled the Ḥijāz. This is true to some extent, but the question is: what was the impact of this interest on the general population of the Ḥijāz? The Ḥijāz's economy became dependent on external centres of power, and therein lays the major problem, because it was not guaranteed, often irregular, and therefore it was subject to the conditions outside the territory of the Ḥijāz, so that for example the Ḥijāz was often affected by famines arising from the distressed conditions abroad. Donations and financial allocations might stop or be delayed in a repeated manner if the capitals of the Empires responsible for the region were facing problems such as war, siege, famine, deadly epidemics, or any imbalance in the ruling establishment. Hajj was one of the most important sources of economic well-being in the Ḥijāz because of the money, handouts, gifts and merchandise that were brought to the Ḥijāz by pilgrims, especially the wealthy pilgrims, which meant that if you cut off the pilgrimage season because of insecurity on the roads leading to the Ḥijāz, the population in the Ḥijāz would suffer from an economic catastrophe. This indeed has happened many times through history (ibid., pp. 85, 165 and 253 ff). Unfortunately, however, these funds were dedicated mostly to a few categories of the government department employees, for instance those with religious employees, and then the princes and dignitaries, in order to ensure their loyalty to the state. The attention of governments was focused only on tiny geographical locations, namely the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, meaning that active interest often did not cover the entire cities of Mecca and Medina, not to mention the other areas outside. This means that the general public outside these two particular locations did not

receive any attention, and as a result they failed to gain any benefits directly from these funds. Therefore they felt no difference or disparity between their own region - which was supposed to enjoy a high degree of wealth - and other remote regions that the central governments knew nothing about. The general public would obtain benefits only from the public projects, such as social security programs and services, and the educational foundations that should be scattered in towns, villages, and the Ḥijāzi suburbs. It was the normal thing that, when speaking about the general situation in the Ḥijāz, people were referring to Holy Mecca and Medina, and also the other regions connected to them such as Jeddah and Yanbu as the ports of Mecca and Medina, respectively.

The economic situation in the seventeenth century was not better than the situation during the Mamluk era. For it was based mostly on governmental donations coming from Istanbul, and sometimes from Cairo, in addition to the seasonal money that accrued to it from the pilgrims and visitors in the form of taxes or real estate renting processes, and from the brisk and active trade that resulted from their presence, despite its short season. One of the things that Joseph Pitts noticed through his visit to the Ḥijāz was that people in Mecca were miserable and very slim, their bodies were scrawny, and people were close to collapsing (Al-Shaykh, 1995, p. 47). This confirms what we mentioned above about the extreme poverty suffered by the general public there, so it was indicated that Mecca was just a small and poor town that was unable to deal with the situation of its own population as well as with the tens of thousands who came to it each year. In order to overcome the problems of food and housing, the Meccans used to evacuate their homes during the pilgrimage season in order to rent them to the pilgrims

for more than three times the whole year's rental fee. This solution was to solve the housing problem, but the only solution for the food problem was to make the pilgrims bring their necessary supplies from abroad, so that the convoy owners used to bring with them from their home countries enough supplies of food to be sufficient for several months, and they used to bring in everything, except meat, and even the foodstuffs for their animals they used to bring with them from outside the Ḥijāz (ibid., p. 23).

Pitts stated that there was a large market that used to be held in Mecca after the completion of the rituals of the Hajj, with the pilgrims staying for several days to shop, where merchandise from India and China were sold, as well as rings, precious stones, musk, and some other unique articles (ibid., p. 62). This may suggest a kind of wealth, and it was thought that it was most likely to be a special market only for the foreigners, and that the role of Mecca in this regard was to provide a meeting place for foreigners, so that the Turkish, Moroccan, Egyptian, and Syrian pilgrims used to buy the goods of the Far East, such as India, Yemen, and vice versa. This viewpoint, suggesting that the Hajj became an international trading season, was supported by what was stated by “al-'Ayyāshī” about the Indian pilgrims, that they were traders who came to the Ḥijāz with all kinds of goods transferring many of them to Mecca during the season (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006.1: pp. 236-237).

What has caused us to believe that most of the visitors to this market were from among the pilgrims and those selling to them, and that most of the Ḥijāz people themselves were just viewers, witnesses and onlookers, is the body of accounts about misery and

poverty given by the visitors to the Ḥijāz at that time. Pitts, for example, has told us that the beggars and the dervishes filled the city and they were walking around it outside and inside, and that they had no food apart from what they could get from benefactors; he described them as mendicants, and it appears that they had no houses to live in, as it is mentioned that they carried dried sheepskins on their backs to cover themselves at night (Al-Shaykh, 1995, pp. 50, 65). Thus it was not expected that this poor society would benefit from that market. Quite apart from the economic and health problems caused by poverty, it also represented a social problem for the Ḥijāzi people. The Arabs culture dictates that they should not leave the visitors without inviting them to their houses, especially around the places that were frequently visited, and the house owner was meant to present suitable things to his guests, which is why the poor person faces a real problem in this regard. In this context, Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī has told us about his surprise at the spread of coffee in Egypt and the Arab Middle East, and then has said it was not known in the West; he seemed to be criticizing this eastern adoration of this kind of drink. But one of the Sheikhs explained the reason, saying that Coffee is one of the biggest of Allah (God)'s mercies to the Ḥijāzi people, since the majority of people there are poor and they do not have the ability to ignore the guests or to feed them as well, and coffee can solve this problem because it is very cheap and it can be offered to the guest since it is well accepted and desired by all the social levels of society, so the poor person may avoid embarrassment , and feel free from any inadequacy (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006. 1: pp. 236-237).

The situation in Medina seemed to be better than in Mecca, although Pitts thought that it is a miserable city surrounded by a wall (Al-Shaykh, 1995, p. 72). Al-'Ayyāshī,

however, has told us that people there lived comfortably with regard to money, clothes and lifestyle. Furthermore, they spent their wealth lavishly, boasting about their appearance; unlike Mecca, in which poverty and need were paramount. He justified this claim by stating that there were a lot of people coming into Medina from the different Islamic regions, especially the Turkish ones, about whom he said that there was a group of them sent to guard the city while in reality their job – as he claimed - was only taking their salaries, because they did not help anyone in anything and they did not prevent the oppressor from oppressing. Al-'Ayyāshī believed that the salaries of the employees made standard of living pleasant and ensured for them a different manner of life which tempted the Medinans to imitate their clothes, houses, food styles, way of eating and so on. Nevertheless, al-'Ayyāshī retracted this claim by saying “I mean the rich people in Medina, but the poor people are still in the same situation of deprivation and wretchedness” (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006, 1: pp. 456-457). Hence we may notice clearly the process of interaction occurring between the social and economic situation, and how the one was the reason why the other was subject to change.

The efficient economic resource for the Ḥijāz, especially Mecca, throughout history was trading, and as this resource had been blocked for a long time, so focusing on external sources and the pilgrimage became the main alternative source. The biggest resources feeding the economy were the allocations which were coming from the capital of the Ottoman Empire or from the Egyptian Ottoman province (see: Mubaraki, 2012. p. 85 ff), and perhaps from some other places. Pitts reported that the supplies and necessities like wheat and grains were coming from Abyssinia, and he said that he saw those ships and described them as strange because he had not seen the like of their sails before (Al-Shaykh, 1995, p. 73). The things that Pitts mentioned were somewhat strange, and they

were not the same as other historians and travellers mentioned, given that they said that the allocations and needs of the Ḥijāz were coming from Cairo or Istanbul, especially because Abyssinia was not one of the Ottoman provinces. However, judging from what he reported, his opinion supported the general idea that the economy of the Ḥijāz was dependent on external resources. So if the governmental aid and the allocations were the important sources of income, the taxes that were imposed on the pilgrims were another good. The pilgrims coming from within the Ottoman Empire often did not pay taxes to the local authorities because the governmental aid included their fees, as al-'Ayyāshī explains, unlike Indian, Persian and Moroccan pilgrims who did not follow the Ottoman sultan. In 1073 A.H./1663 A.D., each Persian pilgrim paid nineteen golden dinars to be allowed to enter Mecca and Medina, and there were about 1800 pilgrims. But most of the Indian pilgrims were traders and rich people, and they were coming by sea and entering through the port of Jeddah, paying 10% of what they had. And the rich were bringing unimagined gifts, alms and other strange and expensive things, as the writer expressed (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006, 1: p. 433).

Seasonal financial allocations have not solved the economic problems for any society, and consequently most of time the Ḥijāz suffered from price rises in the non-religious seasons. Al-'Ayyāshī told us that the prices in 1073 A.H./1633 A.D. were massively raised in Al-Medina, especially of grains, berry, butter, honey and fruits, and the price of the barley became close to the price of wheat, even though the differences between their price were great in all other countries. Moreover, it was rare to find meat at that time, and when any was found, it was so shoddy because of the cattle being so scrawny in general; also the food which had taken long months to harvest and were then carried by the Bedouin to Medina's market were so unexpectedly expensive. Indeed, the writer



reported having seen a camel load of crusty food being sold for one golden dinar (ibid., p. 454, 456).

### **3.2. Social Situation:**

As we have indicated above, the different situations for each society are interconnected and the decadent economy of the Ḥijāz especially and the Arab Peninsula generally led to a kind of conflict to find resources for living. Since the legal ways of making a living (like jobs, agriculture and trade...etc) are extremely limited, a lot of social groups resorted to illegal ways of making a living in the struggle to survive. To extract money from others in illegal ways took different forms and some of them were less complicated than others; for example begging in urban zones, exploiting religious seasons and cheating the clients to raise prices, which did at least give others some kind of liberty to choose, since a person was clearly not obliged to pay for something he did not want. But the begging has already been discussed by Pitts above regarding the beggars in Mecca, and as far as cheating was concerned al-'Ayyāshī related that the brokers of Medina and surrounding areas had an agreement with the Bedouins –even it was only implicitly- not to sell their products to others but only to them, and when someone from Medina wanted to buy directly from them, they would sell him only at a price which was more expensive than usual, so as not to buy from them. That was happening when brokers to the Bedouins in the suburbs of Medina were going to buy from them cheaply and sell the same goods but at a high price. Even if the buyer knew that this was not the correct price, they were still obliged to accept it because the Bedouin sell it more expensively than the brokers. The writer criticized this approach and mentioned that taking goods outside the country was not allowed in Islam because

it meant cheating all common people who could not go outside, but he said that that practice was habitual in the country (ibid., p. 453).

A problem was that there is another kind of illegal way to get other people's money. That kind is the one which is manifested by forms of coercion, which does not allow a person any choice but to implement what was asked without being subjected to some kind of punishment. An example of this problem was the extremely high taxes imposed on pilgrims and the people who were coming to the Ḥijāz, many of whom were unable to pay them. Al-'Ayyāshī says that some of the Persian pilgrims mentioned above had told him that the total of what they had paid in the way of taxes and bribes since they left their hometown Isfahan till their arrival in Medina had exceeded 50 golden dinars per person, and that any one of them considers himself lucky if the tax authorities did not ask for more money (ibid., p. 431). Joseph Pitts, being an Ottoman citizen from Algeria, passed through Mecca to Medina within ten days (Al-Shaykh, 1995, p. 71), while the Persian convoy passed through it within a month and a half because of paying taxes to the local leaders. Al-'Ayyāshī tells us that the convoy was stopped after leaving Mecca for twelve days because of the rest of the money they did not pay, and they were allowed to leave only after they paid all the money. They also were stopped at the final point before entering the city for a week to pay for other tax benefits, and furthermore no one could continue without handing over the full requested amount. Al-'Ayyāshī condemns that economic behaviour and sees it as an unacceptable blackmailing of people who came only to worship Allah and ask for forgiveness, and it is bad for whoever is governing this holy land to behave in such a rough financial way (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006, 1: pp. 431-433).

Even more severe than this is what takes the form of violence and is extremely dangerous both to the community itself and anyone coming into it from abroad. An example can be seen in what is imposed by some tribes or bands lurking on the long road and remote areas where the pilgrims have been forced individually and collectively to pay known amounts of money to each tribe or group they pass through on their way, whereas if they did not pay they might be killed. Often, convoys coming from Syria, Egypt and Iraq were accompanied by military force with good training and deterrent weapons, in order to tempt leaders of these convoys to underestimate the Bedouins and their leaders or to ignore their money demands by depending on the power associated with the convoy. Above all, the convoys that did not have sufficient experience in the desert and its harsh conditions, ended in great catastrophes, and their people being killed as well as all the money and weapons associated with them being taken from them. There are countless stories of this kind in the history books, such as what happened to the Shami convoy who came on the pilgrimage in 1072 A.H./1662 A.D., when they were subjected to harassment from groups of Bedouin gangs on the road, were robbed of many of their belongings and some of them were killed, and they did not escape from this crisis until they had paid them tens of thousands of coins and promised good conduct (ibid., 1: p. 315). Political weakness and administrative corruption subjects the societal security to deterioration, and therefore over time the thieves are reassured that they are safe from punishment because of either weakness or corruption. Convoys of pilgrims were exposed to robbery during their breaks on the journey or overnight stays, but if anyone was delayed from the convoy due to wandering, illness or any other reason, the probability of his surviving was very weak. He was considered lucky if he came across merciful thieves who would simply take what he had and leave him alone

in the desert, because most thieves take what people have with them and then kill them so they do not report about them and their location (Mubaraki, 2012, p. 265 ff). Pitts told us about their suffering at the hands of thieves as they travelled from Mecca to Medina, when they sneaked into the convoy several times, and he explains that they usually attack the convoy edges and sometimes kidnapped some of the pilgrims. In the camel caravans, each camel is tied to the camel in front of it, and for this reason the thieves spy to see if they notice any pilgrims asleep, and then they sneak and untie cords which are linking the camel to the other camels before and after, and when they have drawn away the camel quietly, they link the following and previous camels in order not to be discovered when the caravan line splits into two parts (Al-Shaykh, 1995, p. 71). Stealing on the remote roads in the time of chaos and with the vast distances and scarce resources is not a strange thing, but it is strange that this was happening in the centre of Mecca, where the most sacred place in the Muslim world is situated! Pitts mentions that, despite the sanctity of Mecca, the thieves do not refrain from stealing from the fields surrounding the *Ka'bah* itself (ibid., p. 65). We understand from this that the last thing the thieves and criminals think about is the holiness of the place and time, and they are deterred only by the fear of punishment, not by any sanctity, but what is interesting is their courage to carry out their tasks in the town centre, where the governor's mansion is and where security agents are deployed everywhere. Al-'Ayyāshī says they left some fellows to guard their belongings that were in a place away from the Holy Mosque in Mecca, while he and his companions were looking at the Ka'aba at night hoping that the crowd would decrease. He mentions that the thieves kept his friends very occupied until the morning, and that they attacked the pilgrims. Their aggravation increased in the days of the pilgrimage and was worse than on other days. He explains this by saying that the rulers do not care about the safety of the guests of Allah and visitors to His house, yet

he goes further by saying that he heard that officials connived with thieves and how they were taking a tax from them so that they would let them carry on with their despicable acts in the pilgrimage season. He also relates that if a thief was brought to the police and the rulers they would put him in prison until nightfall and then release him again. It seems from the author's story that he accepts that this was so, as he says that their justifications for this negligence were not convincing (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006, 1: p. 317).

Al-'Ayyāshī believes that administrative corruption spread dramatically in the Ḥijāz in the seventeenth century and that because the terrorism was directed against justice and its symbols. there were judges, as well as other public jobs in all categories, that were not subject to qualification, but given out as a result of bribery and favouritism. The writer says that these positions and jobs, with no exception, were either inherited or purchased from the rulers with money, with the latter happening without any concern for a person's suitability for that position, regardless of the type of work and its importance. A particularly great disaster - he says - was the job of the judiciary which was included in this process of corruption, since the judge could buy his position and thus he was looking for money, regardless of the justice system that he should be representing. Therefore, there were few people in this country who governed according to the law of Islam, based on justice and equity, since all the judiciary was founded on public bribery, and so the judgment would be in favour of the one who paid more. Therefore any one decision could be changed more than once a day, depending on the higher or lesser amount of money that was paid to the judge. He says that one of the trustworthy people paid tribute to one of the judges of Medina at that time, but al-

'Ayyāshī tells us that the majority of people did not say anything good about the judge in question. Al-'Ayyāshī followed this up by saying he did not know which side was right, as Allah alone knows what the truth is about that judge. But at the same time he provided a story which cast doubt on the veracity of his friend's story. He says that he came to Medina several years ago, and it happened that the authorities in Istanbul sent that year a Turkish judge, who restored things back to the way they should be and treated the people according to the law, regardless of who they were. The corrupters, princes and senior authorities who were affected by this policy did not like it, including a Prince of the Ḥijāz himself (Zeid), because the judge prevented his devious methods. So this Prince came from Mecca and stayed in Medina in the same year for a while, and according to al-'Ayyāshī's account, he tried to deceive the judge until the judge was assassinated near the Prophet's Mosque before dawn by one of the criminals who stabbed him, and then fled. He says that Prince Zeid feigned distress because of the assassination and claimed that he did not know where the killer was, and if he knew where he was, he would charge him with murder; but those who knew him did not believe him, - says the author, - because if he wanted he would bring him in immediately, since no one would dare to commit such a crime against a personality in this position and in a place where the governor was without having received the green light from him. The writer comments on this crime by saying: "Oh my God! Is there any judge after him who can bring justice to this land?" (ibid., 1: pp. 440-441). The author adds this comment as if he doubts the story of his friend, who had paid tribute to one of the judges.

### 3.3. Cultural Situation

Spreading knowledge and education is one of the greatest works in Islam, as an ignorant man can do anything as long as he is pursuing his personal interests resulting in the spread of corruption everywhere. It is plainly stated in the Islamic sources that those who conceal knowledge and withhold it from people are under a curse (the Qur'an: chapter 2, verse 159 and chapter 3, verse 87). Since the Ḥijāz contains the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina it became a great centre of attraction for the scholars and the religious intellectuals heading to the Ḥijāz to spend time in learning and worship, which is known in the Islamic heritage as *al-mujāwarah* (or "neighbouring") when someone spends some part of his life living beside the Holy mosque in Mecca or beside the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, to do only good works and leave aside sin as much as possible. So the degraded economic situation mentioned above, together with other factors, led to the cultural role of the Ḥijāz receding to an unimaginable extent. In the eleventh century A.H./seventeenth A.D. a migration of groups of scholars and intellectuals from different Islamic countries toward the Ḥijāz took place, where they stayed for long periods, and indeed with some of them spending the rest of their life there. Those migrants came from different Islamic countries such as Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Turkey and even India amongst other places. They were a quite large number, to the extent that they became a noticeable phenomenon in the Ḥijāz and encouraged some of their contemporary scholars to devote independent books to their biographies, or to allocate parts of their books to this subject. As a result these books have provided us with sufficient idea about their names, poems, books, libraries and most of their intellectual activities. Some of the most important books which talk about their biographies are "*Solāfat al-'Asr* " by *Ibn Ma'sūm*, "*Nafḥāt al-Rayḥānah*" by *Moḥibbī* , "*Nafḥāt al-Asrār al-Makiyyah wa Rashaḥāt al-Afkār al-Dhahabiyyah*" by

*Al-Dhahabī*, "*Rayḥānat al-Alibbā*" by *Khafājī* and others, as well as what was written by some of those incoming scholars and intellectuals about the figures whom they met or discussed with on erudite matters, such as Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī, who assigned a great portion of his book to describing many important details of the scholars whom met in the Ḥijāz (al-'Ayyāshī, 2006, 1: p. 471 ff). Those "neighbouring" scholars disseminated knowledge in the Ḥijāz through teaching and writing books. Some of them even published poetry and critical writings, while others wrote books about their personal experience in the Ḥijāz and the other countries which they crossed during their travels including al-'Ayyāshī. As a result they added so much to literature in their time and allowed others who lived outside the Ḥijāz to know so much about the people the situation there (For more details about the cultural impact of *al-mujāwarah*, see: al-Raddādī, 1984, p. 118 ff).

In addition to these individual efforts, there were efforts made by countries which ruled the Ḥijāz, and which had good enough intentions for this province that was under their dominance. The Ottoman Empire took adequate steps to encourage education in the Ḥijāz, assigning teachers and giving them good salaries. That encouraged some scholars to immigrate to the Ḥijāz in order to improve their financial and living conditions because of these fixed salaries. For example, Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, who wrote the text which is the subject of this thesis, *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'*, and who travelled from Egypt in the beginning of the seventeenth century to Medina to get the teaching job. After his death of his son (also Ibrāhīm) he got his job, but they soon after they took it from him, so he travelled to Istanbul to complain to the Sultan, and then he



wrote his book which is mentioned above and the details of which are provided when we refer to Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī in the fourth chapter of this study.

## **Conclusion**

Thus, in order to understand the writings of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī better, we thought it would be useful to get information about the specific time and environment which this author came from. In this chapter we have tried to present an overview about the history of the Ḥijāz throughout the ages, and then with the Ottoman Empire as the dominant power over the Ḥijāz province in the seventeenth century. The history of the Ḥijāz goes back to very ancient times, perhaps even as far as to Adam himself, and for thousands of years this province was ruled by many political authorities such as the old kingdoms of Yemen and some empires in the Fertile Crescent like the Canaanites and the Chaldeans. The Romans also controlled the coasts of the Ḥijāz from the first A.D. century for a period of time. The bloody conflicts that occurred in the region among the powers in the region such as Yemen, Persia and Byzantium allowed the Meccan tribe of Quraish to carve out a special position for themselves in the history of the Ḥijāz as a considerable commercial centre and a transit point for the commercial convoys which were moving among the civilizations of the old world. Economic prosperity in the Ḥijāz area made the Ḥijāz an attractive place to the Arab tribes, so they had annual forums like the national conferences which still occur nowadays. Furthermore, this helped the Arab people to be conscious of their national, linguistic and cultural unity and of their common destiny. From the beginning of the seventh century a major and dramatic change happened in the history of the world and of the Arabs as a result of the appearance of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca, the capital of the Ḥijāz.

This made the Ḥijāz an important place in the part of the world which lay close to the Arabian Peninsula, where Arab thought, belief, goals and history changed dramatically. However, from the middle of the seventh century the position of the Ḥijāz came to be diminished and was reduced to a secondary role because the capital of the Islamic empire moved to countries outside the Arabian Peninsula. The Ḥijāz was subjected to neglect by central governments in most stages of history, so the position of the Ḥijāz receded on every level, making it an easy prey to poverty, diseases, illiteracy, insecurity, banditry and bloodshed. Consequently no one was spared from it, not even pilgrims to the Sacred House of Allah (God) until the Ottoman Empire controlled it from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Ottoman Empire was established at the beginning of the fourteenth century as a successor to the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, and then expanded quickly until its forces crossed the Dardanelles and controlled wide parts of the Balkans. In 1453 the Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinople, which then became their capital for more than five centuries. After sixty years they fought the Mamluks and occupied their capital Cairo in 1517. This was the year in which the Ḥijāz and most of the Arab world came under the Ottoman rule. However, after several centuries this sprawling empire started to run out of steam. As a result of many economic, social, and political factors and major and minor conflicts with the increasingly powerful European nations, especially Britain and France, as well as the internal revolutions of the non-Turkish peoples, the empire could not handle such pressure and so collapsed after the First World War (and indeed the empire was the main loser of this war). The Ḥijāz, along with the other Arab provinces, came out of the Ottoman rule and straight into Western occupation, so it struggled for

freedom for many decades. More than a year after the Sykes-Picot agreement the Arabs discovered that they had been betrayed by Britain, which had promised to establish a free united Arab state if they struggled against the Turkish rule.

The situation in the Ḥijāz in the seventeenth century was a miserable one on both the cultural and security levels, and this was the result of the deteriorating economy, an economy in which the Ḥijāzi people were depending almost completely on external resources. Two widely-travelled writers who came to the Ḥijāz in that century have recorded for us some useful and wide-ranging information that has assisted us in getting a general overview of the general situation at that time.

## Chapter Three: Arabic Travel Writing

### 1. The Classification of Travel Writing

Travel writing is characterized by a diversity of themes and disciplines in addition to the richness of its subject matter, which is hardly available in other kinds of text. Although this seems a good feature on the one hand, it has created a procedural problem on the other. This type of writing seems not to be subject to a certain standard, perhaps because of its association with a multitude of destinations and writers whose aims for travelling vary, as well as differences in their cultural backgrounds. So the question: "What is travel writing?" has remained problematic for several decades, but it still requires an answer. Therefore, much controversy has revolved around the definition of travel writing. Researchers face real difficulties in determining this type of writing, or setting clear limits on it and selections of it, and they have found that the definition is as puzzling and complicated as the style of writing itself (Groom, 2006. p. 14). In general, it seems not to be homogeneous on the level of form and content in that it is often formulated in prose and poetry and sometimes dialogue. It appears in multiple forms, such as commercial reports, diaries, scientific writing, letters, etc. It can be noticed, by the extrapolation of many models, that this type can range from the sober and scientific to the poetic and rhetorical (Zilcosky, 2008. p. 7). Don George (2009, p. 7) believes that it could be said that travel writing became an independent genre, in that it has characteristics that distinguish it from others, especially since the twentieth century with the emergence of distinctive authors such as Patrick Leigh Fermor, Wilfred Thesiger, Eric Newby and others. However, most of those who work in this field think that travel

writing is a hybrid text which contains multiple resources, or, as Tim Youngs (1994. p 8) notes, "travel writing feeds from and back into other forms of literature".

Because of that, travel writing is a hybrid text that contains several subtexts which in return refer to various subjects, and many of those concerned with this genre agree that trying to define it is not an easy task, whilst others consider it to be an impossible task. Thus, it is more useful to devote efforts to studying the text itself and keeping track of the goals of the writer and the impact of what was written instead of wasting time searching for the text's definition and to what genre it belongs (Youngs, 1994. p. 8). Indeed, some researchers have decided to cut off the debate over the classification of travel writing as it is not an independent genre: Jan Borm argues that, despite the different nomenclatures of this form of writing, such as 'travel book', 'travel narrative', 'journey work', 'travel memoir', 'travel story', 'travelogue', 'traveller's tale', and so on, the "point to determine ... is whether travel writing is really a genre at all", and so he "argue[s] ... that it is not a genre, but a collective term for a variety of texts" (Hooper and Youngs, 2004. p. 13).

Some researchers consider that the diversity that characterizes travel literature has contributed effectively to the modern genres of literature, especially the novel and the autobiography, and the texts of travellers have inspired novelists and opened their imaginations to new horizons, or at least revived the art of the novel and autobiography in one way or another. Furthermore, this type of writing implicitly preserved for us important aspects of human history and gave us an opportunity to see the perception of

peoples and cultures towards each other, their self-image, the image of the 'other' and home (Campbell, 1991. p. 6). The fact that travel literature is a mixed pot of many genres has made many critics consider whether this kind of writing faces retraction or even extinction. Percy Adams believes that if travelogue faced many criticisms, such as what is happening with the novel, perhaps we should not be surprised to hear the obituary of travel writing (1983, p. 282).

Visibly, it is almost impossible to have a precise definition of travel writing because of differences in the backgrounds of writers, styles, themes, goals of travel and so on. In the last three decades, since 1971, Joseph Strelka censured the lack of a precise definition of this type, and it seems that the complaint remains (Groom, 2006. p 14). The term itself has a big role in this controversy. Travel writing is an inclusive term for any written text by any traveller, while travel literature requires a reasonable limit of literary fiction. Whatever the case, what we mean by travel literature is that texts written in a literary style, even if only to some extent, which are used by the writers to depict events and observations during their journey to certain locations.

With regard to Arab culture, it is known that most Arabs were originally nomadic tribes, which means that travel was an essential part of their lives. That migration, perhaps, was the main reason for the sustainability of linguistic and cultural unity in the Arabian Peninsula, despite being sprawled across the land. The southern tribes migrated to the north, and the northern ones travelled to the south, depending on the rainy seasons and the availability of pasture, and that is what was happening also with the tribes that

departed from the west to the east or vice versa. No doubt, this permanent movement from one place to another, where different tribes meet from time to time, reduced the cultural differences to a large extent and contributed to the survival of common characteristics of the community alive and in circulation over the centuries. In addition to this, property provided by that move in the cultural field had prepared the Arabian for the habit of travel and movement and instilled a love of sociality with others where the life experiences have no limits, and this may explain a part of the Arabs later interest in travel and transporting the innovations of different peoples. Additionally, the advent of Islam meant that each Muslim must travel at least once in their lives to Mecca for the Hajj if they are able to do so.

Although many of the ancient Arabs had done lots of travelling for many different reasons, collectively or individually, within the Arabian Peninsula as well as outside, and notwithstanding that those travellers had had many experiences worth recounting, it is important to refer to the fact that dealing with such experiences had remained confined to an oral narrative for many centuries. As a result, writing in the Arab community did not occur until later to some extent, compared with some of the ancient Asian peoples. Hence, when we want to talk about travel experiences such as a written heritage, we are compelled to talk about the history of Arabic writing itself and about the factors for delay in recording those experiences to the beginning of the third A.H./tenth A.D. century.

## 2. Arabic Scripture (Pre-Islamic Era)

The Arabs were proud of their language and their characteristic generosity, courage at battle, and chivalry since ancient times. Arabs considered eloquence an important component which brought pride to the individual and his/her tribe (Horne, 1997. p. 1). However, it is not easy to talk about Arabic writing in general in the pre-Islamic period as there are not enough sources to support the belief that there are written texts which would enable us to discuss the history of Arabic writing in pre-Islamic Arabia. Since time immemorial, Arab culture transmitted orally in most of its manifestations. Memory was the most important and the main means of transmitting stories, tournaments, legends, proverbs, and so on from one generation to another. Poetry was the most valuable genre as it was considered the archive that recorded events, heroism and exploits of both tribes and individuals, as will be detailed in the following pages. Therefore, poetic texts which were memorised and transmitted from one generation to another were more cultural traditions that have survived throughout those centuries. This was due to the fact that there were so many odes, poets and occasions, people had to be selective in choosing the poems, usually according to its value and its circumstances. This selection is probably the reason that there is only a small number of excellent poems that remain on the tongues of people from that era (Rogers, 2005. p 132) that do not go back further than the mid-fifth Century A.D., the period known in Arabic history by *the Jāhiliyyah* or Age of Ignorance (Stetkevych, 1993. p. xi).



The scarcity of education was not the only factor behind the lack of written Arabic texts dating back to pre-Islam. There are other equally important elements. Although ancient historians, both of the Arabs as well as others, had a general knowledge of ancient civilizations that had influenced the history and life in the Arabian Peninsula, the recent efforts of archaeologists and historians have revealed new insights to those who are interested in some of the darker sides of this field. There were kingdoms of cultural and civilized manifestations in some parts of the Arabian lands, such as the kingdom of Sheba and the kingdoms that later branched off it in the south in Yemen (Korotaev, 1996. p 1 ff). In the north, there was a strong power state, the Kingdom of Nabataeans (169 B.C. - 106 A.D.), which had its base in Petra in the southwest of present-day Jordan (Taylor, 2001). There were also two Arab kingdoms in the Levant and Mesopotamia, which dominated large parts of Arabia: the Kingdom of Lakhmids (268 - 633) with its capital al-Hirah south of Baghdad in Iraq (Ṭabarī, 1999. p 178), and the Kingdom of Ghassanid (220 - 638) in the Levant, Syria (Bowersock, et.al. pp 468-469). Both kingdoms were not completely independent from external influence: the Ghassanids were supported by the Byzantine Empire to be the front-end to the Arab raids on the southern border of the empire as well as to be used to fight the Persians and their allies, and the Lakhmids were loyal to the Persian Empire for the same goals. So the two kingdoms fought fierce wars against each other on the grounds that they both represented different parties (the Persian and Byzantine empires), whereas those conflicts did not serve their people at all. Those two kingdoms have been considered by many historians as merely client states of those empires (e.g. Peters' 1994a. p. 39, p. 100; Kaegi, 1995. p. 55).

Although the Nabataeans were Arabs (Versteegh, 2001. p 24), they adopted the Aramaic alphabet instead of Arabic alphabet (*Musnad*) used in the South, and this may have led to the loss of texts which were written in Southern Arabic. It has been noted by some interested in the history of languages, such as James Bellamy, that this conversion occurred relatively early on. One of the most important Arabic texts dating back to 328 A.D. was found in Namara, south of Damascus, as an inscription attributed to Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr, the second king of the Lakhmids' kingdom. It was written in the Arabic language but in Aramaic alphabet, whereas some inscriptions found in other locations in the north belong to the same period and are similar to the style of the Arabic script known today (see Bellamy, 1991. p. 98). The South Arabian alphabet was not totally dominant in the Arabian Peninsula, since over hundreds of years there have been other types of scripts used in the north, some of which lasted and were utilized until around the sixth century A.D., including Thamudic, Lihyanite and Safaitic (Healey, 1990. p 26). Therefore, it does not rule out the possibility that the demise of those alphabets led to the demise of the texts written in them.

In terms of literature in particular, ancient Arabs placed a lot of value on literature, and they showed a high respect to poets and respected tribes which had a distinctive poet. As the literature in ancient Arabic was associated with orality, the most popular genres of literature at the time were almost limited to poetry and rhetoric, though poetry was preponderant to an extent that cannot be compared to any other form of literature – and the general meaning of the term of "Classical Arabic Literature" in the mind of the contemporary Arabs means poetry only. As mentioned above, poetry gained a high esteem in the conscience of residents of the Arabian Peninsula because it represented

the preservation of the gains of the tribe and its collective identity, in addition to emphasizing their social affiliations as well as a means to determine the Ego and the Other among the general pattern of the tribal system (Kurpershoek, 1999, p. 49). If an individual had brought together the talent for poetry and qualities of generosity and chivalry, he would have been preferred by the tribe members for their leadership rather than others who were knights and generous but non-poets. This love of literature, which is, to some extent, similar to sanctification, placed Arabic literature in a high position as one of the immortal literatures among the literatures of ancient nations. That is what has been stated by some researchers in the history of literature such as Charles Horne (1997), who discusses in detail this topic under the title of "The Genius of Arabic Literature", where he commences saying:

Amongst the ancient nations, as history shows, there are few who have so large a treasure of sublime poetry and so abundant a stock of useful literature to boast of as the old nation of Arabia. The Arabs have always been remarkable for the great pride they have taken in the excellence of their language, the perfection of their literature, the sublimity of their poetry, the purity of their race and the integrity of their moral character (Horne, 1997, p. 11).

There may be literary texts composed before the fourth century A.D., which were lost, either for the reasons mentioned above or other factors; however, the written ones, if any, must have been very few, otherwise at least some of it would come down to us.

Whatever the case may be, for those who do not know the Arabian Peninsula well, it may be difficult for them to come to grips with combining the two ideas of alleged interest in language and arts on the one hand, and the inability to develop this interest to the post-oral level on the other. Also, the delay in the recording of such cultural wealth into written templates to the sixth century A.D. may appear to be peculiar, or, in Horne's words below, striking oddities. Horne seems conscious of this paradox and aware also of one of the most significant causes as he explains:

Yet the causes of this oddity are obvious. The greater part of the vast Arabian Peninsula is so barren that its people must keep ever on the move to find enough green food for the animals upon which they depend for their own existence (Horne, 1997, p. 2).

Thus, in such circumstances, it is difficult to talk about the written culture among the people of that region because:

They have no place for the storing of books, the preservation of libraries. True, there are in Arabia some fertile spots, in oases or along the southern coast, where Arab cities have grown up; but even the Arabs of these cities journey often and far into the desert (ibid, p. 2).

Despite harshness of life, the Arabs were able to adapt to their environment, considering that

Its blank and burning sunshine is their true home; and in its vast solitudes a man's own memory is, even to-day, the best treasure-house for his books. Hence Arabic literature in the written form, the only form in which it can be permanently preserved, does not begin until the sixth century of our own era ... (ibid, p. 2).

There is also an important factor which cannot be overlooked when addressing the case of the Arabs before Islam, which means those wars which could hardly stop between the tribes for various reasons, hence the fact that the poetry of equestrianism, war and courage arose mostly because of them. The Arabian Peninsula was semi-closed, and therefore the Arab people did not have land borders with foreign peoples, with the exception of some areas of the north. And even those tribes in the north had no real connection with the peoples of other empires, such as Persia or Byzantium, because those tribes were under the rule of Arabian kingdoms in the north, which were allied with those superpowers, and so it can be said that the connection with others was limited on the level of politics, i.e. between authorities instead of peoples. One of main items of the coalition requested of those authorities was to guarantee protection to the empires' borders from the raids by the Arab tribes, as mentioned above. Also, the term "*ayyām al- 'Arab*" or "Days of the Arabs" refers to those military events that occurred between some Arab tribes themselves, not between them and other peoples (H. Gibb,

2009. p 118). Those attacks between tribes against each other were not only amidst nomadic Arabs in central and north Arabia but also among tribes under ruling of Southern Arabian kingdoms (Schippmann, 2001, p. 90).

Therefore, there is no longer surprise about the lack of an Arabic written heritage, as writing is a product of education, and education in turn requires reasonable conditions in terms of population stability, security for their lives and falling under the umbrella of political harmony in the overall objectives, as well as the presence of a viable and stable alphabet until the knowledge which is written takes root in the consciousness of the community.

### **3. Arabic Scripture (Islamic Era)**

With the advent of Islam in the early seventh century A.D., the history of the Arabs witnessed a great revolution in all areas that had not previously been seen throughout their history due to the absence of a written heritage of the ancient Arabs, which, in general, was due to insecurity, political fragmentation, different alphabets, and the absence of a deep ideology and clear aim (Horne, 1997. p. 6). All of these factors disappeared a short time after the advent of Islam, as all the tribes merged to constitute a homogeneous community in one state, with security in the society, with an integrated ideology, with a goal of life that seemed clear, and with a standard alphabet now available. The message of Islam is based on the idea that there is only one religion and

that the message of all prophets leads to the same aim, which is to remind people that God alone is worthy of worship, and to re-correct the religious concepts that had deviated from the right path due to external influences and which did not stem from the religion itself (Kelsay, 1993. p. 22 ff).

Most of the intellectual deviations that occur to the religion's adherents over time were mainly due to the absence of written texts under direct supervision of the prophets themselves, or those texts occasionally incurring some distortions at later stages, whether they were intended by some religious scholars for personal grounds, or unintended as a result of the loss of some parts, or because of translations or the like. But in the Islamic case, the Qur'anic text was written in full in the life of Prophet Muhammad, and committed to memory by thousands of his companions, making it impossible for any party to implement any increase or decrease without being observed, and then rejected. Additionally, Muslims scholars, both Arab and non-Arab, believe that the translation of the Qur'an is not Qur'an, in the sense that it is not the word of God to His Prophet Muhammad and thus is not a sacred text, but its interpretation and explanation may vary from one translator to another according to their understanding of the text, their cultures and their intellectual backgrounds (Reagan, 2005. p. 229). To further ensure the survival of the Qur'anic text without any confusion, the Prophet Muhammad prevented his companions from writing his own traditions (*Sunnah*), which Muslims consider as the second source of Islam beyond the Qur'an, to prevent Muslims of the following generations from thinking of it as a divine text. *Sunnah* was transmitted from the memory for many decades before it was written (Kettell, 2010. p. 28 and Morgan, 2010. p. 169).

Proceeding from the idea that the right religion became specific and clear, and that any other religion or theory is unacceptable by Allah (God), it became a duty on those who know to convey it to those who have no idea about it. And because the masses usually do not have the freedom to decide to listen to what they want, as well as making the right decision, it was incumbent on the faithful ones to deliver the message clearly to others through all possible peaceful means in order to rescue them from ideological aberration. What often happens is that the ruling authorities refuse to give their people the freedom to receive and understand the message, and then make a decision to accept or reject it. This, however, does not absolve the faithful from the task of delivering the message to them, and they must do what they can to deliver them, even if it costs them their lives. In the case where fighting is the only solution available, if the Muslims were able to win the battle, the new governor must be a Muslim in order to ensure that there would be no harassment of those who decided to accept the new mission, and that they would not be pushed to regress by threat or temptation or so on. Therefore, Jihad comes as the final solution, in order to enable everyone to hear the message, whether those who have not heard it before, or who heard but lost the true path for some reason.

Thus, it is obvious that the primary goal of Jihad is not to control or destruct people and their heritages of civilization, as understood by some, but to spread good and to deliver the Prophet's guidance to the others, while ensuring to be totally free from coercion as the Qur'an states (chapter 2, verse 256). And the idea of Islamic government is due mainly to this objective, which was noted by Mr. Kelsay (1993. p 25): "Muslims thought of the spread of Islamic government as a blessing and responsibility".



#### **4. “Explosion of Writing” in Arabic Culture**

The background above is important in helping us to understand the cause of delay in the writing process during the first period of the State of Islam. In principle, one of the manifestations of the intellectual Arabic revolution that emerged with the advent of Islam reflected in observed activity of the writing industry, or the "explosion of writing" in the words of Rogers (2005. p 132). However, that quantum leap in thinking was needed at first to effect enormous efforts to stabilize the situation of the arising state and the dissemination of the Islamic concept to the world. Hence, it can be recognized that the concern of the generation after the death of the Prophet Muhammad was focused on the stability of the state on the one hand, and going out to spread Islamic theory and the subsequent military confrontation with the authorities that prevent their peoples from hearing it on the other hand (Horne, 1997. p. 6). Since around the middle of the second century A.H. (eighth century A.D.), Arabic writing appeared to be ready for a new and powerful start in various fields. In the era of the Abbasid Emperor Abu Jaafar Al-Mansour, the Islamic state began moving towards real stability and urbanization, and in the period of 145-400/ 762-1009 Baghdad became one of the most important capitals of the world in that era. The term of "Golden Age" of the Islamic State often refers to the first hundred year of the Abbasid Empire (Hazen, 2002. p. 8). The Islamic State, then, had made excellent progress in areas of stability and the spread of the Islamic faith, and in contrast to the Umayyads, Abbasids were not keen to expand the boundaries of the State, contenting themselves with what they had inherited from the borders of the

Umayyad Empire, which contributed to its calm conditions, appropriate education and urbanization (Hazen, 2002. p 8).

During the expansion witnessed by the Islamic state for nearly a century and a half, the Arabs had mixed with many non-Arab peoples, but the Arabic language became their cultural tongue. It is known that some of these people came from backgrounds with a rich cultural heritage, and this certainly provided the Arabs with strong elements to support culture and science. However, there is another important factor to making the writing process much easier than it was before: it was that the Arabs discovered Chinese paper after a confrontation with the Chinese in Samarkand in 133/751, and soon after Chinese paper spread in Islamic capitals when the operation of its production became easier – by Chinese experts in the beginning, and then later Muslims – and this factor undoubtedly encouraged the writing process and it spread as the best way to save the arts and sciences (Beeston, 1983. p 23). Since the late second A.H. century/the beginning of the ninth A.D. century, Baghdad became one of the finest cities in the world at that time, and was described as the richest city over the planet at all (Kotapish and Webb, 2000. p 30). Needless to say, the Abbasid capital did not gain its status because of its wealth alone, but belief was prevalent (and still is) that there is neither civilization nor progress without active scientific movement and effective intellectual and cultural mobility. This is what made the Arab kings and princes keen to attract scientists, thinkers and writers and to provide them with a positive atmosphere and generous rewards to encourage them to migrate to the centres of their rule and stay there. Certainly, it cannot claim that the motivation behind that was only the yearning for knowledge, as it was to promote the status of the rulers themselves as patrons of

sciences, arts, literature and philosophy, taking into account that if the country contains great minds and intellectual production it effects the prestige it acquires from among nations and over history. Baghdad was a sought after destination for seekers of science, art and a prosperous life for more than two centuries, starting from the middle of the second century/eighth century.

It is obvious that the trend to make Baghdad a cultural global centre began in the reign of the second Abbasid Emperor, Abu Ja'far al-Mansūr (r. 136-158/754-775) who constantly sent a lot of gifts to the emperors of Byzantium and other sovereign nations in return for books on philosophy that were in their possession. Sometimes, he sent rare treasures and luxurious gifts in order to induce them to speedily dispatch scientific books, which enabled the Library of *Dar al-Hikmah* (the House of Wisdom) in Baghdad to obtain a tremendous amount of works by Plato, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Euclid, Galen and Claudius Ptolemy (Polastron and Graham, 2007. p 56). However, Baghdad reached the peak of its cultural glory during the reign of Abbasid Emperor al-Ma'mūn (r. 198-218/813-833), due to concentrating on the field of translation from various cultures, especially Greek, Indian and Persian (Gutas, 1998. p. 75 ff). He had shown a genuine interest in the Arabisation and localization of knowledge, regardless of its origin, so he motivated skilled translators and showered them with tempting incentives. It was known that he had been spending generously on translation, to the extent that he paid the weight in gold of each book translated, which encouraged translators to work strenuously, quickly and competitively (Chejne and Others, 1999. p 70).

## 5. Era of Prosperity of Arabic Travel Literature

It is certainly true that the renaissance in Baghdad at that early time was not merely contained within the elite but also spread to the general public, hence travel writing had appeared as a cultural product which emerged by the Arab intellectual movement at that time, and this explains the prevalence of the writings of travellers, regardless of their activities and their specialties – they may have been a writer, geographer, politician, trader, or scholar. Arabic travel writing had been in existence since the third/ninth century, and one of the oldest works documents the nautical trip of the trader Sulīmān al-Sīrafī to the Indian Ocean, which was written later from his memory in 237/851 in Baghdad. There was also the journey of Sallām al-Torjomān (translator) to the Caucasus Mountains in 227/842, commissioned by the Abbasid Emperor al-Wāthiq, to search for the dam of Gog and Magog.

The fourth/tenth century was characterized by remarkable activity for travel and exploration by geographers and historians, among whom were al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/957), the author of *Morūj al-Dhahab (The Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Gems)*, and al-Maqdisī (d. 390/1000), the author of *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat Al-Aqālīm (The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions)*. Soon after, there was al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) and his work, *Kitāb fī Tahqīq mā li'l-Hind min Maqūlah (Book of Inquiry into India)*.

With regard to travel for the objectives of international relations beyond the borders of the Islamic world, Ibn Faḍlān's Letter is one of the oldest texts of this genre. Ibn Faḍlān started his journey on Thursday, 11 Safar 309/21 June 921 as a member of the embassy sent by the Abbasid Emperor, al-Muqtadir, at the request of the King of Bulgars, who asked Abbasids to delegate a person who would explain Islamic law to him. A delegation was composed of a small group of politicians accompanied by a wider set of scholars, teachers and servants. Ibn Faḍlān portrays what they had observed in their voyage, which was full of adventures, political difficulties, openness to others who are different culturally in Turk lands (Oghoz), as well as the Russians and the Saqālibah (Slavs), who lived on the Volga (near present-day Kazan, parallel Moscow to the east).

One of the most famous Arab travellers in the sixth/twelfth century was Muhammad al-Idrīsī al-Andalusī (d. 560/1165), who wrote the famous geographical book, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi'khtiraq al-'Afaq* (*The Pleasure Excursion of One who is Eager to Traverse the Distant Regions*) for the Norman King Roger II of Sicily around 545/1150. In the same century, Ibn Jubayr travelled from his hometown, Granada (Andalusia, Spain), in 578/1183 for Hajj and tourism. During that journey he visited Egypt, the Ḥijāz, Iraq, Syria and Sicily. Ibn Jubayr travelled two more times to the Arab East in 585/1189 and in 614/1217, and he did not return to his homeland after the last journey until his death in Alexandria in 626/1229. The total number of years for his three journeys was close to seventeen years, but his book, which is known in short as "*Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*" (*Travelogue of Ibn Jubayr*) contains details of only his first travels.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (703-776/1304-1375) is considered as the greatest Muslim traveller of all times and is certainly the most famous. His journey began on (2<sup>nd</sup> Rajab 725 / 13<sup>th</sup> June 1325) from his town Tangiers in Morocco on his way to Mecca. After his first Hajj, he continued his travels from one place to another for approximately thirty years, touring Egypt, Sudan, Syria, the Ḥijāz, Iraq, Persia, Yemen, Oman, Turkistan, areas beyond the river (*Ma Wara'un-Nahr*/Transoxiana), and India, as well as parts of China, Indonesia, the land of the Tatars Andalusia and Central Africa. After nearly three decades, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa returned to his hometown, the Moroccan Sultan asked him to write down his observations of what he had experienced during his travels, which he dictated to one of his disciples in the book which is known for short as *Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (*Travelogue of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*). The travelogue in general gives a comprehensive image of the Islamic world during the eighth/fourteenth century, and highlights many aspects of the habits of peoples, in addition to social political relations and other features that may not be found in the traditional historical sources (For more information about the travel literature and the Arab travellers mentioned above, see Qandīl, 2002 and Ramaḍān, 1998).

## **6. Travel Writing in the Ḥijāz in Eleventh /Seventeenth Century**

It is noted that literature, poetry and prose in the Ḥijāz had flourished remarkably in the eleventh/seventeenth century, and according to 'Āyeḍ al-Raddādī (1984), one of the most important reasons for this literary activity is the migration of intellectuals to and from the Ḥijāz. Among the crowds who came to the Ḥijāz each year for pilgrimage or to visit the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina there were scholars and writers who looked

to what is beyond the religious target: there is, for example, those who wanted to convey to their communities an image of the situation in the Ḥijāz or areas which are visited and the issues faced by the traveller to those places so that others could cope with those conditions when they planned to do a similar trip. Others wanted to record different conditions for a particular area to highlight a certain stage of the history of that region for future generations. The Ḥijāz in the eleventh/seventeenth century had some of those pioneers who did not only perform their religious rites, but they recorded their observations on various aspects in the Ḥijāzi community, and were keen to meet with intellectuals of the Ḥijāz in order to write down their poems and prose in his travelogue, and, in addition, to circulate their cultural product among the cultural milieu in the Ḥijāz. This contributed in the development of the cultural movement in the Ḥijāz by providing it with new elements from outside.

Moroccans were the travellers who wrote the most books about their voyages to the Ḥijāz in the eleventh/seventeenth century, including, for example, the four writers in the following table:

Author	Work	Note
Abū al-Ābbas al-Tha'ir	Adhrā'ul Wasa'il	Written by the author in 1016/1608
Mohammed al-Qaisi	'Uns al-Sarī.	He travelled to the Ḥijāz in 1040/1631
Abū al-Ābbas al-Hishtūkī	Hidāyat al-Malik al-Allām	He travelled to the Ḥijāz in 1096/1685
Abū Sālim al-Ayyāshī	Mā'u al-Mawā'id	He travelled to the Ḥijāz in 1072/1662

However, the travelogue of Mā'u al-Mawā'id is the most important one amongst these works, because al-Ayyāshī himself was a poet and had many literary and cultural experiences, and had dealt with many of the affairs of Ḥijāzi cultural, social and political lives in his book (al-Raddādī, 1984. pp. 133-139).

For different reasons, some Ḥijāzis who were interested in literature, in turn, journeyed in the same century to several countries, such as Egypt, the Levant, Iraq, Iran, India and Turkey, and those tours, without doubt, expanded their intellectual horizons and supplied them with new cultural elements and epistemic expertise that played a positive role in the cultural movement in their community.



Mohammed Kibrīt al-Husseini (1012-1070/1603-1660) was one of three writers who journeyed from the Hijāz in the eleventh/seventeenth century. He left Medina in 1039/1630 to travel Egypt and remained there for a while, and subsequently boarded a ship from Alexandria to Rhodes Island where he stayed about a month, then continued on to Istanbul. He was a poor and unknown man, so he found himself in a real crisis in a huge and busy city like Constantinople. As it appears in his travelogue, *Riḥlat al-Shitā' wa-al-Ṣayf*, he felt a real let-down because of suffering from a lack of money and no one knew him so he could not gain an introduction to the Sultan or to the dignitaries in order to find a job or a financial donation that would have helped him to gain the necessities of life. Thus he left to Damascus on his way home, where he spent some time before returning to the Hijāz. It is clear from his text that he saw his trip as an abortive one, and that he had disillusioned of that journey, which was expected benefit him immensely, not only on economic level, but also on the epistemic level as well. Although al-Husseini expected that his visit to Turkey would add to him some cognitive dimensions which would make him distinctive among his peers, he found nothing about literature, jurisprudence and linguistics but things which were known even by children in his homeland. He complains sarcastically that the benefit he had gained from the science of logic was only the term,

!حصلت من ... المنطق، بعد بذل المجهود: إذا كانت الشمس طالعة فالنهار موجود

I got of ... logic, after an effort: If the sun was up, then, daylight would be present (al-Husseini, 1965. p 179)

The second one is Alī Ibn Ma'şūm Al-Madanī (152 - 1120/1642- 1708), who was born in Medina and lived in the Ḥijāz until adolescence, and then travelled to India until decades later he returned to the Ḥijāz, where he stayed for a while and then left to Iraq before moving to Iran, where he spent the rest of his life. Al-Madanī had a good education in his hometown and he must have been able to look at some of travel writing books available in the library of his father and the public and private libraries in the Ḥijāz, and he therefore realized early the importance of recording observations and experiences by travellers. In addition to that, he had become conscious of the prestigious level which traveller's books have among the intellectual milieu in his society as they are a wonderful source of multifarious and unexpected information, unlike other sources such as the scientific books that are limited to epistemology, or literary books that are in most cases limited to poetic studies.

The Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, Sultan of Hyderabad, had persuaded Ahmed Ibn Ma'şūm, the father of Alī, to come to India to be appointed as prime minister of the Sultanate, who then emigrated to become the second man in the Court of Sultan Qutb Shah. Later, the Prime Minister Ahmed called his family to join him in India. Although Alī Ibn Ma'şūm was less than fifteen-years-old when he left the Ḥijāz, the good quality of education he had enjoyed at a young age had earned him enough awareness of the importance for the traveller to record his remarks. And, indeed, as soon as he left the Ḥijāz he began to identify all things which caught his attention over that long journey (which lasted about nineteen months) by Yemen and the Indian Ocean.

The third traveller is 'Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, whom this thesis is about.

## **Conclusion**

We have noticed that travel writing has been a problematic issue in terms of its classification as a genre, and that there has been recognition by researchers that there is a real difficulty in the development of a precise definition, because travel accounts overlap with many other literary and non-literary fields. Arabic travel writing associated with the custom of migration itself was what the Arabs were known for, in that they were nomads who did not stop travelling due to the dependence of their lives on the livestock and their resultant need to follow the places of rainfall and pastures, but the recording of travel experiences as written works had not really been known by the Arabs before the third/tenth century. This may be due to the delay in the Arabic script itself, so that the union of the Arab people in one strong state after the rise of Islam led to the development of culture on the clear basis of knowledge and methodology, and the expansion of the Islamic state, which was based primarily on the Arab culture, at least in the period (second/eighth - fifth/eleventh centuries), encouraged the Arabs to travel and explore what other people have. However, the preoccupation of the Arabs at the beginning of Islam's history to strengthen the foundations of their state and spread the message of Islam contributed to the delay of the emergence of travel experiences as written texts to the early third/tenth century. The travel writings of the Arab at its start focused on the scientific aspects, geography in particular, and literary features did not appear clearly on the genre before the sixth/twelfth century. Travel writing of different

kinds of literary and scientific works had spread in the Arab culture dramatically, and the Ḥijāz was one of important topics in many of the writings by Arab travellers, because of their visits to the holy places there. In the eleventh/seventeenth century, travel literature had flourished in the Ḥijāz, and for several reasons some Ḥijāzi writers had to travel to other countries, such as 'Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī and Mohammed Kibrīt al-Husseinī who visited Turkey, and Ibn Ma'şūm who visited India and spent nearly four decades there before visiting Iraq and then finally moving to Iran where he died.

## **Chapter Four: Al-Khiyārī and his Book:**

### ***Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'***

#### **Preface**

We believe that through obtaining an understanding of the frame around text, the text can be more understandable. This leads to a more comprehensive understanding, a deeper reading and a form of analysis that is closer to objectivity. For this reason, we tried in the second chapter to highlight the writer's area in terms of geographical boundaries, general history and the factors that influenced its cultural composition throughout the history. We also briefly touched on the history of the Ottoman Empire in order to track the historic path that eventually led the Ḥijāz and most Arab lands to become Ottoman provinces since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then we tried to give the reader a general sense of the economic, social and cultural situation in the writer's era, the seventeenth century.

This chapter comes within this framework, which sheds light on the immediate context of the text, and as the writer is the most important influencing factor on the text, it was important to shed light on the circumstances surrounding him in terms of his life, education, his status among scholars at the time, the reasons behind his travel to Turkey, his style of writing and so on.

## 1. Al-Khiyārī

### 1.1. Life.

Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khiyārī (3<sup>rd</sup> Shawal 1037 – 2<sup>nd</sup> Rajab 1083AH/ 6<sup>th</sup> June 1628 – 24<sup>th</sup> October 1672) was born in al-Madīna al-Monawwara (Medina). His father emigrated from Egypt to work in teaching in Medina roughly eight years before the birth of Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm grew up and lived all his life in al-Madīna (Medina) and sources do not mention that he left it but for his trip to Turkey and for a pilgrimage to Mecca (for al-Khiyārī's biography, see: al-Muḥibbī's two books: n.d, I: 27 and 1969. III: p. 366).

### 1.2. Education

We have already discussed in the second chapter the deteriorating conditions, including the cultural condition, in the Ḥijāz in the eleventh A.H./seventeenth century A.D. However, the educational life in the Ḥijāz in that era was better than anywhere else in the Arabian Peninsula. The presence of the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina had attracted a quite large number of scholars from the countries of the Islamic world and this created a good educational and cultural movement, involving 'Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Khiyārī, who was the father of Ibrāhīm himself.

Ibrāhīm did not need to leave for study because Medina was one of the most significant cultural centres in the Arabian Peninsula in the Eleventh Century A.H./Seventeenth A.D. Therefore, he was educated in his hometown by a group of

teachers and scholars of his time, at the forefront of which was his father, Abdul Rahman al-Khiyārī. In addition to other scholars such as Mirmāh Bukhārī, Muhammad Bābilī, and Muhammad Rumī, who was known as the judge of the *Haramayn* (the Two Holy Mosques), and al-Khiyārī obtained from him an *Ijazah* (certificate of efficiency) in *Tafsir* (the interpretation of the holy Qur'an). Sheikh Isā Maghrabī was one of the scholars who taught al-Khiyārī, but their relationship evolved beyond that, crystallising into a long-term friendship and companionship (al-Muḥibbī, n.d. I: p. 27).

It seemed that al-Khiyārī believed that the acquirement of knowledge did not stop at a certain age, and this is reflected in his book. While he considered travel to be an opportunity to meet scholars and to benefit from their knowledge and experiences, he was over forty-years-old when he embarked on his voyage. The reader of al-Khiyārī's text will find plenty of places which reveal his attention to the matter of knowledge and people and places associated with it, like scholars, intellectuals poets and libraries (see e.g.; al-Khiyārī. II: pp.94, 171, 204 and III: pp. 44, 46, 58). Perhaps the section on Palestine is more indicative of what we are talking about. It was in this context that he arrived in the city of Ramla on Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> Rajab 1081/08<sup>th</sup> December 1670, leaving only after a few hours; he did not sleep there, but left after midnight, heading to al-Masjid al-Aqṣā (Al-Aqsa Mosque) in Jerusalem. Though he stayed there only for a few hours, he did not make it to rest from the fatigue of travel, but sought to meet Sheikh Khayr al-Dīn al-Ramlī on the same day, spending time discussing scholarly issues in religion and poetry (ibid., II: p. 170-172).

### 1.3. Al-Khiyārī's Standing among his Contemporaries

As a result of his education, which included varied readings, particularly in the areas of Islamic culture, literature and humanities, in addition to the learning opportunities available in his time and environment, al-Khiyārī formed a strong and broad base of cultural knowledge which can be detected from browsing through his travelogue where the texts rotate between the poetry, literary criticism and history in addition to miscellaneous Islamic sciences. It is firmly believed that al-Khiyārī's culture and his scientific reputation were the main reason that persuaded al-Muḥibbī (n.d. I: p. 27) to include him in his book, which was originally meant for prominent figures of the Eleventh Century A.H.

There are many indications that al-Khiyārī had a prominent status among his contemporary scholars and writers, and his reputation preceded him to Syria before his arrival there. Despite his early death (he lived less than forty-five years), and despite the paucity of his writings, Syrian poets sent him their poems to Medina, and to the place of his residence in Damascus, which emphasizes their reverence to him and that they considered him to be one of the well-known personages in his time in the literary field (see, for example, al-Khiyārī. I: pp. 101-133, and II: pp. 132-139).

Al-Muḥibbī (n.d. I: 25 - 27) stated that al-Khiyārī



أحد المشاهير بالبراعة في الحديث والمعارف وفنون الأدب والتاريخ، وكان واسع المحفوظات،  
... حلو العبارة، لطيف الطبع

...was one of the leading lights in the Hadith, arts, literature and  
history. He was widely erudite and had very polite discourse and  
gentle nature...

He added, when al-Khiyārī arrived in Damascus on his way to Turkey:

فَعَظَمَ بِهَا قَدْرَهُ، وَانْتَشَرَ ذِكْرُهُ، وَأَقْبَلَ عَلَيْهِ أَهْلُهَا، وَبَذَلُوا فِي إِكْرَامِهِ الْجَهْدَ

His rank rose, his pointing out spread, and people came to visit him, and  
make the effort in honouring him.

And on his return from Turkey,

قَدِمَ دِمَشْقَ، وَاعْتَنَى بِهِ أَهْلُهَا كَاعْتِنَانِهِمْ بِهِ فِي قَدَمَتِهِ الْأُولَى... وَاجْتَمَعَتْ أَنَا بِهِ مَرَارًا

...he entered Damascus, its people took care of him as they did during  
the first visit... and I myself met him several times.

In al-Khiyārī's book, many texts show how he was greeted by Damascenes and a  
group of scholars, elites and writers visited him there at his residence, and showed  
their happiness at seeing him and their delight in talking to him about diverse cultural  
affairs. Some of them asked him for an Ijazah in Hadith, Tafsir and other subjects,

and in addition to reciting their poetry to him they also listened to his own poetry (al-Khiyārī. I: pp. 101 – 129 and II: pp. 123 - 136).

His prestige was not limited to the literary. In Istanbul, he was described by the Mufti of the Ottoman Empire, when introducing him to the Sultan, as "أديب محدث عالم" "a scholar, narrator of the Hadith and an author" (ibid., I: 182, 311). The senior of deputies in the Royal Court praised him to the Sultan as well, and explained his status to him. The latter convinced him to reward al-Khiyārī a regular daily stipend paid out to him from the treasury of Egypt, bearing the Sultan's signature (ibid., I: 312). In Istanbul, moreover, some of the notables had to request to invite him and the host did not authorize him to leave his home until after a period of more than a month in order for him to celebrate Eid al-Fitr with the family of his host (ibid., II: pp. 6-7). In addition, they pressured him to lead people in Friday prayer in one of the great mosques in Istanbul, as he was an orator of the Mosque of al-Madīna (Medina) (ibid., II: pp. 11- 12).

Egyptians had also revered the man, as Sheikh Shibrāmīlī describes him saying that he was,

عالم المدينة المنورة... واسطة عقد مدرسي مدارسها... الخطيب... المدرس المحقق،  
المفتي المحرر المدقق... الشيخ إبراهيم... الخياري.

...an Imam, Faqih (jurist), discerning, gallant, judicious, author, mufti, editor, checker, the scholar of Medina and the most distinguished figure

amongst the teachers in al-Madīna (Medina) ...who is Sheikh Ibrāhīm ... Al-Khiyārī” (ibid., II: 50).

#### **1.4. The Dominant Culture and its Reflection in the Thinking of Al-Khiyārī and in his Book**

Although al-Khiyārī grew up in an Islamic society, the intellectual revolution that was brought by Islam had begun to decline several centuries before al-Khiyārī’s era. Islam came to bring out people "from darkness into the light" (The Qur'an, chapter 2, verse 257). And darkness here is a general description of anything that is not clear and not logical in the thought system of someone with a sound intellect. Islam, on the whole, urges the liberation of the mind from the illusions and myths or the tendency to drift behind claims of superiority which some groups try to confer on themselves through the use of the notion of a religion. Islamic discourse was clear regarding warnings of non-compliance to any forceful claims – explicitly or implicitly – that it has been given features by Allah (God) that enable it to be better than others. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was concerned to indicate that the relationship between the human and everything in the world cut off completely as soon as the death of the person (Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ḥadīth No. 4005). He also pointed out that miracles do not happen to non-Prophets, even if they are of the house of the Prophet himself. One day, the sun coincidentally eclipsed in conjunction with the death of one of the sons of the Prophet, and then some people thought it was because of his death. The Prophet hastened to correct this simplistic theory of those people, saying that the sun and the moon do not eclipse for the death or the life of anyone, but they are rather verses of

Allah (God) that encourage people to return to right path (Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth No. 986).

Despite this, a belief has spread from an early age that some people are saints or friends of Allah (God) and that He grants them the dignity of their own because of their sincerity, righteousness and deep faith. Sufism in Islam began as a positive practice aiming to refine behaviour by encouraging a person to resistance pleasures of the life and abstain from non-substantial needs, i.e., as a way of enabling humans to live their lives in their simplest form and to help them to do good for both themselves and others. But like many notions, Sufism was subjected to many changes throughout history. Indeed, the positive idea that underpinned it turned, in time, into a negative one at both intellectual and social levels. Day by day, the focus turned to worship and asceticism instead of urging the pursuit of science and work. One of the most important issues that draw the attention of the researcher is that many of the scholars in al-Khiyārī's era and before not only do not condemn this type of strange thinking, but have adopted it and have encouraged people to take the path of wretchedness, poverty and faith in illogical things. The time that al-Khiyārī grew up was in was the golden age of mysticism in the Muslim World, so he could not, and probably did not try to break out of the cultural context in which he existed. Thus, his book, as is the case with the book by Ibn Battūta, was subject to promote a culture of the killing of thinking through the deployment of beliefs based on the idea that dropping out of this world and its adornments and devoting oneself to worship in a secluded location is the purpose that should be sought by the good person. The book of al-Khiyārī has many examples which show that the writer was one of those responsible for spreading this culture of ignorance. For instance, he believed that his

success in the lawsuits in a Turkish court was due to the blessing of the Prophet Muhammad and his observation of the author's case (al-Khiyārī. 1, p 301). In other moments in the book, he claims that he and his companions found a good smell emitted from the tomb of Sheikh Raslan when they visited it in Damascus, and that the smell was a message of blessing from the Sheikh who was buried there promising the achievement of the objective of his travel (al-Khiyārī. 1, pp. 134, 176). In Syria, the author states that after descending by small steps to the tomb of Ibn Arabi, he sat down between his hands to recite the Qur'an. Once he finished his task, he felt a strange excitement, then realized immediately after that the entombed (Ibn 'Ārabī) had blessed him and that he would succeed in what he travelled for (al-Khiyārī. 1, p 135). Not only that, but he also relates the story about the tomb in Turkey of a legendary figure named Sayyed Ghazi. The story says that Ghazi saw the Prophet Mohammed in a dream asking him to fight infidels and so he did and was killed there. Al-Khiyārī adds when we asked about some arrows that were hung on the wall, we were told that they had been given to Ghazi by al-Khider (who lived in Moses era, according to one of Moses stories in the Qur'an) (al-Khiyārī. 1, pp. 222-224). In spite of the reservations by the writer of the story, it is strange that he did not rule out its occurrence, at least because of the obvious thinness and fabrication that makes it unreasonable to anyone who possesses a sound mind. (Note: Although the Qur'an does not explicitly mention the name of al-Khider, a lot of Muslims believe it is the righteous man whom Moses met in one of his travels and accompanied him for a while. See, The story of Moses and al-Khider in the Qur'an: chapter 18, verses 60-82).

### **1.5. Al-Khiyārī's Piety and Liberty through his Book**

In the field of knowledge, there are no significant breaks in the Islamic religion between what is religious and what is worldly, thus, in past centuries, the mosque was the main centre of learning and teaching. In the mosque, students are taught the religious sciences, linguistics, literature, humanities, logic, philosophy and science. However, Islamic communities granted students an eminent status as they were good models in their surroundings, therefore parents urged their children to imitate them and take their instructions seriously and had come to the intellectual person automatically as a devotee, even if he does not have a genuine commitment to applications of the religion. It is sufficient for the public that he received a good knowledge in this regard.

This inseparability mentioned between religiosity and education in the awareness of the community became binding on the intellectuals, at least morally – the learner should have a religious role by somehow disseminating morality, virtue and tolerance in accordance with the principles of Islam, and here the person may find inside himself a kind of conflict between his love of having a fun life on the one hand, and the status which he has been given by the society on the other. Thus, he might be compelled to combine the two modes in ways that may expose him to criticism in many cases because of what can be seen as a contradiction in his character.

Al-Khiyārī was one of literates in the Ḥijāzi society, and the reader of his travelogue may find that he was one of those who found themselves under the pressures of the

liberty of young adulthood, which seemed not to conform to his function in the community and social status. Therefore, a partial reading of al-Khiyārī's book may lead to an incomplete understanding or perhaps a misleading perception of the religious attitude of the author. Some texts display, explicitly or implicitly, remarkable religiosity and piety, while others show unexpected liberty by a jurist and orator of the mosque of Prophet Mohammad. Al-Khiyārī quotes a poetic aphorism in the Arab culture, says;

فله مني جانب لا أضيعه      ولله مني والخلاعة جانب

A part of my attention, which will not be relinquished, is for Allah (God),  
and the other part is for fun and libertinism (Al-Khiyārī, III, p 91).

This poetic text gives a brief explanation of his view to the life, which is clearly what we find in his book.

With regard to his piety, the writer mentions several times that he often kept himself busy by reading the Qur'an while travelling (for examples, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 52, 82, 84, 91, 192, 210, 215, 216, 239; and III, p. 192). He also felt great happiness when orders were issued to close down wine bars, except those which were for non-Muslims, praising the Ottoman Sultan for taking that decision and emphasising that it should be applied in the Ottoman metropolises (*ibid.*, II, pp. 84- 87). Another instance was when he ridiculed what was spread by astrologers of an expected earthquake that would happen in Ramadan 1080/January 1970. He expressed his surprise at those

who believed such nonsense so much that they took their belongings away to save them, attributing their behaviour to ignorance and a lack of reason, especially as they belonged to the religion of the Prophet who clearly states that astrologers are liars (ibid., II, p. 12).

On the other hand, there are many citations which show that the author was liberal in his writing and expressed his opinions and feelings so that it can be said that he was honest with both himself and the reader as well. Al-Khiyārī states that he loves beauty and likes the places where the beautiful and pampered people congregate. More than that, he advises those who have such an opportunity to be seized before it is too late, and to enjoy the blissful moment without fear of blame or criticism as happy times are not always available (ibid., II, pp. 47, 141). Nevertheless, it appears as though he felt that he might be subjected to criticism because of some poetic and prose texts. That seems clear by his apologies from time to time for some expressions, descriptions or words, and by his claims that they are just words and never happen in real life.

Although the travelogue contains many literary texts that go with the principle of "no fear of blame or criticism," which he depended on, I will content myself in this chapter with referring to a few samples, as many of them will be included in the coming chapters. Al-Khiyārī always expresses his delight of seeing women in public places in the areas he visited in his travels. One of those citations that can be referred to here is a group of prose and poetic texts describing females who attended public Turkish baths, those who had shapely bodies with rosy cheeks and round salient



breasts like pomegranates, and with chubby buttocks. He yearned if he could have squeezed those roses (cheeks) to drink their juice (kissing), and was eager to see their amazing naked bodies when the towels suddenly and unintentionally fell down (ibid., I, pp. 248 - 249).

There is a phenomenon that may draw the attention of the reader of al-Khiyārī's writings, namely that he did not seem worried about expressing overtly his romantic feelings toward handsome young men, stating that some of them were no less attractive than the girls. In one of his excerpts, he refers to a Damascene youth called Mohammed al-Sukkari, who looked like an antelope in terms of shapeliness, and like a soft wicker in terms of flexibility, even declaring that the beauty (sweetness) of Mohammad was not surprising given that his name is al-Sukkari (*sukkari* in Arabic means sugary). Immediately in the next paragraph and in a similar way, he talks about another man called Ali al-Hallaq, referring to the fact that he was beautiful in everything, even in his voice that sounded nicer than the music of zither (ibid., I, pp. 162-163).

Beyond that is a prose text in which the writer reached the greatest extent in the unrestricted expression on this subject. The content describes masseurs in a Turkish bath in Thessaloniki city in the Ottoman Greece, and he says: "I heard the city's name by two ways, "Sananic" and "Salanic", but I preferred the first one due to its Arabic meaning" (ibid., I, p. 267). Note, the Turkish word mentioned is composed of two Arabic words with two different meanings: "SANA" means "beauty, lightness and brightness", and "NIC", which is "a command verb", means to make love with

someone! And he chose it, as he states, because (SANA) is the appropriate description of them as they looked so handsome, practicing massage skilfully with nice and soft hands. Whereas (NIC) is the deserved action with these young men in such case!

قلت: ولا بدع في ظهور السنن فيهم، وإشراقه من عندهم؛ إذ السنن بعض اسم بلدهم، و لولا  
الإشباع في باقيه، لكانت أمراً بما حالهم يقتضيه

I said: It is not surprising if the glow (whiteness and stunning beauty) appeared on them, and shone from their side, because the lighting is part of their town's name ("SANA" of "SANANIC"), and that without the extension in the end of the name (due to the vowel "I"), it would be an order (ie. the verb "NIC" would be a command verb) for what is required in such case (ibid., I, p. 269).

Despite this text being displayed in the guise of humour, it seems clear that the writer was aware that this type of open and inappropriate expression could not be accepted by most readers, hence the fact that he followed it with an immediate apology, claiming that it was a slip of the pen, as the poets are only sinners in tongues, citing that the Qur'an declares that they say what they do not do (ibid., I, p. 269). It is likely that the author in this particular context expresses the obverse versus the religious personality, as he was the first to know that this excuse would not be convincing to anyone for several reasons, foremost of which are these three. (1.) The Qur'anic verses that he referred to (26: 224-227) come in the context of criticism of the poets because of

overstatement and the deception of the recipients who will believe what is not real, so, verses describe poets' behaviour but do not absolve them of what they claim, or even justify them. (2.) In the past, poets were mostly illiterate, so they recited their odes orally to their listeners, and they may therefore be under the influence of the emotional state of the situation and the theme as well, which makes them exceed the truth in some cases in addition to the difficulty of retreating from any expression that has been said, unlike the written text of prose. (3.) This text remained with the author before its publication long enough to be reviewed, and the tool used for the apology could be used for amending the text or even removing it altogether if the regret stemmed from a real sense of non-suitability.

Among the texts another issue is referred to: the psychological conflict between social and scholarly status on the one hand and the personal desire of the writer on the other. For example, he wanted to attend a wonderful public evening on the second day of Eid al-Fitr in the square of Tobkhanah (Topkapı Sarayı / Topkapı Palace) in Istanbul, but some notable Turks advised him that his presence was not worthy of his stature. Perhaps because it involved dance, drink and conditions that were not commensurate with the attendance by a religious person (*ibid.*, II, pp. 22-23).

Both stances, liberal and conservative, may appear in the same text, as when he writes emotionally about both sexes in places and times of worship, such as the writing about some attendees of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He indicates that some people were walking to and fro in the courtyard of the mosque and their beauty fascinated minds, which made him recall the poetic verses of a poet who had experienced a similar

situation (ibid., I, p. 167). Also, in one of the mosques in Istanbul, and although it was a day of Ramadan, the author was keen to leave the mosque immediately after Friday prayers to realize the spread of the multitudes, or what he called "stars and moons", and enjoy watching the mortal beauty in those squares (ibid., II, pp. 14-15). Another instance was when he went with a group of Turks to visit the tomb of Abu Ayyūb al-Ansārī (one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad) near Istanbul. He describes how the crowds in boats amazed him in both directions, going and coming, to the extent that sea looked like a blue sky full of stars and enlightening planets (people in the boats), especially as they were in the most beautiful clothes and jewellery due to being in the days of Eid al-Fitr (ibid., II, pp. 25-27).

#### **1.6. The Key of al-Khiyārī's Character**

It can be said in general that the key of al-Khiyārī's is best characterised by optimism, happiness and seeing the beauty in all objects that can be described as pleasant and beautiful, and his writing through the book indicates that he dealt with life on this basis.

He looked at the positive aspects, the real or potential of things, and he looked at things and thought of them with so-called "positive thinking". Travellers, usually, regard heavy rain in a negative light, because it brings to them trouble and hardships, such as wetting their bodies and clothes, softening the ground with mud and thus impeding the function of riding animals, the resulting torrents that block the way and perhaps sweep voyagers from the valleys, and the like. So the view of it would usually be negative: it is one of

the natural constraints that blocks road, freezes limbs, and damages luggage. Strong wind is also an annoying event for travellers as it stirs up dust, shakes the cover of tents and might cause epidemics. The sea is one of the greatest challenges for sea-travellers in that sailing ships depended on the wind, while wind sometimes causes fierce waves that impact negatively on the direction of ships, in addition to producing tragic disaster by way of storms.

However, these natural phenomena look different to al-Khiyārī. The rain is a gift from heaven for travellers. It causes moderate weather, greening trees and fields. Rain is also a symbol of heaven's pity on the earth and what lies therein. It sends them water in the form of pearl granules (drops of rain); in other words, it sends the water which is the cause of life, just like a mother from whom milk flows once she feels the need of her babies to receive nourishment and compassion. (Rain mentioned in several places in this framework: see *ibid.*, I, pp. 228, 229, 288, 289 and II, pp. 42, 164.) Snow, in turn, is like a flour of silver granted from the sky to people in order to be shaped into shapes and bodies that they like, and if they do not want to do this it will still be shaped by nature on the tree branches to appear as alloys of silver (*ibid.*, I, pp. 351, 355). The wind is not a bad omen in al-Khiyārī's eyes, either: it pollinates trees, generates fruit and renews the air. It brings delight to people by moving the shrubs and the dissemination of the smell of flowers, so that the wobble of branches reminds them the shimmying of beautiful dancers, and the smell of their fragrant perfume makes the place the scene of dancing and pleasure rather than a scene suggestive of sadness and fear (e.g. *ibid.*, I, pp. 85, 90 and II, p. 54). Sea for the author, meanwhile, is an exciting experience: the sound of the waves is only a monologue of sea to voyagers, as an expression of gratitude to them for

choosing it as a path for the passage. Sea waves do not move the vessels in order to be hindered or deflected on their track, but for petting and fondling with their passengers, and close up the boats that move away provide delectation to passengers by watching lovely people on the other boats (. *ibid.*, I, p. 240 and II pp. 26, 42, 59).

Thus, as noted in these few samples, al-Khiyārī preferred to look at the world through the eye of satisfaction, explaining aspects of life that he had experienced as multiple examples of happiness and contentment.

### **1.7. The Reason for his Voyage**

Al-Khiyārī was eager to visit Syria and meet the scholars and cultured men who visit the Ḥijāz, and those who sent him letters with the pilgrims and visitors of the Mosque of the Prophet. However, there was no convincing reason for travel, especially as he did not want to leave the surroundings of the Prophet. One day, it seemed that someone coveted financial allocations, which were paid to al-Khiyārī as a teacher and orator in the Prophet's Mosque (al-Muḥibbī a, n.d, I. p. 25). That person obtained the authorization of those responsible for the affairs of the Two Holy Mosques in Egypt for him to be appointed to a teaching job instead of al-Khiyārī, who had not received a letter deposing him from his work. Therefore, he travelled to Constantinople and met with the Mufti of the Sultanate, Sheikh Yahya Mingari, to present his complaint about this situation. Sheikh Mingari was indeed very surprised to hear the news of al-Khiyārī's dilemma and affirmed that he did not know anything about this matter, as he

(Sheikh Mingari) was supposed to be the one in charge of dismissing and appointing to that post. Accordingly, the reaction of the Mufti was to meet the demand of al-Khiyārī, and return the position to him (al-Khiyārī. I: pp. 28, 273).

Al-Khiyārī left the City of the Prophet in the afternoon of Friday, 22<sup>th</sup> Muharram 1080 A.H./22<sup>th</sup> June 1669 and entered it again on Thursday afternoon – 28<sup>th</sup> Dhu'l-Qa'dah 1081 A.H./8<sup>th</sup> April 1671. This journey took approximately one year, ten months and five days by the Hijri calendar, and the trip included Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, from where he finally returned to the Ḥijāz.

### **1.8. Al-Khiyārī's Death**

Al-Khiyārī's trip took nearly two years, and it is most likely that the most important reasons for spending such a long time in Turkey (more than a year) and in Syria, Palestine and then Egypt was due to the lack of discomfort from alienation, if not the enjoyment of it, as he achieved the main aim of his trip and moreover he obtained fun from the exploration, adventure and the involvement in different experiences. Nevertheless, the happiness that he felt during that journey did not last long. Al-Khiyārī died in mysterious circumstances about nineteen months after his arriving to Medina, on 2<sup>nd</sup> Rajab 1083 A.H./ 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1672 (al-Muḥibbī a, n.d, I. pp 27-28). Al-Muḥibbī also mentioned that there may be religious reasons behind al-Khiyārī's death, as he did not comply with an edict issued by the official for religious affairs in Medina, who had a different doctrine from that of al-Khiyārī, and it was believed that the functionary sent someone to slip poison into his food (ibid., I. p. 28). Although this charge is narrated in

a format as an uncertain tale, which seems to be closer to a rumour than the truth, that does not lead us to completely deny its occurrence. It might have been true because al-Khiyārī had hinted it in one of his poems to some envious who benefited from his words and wrote them down in their notes, and then ignored his excellence and underestimated his rightness. Despite the bitterness that appears in the poem, he tries to entertain himself by saying that sand could cover gold, but cannot abolish its value.

(see the rest of the poem, al-Khiyārī. II: 147).

وَقَدْ أَتَوْا فِي السَّعَامِي مِنْهَا تَنَكَّرَا	اللَّهِ فِي مَعْشَرٍ، فَضَلِّي لَقَدْ غَمَطُوا
يَتَانِمًا تَفَضُّحَ الْأَزْهَارِ وَالزُّهْرَا	قَدْ سَطَّرُوا مِنْ كَلَامِي فِي دَفَاتِرِهِمْ
لِيَمْلَأَ الْحَقُّ مِنْ أَصْدَافِهِ ذُرَا	... لَكِنْ إِذَا السَّمْعُ وَافَى يَسْتَضِيْفُهُمْ
كَيْ يُظْفِنُوا النُّورَ أَوْ كَيْ يُخْمِلُوا الذُّكْرَا	خَفُّوا بِبَدَلِ الْقَرَى مِنْ بَغْضِهِمْ حَسَدًا
وَالنُّزْبُ مِنْ شَأْنِهِ أَنْ يَسْتُرَ التَّبْرَا	... ذَا النُّقْصِ قَدْ كَمَلُوا، وَالْفَضْلُ قَدْ نَقَّصُوا

Ḥamad al-Jāssir (1967) believes that the reason mentioned by al-Muḥibbī could not be ruled out due to the relationship of al-Khiyārī to the elite of the Ottoman officials. This relationship, which provided him a kind of prestige, may have led him to treat that figure in his home town with less respect or courtesy than he looked forward to, which may have infuriated him and motivated him, perhaps, to commit that ignoble behaviour of poisoning.



## **2. Al-Khiyārī's Travelogue: *Tuhfat al-Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'***

### **2.1. The Cultural Context of the Writer and his Travelogue**

Language as an oral form is the clearest and the most important medium of human communication, and so is writing. That is to say, readable language reflects important aspects of the writer's character and culture. Though the observations and experiences of the traveller are the main theme of this travelogue, these observations and experiences are presented to the reader through the writer's eye. For this reason, the way how the reader perceives the value of the subject and the writer's attitude varies from one reader to another due to differences in the ways that the subject is presented from one writer to another., To some extent it is similar to raw materials that are produced in different moulds, each of which gain their value and importance depending on their shape and design, even though they all share the same fundamental material. In the past, the traveller, to a large extent, performed the process of writing in a state of utter contentment that verification of the majority of the information and observations provided was almost impossible, giving him/her a better opportunity to act in the narrative of events in a way that makes the text seem as if it is a subject of both the self and the theme at the same time. Hence, it is worth noting that many travel writing texts overlap with the nature of the author so that separating the text from the writer's character is almost impossible for the reader, (Talbot, 2010. p. 234). An observer of travel writing living in the Middle Ages would realize that writers were not only aware of this overlap between the text and the writer in the reader's mind, but they often intentionally sought to make their accounts in the form of “a strongly autobiographical character” (Ibid. p. 234). The difference in the texts of travel writing, though they may share a narrative on the same subject, place or event, lies in the differences in the nature

of the writers' characters and thus can be looked upon as a travel text offered as an autobiographical text on the grounds that the writer displays his observations and adventures in a way that makes him appear different from the others (Berger, A., 2004. p 84). Furthermore, travel writers may use the process of narrative as a means to pass ideological, political or cultural messages or positions to the readers, and it seems that this method is not limited to the works of the past centuries, and therefore "the modern travel account strongly reflects the author's needs and/or goals" (Weber, 2014. p 3).

The Ḥijāz in the Ottoman era, specifically in the eleventh/seventeenth century was very conservative on both the social and the family level, and this certainly applies to the issue of gender mixing (See: (see al-Sam'āny, 2000). Thus, in such an environment, it was not feasible for a man to see the face of a woman who was not a relative, even if they are a neighbour, let alone seeing what is beyond of bodily details. In such a case, fantasy becomes responsible for generating multiple images of women (often young or mature) who hide all the details behind a black or coloured cloak, which cannot be seen directly except in very rare cases and unsafe consequences. The researcher can hardly find any information about un-veiled women in the literature written about the Ḥijāz in the Ottoman era. Eighteen Moroccan travellers visited the Ḥijāz during the eleventh-twelfth/seventeenth-eighteenth century, and some stayed for a while and recorded their observations and experiences about the Ḥijāz (see al-Sam'āny, 2000). None of them mentioned any semblance of the finery of women, or being present in public without a veil. Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī, for example, lived in the Ḥijāz for more than a year, spending the majority of his time in Medina (al-Khiyārī's hometown). He talked about some of the social affairs of women of Medina, but the text does not mention that one could see unrelated women in any public place in the Ḥijāz. Writers of Medina, such as

Ibn Ma<sup>ç</sup>šūm, Mohammad Kibrīt and al-Khiyārī, also mentioned nothing in this regard. Al-Khiyārī noted in one of travelogue texts (1/339) the possibility of seeing the faces of some women during their presence in the place of an annual religious festival on the outskirts of Medina. The writer stated that he personally enjoyed watching their faces in the festival which lasted for more than a week. However, this reference was too short (some verses), and not reinforced with similar texts by the writer or his contemporaries. Even assuming the validity of the information, it does not suggest any interesting or strange issue, which is out of the ordinary social context, because it is not considered to be a show of adornment if women uncover their face according to the majority of Muslim scholars.

In the Middle Ages, individuality was almost non-existent, so the man or woman finds him/herself part of the collective (“all”), and this “all” is the milieu in which they live. The various circumstances would necessitate work in the spirit of collective responsibility. Therefore, the intellectual is only an individual who should operate within the system of the mainstream context. This is reflected, of course, on travellers’ accounts in the past because the writer does not want to deviate from the general context, and if he did, he more likely would not be able to (Weber, 2014. p 4).

Economic, political and social conditions fused all to frame a general context, which distinguished every environment or community from the other. Like any other region, general situations in the Ḥijāz formed their own context, which would have an impact on its inhabitants. With regard to the economic situation, the Ḥijāz was generally a poor region, firstly because of the scarcity of resources, and, secondly because of its reliance

on money coming in from outside, such as the capital of the empire (Istanbul) or from the regional capital (Cairo), or what was brought by visitors to the holy places in terms of presents, charity, and seasonal jobs caused by the presence of visitors and pilgrims. The political situation was not stable most of the time because of the permanent disputes between the local powers which often lead to bloody conflicts. The victim in such absurd confrontations is the society, where chaos prevails and people's lives turn into a living hell. Social situations largely depend on the stability of the political and economic conditions because social progress usually flourishes only under political stability and economic prosperity, and thus the social situation had negatively been affected by the surrounding conditions. Cultural conditions are one of the main features of the social situation and it could be said that the culture of the society is an indicator by which the social status on the ground is measured. Culture is the social product whose level differs from one environment to another, depending on the variation of the social level in this or that environment (Hunter. 1983. p. 9). For several reasons (discussed above), the Ḥijāz witnessed a relatively fertile cultural movement during the eleventh/seventeenth century. Al-Khiyārī was a product of that period as well as a contributor to that movement as a teacher and speaker in his hometown for more than twenty years<sup>1</sup>.

Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, like many others, recounted his experience in travel according to his vision, culture and goals. Since he came from a conservative environment within the circumstances referred to above, the general context played a prominent role in the narrative and depiction, as well as the selection of events and the narrated observations. A writer of travel text, whoever that may be, must realise that the reader expects to find

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<sup>1</sup>- Economic, social and cultural situations in the Ḥijāz, at the time of the writer, have already been discussed in more detail at the end of chapter II

peculiar, amazing and pleasant themes in the text and, therefore, the writer will most likely find that his responsibility and interest is partly to meet this sense of the reader. Al-Khiyārī was apparently aware that the image of women is one of the most important means of attracting readers of that environment and era. The image of women was not only important for the reader but for the writer as well as he belongs to the same milieu. Therefore, the interest of the writer regarding this aspect is striking. Al-Khiyārī produced two different images of women in his work: one is beautiful and astonishing women with whom one would like to gain a short meeting, kiss or even a gesture or a nice word; this type of woman could be conceived of as a dream woman. The other is an ugly image, about whom he showed distressed at seeing her and would like to leave the place where she is as soon as possible. The former women are Turkish Muslim women, and the latter are non-Muslim women (especially Christians and Jews) in Turkey. Since attracting the reader and making him happy was a primary aim for Al-Khiyārī, most images of women represent the first type, showing the women in a positive light. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that his targeted audience were people living in Muslim lands, as evidenced by the texts. He did not mingle with non-Muslim minorities unless when necessary, e.g. when he needed to pass through their regions or was in need of their services. Therefore, it seems quite logical that the images of non-Muslims generally, and specifically women, appear less often.

Turkish (Muslim) women in al-Khiyārī's work appear in a peculiar but wonderful shape, or at least that is how he wants to portray them. She has a svelte figure, like a gazelle, and a soft flexible body like wicker. She has seductive feminine features so that her prominent chest reminds him of pomegranates and pears, her rosy and chubby cheeks seem like mature and ready-to-harvest roses, her big round buttocks bring to your

imagination the image of soft sand dunes, while her straight and pure teeth make you recall beads of pearls<sup>2</sup>.

Readers of al-Khiyārī's account find that he tried to create an image by gathering descriptions that could be said to represent the beauty of Arab philosophy with respect to women at that time. Furthermore, we find that the writer created an image of Turkish boys containing a lot of aesthetic feminine features which approaches the fantastic image of women referred to above, to the extent that the reader of some of the texts may be confused about the gender of the person being described<sup>3</sup>.

When looking from another perspective we find that an aspect of autobiographical profiles can be observed, so that despite the fact that these descriptions meet the excitement needed to attract the reader, an important factor for marketing a literary work, the author, it seems, wants to suggest to the reader that he saw astonishing and exciting things on his journey. The beauty that captures the imagination is not only limited to the category of females, but also to young men whose spectacular attraction is hard to resist. Thus, the implied meaning is that the traveller saw varieties of people which cannot be witnessed by members of his community in the Ḥijāz. Creating the image of Turkish people in this way is not only a way of marketing the literary work, but, and perhaps this is the most important aspect, a way of marketing the self as well.

Finally, we can say that the image of women in al-Khiyārī's account could be looked

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<sup>2</sup> - See al-Khiyārī: poetic texts (I: pp. 246-249), a prose text where he reports when women went out to watch the procession of the Sultan (I: p. 341), a similar text, where he describes the spread of women in one of the public squares after leaving a mosque (II: p. 17) in addition, to many other texts, such as: II: pp. 14-15, 29 and p. 43).

<sup>3</sup> - See what he wrote about the boys of the Sultan during the entry of Royal procession to the city of Thessaloniki (I: pp. 341-343), the text about masseurs in the same city of Thessaloniki (I: p. 269), and another text about male servants [most likely slaves] of certain dignitaries when the author spent some time with others in a park on the shores of the Gulf of Golden Horn (II: p. 26).

upon as a reflection of the general cultural context of the author's environment, the context in which this image was created in accordance with the general and various conditions at that time and place.

## **2.2. The Manner of Arabic Literary Writing in the Ottoman Era**

### **2.2.1 The Style of Verbal Decorations**

Art of Arabic prose began to trend steadily to elegant style since the Abbasid Empire as a mark of mastery in writing the official government epistles or what was known as *al-Risāla* (singular) *al-Rasā'il* (plural). Official writers in government departments made these epistles a way to prove their worthiness to those functions by showing themselves as familiar with much of the fields of knowledge so that their texts appeared too complex to the normal reader because of what they bore of cultural referrals, and linguistic and musical decorations. As Monroe and Ibn Gharsiyah (1970. p 14) note, the *risāla* is

A veritable mosaic of allusions to Arabic literature and history, containing quotations from the Koran, from poetry and proverbial wisdom. All of this is expressed by means of a highly elaborate rhymed prose of the kind that was so much in vogue among the prose writers of the fifth century of Islam, and it is decorated with all the ornaments of Arabic rhetoric.

Although this style of mannerism remained within the formal framework for a long time, it was later used for literary writing that was addressed to the general public in fifth/eleventh century by the genre of literature called *Maqāmāt*, in particular with the well-known writer Abu al-Qāsim al-Harīrī (d. 516/1122) (Cosman and Jones, 2009. p 701). Nevertheless, travel writing remained in the spontaneous form to the times of late.

In terms of travel literature, it is noted that the style of the best-known travelogues in Arabic literature, the *Riḥlat* of Ibn Jubayr in the sixth/twelfth century and *Riḥlat* Ibn Battūta in seventh/fourteenth century (d. 779/1377), are characterized by the spontaneous manner of classical Arabic. This had almost no trace of the linguistic ornamentation that had already appeared in al-Hariri's *Maqāmāt* in fifth/eleventh century, and that then became the prevalent trend in travel literature later in eleventh/seventeenth century.

### **2.2.2 The Manner of Arabic Literary Writing in 11<sup>th</sup> / 17<sup>th</sup> Century**

In seventeenth century, the process of writing was based on assonance (rhymed-style), which occupied a prominent position for both the critic and the reader. The good writer is one who clearly presents the idea in the locution relied on in this method. The problem that had emerged because of this trend is that the authors found themselves bound by the musical requirement, which sometimes seemed more important than the



idea itself. This limitation led to the existence of many long and boring texts by forcing the writer to overstretch the sentence up to a point where rhyme was accepted (Badawī, 1995). Therefore, it was noted that one of the first things initiated by the contemporary Arab culture was the liberation from such restrictions, and returning to free prose that employs absolute language to serve the idea without regard to the musical side of the writing.

It may be appropriate to indicate that some authors of travelogues in al-Khiyārī's era were not aiming primarily to transfer information as much as targeting a kind of show of their skills in linguistic, scientific and cultural knowledge. So, the literary style was the main objective of the writing of travelogues, which explains, perhaps, the prevalence of mixed texts, rhymed prose and poetry that was common in travel writing at the time. This contrasted with previous authors such as Ibn Jubayr (the sixth/twelfth century) and Ibn Battūta (the eighth/fourteenth century) as reporting was the primary goal for them. Certainly, this provision cannot be generalized, as it is subject to many considerations, such as the type of readers, the purpose of the writing, the significance of the destination, and so on. In the case of Ibn Jubayr, for instance, the transfer of information about the East, especially Egypt and the Ḥijāz was a priority for readers in his native Andalusia, as the text was a guide for travellers in addition to being a cultural report that summarized the most important aspects of the ancestral land in the Arab East. This was also the case with Ibn Battūta, although the book was more comprehensive because of the duration of his journey and the many places that he visited, especially given that information about India and the Far East was rare and confusing. So, the data was of great importance to Moroccan citizens at the time. Whereas 'Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, Mohammed Kibrīt (d. 1070/1660) and Ibn Ma'sūm (d. 1119/1707) aimed in the first

place, as proved by the titles of their works, to verify their epistemic and scientific status amongst the cultural milieu in the Ḥijāz, where education and literature had flourished again since the late tenth/sixteenth century.

### **2.3. The Writing Style of al-Khiyārī in: *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'***

#### **2.3.1. His Writing between Mannerism and Spontaneity**

Al-Khiyārī's style was not different to the culture of his society, and he therefore adopted a mixed text approach in his travelogue, even though there is more prose than poetry in general. In some sites, it may be appropriate for one type (rhymed prose or poetry) to dominate, while both types may be preferred elsewhere, depending on the topic of discussion. However, it cannot be claimed that al-Khiyārī in *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā'* was completely devoid of affectation, but if the text is read within the context of the writings of his era then it would be noticed that he was one of the writers who had the ability to alleviate the negative impact of this method on a text and then on the receiver. It is also noted that the decoration of the verbal goes smoothly in al-Khiyārī's texts of love prose, or his admiring descriptions of a public park, cultural club or social activity (al-Khiyārī. *Texts of Antioch* 1, p. 89, *al-Basitiyah in Damascus* 1, pp. 142-143, and a market there, too 1, p. 171, and beautiful Turks while watching the procession of Royal 1, p. 341, and masses in Cairo waiting to see new moon of Ramadan 3, p. 87). However, that kind of writing becomes unbearably boring when directed to particular readers like scholars and intellectuals of his time, because in this case the writer makes the text a field for showing his grammatical and rhetorical skills in order to prove his ability at

that style of writing. Perhaps the best example of this kind of affectation appears in his biographies of scholars or figures of that era or the previous one (ibid., I, pp. 101-148). On the other hand, this type of complex inscription is almost non-existent when accuracies of description are needed, such as introducing relics like the city of al-`Ula: (al-Khiyārī. I, p. 41), great mosques like Aya Sofya/Hagia Sophia Mosque (II, pp. 89-92, 97-98), or when the subject is about a frightening situation like the tragedy of when the author's caravan is intercepted by bandits (I, p. 45, pp. 81-82) and the like.

The artistic prose texts quoted in Al-Khiyārī's book are few compared with the poetry which has a noticeably heavy presence. The poetry quoted differs in size, depending on the target of their attendance: some are limited to very few verses as a witticism or proof of an idea mentioned, and the like. The author wanted to include fairly long poems for various reasons: some are addressed to him, such as poems of friendship and courtesies. Others are odes that help in the expression of a particular case, such as excerpted verses about the virtues of the Levant and Egypt, and what was said about them of love poems, description, and so on.

### **2.3.2. Accuracy and Objectivity**

Al-Khiyārī tells us about his approach in writing his travelogue, *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'*, that he was recording all of what he wanted to record of thoughts and ideas that drew his attention to places and things while travelling. He recorded all that directly and haphazardly as a draft copy in order to keep the basic points until later.

وقد كُنْتُ أرقم في مدة سَيرِي هذا ما لاح في الخاطر أو لَحظَةُ النَّاطِرِ ... فكنْتُ أَسوِّدُهُ مَعَ إِزْعاجِ  
السَّيْرِ حَسْبِ مَا اتَّفَقَ، وَجَادَتْ بِهِ الْقَرِيحَةُ، لَا كَيْفَ مَا اسْتَوْجِبَ وَاسْتَحَقَّ

I was recording while travelling what loomed in mind or observed by considering... Despite the inconvenience of journeying, I was recording notes, according to the creative case available, and not according to the importance deserved by the subject and context (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 31).

There is no doubt that recording notes as soon as they are witnessed is evidence of the accuracy of the work as compared with recording later, which depends on the memory. Ibn Battūta has faced criticism because of inaccurate information that his work includes, and it is thought that his reliance on memory when dictating his travel story was the main reason for those mistakes in dates, events, and names of places and people (Dunn, 1986. pp. 313-314).

It can be said, in general, that al-Khiyārī was objective in his judgment and precise in his tales and observations to a large extent. This is illustrated by phrases that are found repeatedly such as: “I was told but did not see”, “however I did not witness that”, “that what was told”, “as they claimed”, “according to their claim”, “as I heard by some of who witnessed”, “this is what I heard and the responsibility at the narrator”, and similar words or phrases that denote his reservations about such news and tales. This reservation may be due to scepticism about the authenticity of information, or the

accuracy of the narrator, and his concern that the error may be attributed to him. It might be a proactive defence against those who might think that he probably wanted to exaggerate or fabricate stories. This indicates his scientific honesty, his respect for the recipient and his commitment to credibility for his readers.

#### **2.4. The History of *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'***

After his return to Medina, and after the encouragement of some of his friends and acquaintances, he rewrote the rough draft and prepared the book for the final version and then issued it to the readers (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 31-32). Also, the best copy adopted by the editor was the one reserved at the Egyptian National Library, which was by Mohammed al-Sha'rāwī and which was done in the life of the author, al-Khiyārī, in his home town on 3<sup>rd</sup> Rabī' al-Awwal 1082/9<sup>th</sup> July 1671 (ibid. III: p. 213). Al-Khiyārī himself checked al-Sha'rāwī's copy and signed it with the phrase:

قوبلت على الأصل فصحت إن شاء الله

It has been compared with the original version and found to be identical, God willing. (ibid. I: p. 13).

There is another copy written by Ramadān al-Utayfī, but it is possible that al-Khiyārī did not check it as it was done less than three months before his death, in 11<sup>th</sup> Rabī' ath-Thānī 1083/5<sup>th</sup> August 1072 (ibid. I: pp. 14-15).

The travelogue was published in three parts, having a total of about 750 pages, and edited by Dr. Rajā' Maḥmūd al-Sāmīrrā'ī. According to Abbās al-Jarrākh, the first part was published in 1389/1969, the second one in 1399/1979, and the third part in 1400/1980. Al-Jarrākh did not mention the publishing houses that issued them (See: Al-Jarrākh, 1999. P. 652). However, on the parts printed in my possession there are no publishing details, only for the first part where its details are "Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Information, in a series of heritage books [no. 12], 1979. And Dar al-Rashīd for publication, in a series of heritage books [No. 75], n.d". The other two parts have no details of place of publication or date, but the third part was deposited at the National Library of Baghdad in 1980, as recorded on its last page.

With respect to the process of the manuscript editing, it should be mentioned that the work lacks precision, quality and perfection. The edited text is full of spelling errors, typos and even epistemological issues, as the editor sometimes finds fault with the right information or vice versa. Poetry sometimes comes within the prose context, so that the average reader would not know that it is poetry. It may be found that verses are reversed so that the reader begins from the verse's end instead than of the beginning (see the verses: al-Khiyārī, II: p. 108). There are many notices on Mr. al-Sāmīrrā'ī's work that led researchers to believe that the edited text is worse than the manuscript (al-Raddādī, 1984. p. 13). In this regard, the two articles by al-Jarrākh (1999) and al-Jāssir (1970) were devoted to discussing the errors in the work of the editor.

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to present an overview of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī and his book, *Tuḥfat al-'Udabā' wa Salwat al-Ghorabā'*. Except his journey to Turkey and another for the pilgrimage, al-Khiyārī lived his entire life (about 45 years) in his hometown of Medina. Al-Khiyārī received a good education from a group of scholars of his hometown, including his father, who emigrated from Egypt to teach in Medina less than a decade before the birth of Ibrāhīm. Because of his good education and high culture, according to the standards of that era, the writer gained a high position among his teachers, students and intellectuals those who knew him in the Ḥijāz, Syria, Turkey or Egypt, in addition to some Ḥijāzi and Turkish dignitaries. Although al-Khiyārī was well-educated, he was a reflection of the environment where the belief in superstition and the sanctification of saints and some legendary figures was a dominant cultural influence on both the public and the intellectuals. In such an environment, creativity subsides, allowing the opportunity for the growth of the phenomena of imitation of the methods of the people of the past centuries, as well as exaggeration in description and extremism in judgment.

Al-Khiyārī loved beauty and the life of humour, but, at the time, he occupied a religious position (teaching and oratory at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina). His texts thus reflect this psychological conflict between what is religious and what is worldly.

The Arabic writing method in the seventeenth century was based on verbal and rhyme decorations, in addition to cultural boasts by showing readers how much knowledge the author has, and so al-Khiyārī's texts were a combination of poetry and prose, as well as containing many quotations from the Qur'an and the Hadith (Prophet's traditions), ancient and present poetry and proverbs. However, this interest in the arts of the written word did not have much impact on the clarity of ideas and the smoothness of presentation.

Al-Khiyārī had completed most of the first draft of his book before returning to Medina from his journey, and then completed and adopted the final version a few months after his return from Turkey, more than a year before his death. The travelogue was published in three volumes in Baghdad between 1969 and 1979.



## Chapter Five: the Image of Turkey: Civilisation and Culture

### Preface

When people feel that a palpable thing, whether in the form of a person, a nation, or a natural or geographical phenomenon has attracted their attention, a mental image of that thing begins to be formed in their brains for several reasons. Collective cultural background such as that of religion and race, and individual background such as that formed by reading and listening to storytelling (narrative) – in other words receiving information through other intermediaries (writers, narrators, and so on), play the most significant role in the formation of mental images of beauty and ugliness, good and evil, positivity and negativity, etc. Therefore, mental images of the same object vary from one person to another, according to the variation of those factors by which each one happens to be influenced (Yardan, 2001, p. 94). Standards of beauty, civilization, progress and the like vary from person to person, as each one relies on a particular background of culture and individual experience. If one experiences something as being better and superior than he or she has or knows, it naturally tends to be considered as an ideal model; whereas the situation is reversed when the person finds something inferior to what was expected, and this may be one of the main reasons for minimizing its value or importance.

It is from this perspective that we note that Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, who never left his hometown before travelling to Turkey, regarded Turkey as a paradise, seeing that it was a home for good, beauty, order, civilization and progress. In contrast, we find that the

Dutch artist, De Bruijn, who visited Istanbul ten years after al-Khiyārī's visit, in July 1679, and spent one year there (Van Gelder, 1994, p. 53), as Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī nearly did (al-Khiyārī spent in Istanbul itself less than ten months), portrays the capital of the Ottoman Empire as a city of dirty, narrow and uneven lanes, as well as of gardens where trees were planted randomly (Van Gelder, 1994, p. 68). This probably explains the difference, which indeed amounts to a contrast, in the description by both travellers; for although the destination, period and length of stay were the same, nonetheless the different approaches lay in the ego itself, i.e. in background, experience and preconception. Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī had an Islamic background and his preconception toward the Ottomans was that they were masters and leaders, and thus they were protectors of Islam and Muslims from the evil enemies. He also came from a small and poor town, which experienced almost nothing of the basics of civilization and prosperity, and then one day he found himself in Istanbul. Therefore, he considered it to be a place that was positive in almost everything; it was beautiful and sophisticated, vast and tidy. That was perhaps because he saw what he had never seen in his life, to the extent that he states that if there is a paradise in this world, it is undoubtedly Istanbul (Al-Khiyārī. I: p. 241, II: pp. 52, 55). In contrast, the background of Mr. De Bruijn is Christianity, and thus for him the stereotypical image of Muslim Turks was that they represented a cultural enemy, or at least the "Other" who did not belong to the list of friends. With regard to his negative description of gardens in Istanbul, the reason was due to his individual experience as well, in that for someone "like De Bruijn, who was used to French gardens, they were much too untidy" (Van Gelder, 1994, p. 68).

## **1. Preconception/ Stereotype of the “Other”:**

The preconception resulting from the acquired culture, especially the ideological culture, may have an important role in the written text of many authors. More than that, in travelling to new countries some writers act like someone who is looking for any evidence that supports their preconceived ideas, or who engages in stereotyping and patterning the prevailing image in the readers' minds of the subject intended to be written about (for example, a country, nation, culture or figure). It is clear from the works of some geographers and explorers such as al-Mas'ūdī, al-Maqdisī, Ibn Ḥawqal and others that although they examined the objects of their enquiry, most of their images had been drawn in advance (Labib, 1993. p. 210). This manner of proceeding seems like a general human trait, and not specific to a particular culture, as some authors (if not indeed the majority) do not seek to present things as they are witnessed in the real world as much as they want to deliver a particular message to their readers through that text. In this context, some researchers such as Tzvetan Todorov and Régis Debray have noted that Christopher Columbus was looking for things that corresponded with the impression which already existed in his imagination. He found America as he wanted it to be. He knew in advance what he would find there; or in Debray's words, Columbus "did not see but what he thought" (Labib, 1993. p 188). It is also noted that the writer's attitude towards the “Other” often affects the manner of their description or representation in the text.

Four centuries ago, in 1611, Sultan Mawlay Zaydān, the Sultan of Morocco, sent one of the Arabs fleeing from ethnic cleansing against Muslims in Andalusia/Spain, on an official mission to France and the Netherlands. Aḥmad bin Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, also known

as Afoqāi (1570-1640), was born and grew up in Spain, but because he felt threatened for his life he left for Morocco in 1599 and arrived in Marrakech through an arduous and dangerous journey (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 41 ff).

Ten years later (in 1609), Philip III the King of Spain issued the famous decree of expulsion of the Moriscos (Spanish Muslims) (Afoqāi, 2004, pp. 20 & 47). The writer and many other historians have mentioned that since the end of fifteenth century, Muslims (and as well as Jews) in Spain were forced to change their religion, names and own language (Arabic) and adopt the Catholic culture in respect of all of these. In case it was proven that someone was caught contravening the instructions, they would be tortured severely and possibly even burned alive (Cohen, 2010. p. 23 and Noble, 2008. p. 458). Afoqāi then held on to this heavy cultural and historical heritage, in addition to the fact that he himself experienced many difficult situations, before witnessing the last and the hardest stage of that story when his people were expelled from their country forever. Therefore, it is not surprising that he held a great grudge against Spaniards and their culture. Since France shared culture, religion and doctrine (Catholicism) with Spain, the sense of resentment that Afoqāi carried had spread to include the French as well, especially given that the French shipmasters who transported the displaced Muslims to North Africa had betrayed the passengers and looted their luggage and belongings - or at least colluded with the pirates to do so:

واتفق لكثير من المسلمين الأندلس عند خروجهم أن نهبهم في البحر النصارى، وأكثرهم  
الفرنج البحرية الذين أكثرهم ودفعوا لهم أجرتهم على أن يبلغوهم في عافية وأمان إلى بلاد

المسلمين، وخاتوهم كل واحد من الرُّيَّاس في سفينته. وبعد أخذ كل ما كان لهم، أخرجوهم في بعض الجزر من بلاد المسلمين.

What happened was that when many of the Andalusian Muslims had left (Spain), the Christians looted their stuff while at sea. Most of them (those Christians) were maritime Franks who were paid to transport them (the Andalusians) to the Muslim Lands in health and safety. But they all betrayed them, each one of the captains in his ship. And after obtaining all transport charges, they disembarked them onto some Muslim islands (Afoqāi, 2004, pp. 20, 47-48).

Therefore, his mission in the first instance was to find a resolution for the issue of piracy practised by French ships. Hence, the description of Paris in his text seems brief and general, saying it is the headquarters of the Sultanate of the Franks, its houses are high, and the houses of notables were built of cut stone which has blackened with the length of time. He mentions how the Christians say the world's great cities are Constantinople, Paris and Lisbon respectively (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 52). During his stay in Paris and while moving around in the French regions and cities, Afoqāi remained sceptical and wary of the actions of the French people, especially since some of them dealt with him - as his text illustrates - bumptiously sometimes and racially at other times, which made him wear French clothing to avoid any harassments or risks (Afoqāi, 2004, pp. 85-86). The Dutch also suffered from the Spanish domination, with its severe restrictions on them because of their beliefs (Protestantism), and so they share with the writer the negative attitude towards the Spanish and Catholics. Hence we find he writes about the Netherlands with admiration and verbiage. Afoqāi amusingly wondered what

forced them to return to their land on board the French ships, despite what they had already known of their treachery, and then he decided to visit the Netherlands and return home on the Dutch vessels:

وما رأيتُ وتحققْتُ من عمل الفرنج البحرية مع المسلمين، قلتُ: لم نُؤلّي إلى بلادنا في سفنهم؟  
بل نمشي إلى فلنضس، لأنهم لا يضرّون المسلمين، بل يحسنون إليهم

After what I had seen and had confirmed regarding the treatment meted out by these seafaring Franks to the Muslims, I said to myself: Why should we go back home aboard their ships? Instead we will go to Flanders (Dutch), since they do not insult Muslims but behave well towards them (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 109).

It can therefore be noticed that Amsterdam was described, in his account, in tones of fulsome admiration;

ولما أن بلغنا إلى مدينة مسترضام، رأيت العجب في حسن بنياتها، ونقانها، وكثرة مخلوقاتها، كاد أن تكون في العمارة مثل مدينة بريش بفرنجة. ولم تكن في الدنيا مدينة بكثرة السفن مثلها. قيل إن في جميع سفنها، صغارا وكبارا، ستة آلاف سفينة. وأما الديار كل واحدة مرسومة، ومزوّقة من أعلاها إلى أسفلها بالألوان العجيبة. ولن تشبه واحدة أخرى في صنْع رَقْمِها. والأزقة كلها بالأحجار المنبّة. والتقيت بمن رأى بلاد المشرق، وبلاد الصقالبة، ورومة، وغيرها من بلاد الدنيا. قال لي: إنه ما رأى مثلها في الزين والملاحة

When we reached the city of Amsterdam, I saw the wonder and purity of its buildings, and the large population it has. It is almost, in its architecture, like the city of Paris, and there was no city on the planet which has a number of ships to match what it has. It was said that all its vessels, small and large, amount to six thousand. As for the houses, each one is painted and decorated from the top to the bottom in magnificent colours, and no one looks quite like the other in form and colour, and the alleys are paved with fixed stones. I met a person who had seen the cities of the East, the *Saqaliba*'s (Slavs') country, Rome and other countries in the world, and he told me he had not seen anything like it in beauty and power to captivate (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 109).

On that page and subsequent pages, he writes about Protestantism, Luther and Calvin, and about the prevalence of the doctrine in the Netherlands, England and some regions of France. The quotations above both reveal his satisfaction with the Dutch on the one hand, and on the other hand display the influence of the writer's background and his/her attitude towards the other party who is the subject of the description, and its role in the written text.

In accordance with the above observations, Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī saw Turkey through the eye of satisfaction, so that Turkey in general, and Istanbul in particular, appeared in his eyes as Paradise on earth (as will be shown below). It should be borne in mind that the Turkish Ottoman sultans tried (and succeeded to a large extent) to appear as the

protectors of Islam and defenders of Muslims against the Europeans, Russians and others. In addition, their status as the custodians of the Two Holy Mosques and their visitors in the Ḥijāz had earned their regime legitimacy among Muslims. Hence, it is only to be expected that al-Khiyārī's sense and thus his attitude toward the Turks and their homeland would be better and stronger than the feeling and attitude of Afoqāi towards the Dutch people and their country.

## **2. Turkey as the Centre of the Muslim World**

From the emergence of Islam in the seventh century, and for more than twelve centuries, successive generations in the Islamic world in general and the Arab world in particular grew up on the concept of "the Islamic nation" and not "Islamic peoples". The concept of "the One Nation" or "one *Ummah*" includes all those who believe in the Islamic religion in one universal united community, on the consideration that each group of Muslims anywhere in the world is a part of the whole social body, regardless of their original ethnic or cultural backgrounds. This concept dates back to the time of the revelation of the Qur'an, which states that all Muslims are one nation (the Qur'an, chapter 21, verse 92). The Caliphs in the four decades after the death of the Prophet were considered as the pole around which the issue of governance and justice revolved and the ideal that should be followed by Muslim rulers and governors (Crone, P. and Hinds, M., 2003, p. 1). However, since the time of the first Caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty, Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abī Sufyān (602 - 680), the Muslim Caliphs had turned into emperors, and thus the Islamic State became transformed into an empire. In other words, they turned the Islamic system of governance, which was based originally on the principle of consultation or *Shūrā* (the Qur'an, chapter 3, verse 159 & chapter 42, verse



38), into an imperial regime based on dictatorship, tyranny and hereditary monarchical rule (Sagiv, 2013, p. 112). Nevertheless, the title "Caliph" remained amongst Muslims as the customary title for the head of the Islamic state (or Islamic Empire, as it sometimes called) until the official collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 1920s, when the Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk decided to isolate the Ottoman Sultan and completely abolish the Caliphate in 1342 A.H./1924 (Amin, et al, 2006, p. 233). The authority of the Caliph over many areas of the Islamic world was symbolic in many cases, in the sense that that many Islamic regions or countries used to belong to the Caliph and his capital, but in name only, while - in practice - their political and non-political affairs were completely independent under the rule of local leaders. Nonetheless, the Islamic centralization, represented in the general governor (Caliph, the Sultan or Imam) and his political capital, continued for several centuries at both the individual and the collective levels (Esposito, 2000, p. 93). The eleventh/seventeenth century was a continuation of the concept of this "One Islamic Nation", which had its focal centre that attracted all parts of the Islamic World, no matter how far apart they were. Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire, which controlled almost all of the Arab World and other parts of the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, had reached its maximum expansion and was at the height of its power at the political and military levels at that time (Freeman-Grenville, GSP and Stuart Christopher Munro-Hay, 2006, p. 260). Therefore, the Ottoman Sultan had been seen as a protector of Islam (the religion and nation), and his capital Istanbul was regarded in Muslims' eyes as a jewel of the whole world, not only of the Muslim world.

It is likely that all these notions were present in the mind of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī during the writing of his account of Turkey as a whole and the capital city "Istanbul" in particular, and then about the sultan, his officials, some policies and other relevant affairs. In addition to the positive image of Turkey in his mind which was the result of the factors mentioned above, there was the feeling of happiness and complete satisfaction that he gained after achieving his goal of travelling; and then also his belief, perhaps, that his winning of a lawsuit supported the idea of the ideal reign (in the Ottoman capital at the hands of the Sultanate regime), where justice applied to all citizens regardless of the distance or proximity of the central authority, on the grounds that the judgement of reinstatement of his job was a tangible evidence of the prevalence of justice and the impartiality of the judiciary at that time. Therefore, it is not surprising that all these data lead to a positive perception in all respects of Turkey in al-Khiyārī's mentality, with this appearing clearly in his writing. It may be interesting to note that these reasons that prompted the Arab Muslim writer to admire and praise Turkey are almost the same motives that made the European Christian artist criticize it, or at least provide a negative image of it.

### 3. Turkey as the Paradise on Earth

The writer expressed his amazement and admiration in the first text written about Istanbul, admitting that no words could accurately describe the actual things he saw:

ولكن ليت شعري بأي لفظ فصيح أصف، وبأي معنى بليغ في ذلك أنتصف؟! فلا بدع إذن أن  
أصبحث بالعجز أعترف، ومن تيار العجائب أعترف. ولعمر الله إنها بلدة هي نتيجة غيرها من  
البلاد جميعها ... . وماذا أصف، وماذا أقول، عن بلاد هي أشبه بالجنان، وأعلقُ بالجنان؟!!

تذكر رويها الجنة ذات الحور والولدان، وتبدي للعين ما ثبت من جهة السمع من أوصافها الحسان، مما شئفَ وقَرَّطَ به منا المسامع والأذان، مشهورُ الأحاديث وآيات القرآن. وذلك بروية قصورها العالية في الأنتظار، وما حوته من الولدان والخيرات الحسان والأبكار. فلقد حَوَتْ هاتيك القصور من البهجة والظرافة، والرونق المعجب واللطافة، ما يقضي لرائيه لها بأنها أرواح لغيرها من البيوت، جمعت من النظارة والإشراق ما يستوجب حسن النعوت ...  
... فتري بها كل قصر شامخ، له شرف في السماء بأذخ

I wish I knew what eloquent words and expressive meanings I could use to describe what I saw. So, it is not surprising, when I admit to not being able to fully express myself. I emphasize that it is a city which is like the cream of all other cities. And what can I describe or say about a country that is more like paradise, and nearer to people's hearts?! Seeing it (Turkey) reminds one of the divine Paradise and it illustrates visually the perception which has been already proved by the Qur'an and Prophet's traditions (*Hadīth*) in terms of its fascinating descriptions. That is by seeing the high palaces that contain nymphs and young men. The joy, humour, amiability and delightful splendour which those buildings contain make the seer believe they are spirits of other houses (i.e. they are models of the real houses in the afterlife in Heaven). (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 241 & II: p. 55).

With respect to what is mentioned about young men and nymphs in Paradise, it may be appropriate to point out that, according to Islamic belief, Paradise is both sensual and spiritual, so when pious ones enter this heaven, Allah (God) bestows on them - among the other graces they would be given - beautiful women with wide and lovely eyes

called “Houris” as wives, in addition to handsome young boys as servants (For the idea of Paradise in Islam, see: Esposito, 2002. p 28)).

The writer mentions that (as has been said) without the occurrence of disasters of fires and plague in Istanbul, the Turks would indeed be immortal in Paradise (i.e. Turkey itself would be the paradise), because of the prosperity and life of comfort that they were enjoying there (al-Khiyārī. II: p. 52). Overall, al-Khiyārī declares that there is no counterpart to this town (Istanbul) and its extension in this world (ibid., II: p. 62).

Although the country was viewed as a paradise in terms of its nature and people, al-Khiyārī’s pleasure was incomplete due to the lack of linguistic communication, and therefore, signs and body language became the alternative means for achieving that.

حواجبنا تقضي الحوائج بيننا      فنحن سكوتٌ والهوى يتكنم

The eyebrows fulfilled the necessary function,

We were silent, and passion was the one which spoke (ibid., II: p. 63).

The writer does not accept any blame regarding his complaint about a lack of linguistic communication in the land of Rum (Turkey). Although it was one of the very few negative things he faced there, it did cause him some real soul-searching :

لا يَأْمَنِي إِذَا اشْتَكَيْتُ مِنَ الرُّومِ      عَذْوَى فَذَاكَ عِنْدِي الْمَلُومُ  
لَسْتُ أَشْكُو مِنْهُمْ سِوَى أَنْ لَفْظِي      عَرَبِيٌّ، وَلِفْظِهِمْ مَعْجُومُ  
فَتَرَانِي إِذَا حَضَرْتُ لَدَيْهِمْ      أُخْرَسَ اللَّفْظِ نَطْقَهُ مَعْدُومُ

No one should blame me if I complained about the Turks, for the censurer himself would be the culpable one, for me.

I complain of nothing except that their language is alien to my Arabic tongue.

So, at their gatherings, I look like a mute person who cannot express what he wants

(ibid., II: p. 63).

As a result of both cultural and religious considerations, the writer believes that Arabic is the finest language, and the fact that the Turks cannot understand it means for him that they do not appreciate the value of creativity that it contains, so they are like someone who found a precious thing, but then neglected it due to their unawareness of its value. He expresses this meaning poetically in the following terms:

أَقُولُ لِأَهْلِ الرُّومِ إِذْ صَرْتُ جَارَهُمْ      وَقَدْ حَرَمُوا لَفْظِي، وَذَاكَ بَدِيعُ:  
وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا الْمَسْكُ فِي أَرْضِ غَيْرِكُمْ      بِضَوْعٍ، وَأَمَّا عِنْدَكُمْ فَيَضِيعُ

As I had become their neighbour, I say to the people of Turkey who had forbidden my talk in a peculiar way:

It (my talk in Arabic) is such as the musk whose fragrance spreads into other lands, while in yours it is lost (ibid., II: p. 63).

#### **4. Amazement and Exoticism**

Exotic tales and unusual events are the things that the reader in the past, perhaps up to the present day as well, has hoped to read about or listen to in the writings and oral tales of travellers. Therefore, Arab travellers were aware that their audiences did not look want abstract information of the kind found in official or scientific reports. So, in addition to narrating events and observations which they had experienced during their travels, many writers sought to make their works a way to display any wonders and marvels which they had witnessed abroad. They were also aware that this way of recounting marvels would entice readers and thus would contribute to increasing the reputation and circulation of both writers and their travelogues over time. This (desire for publicity) may be the reason that some authors make clear from the outset when the exoticism is stated in the titles of their works, as may be seen in the titles of the following travel accounts.

Century	Author		Title	
4 <sup>th</sup> A.H. / 10 <sup>th</sup> A.D.	Abū Dulaf al-Yanbū'ī	أبو دُلف الينبوعي	Ajā'ib al-Buldān (Marvels of the Countries)	عجائب البلدان
7 <sup>th</sup> A.H. / 13 <sup>th</sup> A.D.	Abū Yahyā Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī	أبو يحيى زكرياء القزويني	Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt (Marvels of Creatures and Strange Things Existing)	عجائب المخلوقات و غرائب الموجودات
8 <sup>th</sup> A.H. / 14 <sup>th</sup> A.D.	'Umar ibn al-Wardī	عمر بن الوردی	Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa Farīdat al-Gharā'ib (The Pearl of Wonders and the Uniqueness of Things Strange)	خریفة العجائب وفريدة الغرائب
8 <sup>th</sup> A.H. / 14 <sup>th</sup> A.D.	Muḥammad ibn Baṭṭūṭa	محمد ابن بطوطة	Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib al-'msār wa 'Ajā'ib al-'sfār (A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling)	تحفة النظار و غرائب الأمصار و عجائب الأسفار

Although it does not appear that the idea of exoticism was an obsession for al-Khiyārī, he was aware, like many other writers, that the reader expected a text that contained new, interesting and unusual things. He was also keen that his travelogue should provide knowledge and enjoyment. Because the writer travelled away from the territory of his own people, he was bound to find strange and unfamiliar things and expected to encounter phenomena that would arouse his curiosity and that of his people on the environmental, climatic, social and other levels.

One of the things that attracted al-Khiyārī's attention when he arrived at Ereğli town, in Konya Province, on his way from Damascus to Istanbul, was what he was told by some of his companions about a very curious fountainhead located near the town, where liquid water turns to solid material once touching the ground to the extent that it cannot be fractured except with very strong metal. Most surprisingly, he was told, such material does not melt by the fire, which means that the water did not turn into ice, but another petrified body, especially bearing in mind that it was summer!

The caravan arrived at Ereğli on Sunday 04.04.1080/ 30.08.1669, and this is part of the writer's report about it.

ومن عجائب ما هو بمحل قريب منها منسوب إليها، محل به فوار ماء يخرج منه الماء سيالا، فإذا وصل الأرض جمد وصار كالرخام الأبيض لا ينكسر إلا بالحديد دون غيره، ولا ينماع وإن حمي على النار. وصل إلى محله المذكور كثير من أصحابنا ورأوا ذلك مشاهدة وأخبروني به ونقلوا إلي من جامده بعض الحجاره، فحملتها متعجبا منها، ولا عجب فقدره الله تعالى فعالة. وللحجر المذكور صلابه زانده لا كالبرد والثلج. ولبعد مكانه عن مضرب الخيام لم يتيسر لي الذهاب، فإنه على نحو الساعتين من المناخ ذهابا ومثلها إيابا، وهو من الأعاجيب، ولا بدع، فالسفر مرآة الأعاجيب

One of the wonders of a nearby suburb (of Ereğli) is a water spring from which water comes out in liquid form and once it touches the ground solidifies like white marble, which does not melt under the



heat but only by metal tools, and does not melt even if heated on the fire. Many of our companions visited the place in question, and witnessed that with their own eyes. Then they told me about it, and brought me some pieces of the rigid material. Then I handled them in astonishment, though we should not be surprised that the power of Allah (God) Almighty is so great. The stone referred to has an extreme rigidity that is not like the rigidity of hail and ice. Because of the distance between the spring's location and our camp I could not visit it. It is about a four-hour round-trip from our site. It is one of the marvels, however not surprisingly, given that travel is a mirror of marvels! (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 207).

In the town of Ilgın, where they visited about a week after their arrival in Ereğli, the writer tells us about the hot spring of Ilgın that was visited by many people for bathing and in the hope of recovering from some diseases. The facility had an administrative body to manage its affairs and meet its customers' recreational needs. About Ilgın and its hot spring, al-Khiyārī says:

وبه ماء حارٌّ بالقدرة، يذهب إليه الكثير من الناس. وهو غريب وضعه، يحلو أمره، ويلتذ بوصفه من السامع سمعه. وصلت إليه فإذا باب عالٍ، يُدخِل منه لمحلّ مُعدًّا لنزع الثياب، مَرَبِّعِ الوضع، به فتوطُّ مُعدَّةٌ للمغتسلين - و لذلك المحلّ قِيُومٌ يقوم بما يَحْتَاجُ إليه المغتسل - ينزِعُ الإنسانُ ثيابه به، أو يدخل إلى الداخل فينزِعها هناك. فإذا دخل رأى محلًّا مَرَبِّعًا أيضًا عليه قبةٌ عاليةٌ وفيه دائرةٌ خشبٍ موضوعٍ للجلوس، فينزِعُ الإنسانُ بها ثيابه إن لم يكن نزعها، ثم ينزل على درجات من الرخام إلى بركة ماءٍ حارٍّ يخرج من أنابيب من الرخام متعددة، شديد الحرارة

ماؤها عند خروجه منها، إلى أحواض من الرخام، يجلسُ المغتسلُ بها لقربها من مخرج الماء واشتداد حرّه بها، ومن لم يرد ذلك تتحى إلى الماء الكثير المجتمع منها المُعدّ للغوص والعموم لكثرتة. وحرارة الماء كحرارة ماء الحمام المحمى إذا كان مُغندلاً، لا يُذم ببرده ولا يُترك لعدم استطاعة استعماله. وبه بلاتون ودلائون ويتلون ويذكون بالأكياس والصابون. ولمزيد الحرارة وبخار الماء يعرقُ الجالسُ فيه. ويقال إن الاغتسال منه ينفع من أمراض كثيرة، وقد اغتسلتُ منه وتكيستُ. والحاصلُ أنه من أعاجيب الدنيا

There is hot water, through the power of Allah (God), and many people visit the site. The status of this water is bizarre, and the tale of it would be enjoyable, and listeners may feel delight by listening to its description. I had reached the destination, and found that there is a high door as a main entrance to go through to a square chamber equipped for clothes stripping and hanging, where towels are put up for bathers. The customer can take off his clothes, or continue to take them off in the inner hall. In this square chamber, there is an organizer to provide all visitors' needs. When one enters he finds also a square hall that has a high dome with circular wooden benches for seating. There the customer takes off his clothes, if he has not already done so. And then he comes down on the marble steps to a hot water pool. The water comes out of the several tubes of marble, where it is very hot when pouring out of the tubes, and then water passes to the basins of marble, where the bather sits if he wants to be near the water outlet where there is extreme heat. And anyone who does not want such intensity of heat goes aside to the pond that is for diving and swimming because of the accumulated water there. Water temperature (in the pond) is of a heat such as that of the warm water in the bath (Turkish bath, or *Hamam*) if moderate, which is not to

be belittled for its coldness, and not to be avoided for the inability to use it. There are beauticians and masseurs to prettify and scrub with soap and fibre bags. Due to the high heat and water vapour, the person sitting there will be sweating. It is said that bathing in it helps in the healing of many diseases. I myself had a bath there and rubbed my body using the fibre bags. All in all, it is one of the marvels of this world (ibid., I: pp. 215 - 216).

Five days after leaving Ilgın, they reached Eskişehir where they found another thermal fountain. Though the author describes it in a similar way to his description of the Ilgın's spring, he noticed that the water of Eskişehir was hotter, so that the person fears, at first sight, that the skin may be scalded due to the high temperature of the water.

وفي أعلى السوق وغايته ألجه ومعناه الماء الحار بقدره الله، فوجدناها من عجائب الدنيا فوق ما رأيناه بالغبين وأعجب منه، فإن هذا المحل عليه قبة عامرة ومسلى للثياب وفي داخله بحرة من الماء الحار مفروش ما حولها بالرخام الأبيض، وفي الجانب منه خلوة نظيفة بها حوض يصل إليه مبدأ الماء الحار، ثم يصل بعده إلى البحرة، وهو شديد الحرارة جدا بحيث لا يستطيع إدخال الرجل واليد فيه بادئ بدء إلا إدخالا تدريجيا، وقد اغتسلت منه يوم الجمعة

At the top end of the market, there is an *aljah*, the word (*ilica*) which means (in Turkish) the water which is heated by Allah (God)'s will. We found it as one of the wonders of the world, for it was more than what we had seen in Ilgın and more amazing than that one. This place

has a well-constructed dome and a dressing area. Inside there is a pool of hot water surrounded by a yard covered by white marble. At the side of it there is a nice retreat containing a basin which is the first point that hot water reaches when coming from the spring, then up to the pond, which is extremely hot, so that is impossible to insert the foot and hand at once, but only by means of a gradual entry. I myself had a bath there on Friday 16.04.1080/13.09.1669 (ibid., I: pp. 215 – 216).

"What is heard is not like what is seen" as the Arabic proverb says. Although al-Khiyārī had heard about the extreme cold of Turkey and prepared for it, he expresses his surprise at the low temperature that exceeded his expectations, during his break in Tekirdag town (on Sunday 28.07.1080/22.12.1669) while returning from a journey to meet with the Sultan Mohammed IV in Greece. This wonder indicates that the preconceived mental image of the cold weather the writer had was out of step with the visible reality.

ومن غريب ما اتفق في ذلك اليوم أن توضع بعضنا بماء محمى في طست بعد دخول وقت العصر، وأبقى ماء وضونه مجتمعا فيه، وليس بين محلّه وبين الوجاق الموقود فيه الحطب الجزل العظيم إلا مقدار ذراعين أو أقل، فتنبهنا له عند دخول وقت المغرب، فإذا الماء جامد قطعاً واحدة، والنار في الوجاق اليومين والليلتين لا تفتّر عن الإيقاد

One of the strange things that occurred that day was that one of us did wudu' (ablution for prayer) after the time set for Asr (Asr prayer;

about 4 pm), by using some water that had been heated in a washtub there, and he left the water from the ablutions in the basin which was not far from the fireplace, where big and solid pieces of firewood were burning, only about two cubits or less (about 1 meter). At the Maghrib time (the Maghrib prayer, due immediately after sunset) we recognized that the water had frozen into a single chunk, even though a fire had been blazing in the fireplace for two days and two nights and had not died down ( *ibid.*, I: pp. 355 -356).

Despite the low temperatures they had suffered in Tekirdag, the severe frost that they faced two days later made the situation unbearable in Turkmenlin, where almost all liquids became frozen, including the ink in the inkstand.

ومن غريب الاتفاق جمود الماء بالركاوي وجمود غيظاتها بها، وجمود الحبر بالدواة بحيث  
لا يفيد بئنه بالماء بل يزيده في ذلك ببسا

One of the strange coincidences there was that water froze in the pitchers, stagnant water frosted up in the swamps, and ink immobilized in the inkwell, so that moistening it by water does not help, but aggravates it by making it harder (*ibid.*, I: p. 356).

Again, one of the things that caught the attention of al-Khiyārī was the ability of the Turks to overcome some natural, geographical and climatic difficulties in addition to

being able to adapt them for their service. On his way from Istanbul to Ottoman-held Greece, the writer crossed the Évros River that separates present-day Turkey and Greece.

Crossing the river by the caravan took place at the beginning of autumn during the outward journey, while it was in the winter on the return trip. Hence, the water level was different between the outward and return journeys, so that it was quite low when they passed over to Greece, with the result that horses were able to pass through the river with a degree of difficulty, whereas that was impossible when they were returning. These variables were not familiar to the writer in his own territory, and perhaps he had never heard of any such thing as that before. And therefore he did not want to lose sight of such an event for the benefit of his readers, especially as it contained both important information and wondrous news - for him at least - at the same time.

The author tells us about their movement from the town of Ipsala (on the present-day Turkish side) to the town of Feres (on the Greek bank). He reports about the town of Ipsala:

وصلناه ضحوة النهار فمررنا بها من وسطها وخرجنا من طرفها الآخر فسرنا نحو الساعة  
وإذا نحن بماء عريض يصل عرضه نحو الثماتين ذراع، إن لم يبلغ المئة، وهو ماء عذب  
يقال إنه يجتمع من أنهار متعددة بأدرنة فإذا فارقتها اجتمعت فصارت ماء واحدا يصير له  
في وقت الشتاء عمق زائد بحيث لا يمكن قطع عرضه إلا بالمراكب. وأما زمن الصيف

كوقت مرورنا هذا فإنه يضعف بحيث أنا لما قطعناه وصل لبطن الحصان، وغطى الركاب وبعض البطان. ومررنا فيه بالعربات والخيل مسرعة بها، فصارت تشبه القوارب في البحر تقودها الخيول بدل المقاذيف، وهي في ذلك الحال أعجب ما يرى

We got to it in the forenoon (of Tuesday 12.5.1080/ 8.10.1669), and then we passed by the centre of the town so as to go out from the opposite side. We continued travelling about an hour to reach broad water which is up to a width of approximately eighty cubits, if it does not reach a hundred. It is fresh water, and it is said that it accumulates from various rivers in Edirne and they gather in lowlands after departing that region to become one body of water (a big river) that has excessive depth in the winter so that it cannot be crossed except by boat. But in the summer, as is the case of our passage on this occasion, it weakens (the water level becomes lower), so that when we crossed, the water reached the belly of the horses, and covered stirrups and part of the girth. We crossed it with the carts pulled by horses quickly. It seemed like boats in the sea that were being driven by horses instead of oars, which in that case appeared as the most impressive scene ever seen (ibid., I: p. 258).

During the return journey from Greece to Istanbul, they found that the Évros River had burst its banks, and in consequence they were forced to transit with their possessions by ferryboat:

فلما وصلنا صبيحة يومنا بعد الشمس، فإذا هو مستبحر لا يمكن خوضه بالعربات، بل وجدنا فيه مركبا أعده للتعدية كبيرا يسع كثيرا من الآدميين والحيوانات والعربات والأمتعة وكل إنسان وحمله وما معه. وعرض الماء قد بلغ الغاية، ووصل النهاية، بحيث لا يسمع من في طرفه هذا من في طرفه ذاك إلا بعد مزيد الإصغاء من السامع ورفع الصوت من المتكلم، فركبنا المركب وقطعناه به. ومن غريب ما رأيته أنهم يدخلون العربات بخيولها إلى المركب المذكور، وربما استمر إركابها بها حالة المرور والعبور، فيصير رابكا محمولا لمحمول لمحمول لمحمول. وأنا ممن استمر بالعربة حالة المرور، فقطعناه عرضا في نحو نصف ساعة أو أقل

When we got to it (Évros River) on the morning of that day (24.07.1080/18.12.1669 ) after the sun (after sunrise), it was like a sea, so that it was impossible to be waded through by carts, and therefore there was a ferryboat which they had prepared for ferrying passengers. It (the ferryboat) accommodates many people, animals, wagons, baggage, and every single one along with their loads and everything they have. The width of the water, at the time, had reached its greatest limit to the extent that the person on this side of the water cannot hear the person on the other side except by listening deeply and the speaker raising his voice. Then we boarded the boat and crossed in it. One of the curious things I witnessed was how they get the wagons while still linked to the horses onto the said ferryboat. And probably they remained connected throughout the time of transiting (i.e. the carts remaining connected to the horses), so the rider becomes carried on what is being carried on something else being carried, and so on (i.e. the person is carried by the cart that is carried by the horse that is carried by the ferryboat that is carried by water). I myself was of those



who remained in the wagons while in transit, and we crossed the water in about half an hour or less (ibid., I: p. 351).

Based on what al-Khiyārī had learnt from his experience in his Ḥijāzi home environment, animals are either wild or kept as pets, and pets are often acquired in order to take advantage of, but not for play and entertainment. Based on this postulate, when he saw the bear and noticed that it was used as a tool for entertainment, for exhibiting and for making money, he was amazed at everything about it, its body, shape, colour, moves and intelligence. Therefore, he considered it one of the odd and amazing things encountered on travels, as he reports about their stay in Tekirdag:

جاءنا لباب الخان نصراني أو يهودي، معه دب يلعب به، ويفرج الناس عليه، ويأخذ منهم في مقابل ذلك شيئا. فرأيت خلقه عجيبا، ذا أربع، ولكنه يقف على مؤخرته كما يقف ابن آدم على رجليه، عظيم الخلق، كالبقر في لونه ولكنه أبيض بين الصفرة والحمرة والكدرة. له في أيديه وأرجله ما يشبه أصابع الإنسان، فيها يلعبه ويصارعه، ويمسك بأصابع يديه ورجليه عصا بيد صاحبه، وإذا صارعه تغالب عليه فينطرح اتهاما له بأنه طرحه. وهو عجيب الخلق، رأسه كراس الفأر هينة. ويخاطبه صاحبه بلغته بكلمات كثيرة. وهو من الأعاجيب، ولا بدع، فالسفر محلها

A Christian or a Jew came to the door of the Khan (inn), having a bear to perform with, and to put on a show in front of an audience, and take some money in return. I found its body structure wondrous, for it has four feet (a quadruped animal), but it stands on its buttocks like any son of Adam (human being) stands on his/her feet. It has a huge

appearance, and looks like a cow in colour, yet its skin is quite grey - between yellowish, reddish and brownish. In its four paws there are what look like human fingers, and it plays and wrestles with the man using them (the fingers), and it holds with its front and rear fingers a stick in its owner's hand, and if the bear wrestles him, it pretends that it has been overpowered and then flings itself onto the ground, making as if the owner had flung it there. It is marvellous in appearance, and its head looks like a mouse's in its configuration. The owner talks to it in so many words in his own language, and it is one of those amazing things. I am not that there is anything really new about that, since travel is the natural habitat of for such marvels (ibid., I: p. 356).

Great advantages are available in mega-cities, these being places where there are great opportunities to engage in trade, culture, work, and so on. However, these places are prone to disasters that result in many heavy losses of life and property due to overpopulation, human mobility and active trade. Istanbul in the seventeenth century was one of those major centres which were exposed to serious disasters, with some cases such as epidemics, earthquakes and fires causing collective tragedies at both the individual and national levels. During the presence of al-Khiyārī in the Ottoman capital, and after Thursday midnight (03.01.1080/ 22.05.1670) a blaze swept one of the city markets, known as the *Uzun Çarşı* or the long bazaar, leaving hundreds of destroyed shops and houses, in addition to uncountable damaged properties, though the blaze did not last for more than three hours, as the author reports. Al-Khiyārī wrote about the event as an eyewitness, so he refers to the disruption of the situation that happened during the incident and how people took to the streets as groups and individuals, men

and women, old and young, nobles and commoners, masters and slaves ...etc., to try to minimize the effects of the disaster through the transfer of whatever possessions could be carried to safer places and by demolition of buildings that might help in the spread of fire (ibid. II: p. 48 ff). The writer admired the Turks for their endurance, cooperation and refusal to surrender to the natural obstacles, as they had sought since the day of the fire to restore the situation to what it was through hardship and with patience and wisdom that were commendable (ibid. II: p. 51). One of the things that caught the writer's attention was the disparity between rich and poor people in terms of having access to the means of safety and security. Homes of the rich and the elite have basements carved in the ground and built of stone and iron in order to save money and lives when such a calamity occurs, while the poor and weak people have recourse only to the mosques or they flee away as best they can.

وفي بيوت كثير من الكبار أماكن مجوفة في الأرض مبنيةً بمخكم الأجر لها أبواب من الحديد، تُسمى المغارات، يُدونها للحفظ إذا أصيبوا بمثل هذه الحركات. فالكبار محفوظون، وبالغاية ملحوظون. وعلمت عند مشاهدتي لذلك، وإحاطتي بما هنالك، سر ما ورد من أنّ المساجد بيوت الله، أنها ماوى الفقراء وأسبابهم وأدواتهم، والكبار لا يحتاجونها لعظيم بيوتهم ومغاراتهم. والحاصل أنّ وقوعها حالّ عجيب، وأمر لغرابته ينكره الغريب

"In the homes of many of the top people in society there are places hollowed into the ground constructed of well-knit stone and having iron doors. They are called caverns and intended to save things in case such things occurred. Hence, notables are well-kept (by Allah (God)) and noted by care (of Allah), Thus, when I saw that and had taken note of what was there, I recognized the deep meaning of what is

narrated (as part of the *Hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad), namely that MOSQUES ARE THE HOUSES OF ALLAH (GOD), which means they are the refuge of the poor, their belongings and necessities, while the public figures do not need them because of the magnitude of their homes and cellars. In a nutshell, their presence (caverns) is wondrous, and - due to this curiousness - is rejected (as unfamiliar) by the stranger" (ibid., II: p. 51).

After leaving Inecik town and heading towards Greece on Sunday, 10.05.1080 / 06.10.1669, they faced huge hills that lay in their path and, as appears from his words, he was worried that they might be a stumbling block in their way due to the difficulty of ascent by the horses while pulling carts, but he found that the Turks had an expert way of coping with this matter.

وبادرنا المسير نحن ومن معنا من السفر، نطوي مهادا منخفضة وتلالا مرتفعة. ولا ارتفاع هاتيك التلال، هي أحق بأن تسمى بالجبال. يحتالون في صعودها بالعربات بالميل في العروج تارة يمنة، وتارة يسرة، معملين الحيلة في هذه الحركات

"We and our companions left the area early morning, hurriedly walking through the low lands and high hills. And because of the height of those hills, they can rightly be called mountains. To climb them with wagons, they use a cunning method of inclining them once to the right and then again to the left, using artifice in these movements" (ibid., I: 253).

## 5. Manifestations of Civilization

When Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī visited Turkey in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turkish Empire, as mentioned above, was at the height of its greatness (Freeman-Grenville & Munro-Hay, 2006, p. 260). Therefore, it may be expected that Turkey, in that era, was at its best in terms of its urbanization and all that this entailed in the way of architecture, facilities and all necessary, luxury and recreational requirements, especially if we note that *Zakat* or taxes which came from the territories were transferred to the general treasury in Istanbul and could be spent wholly in Turkey, at the expense of the development of those regions that this money came from. Sometimes the budgets allocated to the Ottoman provinces outside of Turkey might be converted to some parts of the Turkish lands if a prince or high-ranking official felt it appropriate. Al-Khiyārī tells us that Suleiman (the Magnificent) was in Karapınar town during the reign of his father Sultan Selim I (who reigned 1512 - 1520), and that because of his delight in this town he asked his father to authorize him to use the money coming from (or going to) Egypt on a project that he intended to build there, which will be mentioned in the following sub-heading. Sultan Selim agreed with him and blessed his idea. The writer comments:

وجميع هذا العمار من إنشاء ... سليمان ... فإنه مرت به خزينة مصر، وقد استعذب هواها،  
فطلب من والده صرفها في العمارة المذكورة، فأذن له في ذلك، وقال له: إن احتجت إلى  
أضعافها فافعل. هكذا نقل لي والعهدة على الناقل

All these buildings were created by ... Suleiman ..., as the budget for Egypt was passing through the town (Karapınar), and when he had taken pleasure in its air, he asked permission of his father for that

money to be spent on the above-mentioned complex. The sultan authorized him to do so, and said to him: If you need several times that amount (to complete the project), do so. This is what I heard, and the responsibility [for its veracity] lies with the narrator (ibid., I: p. 209).

Thus it is noted that the Ottoman Turks were aware of the issue of urban development, and they - like any other empire - sought to exploit the resources of the territories under their rule for the development of their own homeland and to raise their native land's status among nations, regardless of the negative effects on those regions.

Al-Khiyārī expressed his admiration for Turkey at almost all levels, but the experience of alienation and distance from family and homeland was not an easy experience, especially as it was the first time in his life. Moreover, his arrival in Istanbul in the autumn (September 20, 1669) made him experience the bad weather conditions such as temperatures dropping to very low levels, with snow, storms and long nights. After winning the case and obtaining a judgment giving him entitlement to regain his function in the judicial council, which was attended by the Sultan Mohammed IV himself, where the judges and government were with the Sultan on a safari in Greece, and the hearing was in the Yeni Sehir/Larissa region (about 300 km north of Athens), he was determined to return home immediately. Thus, his plan was to return to the Ḥijāz once he had achieved the aim he had come for, which was accomplished by the beginning of November 1669:

ثم بعد وصولنا لـ: يني شهر ... يوم الثلاثاء عاشر جمادى الثانية، أقمنا فيه ... إلى أن كان يوم الأحد تاسع عشري ذلك الشهر، فتهيأنا للبروز منه بقصد العود إلى الأوطان وقد تسلمنا البراءة السلطانية ... والجوائز العظيمة ... بعد أن أذن لنا في التوجه للديار، والعود لهاتيك الآثار

After we had arrived at Yeni Sehir (the present-day Greek city of Larissa) ... on Tuesday, tenth Jumādā II (corresponding to November 5, 1669), we stayed there ... until Sunday, the twenty-ninth of that month (corresponding to November 24, 1669). And after gaining the royal authorization ... and magnificent awards ..., we were permitted to leave, and so then we got ready to emerge from there in order to return to our homelands and go back to those monuments (the Prophetic ones in Medina) (ibid., I: p. 335).

However, because of all the snowstorms and snow-clogged routes that he suffered from on his return from Greece to Istanbul, he decided to stay in Constantinople until the end of winter, to go as soon as the roads had become safe with respect to weather conditions. The author tells the readers why he decided to stay for a longer period. He reported that during their return journey from Greece, they spent a night in a village called:

ينجه من بلاد رُملي حالة عودنا من سنانيك ... ونحن عازمون إذ ذاك على التوجه للمدينة الشريفة ... حتى جاوزنا هذه المنزلة فلاقانا في المنازل بعدها من الثلج والبرد الشديد ما يؤلم الأجساد ولو أنها من حديد ... فعزمنا إذ ذاك على أننا إذا وصلنا القسطنطينية بالسلامة أقمنا بها هذا العام وانتظرنا بها أيام البهار، أعني أوائل أيام الصيف

Yenidje/Yenice (the present-day Greek city of Genisea) belongs to the Rumeli territory (the Greek land) during our return from Sananik (the present-day Greek city of Thessaloniki) ... we then had determined to depart to the Hallowed City (Medina) ... until we passed this site, for then we encountered snow and cold at the places beyond it of the kind that hurts bodies even they were (created) of iron ... at that point, we determined that - if we got safely back to Constantinople - we would stay there and wait until the time of the brighter days, by which I mean the early days of summer (of 1670) (ibid. I: p. 346).

What happened was that when spring came, the fields were filled with flowers in various colours, the days became longer, the weather became warmer and trees regained their leaves, and then he became aware of the other, lovely face of Turkey; and then apparently he changed his mind and decided to spend the whole summer there to enjoy his stay in such a dreamland. Al-Khiyārī devotes a paragraph to discuss the cherry fruit, which he describes as a Rum/Roman's (Turkish) fruit, enumerating its types and qualities, saying that he had intended to travel before it was in season, but chose to stay to see and taste it at the urging of some of his companions.

وقد كان يخطر ببالي السفر قبل مجيء أيامه ... فكان يثبطني عن ذلك كثير من الأحباب،  
ويحثني على الإقامة لزمن ظهوره لاستجلاب ثمره المستطاب، مع المبالغة عليه في  
النشأ ... فافتضى الحال الإقامة، وأن نحضر أيامه، فلما رأيناه صدقَ الخُبْرَ الخَيْرَ ... فقلتُ  
مداعبا:



إذا ما جنت أرض الروم حقا      وقد وافيت من أرض الحجاز  
فلا تتعجل ركاب السير عنها      بحقتك قبل أيام الكراز  
فأيام الجنان لها شبيهة      على حنم الحقيقة لا المجاز

“It had crossed my mind to travel before it was in season ... but many of the dear friends discouraged me and urged me to stay until the time of its appearance to taste the delicious fruit, with exaggerated praise for it. ... It seemed to me a good idea to stay and witness its days, and when we experienced it, we found out that the practice proved the panegyric we were told about it. Then I comically said (in poetry):

If you came to the Rum land (Turkey), and you are coming from the land of the Hijāz.

Do not ride pack animals of travel to leave, - for your sake - before cherry days.

They (cherry days) are similar to the days of Paradise, based on the true meaning, not figuratively (ibid., II: p. 57).

Thus, it can be noticed that the boredom associated with staying in Turkey was due mainly to the discomfort of the weather conditions that were more severe than anything that could be imagined by one who had come out of the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, the feeling of an urgent need to return home faded little by little from the onset of spring, when warmth replaced bitter cold and the fragrance of flowers spread

everywhere as a prelude to the summer time when nature put on the most beautiful face ever to be seen by the writer.

و ... لما رأيت بلاد الروم زمن الصيف وقد تحلت بالأزهار والشمار ... غافرا ما مضى لنا  
في شتاها من الشدائد والسينات... و ... قولي لما جاء الصيف

تتاسيت برد الروم عند مصيفها      وقد لآح عقت الزهر وهو نظيم  
بأخمر قان أو باصفر فاقع      وأبيض مثل الدر وهو يتيم  
وأيقنت أن الدهر يغفر ذنبها      فقلت وعندي مقصد ومقيم  
بلاد إذا ما الصيف أقبل جنة      ولكنها عند الشتاء جحيم

And when I saw the country of Rum (the Turks) in the summer time, when it was adorned by flowers and fruits ... forgiving all the adversity and evil deeds in its winter that we had encountered... I said (in poetry):

I attempted to forget the coldness of Rum land (Turkey) in the summer time, when the flowers looked like orderly necklaces.

(The lined up flowers were in colours of) dark red, bright yellow and white like pearls that is a unique.

I made no doubt that Aeon will forgive its sin, so I said - while there were travellers and residents:

It is a country that becomes a paradise at summer, but in the winter will be like hell" (ibid., II: pp. 57- 58).

So al-Khiyārī was keen to enjoy his presence in that "paradise" and to present to all readers a semi-comprehensive picture of what he experienced during the period he spent in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey.

## **6. Architecture and Urban Facilities**

It seems that al-Khiyārī's tendency towards piety led him to focus on those types of architecture of a religious nature such as mosques and shrines and the like. If we exclude Istanbul, the places whose architectural structures he describes look very few out of all the sites he passed by during the outward or return journey. The writer here reminds us to some extent of the Greek traveller Pausanias, in his description of Greece. In his account in the third century A.D., Pausanias gave great attention to temples, statues of gods and population centres (Hutton, 2005, p. 127). It can be seen that al-Khiyārī refers sometimes to certain castles, forts or historic places, but we find a deliberate linkage between these landmarks and religion, as if to tell us either that the place is a site of defence against those who want to attack Islam and Muslims, or that it has been turned into an Islamic centre after it had been a place of heresy and infidels, or that it has become a sign of strength and power of the Muslim sultan/ruler and his state, and so on. The author mentions some architectural structures in the cities and towns on his way to (or from) Istanbul, but has contented himself with brief descriptions in short phrases of those landmarks. This may be due to the accuracy he showed in the reporting of events or observations, since he does not describe only what he himself witnessed, or was told by trusted people. But the question is: why did he not go to these places and explore them by himself? Was it because of lack of time while travelling? Or were they banned because most of them were military sites? Or was it because the author was not

interested in this issue in the first place? All these are possible explanations, especially if we bear in mind that he was travelling in a convoy in both directions and they only stopped for rest or sleep or to obtain the necessary supplies. During their journey, the writer referred to some places in just a few words, as in what he says about Antioch:

قصران مرتفعان مطلان على النهر

There were “**two high palaces overlooking the river**” (ibid. I: p. 190).

And about Payas town, he reports:

به قلعة كبيرة ... وبها منظره عالية لقصد نظر من بقصدها من الأعداء فيستعدون لمدافته  
وممانعته من طوائف النصارى وغيرهم

... It has a large castle with a high watchtower to monitor those who want to attack it (the town), so are ready for fending off enemies from the Christian denominations and others and preventing them (from attacking the town) (ibid. I: p. 195).

In Adana as well, he tells us that after the door of the town on the right,

قلعة البلد وهي عظيمة الوضع

There was “**the castle of the town, which commands a majestic position**” (ibid. I: p.198).

One of the few architectural buildings that he wrote about was the edifice built by Suleiman (the Magnificent) in Karapınar town, which is mentioned above. He states

that it was the greatest Sultani/Royal piece of architecture they had ever seen. Possibly he means it was the greatest seen since he came from the Hījāz until he reached that place, because he saw dazzling greatness in Istanbul later on. The author describes the buildings in this manner:

عمارة عالية الأنحاء، قائمة البناء، أمامها، في مقابل بابها ششمة ماء عذب حار للوضوء ... بداخل هذا البناء خاتان عامران على يمين الداخل ويساره من أحسن أوضاع الخانات بناء، وأضونها سناء. وبعدهما رحبة مستطيلة مشتملة على دكاكين، وحمام على يسار الداخل حسن الأوضاع، مرخم بالرخام ذي الأصباغ والأنواع، وعلى اليمين تكة عمارة البناء. والمرفوع العماد، القائم الإسناد، المسجد العامر، المحدود تحفة للناظر، المشتمل على رحبة، أمامه بحرة ماء بها فوار عظيم من الرخام ينصب ماؤه في البحرة ثم يتصل بأنابيب من رخام يتوضأ منها. وعلى أعالي البحرة شبكة من الحديد، وبعد هذا أمام باب المسجد رواقان مرتفعان من أحسن الأروقة، ثم تدخل المسجد

There is "a complex that has lofty aspects and a coherent structure. In front of it, opposite the door, there is a basin that contains fresh and warm water for ablution/ washing ... inside this building, on the right and left for as you enter, there are two well-appointed Khans/ inns, which are considered some of the best khans in condition, shape and appearance. After them, there is a spacious rectangular square containing shops. On the left there is a bath (Turkish bath) paved with white marble dyed of various colours. On the right there is a well-constructed bench. Then, there is the Mosque with its high pillars which is like a masterpiece for viewers, and which contains a spacious

courtyard. In front of it there is a pool with a great marble fountain, and its water is poured into the pool and then connected to marble pipes in order to perform ablution. On top of the pond there is an iron grid, and after this, before the door of the mosque, there are two high porticoes that seem to be of the best of their kind, and then the entrance to the mosque” (ibid. I: p. 208).

## **7. Buildings in Istanbul**

It can be said that al-Khiyārī faced a culture shock when he first arrived in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, or at least this is what his words suggest. Hence, it is noteworthy that once he has reached the outskirts of Istanbul, the fascination becomes evident through brief but expressive words. He says about Üsküdar, located on the Asian or eastern side of the Bosphorus, as they passed through to Istanbul, that it is a town which caught the eye, and causes astonishment. Then he wonders: If these are the suburbs of Constantinople, then what does Constantinople itself look like! Soon after, and during the crossing of the Bosphorus by boats to Istanbul, he reports that minds were astounded and eyes were preoccupied observing royal buildings and palaces the like of which he had not seen before (ibid. I: p. 239).

After his arrival in Istanbul he provides a general description of the premises which he describes as high palaces embellished with faience and lapis lazuli, having ceilings decorated with molten gold in the form of stars, which makes them look like a royal crown jewelled with unique gems. These palaces have transparent windows that prevent air entering, no matter how great force it may have. Their composition of transparent crystal allows occupiers to enjoy the scenery outside, and also enables those

who are outside to take pleasure in watching the ‘moons and stars’ (beautiful people), who appear from behind the glass from time to time (ibid. I: 241- 242).

During some of his tours through the Bosphorus he expressed generally his admiration of the palaces and buildings on both banks, especially when the lamps are lit in the evening and the lights reflected on the surface of the water, making it look like a sky resting on the earth. This type of expressive description was repeated in several parts of the book, so we will limit ourselves to two texts. One day the writer sailed with a group for an excursion to harvest some summer fruit near the Rumeli Hisarı (Rumelian Castle):

فمررنا ... بقصور شاهقة، وعمارات فائقة، هي للملوك دون الرعايا لانقة، وبأماكن متفاصلة، ثرى في المحاسن متشابهة متشاكلة، كلها بشاطئ ذلك البحر، الذي تحلى به من تلك البلدة الجيد والنحر

We passed ... in front of the towering palaces and indescribable buildings worthy of kings, not ordinary citizens, and (we passed in front of) separated places that appear similar in splendour. All these are on the shore adorning the front part of the city like a necklace on the chest of a lady (ibid. II: p. 60).

In the other text, the writer depicts the reflection of lights in the waters of the Straits, saying how they sailed across the Strait until nightfall:

أقبل الليل ... فانتشرت المصابيح في الجهتين، ولا بُعدَ بينهما ... وصار خيالها في الماء،  
يحكي نجوم السماء

... The night came ... and then, the light of lamps spread out on both  
sides - and there is no great distance between them (the two banks) ...  
so that the reflection of it (light) on the water appeared like the stars of  
heaven (ibid. II: p. 60).

Al-Khiyārī resorts to giving general descriptions only when the thing described is far away from him, whereas the places he visits and witnesses close-up are described in as much detail as possible. During the nine-month period he spent in Istanbul after his return from Greece he visited many places containing architectural assemblages, and to some extent he provided detailed descriptions of them. One of those places for instance, was a group of royal palaces in the Üsküdar region on the east bank of the Bosphorus, where they went on a tourist trip on a Monday (1. 12.1080/22.4.1670). One of those historical buildings dates back to about three centuries before the visit of the author, on the grounds of being attributed to Sultan Murad I (reigned c. 760-791/1359-1389). It seems that the royal residence was still in good condition during the visit of the writer, who describes it as a bright edifice:

مشمتمل على فوّار ذي أنابيب، تنثر اللؤلؤ الرطب على بساط الأعاجيب، مشرقّ على لجة  
ذلك البحر، مظللّ بشجرات السرو، ذات العُجبِ والزهو



...it has a fountain which scatters wet pearls (water droplets) through tubes on a carpet of marvels (a green yard), and it seems bright on the edge of that deep sea, shaded with cypress trees that appear vainglorious and proud ... (ibid. II: p. 45).

There is also another palace, and as he was told, it belongs to Sultan Murad II (r. 824-855/1421-1444):

فإذا هو يدهش البصر، ويوقف النظر، مثنى الأوضاع، مغشى الجدارات بالقيشاني والذهب  
المعاق، تعلوه قبة تلوح بها الشمس كأنها قبة الفلك، أو صنع ملك أو ملك. في أعاليها  
طاقات منضدة بالجام المستكمل من الحسن لما حواه من الألوان والأنواع والأقسام، إذا  
لحظته الشمس بعينها ... وانتشرت أنابيب شادروان كحب اللؤلؤ على بلور ذلك الحوض  
وجمانه، وقد أهدقت بها الفرش الملوكية والتخوت العثمانية، فجنة الدنيا المعجلة، وإذا  
أدخلها الله تعالى أحدا من عباده فهي عنوان دخول الجنة المؤجلة

We found it dazzles the sight, forcing you to stop and contemplate it. It is octagon-shaped, with walls covered of faience and dissolved gold, topped by a dome with the sun looming like a dome of astronomy, or (a dome) built by a king or angel. There are small openings in the upper part inlaid with convex glass, which exhibits a perfection of beauty because of what it has by way of colours, species and varieties. If the sun beheld it with its eye (rose on it) ... and the tubes of *shatherwan* (fountain) spread out like grains of pearl (water drops) on that crystalline basin (transparent/ vitreous), with the royal carpets and

Ottoman couches that fill the place, it is the advance paradise of this life, and if Allah (God) Almighty entered any of his slaves into it (this edifice), that would be an introduction (a good omen) of entry by him/her into the deferred Paradise (ibid. II: p. 43- 44).

Near these two palaces, there is another palace attributed, as the writer says, to Sultan Ibrāhīm I (ruled from 1049 to 1058/1640 to 1648): This palace is distinguished from the others as follows:

من سائر ... جهاته مركب مصنوع من المرايات البلورية التي تضيء ظلام الليل وتبدو بها صور الأقمار مضيئة ... فالإنسان إذا قابل جهة من الجهات رأى محلاً مشابهاً للمحل الذي هو فيه ... فيرى الشخص الواحد نفسه اثنين، وكأنه جسم قائم بمحلين. هذا إذا قابل منبسطة من الجهات، فإن قابل ركناً من الأركان، وقابله مرآتان، رأى له مثاليين هو ثالثهما، وظلّين هو محدثهما. والحاصل أنه محل يخطف بنضارته ولطافته الألباب

All the walls are designed and made of crystalline mirrors that light up the darkness of the night, and images of luminous moons appear through them. So that if a person faced one of the directions, he would see a similar place to the place he is in. In other words, the one sees himself as two people, as if he is a body existing in two positions! This is if the person faces a flat side, but if faces a corner and be opposite two mirrors, he would then see three of the same figures including himself, and two shadows that he is talking to. The point is

that it is a place that dazzles with its freshness and sheer sophistication (ibid. II: p. 44).

What caught his attention was that those mansions were devoid of inhabitants, yet looked at their best as if the residents had just left on some urgent business:

وكل من هذه القصور مهياً: فيها الآلات والفرش والستور كأن الملك خرج منها لقضاء حاجة، ناوياً العودة إليها ... وما أظن أن العيون ترى بدار الدنيا أنظر وأبهج منها إلا جنة المأوى

And each of these palaces is equipped with all the necessary implements, beddings, carpets and curtains as if the king had emerged from them on some errand, intending to return to them ... and I believe that eyes will not see during this worldly life anything more delightful and beautiful than them, apart from the Eternal Paradise (ibid. II: p. 46).

The tourism programme of the group that day (Monday 12.01.1080/22.04.1670) included a visit to one of the most famous landmarks of Istanbul to the present day, which is a tower built on a small spot in the sea near the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. The fame of the site may be attributable to the myths that revolved around it, all of which are attempts to explain the strangeness of the location and the building. The author provides us with some details about the site and tells us one of the explanatory legends about it:

ثم وصلنا لمحل بوسط البحر قد أحاط به من سائر جهاته يسمى: قز قله سي ومعناه قلعة البنت، زاعمين أن ملكا من ملوك النصارى خاف على ابنته فابتنى لها هذا المحل وهو محل أسلوبه عجيب، ووضعه غريب، مربع الجهات مبني بكبار الصخر وعظيم المون والآلات. يدخل بابه إلى رحبة مربعة فيها المدافع المعملة، ثم يصعد لهذه القلعة وهي مشتملة على أربع طبقات، طبقة فوق طبقة، ولها طبقات ذات إشراف على البحر من جهاته الأربع وبأسفلها مجتمع ماء حلو، اختلف المخبرون لي عن حقيقته. فمنهم من قال: إنه ينبع وإنها جزيرة ينبع فيها الماء العذب، ولا بعد في ذلك فالقدرة سالحة. ومنهم من قال: إنه يجتمع من الأمطار، ثم يستقر بذلك القرار. وبيابها شخص مقيم بها، لا أدري أهو مستوطن لها أم يأتيها نهارا ويذهب ليلا. وإذا تفرج الناس دفعوا له شيئا من الدراهم حلوانا

Then we got to a place in the middle of the sea, surrounded by water on all sides which is called: Kız Kulesi (meaning Maiden's Tower), claiming that one of the kings of the Christians feared for his daughter, so he built this structure for her. It is a site with a wonderful situation and strange design. The door leads to a square spacious yard where the cannons are ready for use; and then one may ascend to the tower which contains four storeys one above the other, and has a balcony overlooking the sea from all four sides. There is a spot in the yard where fresh water is collected, and my informants disagreed about the reason for its existence. Some said it was a spring and it is the island where there is a spring of fresh water, and not surprisingly, given that the power (of Allah) is great. Others said it accumulates from rain, and then settles down in that hole. There is a person who lives by the door, and I do not know whether he is resident there, or whether he comes

during the day and leaves at night. If people came to look, they would pay him some money as a tip (ibid. II: p. 46).

Among the things that have drawn the attention of visitors to Turkey in the past five centuries, and perhaps in the present day as well, have been the mosques set up by some of the Ottoman sultans in Istanbul. Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī was one of those tourists who wanted to give their readers in the Ḥijāz and the Arab world information about those features that distinguish Istanbul from many of the Arab and Islamic cities. The author mentioned the best-known mosques in Constantinople at that time (1669 - 1670) such as the mosques of the Sultans Ahmad, Bayezid II, Suleiman (the Magnificent) and Mohammed Khan (Mehmet the Conqueror). There were also other mosques that are no less important, such as the mosque of Turhan Hadice, the mother of Sultan Mehmet IV (the Sultan at the time of al-Khiyārī's visit), and the mosque of Şehzade Mehmet, the son of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, in addition of course to the famous Hagia Sophia, which was a mosque where prayers were held at the time. Although the writer devotes a quite ample space to describing these landmarks (see al-Khiyārī. II: pp. 89-98), we will limit ourselves to the texts dedicated to describing Hagia Sophia and the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed and the adjacent area as models for similar sites. At first al-Khiyārī wrote about Hagia Sophia in an obvious state of wonderment at the historical greatness that has been cited by all those who have written about this architectural masterpiece.

وبناؤها من أعاجيب الدنيا التي لم يسمع بمثلها وليس الخبر كالعيان. فإنها مشتملة على  
قطع من الرخام كبار القطع والوضع جدا، وعلى عواميد منه كذلك، وعلى غير ذلك مما لا

يمكن وصفه. وعقودها المسقفة بها كلها منقوشة بالذهب الممّاع، وهي ثلاث طبقات، أي باعتبار دائرها فإنها مركبة على أربعة عقود من الجهات الأربع، في كل ركن منها قبة ثم يعلو جميع ذلك قبتها العالية... وهذه العقود الأربعة طول العقدين الذين في الجانبين مبالغ فيه بحيث أن الطبقة الأولى مركبة على عواميد كثيرة والطبقة الثانية التي فوقها كذلك والتي فوقها أيضا مثلها. ولها ستة عشر بابا كما أخبرت بعددها ولم احظ به. وفي وضع محرابها الآن نوع انحراف عن سمت الجدار الكائن في جهة القبلة لكونه كان موضوعا على قبلة بيت المقدس. وبها أماكن للوضوء وحولها مدارس عامرة ومدافن السلاطين وقبورهم. ومن جملة عجائبها أن بها من الرخام قطعة كبيرة على صورة الزلاخ المصرية الكبار إلا أنها أعظم من أعظم زلعة ترى بحيث لا يقدر إلا مربع الرجال العظام أن يحضنوها لو أرادوا ذلك، وهي منقور باطنها يوضع بها الوضوء، وصورة وضعها أنها للطول أقرب. وأن جميع أرضها مع ما حوته من الكبر كله مجوف مركب على عقود محكمة يمتلئ ماء من المطر إذا جاءت الأمطار من غيره لمجيء بعض العيون إليه... ومن غريب أمر هذا البناء أنه من الخارج وظاهر الجدار مبني بالطوب المحرق، الكبير الأقراص العريضة المحكم بالنورة والمونة.

Its construction is one of the marvels of the world that have not been heard about such, and 'Receiving News is not like Witnessing it' (an Arabic proverb), for it contains pieces of marble, very large in size and shape, and (it has) pillars of it (marble) as well, in addition to other things that cannot be described. Its roofs are all engraved with gold leaf, and the roof of the whole circumference consists of three layers, as it is mounted on the four walls of the four sides, each corner holding a dome, and the high dome is above all ... The four walls are not equal in length, the two walls on both sides are so long, so that the

first layer is mounted on many pillars, and the upper layer as well, and the highest one too. It (the building) has sixteen doors, as I was told, but I did not check the number myself. And the mihrab (niche, the place for the prayer imam in mosque) now is slanting from the face of the wall that is in the direction of the Mecca, because it was originally directed to Jerusalem. It has places for ablution, and around it there are active schools, cemeteries and mausoleums of the sultans. Among the wonders that it has there is a large piece of marble, like large Egyptian jars, but it is greater than the greatest jar that can be seen, so that only the big and powerful men can hold it if they so wish. Its interior is carved out and the water of ablution put in, and it can be described as a little long. Despite its immensity, the interior is all hollow, filled by rain water if the torrent came from elsewhere, because water may stream to it from some nearby springs. This big block is mounted on well-knit kerbs. One of the strange things in this construction is that the wall from outside was built, as can be seen, of large and wide blocks of burnt-bricks which are tightly held together by lime (ibid., II: pp. 89- 90).

Thus, readers may note that despite the author's clear fascination with his subject this did not affect the accuracy in the narrating, so that he reported only what he saw himself, whereas whatever he did not personally witness he records with a reservation on it - as in fact he did regarding the number of doors of Hagia Sophia, when he stated that he did not count them himself, though this would have been possible if he had wanted to do so.

With respect to the Mosque of the Sultan Ahmed, he says that it is similar, to some extent, to Hagia Sophia in size and grandeur, so he seemed interested in describing the squares surrounding it rather than describing the architecture itself. He portrays the courtyard of the mosque as follows:

متسع جدا يصلح ميدانا لخيل الرهان، به أشجار عظام مظلمة، وبجداره الفاصل بينه وبين المحل المسمى بأط ميدان – ومعناه ميدان الخيل – طاقات من الرخام الأبيض مشتملة على شبابيك من النحاس الأصفر المنقح، تسع كل طاقة من الجلوس اثنين أو ثلاثة. لها إشراف على هذا الميدان، الذي هو من عجائب الدنيا سعة وإشراقا ونظارة. وفي طرفه من العجائب حجر يسمونه تكرطاش مرتفع ارتفاع عالي المنارات، وهو قطعة واحدة، أحمر اللون مربع الوضع، كلما علا وارتفع ضعف غلظه، مركب على أربع قطع من النحاس تحت أطرافه الأربعة، وما عدا ما ركب منها على النحاسات خال. والعجب كيف وضع على هذه القطع الصغار وأحكم تقويمه عليها وبقاؤه كذلك مع طولها وارتفاعها. وعلى محل وضعها عن الأرض نحو القامتين أو القامة والنصف، وهذا الذي هو مقدار القامتين أو دونها من الرخام الأبيض به صور مصورة من صور الآدميين وغيرهم، عميا ومفتحين على زعمهم، وللعمامة فيهم كلام كثير. وعلى نفس الحجر المستطيل المرتفع رسوم كثيرة يزعمون أنها طلسمات من علوم الأوائل. وفي مقابلة هذا بالقرب منه بناء مرتفع نحو ارتفاعه وعلى هيئته يزعمون أنه بناء تلميذ واضح الأول. وعلى أعلى هذا البناء حجر مستدير كالكرة. وبالقرب منها صورة ثعبانين ملتف أحدهما على الآخر من النحاس الأصفر المملوء باطنه بالرمل لرويا ذلك لاتكسار بعض هاتيك الأضلاع. ولكل ثعبان قرنان، واحدهما من أحدهما مكسور، يزعمون أن حضرة الملك مراد خان ضربه بدبوس أو مزارق كان في يده فكسره.

(It is) so spacious, suitable to be a racecourse for betting horses. It is shaded by great trees, and the wall that separates between it and the place called 'At Maidān (Turkish: At Meydani), which means



racecourse, has windows of white marble containing grids of pure yellow brass, and each window can accommodate seating for two or three people. Those windows overlook this arena (*At Meydani* /racecourse), which is one of the wonders of the world in breadth, brilliance and lustre. Among the wonders there (in the racecourse), that there is a stone on the side of it they call it *Tuckertāsh* [(obelisks). In Turkish they are called *Dikilitaş*], and it is as high as tall minarets. It is one-piece, red and square-shaped, the greater the rise the less the size. It is mounted on four pieces of copper under the four corners, and except the small four corners mentioned, the space between the stone and the base is all blank. The wonder is how it was put on these little pieces, and how tightly it was installed, and then how it settled in that position in spite of its height. The stone is mounted on the pedestal of white marble rising from the ground about two fathoms or fathom and a half (1 fathom = about 1.83 meters / 6 feet). It has carved images for humans and others; some faces seem blind and others are with open eyes, as far as it is claimed, and people have many of the stories (myths/interpretations) about them. On the surface of the rectangular, high stone itself there are many graphics they claim as the talismans of this ancient nation's sciences. Off this and close to it, there is a stony high column, similar to it in height and shape (similar to the former, one-piece stone) and they claim it was built by the apprentice to the builder of the former stone. And on top of this structure (the latter) there is a round stone like a ball. Also, close to it, there is a form for two snakes wrapped one over the other, made of

brass stuffed with sand because we saw some of it (the sand) due to fracturing of some of those angles. Each snake has two horns, but one horn of one of the snakes is broken. They claim that His Majesty King Murad Khan (Murad II) hit it with a pin or javelin that was in his hand then it got broken (ibid., II: p. 91).

It seems clear that the writer was describing the landmarks in the Hippodrome (or Horse Square) of Constantinople that is located between Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque/Mosque of Sultan Ahmed. Thus, the tall stone referred to was the Obelisk of Theodosius/ Obelisk of Pharaoh Tutmoses III, which is an obelisk built by Pharaoh Thutmose III in Karnak in Egypt in the 15th century B.C., and then was transferred to Constantinople in 390 A.D. by the Roman Emperor Theodosius (r. 379 - 395) to be erected on the marble base described by the writer above (Alan, pp. 22 - 23). Then there is the second architectural feature close to the Obelisk of Theodosius which is the Walled Obelisk/Constantine Obelisk/*Örme Dikilitaş*, a 32-metre high obelisk built of stones of different sizes and types. Details about who first built it and when are uncertain, but it is known that it was reconstructed by Constantine VII in the tenth century A.D. The writer's text reveals that the column did not attract his attention as it was supposed to. In fact, since the beginning of the thirteenth century, it has appeared as just a plain monument, or a set of accumulated stones, because of having been vandalized by the Crusaders, who looted its gold and other precious stones during their sweep of Constantinople in 1204 (Alan, p. 22). Finally, the form of snakes was what is known as the Serpent Column/Snake Column/*Yılanlı Sütun*, a memorial created as a commemoration of the victory of some Greeks over the Persians at the battles of Salamis and Plataea that occurred in 480 and 479 B.C., respectively. The column was

built by melting the spoils of war weapons and making it a monument of victory in 479 B.C. (Alan, p. 23). Fortunately, all of these sights still exist to the present day as described by al-Khiyārī about three and a half centuries ago.

## 8. Social Life in Turkey

It seems that al-Khiyārī was keen to convey a comprehensive picture of Turkey including its history, geography, environment, nature, ruling class, society, the manifestations of joy and sadness, and so on. Because he spent more than nine months in Istanbul, his book can be considered - to some extent - a mirror of the capital of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the seventeenth century. He wrote about architecture, archaeology and official or military ceremonies, and about the customs of hospitality, marriage and burial. He wrote also about markets like the great *Bedesten* (a covered market) that contained many and various types of goods; and then also about another *Bedesten* that was similar in size and importance to the one just mentioned. Then he reported on the markets for copper, books, saddles and slaves. There is a group of texts about markets, but we will limit ourselves to his report of the *Bedesten*, which was described as follows:

فمن عجائب القسطنطينية البادستان وهو محل مبني من خالص الحجر، له من الحديد أربعة أبواب، وداخله دكاكين كل دكان نحو الذراعين أو النراعين والنصف. يجلس بكل دكان تاجران، وهي مقسومة بينهم لعزة الأماكن به. ويوجد فيه سائر ما يطلبه الإنسان من الجواهر، والسلاح، والرخوت، والسروج المحلاة بالجواهر وخالص الفضة والذهب، والقطيفة بأنواعها، وسبح اللؤلؤ والياقوت. فما ظنك بالمرجان وأواني الذهب والفضة! وما ظنك بنفيس الصيني للذهب المفصص وكل ما عز وهان، وغلا ورخص في الأثمان!

ينفتح بعد الشمس كل يوم إلا يوم الجمعة على ما بلغني، ويغلق بين الظهرين. ... وأهله في ضجيج من أصوات الدالين وعد النقدين. ... والله أعلم أنه لو قيل: فيه ما تشتهي الأنفس وتلذ الأعين لما كذب قائله. وأما الكتب التي تباع ببابه فمن سائر العلوم مع تكرار النسخ من كل كتاب من منثور ومنظوم. فلو أردت خزائن تجمعها في يوم واحد لأمكنك ذلك. والأفريّة، والقفاطين، والجوخ، والمخاد، والفرش فحدث عن البحر ولا حرج، بحيث إن الباشا إذا تولى وطلب كلما يحتاج إليه وجلس ببعض دكاكينه هو أو كتخده ساعة واحدة أخذ كلما يطلب حتى من السلاح القديم النظير بسائر أنواعه. ولقد تعاضت أنا حال جلوسي به بعض أشياء ووجودها مهينة، فقال لي من كنت جالسا عنده من أصحابنا: اليوم هذا يمكنني تجهيز ثلاث بنات عرائس الليلة يدخلون بيوت أزواجهن بكل ما يحتاجون إليه وأنا في مجلسي هذا، من اللباس والفرش والحلي والطيب وغير ذلك. والحاصل أن أمره خارج عن القياس.

One of the wonders of Constantinople is the *Bedesten*, which is a place built of pure stone. It has four iron gates and contains shops, the size of each shop being about two ells or two ells and a half (a little more than two meters). Each shop is divided for two merchants because of the scarcity of places in it. Everything required is found there such as jewellery, weapons, saddles that are beautified with gems and with pure silver and gold, and all kinds of plush, and rosaries made of pearls and rubies. So what are we to make of all the coral and pots of gold and silver! And of the Chinese curios of lobed gold, and all of what is valuable and worthless, and all of what is expensive and cheap. It is open after the sun (sunrise) every day except on Friday according to what I heard, and is closed between the

times of *Zuhr* and *Asr* prayers (approximately between 12 noon - 4 pm). ... People there operate amidst a great hubbub because of the noise made by dealers and money counters of gold and silver, and Allah (God) knows that if it was said: It (the *Bedesten*) contains everything the heart desires and pleases the eye, the speaker would not be a liar (like the description of the Paradise in the Qur'an [43: 71]).

With regard to books that are sold at the door, they are in various fields of science in prose and poetry, with many copies of each book, so that if you wanted to collect cabinets (of books) in one day, you could do so. With regard to such clothing made of fur and caftans, broadcloth, and such pillows and mattresses, you can say what you want to say, as you do when talking about the number of water-drops in the sea. So that when the *Pasha* (a notable person) was appointed (as a governor), and he requested whatever he needed, then he or his procurator waited in one of his shops for an hour, and he would get all that is required - even an incomparable range of all types of old armaments . When I was inside there with one of our companions, he noticed that I was amazed at the presence of some stuff and of its being available for sale, so he said to me: This day I can equip three brides who will enter their husbands' homes tonight, with all what they need in the way of clothing, furnishing, jewellery and perfume and so on, and all of this would be accomplished without having to leave my place here. And the point is that it (the *Bedesten*) could not be likened to anything else. (ibid., II: pp. 99- 100):

Al-Khiyārī's account also records the tradition of hospitality among the Turks, especially towards the notables and any who have a special scientific or social status. He relates that in their competition over hosting a visitor they may resort to drawing lots, so that one of them gets the honour of hosting the guest while the others are deprived of it. And this indeed is what happened with the writer when he arrived in Istanbul for the first time, coming from the Ḥijāz, as he had no knowledge of that custom.

ثم إنه عند وصولي أولا إليها، طلبني بعض أعيان وأرباب دولتها للنزول بدورهم والحلول بقصورهم فأبى النفس الموافقة على ذلك، لعدم وقوفي على أن ذلك عندهم نهج مألوف وطريق في المكارم معروف، وهو أنه إذا قدم بعض الأعيان أو المعينين يتساهمون في نزوله وكل يرى أنه فرض وصفه التعيين.

When I arrived there for the first time, some of the notables of the country asked me to stay at their homes, but I found myself unwilling to accept this because I did not know that this method was the common tradition amongst them of expressing their generosity: that is to say, if some important or officially-assigned people arrived there, they (the Turks) cast lots to host them, since everyone feels that it is an individual duty (ibid., II: p. 6).

After his return from Greece, al-Khiyārī stayed at the house of one of those generous people, called Ibrāhīm Effendī, who it seems knew the writer since he had previously

been a financial accountant in the Ḥijāz, and so he stayed as his guest for about two months (Sha‘bān & Ramaḍān 1080/January & February 1670).

فلما وصلت إلى داره ... أنزلني منزلا خاصا من منزله الرحب ... وقام بكل ما يحتاج إليه إليه أحسن قيام، وعاملنا ... معاملة الكرام، وجميع من يحويه منزله من الخدم والمخاديم يبالغون معي في التأدب والإجلال والتعظيم حتى إنهم ... أنسوني الأهل والأولاد والوطن ... ثم ... أردت التحول عن بيته لمحل آخر خشية الملالة ... وقلت: الضيافة ثلاث، وإقامتنا زادت على العشر ... فامتنع من ذلك أشد الامتناع، وقال: لو أقمتم عشر سنين البيت ببيتكم ... فلما ألحيت في الطلب، قال: الآن أقبل رمضان ولا بد من صومه عندنا وبعد العيد - .... إن شاء الله - يبدو أمر جديد

When I arrived at his house ... he allocated a special wing of his capacious house for me ... He did his best to meet all my needs and treated us ... the way generous and noble people would, and everyone in the house, whether servants or family members, dealt with me with a magnificent respect, courtesy and veneration ... and then ... when I intended to move from his house to another place to avoid causing tedium ... I told him that hospitality is for three days, whereas my stay had exceeded ten days ... but he firmly refused and replied saying: If you have stayed for ten years, our house is yours ... and when I became insistent in this demand, he said: Now Ramaḍān is coming and you must spend it fasting with us and after the Feast/Eīd, something new may appear- God willing ... (ibid., II: pp. 6-7).

With regard to celebrating the Feast/ Eīd, the writer mentions that they went to a mosque on the morning of Eid (Eīd al-Fitr 1080/1670) to perform the Eīd prayer, and then returned to the house to greet the family and servants. After having some food and drink, they went to the Hippodrome/*At Meydani* near the Blue Mosque to enjoy watching the race horses and the horsemen's skills. On the second day, he says that there is a venue for ceremonies where many people go to celebrate and spend a wonderful evening. Nonetheless, the writer did not attend because the attendees might not meet his approval or be right for him. This suggests that the place may have included dancing, drinking and perhaps other activities not acceptable to scholars, notables or religious people.

أشار عليّ بعض الأعيان بعدم لياقة حضوري ذلك المكان، فامتثلت إشارته حفظاً للناموس

But some nobles suggested that my presence at that location would be indecent, and so I obeyed this advice in order to preserve the traditions (the prestige or religious status) (ibid., II: p. 23).

On the third day, he went with many Turks to visit the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-'Nsārī (d. about 52/673 in Constantinople), one of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad - peace be upon him. After the visit and prayers for him, they spent a large part of the day near the site of the shrine in the place that seems to be a resort frequented by people for recreation. He describes the day:



كل عظيم من عظماء الروم يُبرز أتباعه المحفوظون وخدامه المصونون، عليهم باهر الخُلا، وباهي الحسن والسنا، يستوقفون الأبصار، ويكسفون الشموس والأقمار. فوصلنا للمحظ ... فإذا منزل لم تر العين أنزه منه قد جمع أسباب المحاسن من بستان حسن وماء حلو عذب ... والخدود على قدود الغيد أشرقت بالورد ... والصدور خنقت رمانها ... وحاد يطرب السمع وناي يزري بالأغاريد ... فأقول: لعمري إن هذا اليوم ليوم انتهزناه من فرص الدهر.

"Each one of the dignitaries of the Rum (the Turks) displays his concealed and specially-kept servants (boys and girls), wearing brilliant ornaments, and such beauty and glitter appears upon them. They catch the eyes, so much that they put the sun and the moon to shame. When we reached the destination spot... we found it a park never seen before, where all the sources of delight such as a beautiful grove and fresh water came together... and cheeks shone like roses on the figures of beautiful ladies ... and their chests heaving with their pomegranates (breasts), and (there was) a songster who enraptured the ear, and a reed pipe which put the trilling [of birds] to shame . So I say: I swear that this day is a day we seized upon as an opportunity that was a gift of the ages " (ibid., II: pp. 26- 27).

It seems that one aspect of their traditions of hospitality is that the host is keen to entertain the guests with food, drink, perfumes, music and good service. On one of the Eīd days, the author was invited with a group of guests to an evening event at the

house of one of the notables, where there were servants wearing the most beautiful and exquisite dresses, and also pouring cups of coffee, spreading incense of amber and incense-wood, and strewing flowers and aromatic plants. This was in addition to hosting some distinctive orchestras, so that the place became

يرقص طربا بما فيه، ويتمايل كتمايل أغصان القدود ...، والفؤاد يضطرب فكأنه طير من الضلوع في قفص، والطرف يود قطف ذاك الورد لو غفل الحرس، فإن هذه فرصة من الفرص.

The place and everything there was dancing with delight, swaying like teetering of statures of beautiful girls who are like twigs (with their slim, lithe bodies), so (my) heart was fluttering behind my ribs as if it were a bird in a cage, and the eye would like to reap (enjoy watching) those roses (cheeks) if the guardians (their masters) were not paying attention, as this was an opportunity not to let pass by (ibid., II: p. 29).

With regard to tourism, the author mentions that staff in the archaeological sites received visitors with kind faces and welcoming words:

وكنا عند دخولنا تلك الكشكات يتلقانا من بها من البستجية بالترحيب والتكريم والإجلال والتعظيم.

When we entered these palaces, gardeners working there greeted us with a welcome, honour, reverence and veneration (ibid., II: p. 47).

It has already been mentioned (during their visit to the Maiden's Tower) that visitors may pay some money to those responsible for taking care of those palaces or monumental sites as a tip. As is known, Turkey is famous for its Turkish warm baths, and the writer told us about the approach taken by the customers and staff of the baths when we quoted his experience at the hot spring in Ilgın town, as well as the text that described the boys working skilfully in the baths of Thessaloniki (a city in the northeast of Greece that was part of the cultural-political system of the Ottoman Turkish Empire).

Explicitly or implicitly, al-Khiyārī referred critically to some social aspects of life in Turkey, for example when mentioning the prevalence of theft and pick-pocketing in the town of Ereğli/Konya Province.

بتنا بها ليلة الاثنين ... ثم أخذنا مضاجعنا وبقي بعض الأصحاب والأتباع يرقب لنا الأسباب  
والأمتاع حتى لاح ابن ذكاء فبان المحل مشهور بالاحتراس منه والاحتراز

“We stayed there on Monday night (05.04.1080/30.09.1669) ... then when we went to our beds, some of our companions and servants

stayed awake to guard our things until morning ... as the place was notorious and required caution and alertness (in terms of theft and the like)" (ibid., I: p. 206. And see II: p. 120 also).

He also indicates, when referring to those who were entrusted to protect the funds and goods belonging to citizens and shopkeepers after the conflagration of Istanbul referred to above, that those protectors sometimes might actually become the problem as they recovered the stolen goods that had been looted back from the thieves, but then kept them for themselves.

وربما حصل الداء من الدواء، وانقلب الطبيب جالبا للأدواء، فاستولى الدافعون على كثير مما وجدوه، وخلصوه من السرقة ليردّوه فأخذوه. وهل سمعت في نبي طارق أن أحدا يسرق السارق؟

Disease may have been caused from the medication, and the doctor might bring the illness. The security men took over much of what they found, as they recovered things from thieves in order to be returned (to their owners), but instead they stole them (by keeping them for themselves). Have you heard that there is one who steals the thief?! (ibid., II: p. 50).

## Conclusion

The cultural configuration in a society moulds public perception towards the "other". So, an author, even if he has a distinctive education and culture, is often influenced by the preconception conveyed through the texts when depicting the "other". Often a person says or writes what he wants and not what he has known and already experienced. In other words, it seems like the writer is looking for evidence to support what he had already believed, rather than recording what he actually saw. We have noticed that Aḥmad al-Ḥajarī (Afoqāi) almost ignored Paris, compared to Amsterdam which he described in admiring terms. So that preconception that he had about the French was negative because of their participation ideologically with the Spanish Catholics, and because of that the displaced Muslims of Andalusia were harassed on board the French ships. The Dutch, meanwhile, shared with the writer a negative attitude towards the Catholics, and to Spain in particular, because they were Protestants and they had just broken free from Spanish domination.

Turkey was the protector of Islam and Muslims and the sponsor of the Two Holy Mosques in the Ḥijāz at that time, with one of the largest and most powerful empires, and its capital Istanbul is the most beautiful and most prestigious of cities. This is the image that was carried by Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī about Turkey before he ever travelled there, so it is not surprising if it appears in his account as a paradise on earth, containing wonders of every kind, such as fortified castles, luxury palaces, mosques with beautiful designs and artistic decorations, diverse markets, parks and green, open spaces with good marshalling and precise disposition.

Turkish society has had a prominent presence in al-Khiyārī's work. In it the lives of Turkish men and women are described as lived in mosques, markets, public squares, parks, racecourses, private homes and public Turkish baths, and in most of those places Turks in general have been depicted in al-Khiyārī's texts as beautiful, rich, happy, pious and generous. There is no doubt that the limited, poor and barren environment of the writer's homeland has contributed to his fascination with the new world (Turkey), but it is also clear that the preconceived mental image that he brought with him played the most important role in arousing this absolute admiration.

The capital of the Ottoman Empire is not presented in such flattering terms in the work of the Dutchman De Bruijn, who visited Istanbul a decade after al-Khiyārī's visit. The mental image carried by De Bruijn toward the Turks was negative, and thus Istanbul appeared in his presentation as a dirty and untidy city containing stacks of trees here and there, and then called them Gardens.

Nevertheless, it can be said that al-Khiyārī presented to the readers a panoramic image of the cultural and social situation in Turkey in the second half of the seventeenth century on different levels by describing such events as festivals, joyful celebrations, horse racing and other happy gatherings. He also has provided us with an insight into some of the traditions regarding hospitality, tourism and marriage, along with his criticisms of some sorts of behaviour or social conditions.

## Chapter Six: the Image of the Non-Muslims in Turkey

### Preface

For the Arabs, the Turks were a cultural “Other” (ethnically, linguistically and socially), but due to the fact that they shared the same religion, they (Turks) were seen in many cases as representing the Ego versus those “Others” who were different religiously. As already stated in the introduction to Chapter Five, most Arabs in the seventeenth century considered the Ottoman sultans as the rightful leaders of the Islamic State and the Turks, therefore, as the first line in the defence of Islam and Muslims. Thus, it can be noted that the Muslim Turks were considered - at least in al-Khiyārī’s text – as the Muslim Ego, while the non-Muslim Turks were considered a different group, or the antithetical “Other”. A question that might arise is: why was the Muslims’ relationship with Christian peoples, unlike with other nations and cultures, characterized by tension and suspicion and sometimes even hatred and every now and then outright hostility?

The answer to this question seems much larger than this narrow space can address, but it is important to note that the negative attitude of the Arabs and Muslims against the religious “Other”, Christians in particular, was not caused by their adherence to Christianity as a religion. In fact the reason was not religious at all. Christianity is one

of the cultural components of the Islamic *Ummah* at both the theoretical and practical levels. At the theoretical level, Christianity is a religion recognized by Islam, and more than that, it is in fact a part of Muslims' faith. Both the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ are sacred figures in the Islamic culture. Moreover, they may have gained saintliness in the Islamic mind, more than they do amongst some Christians themselves. Exactly the same is true of the Gospel (the genuine text), which is a holy text to the extent that a Muslim person cannot be a believer in the Qur'ān without believing in the former divine Books (the Torah and the Gospel) as well. On the practical level, again, the Islamic world has contained various Christian communities in many of its countries and these have lived in peace and harmony as an important part of the Islamic *Ummah* (Labīb, 1999, pp. 198-199).

The cause of the negative attitude of the Arabs first and then Muslims later against Christians may be due to a fundamental cause, which is the correlation between Christianity and the Europeans in the Arab mind, and then linking the European with their resistance to Allah (God)'s true message (according to Muslims' belief in the message of the Prophet Muhammad), especially since they are people of the Book and they know the call of the prophets, and they were aware of how early Christians suffered from religious persecution and so on. Hence it was expected that they would be the first to accept and welcome the message of the Prophet Muhammad on the grounds that Islam was a natural extension of the religion that they already believed in. However, this did not happen. Instead Christians opposed Islam and called it a heresy (Waardenburg, 2003, p. 39 ff). In addition to this, Muslim-Christian relations have been shaped by hegemony, expansion and occupation, all historical facts inherent in the



Muslim collective mentality. This background also goes back to a heavy history of domination by the Romans and later the Byzantines (both in turn lasting from the first century B.C to the seventh century A.D) in the Levant, the Maghreb, Egypt and elsewhere in the Muslim world, passing through the invasion by Christian armies of the Levant during the Crusader campaigns resulting in the occupation of Jerusalem and some other Arab cities for decades in the Fifth - Sixth/Eleventh -Twelfth centuries A.H. and A.D., respectively (Adams, Paul and others, 2000, pp. 208 ff).

Historical sources tell us that the cultural conflict between the West and the Arabs, then later between the Christian West and the Muslims, started from the first decades of the emergence of Islam, as the Eastern Roman Empire, or Byzantine Empire, was engaged in fierce conflict with the Sassanid Persians on the northern edges of the Arabian Peninsula. So when Islam appeared in the early seventh century in the Ḥijāz, the Byzantine Empire was a neighbour of the Arabs in the north (in the Levant and Mesopotamia), and in the west where Egypt was a Byzantine province as well. The Byzantines lost the Levant after the defeat of their armies in the Battle of Yarmuk in 636 A.D at the hands of Arab Muslim troops, and a few years later they also lost Egypt, Mesopotamia and Armenia (Haldon, 1997, p. 50). These events did not lead to an end of the conflict between the two cultures (Middle Eastern Muslims and Eastern Europeans/Byzantines) but, on the contrary, the tension in relations lasted over the subsequent centuries until Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 (Jamieson, 2006). In south-western Europe, Andalusia (southern Spain) was the focus of Muslim-Christian tension from the Arab Islamic conquest in 92/711 to the post-sixteenth century (Watt and Cachia 1996).

Earlier in this thesis, in Chapter Five, I referred to the story of Aḥmad al-Ḥajarī (Afoqāi), the Moroccan/Andalusian ambassador, who travelled to France in order to claim rights for some of the Moors (Andalusians) who had been expelled from Andalusia to North Africa around 1610 on French or Frankish ships, and whose money and belongings had been looted during the deportation journey (see Afoqāi, 2004, pp. 47-48). This matter falls within this context, i.e. as part of the process of tension and the cultural and civilisation conflict between the Muslim and the Christian parties. Thus, it is not surprising that the image of the other (Christian) in the collective Arab/Muslim mind was formed in line with cultural and historical considerations, formulated by a long history of hostility and conflict, so that the term “Christian, European or Frank” refers to that which is evil and hostile and to everything that is not welcome.

The action of one party and the reaction of the other party is a very familiar pattern in human history. In the relations between peoples, perceptions and differing religious backgrounds often become firmly rooted and often the former are influenced by the latter and vice versa, both positively and negatively, on the grounds that each party sees the other as an integrated cultural package. Thus, if each of the two cultures had engaged in conflict and hostility towards each other, they also had become engaged in demonising and staining the image of the “Other” with all kinds of dark colours to the point of its becoming a vague, terrifying and abhorrent portrait.

## **1. A glimpse on the image of Muslims in the Christian/Western imagination as reported by an Arab traveller in the seventeenth century**

Since the fourteenth century the growing strength of the Ottoman Turks had constituted a worrying obsession for their neighbours in the Byzantine Empire and the allied Western powers, so that following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and then their incursions into the Balkans, the Turks became a real nightmare for the Western powers at that time (Blanks and Frassetto, 1999, p. 211).

As the Ottoman Turks were Muslims, in addition to the fact that they had taken control of the Arab/Muslim world and the holy places in Arabia and Palestine from the beginning of the sixteenth century, it happened that ever since that time the connotations of the terms "Arab/Turkish/Muslim" came to overlap in the Western conception. This association was common in Western Europe in the early seventeenth century.

During his mission to France and the Netherlands between 1020-22 A.H./1611-13 A.D., Afoqāi noticed that the words "Muslim" and "Turkish" meant the same thing in the European mind at the time. In Paris, one of the French notables visited the judge in charge of considering the Andalusians' complaint. The judge invited Afoqāi to have dinner at his home, probably prompted by his desire to establish a scientific debate about religions between the two guests, who were members of different cultures,

religions, and backgrounds (the notable's guest and Afoqāi). When the hosts introduced Afoqāi to the other guest, they presented him as a Turkish man:

قالوا للضيف: هذا رجل تركي. لأن الفرنج لا يقولون للمسلم إلا تركي

They said to the guest: This is a Turkish man because Franks refer to Muslims only as Turks.

حتى إذا بلغنا إلى دار منزلة التي ننزل للمبيت فيها، فيكلمون ربّ الدار، يقولون: هذا رجل تركي لأن في بلد الفرنج وفي الكثير من سلطانات النصارى لا يُسمّون إلا تركي.

When we reached the house that we were to stay in, they talked with the landlord, saying: 'This is a Turkish man'. For in the Franks' land, as well as in many other Christian countries, they (the Muslims) are only called 'Turkish' (Afoqāi, 2004, pp. 65 and 86, respectively).

In the eyes of Westerners, the image of the Turks and of Muslims in general, according to Afoqāi's account, comes across as that of a fierce fighter, clownish and unkind, who is greedy and eager to make money by any means, marrying four women, being religiously fanatic, imposing the face veil on their women as an aspect of the patriarchal

system and being under the yoke of their contradictory religion that deprives them of some of the joys of life such as pork and alcohol, while at the same time allowing them sodomy and adultery! This is the Muslim who was found by Afoqāi in the minds of Europeans four centuries ago, and this was the image created by the inimical mutual culture over the years. As Afoqāi spoke Spanish fluently and also understood French, in addition to his acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments, Christian-European history and the general culture of the time, he tried to dissipate a part of this muddled image by engaging in many scientific debates and discussions with some Western intellectuals in France and the Netherlands (Haymar, 1999, p. 314 and Afoqāi, 2004).

When the idea of 'the positive Ego' versus 'the negative Other' becomes dominant in any people or culture, it leads to an inflated form of self-culture and thus the assumption prevails that the contrary "Other" symbolizes backwardness, ignorance and everything else that is bad. In case the "Other" has good and positive characteristics, it does not mean that this disdainful visualization of the "Other" is wrong, but, instead, it means that the "Other" himself is in the wrong place or on the wrong side, which means that he should be HERE and not THERE, because good things can only be here, whereas bad things should always be there.

Within this context, we find that some Europeans were astonished at the existence of "wide culture/knowledge" along with "Islam" in one and the same person. This was based on their belief that the reason for such a person to remain in Islam was ignorance and limited awareness of what was going on in the world. One day during his stay in

Paris Afoqāi, accompanied by a French scholar who read Arabic, visited a monastery where they met a monk. Later on, all of the three ran a panel discussion about cultures and religions which ended with some amazement at the broad education that the guest had, although this admiration was mingled with pity and sorrow for his being in the wrong place.

قال لي: تعجبنا منك، تحفظ الألسن، وتقرأ الكتب، وسرت في المدن وأقطار الدنيا، ومع هذا  
تكون مسلما

They said to me: ‘You amaze us. You have mastered tongues, have read books, and have visited several cities and countries over the world, all in spite of your being a Muslim! (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 56).

Perhaps it was such a combination of admiration and compassion that stimulated the judge of the Andalusian case (in reference to what we have quoted above) to suggest to Afoqāi that what would be appropriate for a character like him would be to re-embrace the Christian faith - on the grounds that he was originally a Christian and then had veered towards Islam.

ولما التقيت بالقاضي كان يشكر لي دينه، حتى قال لي مرارا: يا فلان، رأيت أنه يليق بك أن  
ترجع نصرانيا

When I met the judge, he was extolling his religion to me, so much so that he said to me repeatedly: O Mr So-and-so, I have come to the conclusion that the right thing for you to do is to go back to being a Christian (Afoqāi, 2004, p. 58).

Thus we may note this phenomenon of generalization in perceptions towards the “Other” and of attempts to make it into a general framework so it can be easily identified in order to be either attacked or cautioned. Although those who spoke with Afoqāi knew that he was a Moroccan, and although Morocco is one of the nearest Muslim countries to Europe in terms of distance, the Europeans' imagination had adopted a generalizing framework which made the terms Muslim and Turkish synonymous, whereas in fact Morocco has never been part of the Ottoman Empire. However, the generalization phenomenon is not one that is specifically European for it can be claimed that most peoples, if not all, do so. The Arabs and Muslims in the Middle Ages called all Europeans “Franks” as long as they hailed from the lands on the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea (Le Goff, 2009, p. 5).

## **2. Al-Khiyārī and the Non-Muslims in Turkey as a Cultural “Other”**

It is quite clear through the account of Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī that he never directly experienced non-Muslims, and so it is likely that culture (reading in particular) was the only source of the image of the “Other” (People of the Book: the Jews and the Christians) in the imagination of this writer and traveller. It could be claimed that the image of a non-Muslim was confused and not clearly defined. It seems that the intention was the reinforcement of the negative figure of the “Other” to the Arab reader so that it would remain as a sinister “Other”, and an antithesis of the good ego. The intellectual imagination often tends to pattern the image, so that it seems as though the intention is to keep the image of the “Other” dark and hateful, regardless of any other considerations.

It is appropriate at this point to remind ourselves of what has already been mentioned in Chapter Four regarding the fact that the author left no opportunity to express his love for beauty without being exploited, and that the best types of beauty that agitated his heart was human beauty – irrespective of whether a person was male or female. However, these aesthetic (gustative) standards are not fixed for all people, and moreover they may themselves be the evidence of ugliness and the reason for criticism when a different group is being depicted. Within this framework, one may consider one of the texts in which the writer expressed regret for missing an annual festival in the Ḥijāz (on the outskirts of Medina) where on Rajab 12 of each Hijri year people visit the shrines of the martyrs of the Battle of Uhud, one of the most important battles led by the Prophet



Muhammad himself. The text context shows that it was a social gathering more than a religious occasion, as the crowds stay there for a week or more, which makes these days "أشبه بالأعياد أياماً" (ibid 1: p. 339), or "Days that are more like feasts" than anything else, according to the author's phrase (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 339). And this was a regular season for trade, cultural activities and philosophical debates and also an opportunity for meetings between friends and lovers and the like.

The anniversary of that year coincided with the presence of the writer in the city of Thessaloniki while returning from Greece, where he met the Ottoman Sultan. That was on Friday 12.07.1080/06.12.1669. He reports that while the convoy was ready to leave for Istanbul, they were told that the Sultan was going to enter the city. They then preferred to seize this opportunity to watch the parade and the accompanying events. He says that while they were immersed in thinking about the Ḥijāzi festival, they have established that the Sultan would be entering the city in his cortege:

الذي تُخسَدُ بُدُورَهُ وَنُجُومُهُ بُدُورَ وَنُجُومِ الْأَفْقِ الْفَلَكيِّ

The one of whom the stars and the moons of the Milky Way are jealous of what it (the cortege) includes in the way of bright full moons and stars (boys and girls in the parade are likened to the moons and the stars) (ibid 1: p. 341).

He adds that they came out with the crowds to watch the parade and all it contained that was remarkable for strangers;

فإذا جآذر الأروام والروميات بارزون جماعات ووحداناً من كل من يقف الطرف لرؤيته  
شاخصاً، ويرجع البصر لخشية الله ناكصاً

(When we emerged we saw) male and female antelopes of Byzantium (Turkish boys and girls) who appeared in groups and individuals of those who, once they are seen, make people stop and eyes stare (in wonder at such beauty), and those at whom the sight of the onlooker recoils – turning aside out of fear of Allah (God) (ibid 1: p. 341).

This prologue might suggest that the focus was on the official details of the ceremony more than anything else, but the fact is that it was not, as it seems that it was hard to ignore the public and the parade participants, who are described as follows:

تتنشى منهم الأغصان وتمور الأرداف، ويظهر الرمان عند تمايل الأعطاف، ويبدو جنى الورد  
فتميل للقطاف، على رؤوسهن الخمرُ كأنما نُسِجَتْ من الضياء والنور، فأنى تكون سائرَة  
لهاتيك البُدور

They have wavered twigs (soft anatomies) and undulating buttocks, and (there are girls) whose pomegranates (breasts) become apparent when bending, and whose roses (cheeks) seem ready for reaping (kissing), who wear over their heads scarves so fine that they seem as if they were woven from the light. So how then could they (the scarves) conceal those full-moons (faces)! (ibid 1: p. 341).

Although belles have the irresistible aesthetic specifications, they are not the only gender that captivates the minds of the viewers. Young male riders who were parading on the horses had an amazing attraction too. The author tells us his feelings towards them in the following lines:

ثم لاحت آفاقُ أفلاكِ السُّروجِ تُحْمَلُ الشُّطَارَ؛ حَوَاصُّ خَدَمِ الخُنُكَارِ وَهُمْ بِجَمَالِهِمْ وَخَلِيهِمْ وَخَلَالِهِمْ  
يَخْتَطِفُونَ الأَبْصَارَ

Then the saddles' orbits loomed (meaning: the flashy saddles shine like planets). These saddles bearing the most special boys among the servants of the Sultan, who (the servants) grab the viewers' gaze because of their beauty and the magnificence of their ornaments and costumes (ibid 1: p. 342).

He explains the fashion in which the valets of the Sultan pass in front of him. They were more than forty boys, and they passed two at a time, wearing silk made of bright colours with golden caps, each pair wearing the same uniform in colour. Then the writer says:

لم ترَ العيونَ أحلى ذواتًا ولا أكملَ أداةً مِنْهُمْ، يَرْكَبُونَ الخُيُولَ التي عليها الزَّانَاتُ المَرْصَعَةُ  
بِالْجواهرِ ... بحيثُ يندهشُ الرائي ماذا يَرى أَلرَّاکِبُ أو المَرْكُوبُ

The eyes have not seen anyone more beautiful and better equipped than them. They ride horses that have jewelled poles ... so that the beholder wonders as to what he should be looking at - the rider or the ridden! (ibid 1: pp. 343-44).

After detailing the events of the royal procession, he stated that they did not miss anything important (from the Medina festival) as they were so lucky to have witnessed that unique royal occasion. He says:

فلما أَحَطْنَا بِهِ خِبْرَةً، وَمَنْعْنَا النَّوَظِرَ بهاتيكِ النَّظْرَةَ، سَلَّنا عَمَّا يَكُونُ في مِثْلِ هذا اليومِ بالمدينةِ  
الشريفةِ ... وقلْتُ: ما قَطَعَ اللهُ عَنَّا عَوائِدَهُ مِنْ إمتاعِ النَّوَظِرِ بِالظُّبَاءِ النَّوَافِرِ، وَإِنْ فَاتَتْ العَرَبُ  
البَوادي، فما فَاتَتْ الرُّومِيَّاتِ الحَواضِرُ. ثُمَّ بَقِينا يَوْمَنا في تِلْكَ النَّشْوَةِ

When we had taken note of this occasion and our eyes had had their fill of watching, that comforted us as we recalled what occurs on this day in the holy city (Medina) ... and I said: Allah (God) has not stopped His bounties to us, such as feasting our eyes on energetic deer (beautiful ladies), and if we have missed seeing the female Bedouin Arabs, we have not missed the city ladies of Byzantium (Turks). Then we spent the rest of the day drawing on those feelings of intoxication (ibid 1: p. 344).

The text makes it clear enough that the melancholy on the part of the writer was not because of the religious and spiritual side of the annual occasion in Medina, but because of the missed opportunity of seeing the beautiful women who attended the event. On the other hand, it can be noticed that beauty itself is not a sufficient factor inducing the writer to commend a beautiful body or thing, but cultural affiliation is the primary factor in his praise or disparagement of any person or thing. This claim is based on the fact that we find the author in another text describing some of the inhabitants of this city (Thessaloniki) in a very different way. During his outward journey to Greece he gives us some details about the city, saying:

بَلَدٌ عَامِرٌ يَرُوقُ عِنْدَ رَانِيهِ وَيَحْسُنُ. بِهِ مَا تَشْتَهِي الْأَنْفُسُ وَتَلَذُّ الْأَعْيُنُ ... وَفِيهِ كَثْرَةُ الْيَهُودِ  
الزَّانِدَةُ عَنِ الْحُدُودِ ... وَصَادَفَ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ الْمَذْكُورِ عِيدًا لِلْيَهُودِ وَالنَّصَارَى، فَبَرَزُوا فِيهِ  
أَفْوَاجًا أَفْوَاجًا، يَرُدُّونَ كَنَانِسَتَهُمْ لِلْعِبَادَةِ الَّتِي ابْتَدَعُوهَا أَفْرَادًا وَأَزْوَاجًا، لَا يَسِينُ أَحْسَنَ مَلَابِسِهِمْ  
وَلَا حَسَنَ فِيهَا، عَلَيْهِمْ سِوَاذٌ وَظُلْمَةٌ الْكُفْرِ حَسَنًا وَمَعْنَى

It is an inhabited town and is admired by all who set eyes on it. It has what souls desire and what pleases the eyes ... it has a huge, more than average-sized community of Jews... It happened by chance that on the Friday in question (a reference to 22.05.1080/18.10.1669) there was a festival for the Jews and Christians. They came out in their multitudes directing individuals and couples toward their churches for the worship which they had contrived, dressed in the best attire they have, even though we find that their clothes have no beauty. There is upon them the blackness and darkness of *kufr* (disbelief) in every sense of the word (ibid 1: pp 267-68).

In these two texts the writer describes people who look alike in almost everything sensuous, in shape, colour, size, appearance, date and place, but who differ culturally, intellectually and historically. In the first text we find him expressing his amazement at the beauty of those described in all aspects referred to and regardless of their gender, words may not be adequate for a true description of their beauty and the impact of their attractiveness. First, precision and detail in the description suggests the importance of the subject for the author and that he has a deep sense of wanting to entice the reader to imagine the scene as it is, or, perhaps even better than it actually is. With regard to females, he barely excludes anything that the eye can see without depicting it in his travelogue. His descriptions include various aspects such as flexible bodies, undulating buttocks, swaying sides, prominent breasts which are ready for 'picking', more so that even the headscarf, which is intended to reduce fascination with the beauty of women, has itself become the reason for the attractiveness and excitement. Young male riders

also compete in beauty with the precious gems that adorn the rider and his horse so that the eye is puzzled as to which is most impressive, the gems and the pearls or the young men! It is clear from the texts that his statement that the gaze should be lowered out of the fear of Allah (God) was only a kind of excuse to the reader, but it means nothing in reality because whoever presents these details could not possibly have lowered his gaze from anything in the scene before him.

In the second text it may be noticed that what resulted in the description of the event, or in other words what dictated the text, was the local culture, and that the writer was merely a tool like a pen or a painter's brush. This event (the celebration of "the Other" on this occasion) was a rare opportunity to help the Arab reader to detect a part of the existing ambiguity in the form/image/identity of "the different Other" by presenting a true image by an eyewitness who had the opportunity to attend a cultural event of "the Other". It was an opportunity to portray the festivities and detail the customs, behaviours and the rituals of people, in addition of course to describing their costumes and appearances, indeed all that should be conveyed faithfully as seen by a neutral eye. What happened is that the writer tried to exploit the event to promote pre-existing mental images. The event, despite its importance, takes up only a few words of the text's size, in addition to the fact that the writer does not portray it, despite his brief coverage, in a positive or even a neutral way. More than that, the elements such as new costumes on which there is no disagreement about their beauty, and which are supposed to be a reason for praise, have been portrayed in an antipathetic way, claiming that despite being the best dresses they have they still have no aesthetic appeal. In an attempt to mislead his readers even further, the writer claims that the darkness of disbelief is not

something mentally imagined, but appears on the infidels to the extent that it could be seen and felt in a tangible manner.

It is evident in many of the texts about the Turks that al-Khiyārī believes that the areas he visited after the Syrian lands and heading north are all Turkish territories, and therefore the citizens are all supposed to be Muslim Turks. In the quoted text above it seems that he was not aware that he was talking about Greece, and that the city where he stayed (Thessaloniki) was a part of a Christian area, and therefore the majority of the population were mainly Christians, and both the Jews and Muslims were aliens there. They both began to settle in the city from the fifteenth century: in the case of the Turks, since the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1430, and in that of the Jews, since their expulsion from Spain and some other European countries after 1492. (See: Ginio, 1992, pp 216-218). This belief on the part of the writer is supported by ample evidence in his writing, most notably the fact that that he refers to all of them as "Rum", and the phrase "Rum = Romans" in the Arab culture of the Ottoman Era meant the Turks (Findley, 2004, p. 72).

Negation of the beauty of costumes and those who wear them makes a link between the sensory and the imaginary, and there is an attempt at a deliberate cultural projection. The sensory is the apparent beauty in form, colour, body and costumes. The mental/cultural in their blackness is because of the darkness of the environment (environment of disbelief) where they live. The linkage seems to be unrealistic, weak and an unsuccessful attempt by the writer.



With regard to the celebration which the writer referred to, it may be appropriate to note that he entered Thessaloniki on 18th October 1669, corresponding to 23rd Tishrei 5430 of the Jewish calendar. The former date would be St. Luke's Feast Day, and the latter might be the Simchat Torah Feast. And perhaps this is what the author means by the words "it is a feast of the Jews and the Christians".

A lack of consistency may seem clearer when we find the writer describing some citizens on the day of their feast, saying that there is nothing at all that can make them seem beautiful, neither their costumes, nor their self-adornment nor their personal manifestation. On the other hand we find him also describing other citizens on the day of their festival, but differently or even contrarily described. Among those texts, for example, is the text which tells us about how the masses of the Turkish people congregate in the public squares of Istanbul for the celebrations and gatherings, on the day of *Eid al-Fitr* (the Feast Day marking the completion of Ramadan fasting) in 1080/1670. The author gives us a panoramic overview of the scene, saying that the huge number of them and the diversity of colours of their dresses and jewelleries make public yards and streets look like a meadow full of flowers and roses of every shape and colour, which provides the eye with aesthetic pleasure, as in the following quote:

فانتشرَ في السككِ أهلُ ذلكِ الجمعِ، انتشارَ أزهارِ الرياضِ تَخْلُو لِلطَّرْفِ وتَقْرُ العَيْنَ ...، مَخْلِيَيْنِ  
بِخَلَى الأعيادِ، عَلَيهِمْ مِنَ الخَللِ والخَلْبِ ما بَيْنَ أزواجِ وأفرادِ

Thus, the two events truly seem contradictory, as the portrait in Istanbul is full of beauty in all its dimensions, including the very ground on which they are walking, while there is nothing beautiful to be found in the revellers of Thessaloniki (ibid 2: p. 20).

As mentioned in Chapter Four and elsewhere, al-Khiyārī's travelogue is replete with descriptions of beauty and he never ceased praising the physical beauty of human beings in particular and the surrounding environment in general. Al-Khiyārī's book stands as a window to enable the Arab reader to see people who have attributes which may only exist amongst the inhabitants of heaven. This is the general picture of citizens in Turkey and around the Ottoman provinces, especially of the young ones - whether they are males or females. However there are other images, of which we have seen some (and others will come later) where these people themselves appear as exotic and demonic creatures belonging neither to heaven nor to the earth!

It may be useful to mention here the term (*Sufūr* سفور) which appears in several places in the travelogue in different grammatical forms (noun, adjective, verb, infinitive ... etc). "*Sufūr* سفور" means appearance or display, and in Islamic jurisprudence it means: a woman's display of her attractions to males other than her husband and blood relatives. In the Ottoman era and in some contemporary Muslim societies it has meant the uncovering of the face and display of hair in public and in front of strangers. Although the translation may not be accurate, the term "unveiling" could be used as a translation for "*Sufūr* سفور" in the following lines. Semantic suggestions of the term "*Sufūr* سفور"

was a reason to create a group of texts that are characterized by their artistic quality, as it was also on the other hand a reason behind some attitudes that are not free of unfair cultural verdicts. It can be said that al-Khiyārī had dealt with this term through two paths; one is sentimental and the other is cultural. The former is the one which generated good texts, being humanitarian and close to realism. The cultural track had been affected by multiple external factors, but the most important was the historical and political factor. As this research is not concerned with the artistic aspects of al-Khiyārī's work, it will be limited in this chapter to approaching the contexts of "سفور *Sufūr*" that serve the theme of "the Other".

Public events are considered amongst the best occasions to view different classes of people, as the writer constantly states that he would be at his happiest when attending such gatherings. On the day of *Eid al-Fitr* mentioned above, the writer attended with some friends the Hippodrome near the Blue Mosque. When they arrived, the place was full of people of both sexes who were there to view and enjoy the horse race. This was a good opportunity for him to enjoy the beauty of the audience more than the beauty of the show itself.

ثُمَّ سِرْنَا إِلَى جِهَةِ أَطْمِيدَانٍ ... فَإِذَا بِتِلْكَ الرَّحَابِ الزَّوَاهِرِ، ظِبَاءِ الرُّومِ النَّوَافِرِ سَوَافِرِ، فَانْقَبَيْنَ  
فِي لَطَافَةِ الذَّاتِ وَمَحَاسِنِ الْأَوْضَاعِ وَالسَّمَاتِ سَوَانِحِ الْجَائِرِ

Then we went to the *At Meydani* (the Hippodrome) ... to those radiant squares where the Turkish active antelopes (ladies) were to be seen unveiled, they who have a docility and beauty in form and features more than that of passing deer (ibid 2: p. 21).

Then, after arriving back in Damascus on his return from Turkey, he wrote a poem in which he referred to his days in Turkey, and what concerns us here is this verse:

وَقَدْ بَدَتْ لِي بُدُورُ الرُّومِ سَافِرَةً ... بِكُلِّ قَدٍّ حَكَى فِي عِطْفِهِ غُصْنَا

Turkish full moons (young ladies) had appeared unveiled in front of me, with figures as lithe and delicate as little wands (ibid 2: p. 123).

Elsewhere he mentions that when he had seen a group of women passing across a square in Istanbul, he wrote poetic verses about them, including these two verses quoted below;

سَوَانِحُ أَرَامٍ مِنَ الرُّومِ قَدْ بَدَتْ تَقِيمُ      بِبَاهِي الْحُسْنِ لِلصَّبِّ أَغْذَارَا  
غُصُونٌ مِنَ الْبَلُورِ ثُبْدِي فُرُوعُهَا لِمَنْ      ضَلَّ فِي لَيْلِ الْغَوَايَةِ أَقْمَارَا

Passing Turkish gazelles (young women) had appeared to us, creating excuses for lovers (who are preoccupied with looking at them) because of their splendid charms.

They are like twigs of crystal (flexible white bodies), with their branches (long dark hair) uncovering their moons (white faces) for those who were lost in the darkness of perversity (meaning that seeing their faces alerts those who were attracted to seduction that they needed to rectify their behaviour.) (ibid 1: p. 247).

What concerns us here in the first place is to examine his initial attitude to watching unveiled women, and whether the display of such women for their prettiness is considered a cause of invective and disparagement.

Here it can be seen that the word (*Sufūr* سفور) [in different derivations] is used explicitly in the first two lines and implicitly in the third line, but it was used in positive contexts in all three texts quoted above. In the first quotation he used "*Sawāfir* سوافير [a form for plural]" as an adjective of antelopes that meant here graceful women. In the second text it was "*Sāfirah* سافرة" as an adverb to describe the verb "appeared *بَدَتْ*". In the third one,

the term was not included explicitly but the verb "appeared **بَدَتْ**" in the first hemistich of the first verse with the details afterward means that hairs and faces were uncovered when they were watched, and this meaning is no less obvious than the explicit words in the two previous quotations.

Now, let us look at this meaning "unveiling/display/overdress" when it is the subject of a description of "the Other" and how others who are so described come to be judged. Al-Khiyārī tells us about the village of Pendik near Istanbul (today a neighbourhood in the Asian suburbs of Istanbul) with these words:

وهي من قرى النصارى، خاصة بهم، يبدو بها نساؤهم سافرات، ورجالهم بمناظر  
مستبشعات... ولم ننزلها... وبها عمارات حسنة في حد ذاتها لإشرافها على البحر، ولكن  
عليها ظلمة الكفر وقتامه

It is one of the villages of the Christians. Their women go around unveiled, and their men had a look about them that we found ugly ... and so we did not stay there ... It has, however, beautiful buildings, specifically because of overlooking the sea. Nevertheless, they were shrouded by the darkness and gloom of disbelief". (ibid 1: pp. 237-238).

He adds that Pendik and a nearby village have “hostels for those Muslims who wanted to stay in them”: "خانات مبنية لمن نزلها من المسلمين" (ibid 1: pp. 238).

Here it may be seen how the intellectual imagination, with its stereotypical images, causes everything beautiful to vanish from the cultural "Other" to the extent that the most striking thing is that even the women and their beauty have passed unnoticed here. Furthermore, this feature itself is employed negatively. Brevity in such contexts is not of the nature of this writer, but ominous scenes are left very quickly by referring to them only in short phrases. Nevertheless, this shortcut is loaded, to the degree of fullness, with meanings which darken and misrepresent the image in a way that long sentences may not be able to. Undoubtedly it is only a cultural message, because the writer says they did not stay in the village, given that it was merely a transit point. Thus, the aim is to add a dark smudge to the image of the “Other”, regardless of how realistic it is. For the Arab readers in the seventeenth century, who were the intended readers of the travelogue, the words "unveiled سافرة/ سافرات" and "ugly appearances<sup>4</sup> مُسْتَبْشَعَات" give an initial antipathetic impression. The attitude becomes worse when the terms above come as adjectives of "Christians" which in turn refers to aggressive, wicked Roman and Byzantine occupiers. In addition to the obvious negativity of the overall context in the text, within this data, these two terms become laden with deep and very negative overtones; cultural overtones in the first (سافرة/ سافرات) and linguistic in the second (مُسْتَبْشَعَات). The term "unveiled سافرة" in the Arab recipient's mind at that time brings to the imagination the image of a woman who is inclined to moral degeneracy and to the breaking of social traditions. In other words, it suggests, to some extent, that such

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<sup>4</sup> - It means (they are seen hideous because of their ugly appearance).

women are disreputable. Although the term "unveiled سافرات", due to the heavy cultural coding, was saturated with gloomy connotations enough with respect to the image of the Other, the term "ugly appearance مُسْتَبْشَعَات" can be described just as a mischievous and hurtful term. This word is a derivative root "ب ش ع" which means according to Arabic dictionaries everything ugly, loathsome, nauseating and disgusting. If we add to this the fact that the basic word "بشع" is augmented with nearly double characters (مُسْتَبْشَعَات / or / مُسْتَبْشَعَات), this makes it so disgusting, even if it was a description of the most beautiful creatures!

Despite the coastal location of the town (Pendik) and its beautiful buildings which gave the place an aesthetic tinge that cannot be ignored, it may have been important to make the point that this was not a commendable feature due to the "darkness of disbelief" surrounding the town's atmosphere and therefore spoiling anyone's mood.

In a strange and unjustified gesture, the writer refers to the existing inns by saying that they had been built for Muslim travellers - as if the non-Muslims were not expected to reside in respectable places and they should not! It seems that such a note has been brought in specifically because the place belonged to "the Other" with evidence that he did not mention, in places that he stayed in or passed by, that these inns/hotels were for a specific class of people. For example when he reported about the village Bayat he told us that "it has two hostels for travellers' lodging" "فيها خانان لنزول المسافرين" (ibid 2: p. 115). In this quote the writer does not seem under the pressure of culture, as he was speaking from within the framework of "the Muslim Ego" and therefore he gave the



hostels a logical and realistic description commensurate with public hostels in all parts of the world which serve as accommodation for any traveller passing by, and not for specific cultures. As the writer states, they did not stay in the above-mentioned village; however, he did not want to leave that spot without recording a position, and this supports the claim that the message was cultural in the first place.

In his report on returning to the Hījāz he lists the names of the places he went through, only rarely giving any details, such as in his report on some sites after leaving Istanbul (ibid 2: p. 115):

نزلنا بعد بِمَحَلٍّ يُسَمَّى الْهَرَسَكِ وَهُوَ مَنَزَلٌ لَمْ نَنْزِلْهُ أَيْضًا فِي الدَّهَابِ. وَمِنْهُ لِلنَّصَارَى مَنَزَلٌ لَمْ  
نَنْزِلْهُ سَابِقًا، رَأَيْنَا بِهِ نِسَاءَهُمْ يَبْزُزُونَ سَافِرَاتِ الْوُجُوهِ. وَمِنْهُ لِأَزْنِيكِ الْمَتَقَدِمِ ذِكْرُهَا وَتَزْوُلُهَا.  
وَمِنْهُ لِلْفِكَهَةِ؛ مَنَزَلٌ لَمْ نَنْزِلْهُ ذَهَابًا. وَمِنْهُ لِخَانَ الْوَزِيرِ مُحَمَّدِ بَاشَا

After that we stayed in a place called Hersek where we had not also stayed on our outward journey there (to Istanbul). Then (we set off) to a district of the Christians where we did not stay last time and where we saw their women emerge with unveiled faces. Then (we set off) to Iznik, which we have already mentioned as having stayed in it above. Then (we set off) to Lefke, a place where we did not stay while going (to Istanbul). From there we travelled to the Khan of the Vizier [Minister] Mohammad Pasha (Vezirhan) ...

The reader can hardly find al-Khiyārī talking about people in the many places he stayed in during his travel to or from Istanbul, except if he was talking about the people he associated with another subject. Whatever the case, none of those belonging to the "Muslim Ego" in Turkey were described as being ugly by al-Khiyārī, but on the contrary, his account presents them all as if they were angels. Here we note that the writer mentions several places where he stayed including Hersek; however, he made no comment about any of them except for this village, which he commented on in brief but deeply significant terms.

The content of this sentence is somewhat similar to the content of the preceding sentence about the village of Pendik with respect to the term (unveiling/*Sufūr* سفور) which occurred here in explicit wording; but what is new in this text is the allocation of the adjective "unveiled" to "faces". In the previous descriptions of women he generally refers to them as: "appearing unveiled *يبدون سافرات* ". Here, however, he says that they "emerge in unveiled faces *يبرزون سافرات الوجوه* ". Despite the fact that the meaning of (unveiling/*Sufūr* سفور) necessarily includes uncovered faces, nonetheless it was the first meaning that came to mind at that time, as it cannot be imagined that an unveiled woman would be wearing a hijab at the same time! The focus on uncovered faces here is to focus on the lack of modesty in that class of society, if we take into account the verbal context, where the place is defined as belonging to "the Christians" and women were added to them "their women *نساءهم*" to emphasize that they are so because they are women of that particular class in Turkey, i.e. Christians. We may add to this that combining both sexes, men and women, in one Arabic word "their + women = *نساءهم* =

" نساءهم " in this context provides a negative description for both sides together in one sentence, unlike the text about Pendik village, where women were branded as unveiled, and men as having an ugly appearance, meaning that an independent sentence was allocated in order to disfigure each party separately. Here, the author combines the two images in one frame to darken them both by one sentence, as if the goal is to combine the shortcut and focus! The text appears as if it is a report that suggests that those people (Christians) are a group of creatures that do not have a law that regulates the relationships between the sexes.

Places are common objects between all people, so it is unreasonable to take a subjective attitude towards them on the basis of a certain cultural background. However, the writer was keen in several texts, as is the case here, to create a clear dividing line in the reader's mind between the place as something culturally neutral and the inhabitants of that place as representing either "Other" or "Ego".

Regarding the place inhabited by the "Other" we saw that the writer describes some locations as beautiful districts, and as places, while their people have nothing of beauty even though they wear the best clothes and ornaments they have, such as in Thessaloniki for example, whereas in the case of lack of adornment they appear extremely hideous and ugly, such as in Pendik! Sometimes, praise of a place may not be the intention in itself, but rather make it appear to be a substantive equivalent to the ugliness of the inhabitants, in other words the place looks beautiful because it belongs to the "other" who is abhorrent both in appearance and by nature.

During his trip to Greece, the writer stayed with his companions in the town of Izdin (Lamia) in central Greece on Friday 29.05.1080/25.10.1669. He describes it as a town of great beauty and magnificence, which has removed the chagrin and distress which he had suffered from on his way. That gloom was not due to the discomforts and troubles of travel, but was because:

أنا رأينا ببعض أماكنها راعيا نصرانيا يرعى قطيعا كاملا من الخنازير، أقبح منظر يُرى، أكبر من أكبر كلب يُرى في الجُرم، والراس كراس البقر قبيح جدا، فأغممتنا رؤياه. ثم سرنا بعده غير بعيد فزادت ظلمة الكفر وثار قتام مع ظلام بحيث غشى الأبصار وصار الراكب منا لا يرى صاحبه الراكب بين يديه إذا بَعَدَ عنه نحو الستة أذرع، ومن خلفه كذلك. ولم نزل صاعدين كذلك في جبال مظلمة حسا ومعنى، وما لاحظنا إلا أنها ظلمة الكفر فإتينا بلاد كفار... ولقد كان يمر بنا في الكتب الفقهية ذكر الخنزير فلا نتخيل هينته حتى رأيناها كما لك وصفناه

We had seen in some of its suburbs a Christian boy shepherding a full herd of pigs. It is the ugliest sight that can be seen, (and pig seems) in the body larger than the largest dog that could be seen, and its head looks like a cow's head, very ugly, so we felt depressed as a result of seeing it. Not far beyond that spot the darkness of disbelief had increased when dust and murk erupted above us and blocked our vision, so that those of us who were mounted became unable to see a companion riding just ahead if he was about six cubits away, and the same for whoever was behind (six cubits = approx. three meters). We were still ascending in

such a manner through mountains that were both palpably and morally dark. We found no explanation for it except for its being the darkness of disbelief, as it is a country of unbelievers ... We had found mention of pigs in the books of jurisprudence (*Fiqh/Sharia Law*), but we had not even imagined its appearance until we actually saw it, so it looks just as we have described it for you (ibid 1: p. 284).

It may be understandable if the chagrin and concern is due to impairment of vision caused by dust or to hardship which occurred because of climbing high terrains, as these things may bring physical fatigue and consequently may have a negative effect on the psyche of the traveller. The same would be true if a person suffered from discomfort with this animal such as being caused physical harm or being compelled to handle it or eat its meat and that sort of thing, for that could undoubtedly cause psychological concern if it conflicted with the person's culture and religion. However, the belief that merely seeing this animal causes chagrin is something which cannot be explained other than purely on the basis of a certain cultural background. The writer - as can be seen from the context - was culturally burdened and psychologically conditioned, for the reasons mentioned earlier, toward this "Other" and all that it involves. Eating pork is explicitly forbidden in Islam, as it is in Judaism, and therefore the negative attitude by the writer towards the pig is not surprising in principle; but the strange thing is that this attitude is transferred to the animal's shape (it is the ugliest sight that can be seen أقبح جبان مظلمة حسناً (منظر يُرى) and then to the place (palpably and morally dark mountains (ومعنى). Furthermore, it can be noticed that the "Other" is the cause of all this evil and affliction, as pigs could not be seen if they were not in the environment of the different

"Other", and most likely that dust and storm and even the darkness of the region as a whole were due to the fact that the country belongs to "the Other/the disbeliever"

When the image of the "Other" is a negative one in the mind of a person, he (the Other) should be classified as an enemy. And the enemy must be portrayed as evil and terrifying in appearance. Voice and behaviour are to be used as a means of intimidation against whatever was intended to be subjected to the will of the self, whether human or even animals. Thus, when it is intended to scare wild animals in order to control or hunt them, there will be no better than the "Other" to undertake this task. In this context, al-Khiyārī tells us that after passing the city of Atalanti towards southern Greece they were informed that the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV would camp in a nearby area for a hunting safari before resuming travelling later on to the northern city of *Yenişehir/Larissa*, where the writer was to meet him. They then headed to the specified hunting area where they stayed about four days. Targets might be animals or birds, and no matter what, it was required to be terrorized to feel that there was an imminent threat, forcing them to stampede aimlessly in every direction, so that the hunters would achieve the highest degree of adventure in the sniping process. Wild animals would be scared only by horrible creatures, so the "Other" was the best choice to perform this task. Al-Khiyārī says that the Sultan arrived at the place in the forenoon on Wednesday 04.06.1080/30.10.1669, intending to go hunting, and a huge number of people had been gathered for that purpose.

لجمع الصيد وتفتيره من مكانه. وأخبرني بعض من لقيت ممن أتق بخبره أن مجموع الرعايا  
المجتمعين لذلك وتحصيله بين يديه خمسة وأربعون ألفا من النصارى. ولهم ضجيج عال  
ونيران يوقدونها في رؤوس الجبال. والحاصل: لهم زجل عجيب ووضع غريب

.

In order to round up the prey and push them out of their hideouts, some of those I met whose information I trusted told me that the total number of subject citizens gathered for that purpose (rounding up the prey) and bringing them into his hands (that is, of the Sultan) was forty-five thousand of the Christians. They have loud voices, besides the fires which they kindle on the tops of mountains. To sum up: their whole language and behaviour is quite extraordinary (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 287).

Although the writer tried to evade full responsibility for what has been mentioned in this report by attributing the tale to an anonymous narrator, this text remains peculiar in many of its aspects because of questions that arise in the mind of the readers. For instance: who is that person who told him? What is the position he has that enables him to know such statistics? Then what is his relationship with a visiting stranger, so as to tell him these details and record such an exact figure? And whatever the case, if we assume that the narrator was one of the organizers of the hunting safari, is it conceivable that he had accurate statistics regarding the numbers? Then again, what is the purpose of the declaration about the religion and background of these crowds? Does it mean that there were no people among the Muslim Turks or others in this Greek town? Or does it

mean that the Turks and Muslims could not frighten those wild animals as well as could the Christians?

If the words "Forty-five thousand of the Christians" are quoted from the anonymous narrator, the context shows that what follows is in the words of the writer himself. It is also clear that this additional contribution has a paramount importance in the formation of the image in the mind of the recipient. The writer goes on to say how they have "loud voices", how they "kindle fires on tops of mountains", and how "their whole language and behaviour is quite extraordinary". These four sentences, whether they are spontaneous and innocent or motivated, combine to suggest to the recipient the backwardness and barbarism that characterized those crowds of people who were composed of tens of thousands of "Christians". They also suggest, and perhaps this was an intended target, that Christians are in the service of the Sultan and the Muslims, and that the latter can thus also take advantage of their great number and "barbarism" to achieve several benefits. It seems that the main aim of this kind of phraseology, and of obfuscating the image of the "Other" in general, is downplaying them (the Other) while attempting to enhance the status of "the Ego" as represented by the Sultan and the Muslim Turks.

However, if the Turks were builders of civilization and protectors of justice and a people endowed with determination and high activity, making them worthy to be masters of the world in the eyes of al-Khiyārī and the Muslims in general, they (the Turks) in the eyes of the French (and Christian) philosopher Constantin de Chassebœuf (Volney) are portrayed as a symbol of tyranny, barbarism, laziness, ignorance, monotony and indifference. These negative images in the opinion of Volney go back to



Islam itself, which teaches its adherents to surrender to fatalism, thus making them believe that there is no point in working hard on the grounds that everything has already been decided and written by God (Allison, 2000, p. 48 ff). Because Volney starts from a Eurocentric vision of the "Other", the Turks in his eyes not only do not build a civilization, but more than that, they are harmful and destructive, for they destroy the achievements of the ancients and devastate the aspirations of future generations as well.

They destroy everything, and repair nothing.... The spirit of the Turkish government is to ruin the labours of past ages, and destroy the hopes of future times, because the barbarity of ignorant despotism never considers tomorrow (Quoted from Volney's text, cited in Allison, 2000, p. 48 ff).

Although there was a quite large Jewish community in Greece in the seventeenth century (Fleming, 2010, p. 9), the cultural "Other" in al-Khiyārī's account in most relevant texts in this chapter is the Christian "Other". It is true that there are a few of the texts that mention the Jews, but more often they are paired with the Christians in the same judgment, as for example in that text which speaks of their festivals in Thessaloniki. This observation may suggest that the cultural problem of the writer is only with the Christians, which makes him keen to display them in gloomy portraits in most of the opportunities available.

This conclusion does not seem accurate according to the concept that what is important is not quantity but quality, i.e. the depth of meaning inspired by the portrayal of the "Other", which means that a single sentence may have more impact than several lines.

During his report about The New Mosque/Yeni Cami, which overlooks the Golden Horn inlet to the side of Hagia Sophia, and after a detailed description of the mosque and its architectural magnificence and decorations, the writer added a few words about the "Other", but not the Christian "Other" this time.

ومن غريب أمره [المسجد] أن محله قبل بنائه كان محلا لليهود يسكنونه ... فوق الحريق  
فطهر ذلك المكان بالنار، واختاره الله بعد ذلك بقعة مطهرة وبيتا ساميا مصلى للأخيار

Among the strange things about its story (the mosque) is that the place where it was built used to belong to the Jews and their houses were built on it. Then a conflagration occurred and it purified that place with fire, and Allah (God) chose it after that as an immaculate spot for its sublime house to become a worshiping place for the best of people (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 287).

It can be seen that this addition has nothing to do with the subject, which is the description of the mosque, but the writer probably saw it as an opportunity to record an attitude towards this category of the "Other". Despite being short, and only containing a very few sentences with regard to the Jewish "Other", it nevertheless has a deeply offensive and excruciating meaning. The depth of the meaning is based on the opposition between purity and impurity, and this impurity is not of the normal type which can be cleaned by washing and cleaning. It is rather of the kind that can only be

disinfected by fire. It is ingrained dirt, so that believers cannot accept to perform their worship in it before this type of cleansing. This involves implicitly another contrasting meaning, it is an attempt to show a discrepancy between two categories; a faithful group which performs its worship in a place which is so pure to the extent that it had been sterilized with fire, versus another group which lives in an environment which is so dirty to the degree that it cannot be cleaned except through the burning of the ground, along with homes and property. This brevity seems to go deeper, in its distortion of the image of the "Other", than long and boring details ever could. Such allusions seem spontaneous, as if that deforming of the image of the "Other" was unintentional, yet they refer to the penetration of this dark image of the "Other" into the subconscious, and the desire to invest in any opportunity to deliver this (melancholic) concept to the reader's mind to enable him to assimilate the amount of evil which is inherent in that "Other/enemy" So the process of distortion, it seems, is only a result of an internal feeling that has been composed for cultural reasons over centuries and was not a goal in itself.

Before the Turks converted to Islam in the fourth/tenth century (Division, 2004, p. 63), Muslims did not consider them as a diabolical sinister "Other" compared to the People of the Book (Jews and Christians - as designated by the Qur'an), because the Turks, like other peoples of the East, were a pagan nation, and this means that they were not aware of prophets, apostles and monotheistic religions, unlike the People of the Book. Muslims believe that both the Jews and the Christians had learned from the Holy Texts they have that Mohammad is a Messenger of Allah (God), but that nevertheless they refused to follow the truth, instead preferring to stand against the Message of Heaven

whereas they were aware that the correct location is where the Prophet was, and that his path is the only right path for all believers. This belief is derived from many Islamic texts, for instance where the Qur'an says:

... قَالَ عَذَابِي أُصِيبُ بِهِ مَنْ أَشَاءُ وَرَحْمَتِي وَسِعَتْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ فَسَأَكْتُبُهَا لِلَّذِينَ يَتَّقُونَ وَيُؤْتُونَ  
الزَّكَاةَ وَالَّذِينَ هُمْ بِآيَاتِنَا يُؤْمِنُونَ، الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الرَّسُولَ النَّبِيَّ الْأُمِّيَّ الَّذِي يَجِدُونَهُ مَكْتُوبًا  
عِنْدَهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ ...

[Allah] said, "... My punishment - I afflict with it whom I will, but My mercy encompasses all things." So I will decree it [especially] for those who fear Me and give zakah [pay the poor-dues] and those who believe in Our verses, those who follow the Messenger, the unlettered prophet, whom they find written about in what they have of the Torah and the Gospel ... (the Qur'an: chapter 7, part of verses 156-157).

This negative attitude caused a surprise and real frustration for Muslims, making them feel that their Brothers in Monotheism (People of the Book) had decided upon hostility in advance, regardless of what Muslims do, whether good or evil (Frazee, 1997, p. 256. and Shenk, 2003, p. 23 ff). Except for the Khazars, it is known that the Jews through the period of Islamic history, at least pre-fifteenth A.H./ twentieth A.D. century, did not have an independent political entity, and therefore it cannot be claimed that they had seriously threatened Muslims militarily or culturally at any time. Thus, unsympathetic

attitudes toward the Jews go back to purely cultural reasons. Jews in the collective Muslim mind were considered further from the right path than the Christians, so that if most Christians did not recognize Muhammad as a prophet, the majority of the Jews had not only rejected both Prophets, Jesus and Muhammad, but also have clearly stood against them and their missions. Consequently, and despite controversy over some historical narratives, the unfriendly positions taken by the Jews of the Arabian Peninsula toward the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, in addition to their alliance with the Arab tribes of idolaters against that small group of monotheists in the seventh century (Perry et al, 2011. P. 206), are still stored in the collective memory of Muslims so that they can be recalled at any circumstance. However, it should be noted here that the Muslims' disappointment with the People of the Book referred to above did not actually lead to punitive action against them under Islamic rule. Jewish and Christian citizens in Muslim countries lived peacefully and safely, practising their beliefs and affairs in accordance with their own faiths. Although it is not easy to generalize in making such a judgment because of the sheer breadth in time and space, for hundreds of years in three continents, it can still be said that it was very rare that they were subjected to racism under Islamic rule simply due to the fact that they did not believe in Islam (Demant, 2006, p. 78). Unlike many Arab writers, al-Khiyārī never lived with any of the Jews or Christians, and probably had not seen any of them before his visit to Turkey as he had lived in the Arabian Peninsula where there was no religion or race other than Islam and the Arabs. This means that he was dealing with them according to the mental image he derived from only one source, namely the written sources. Reading can be an insufficient, insecure and sometimes a misleading source of knowledge, as it is usually contaminated by sediments which have clung to it because of various events and circumstances throughout history.

It is not unlikely that this polluted source (reading) is what drove Marco Polo to blacken the portrait of Muslims in Tabriz - or "worshippers of Mohammad" as he calls them.

They are treacherous and wicked, and the law which was brought by their Prophet Muhammad states that if they inflicted harm or seized property of one who does not embrace their faith, it is not considered sin at all. If they were killed at the hands of Christians they would become martyrs and be forgiven once they had given their testimony in front of their priest [sic], that is to say Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah. For this reason they could become dangerous criminals, and for this reason also they could persuade many peoples, including Tatars, to adopt their religion because it gave them an authorization to commit sins because according to their canon no sin was prohibited (Marco Polo, 1974, pp. 57-58).

Marco Polo, like al-Khiyārī and Volney and many others, did not see what was in front of him and probably did not want to see it. He was haunted by the obsession of the damned "Other". He had a prior mental image of the satanic "Other"/ the enemy, and therefore saw it as his business to search for live models to suit this image rather than to provide an objective description of these people who are the subject of his writing. Though the main idea is the same, the difference between al-Khiyārī and Marco Polo is that the latter faults both the "Other" and their religion, and furthermore he believes that

the religion itself is what makes this "Other" a Satan, or at least created a legal justification for moral degeneration. While al-Khiyārī criticizes the "Other" himself without reference to religion, he nonetheless believes that the deviation from the true teachings of the Lord was the reason for such corruption. In any case, the polluted concept of each of these writers is what led to this kind of distorted perception, which in turn led to displaying the "Other" in a repugnant portrayal. Thus, it can be thought that this is not, or should not be, the natural attitude of a cultured and sensitive writer like al-Khiyārī, nor is it the objective view of an original philosopher such as Volney, or the real judgement of an adventurous traveller like Marco Polo. This is simply the attitude of intolerance, the feeling of greatness of the Ego and centralization of the self versus contempt for the "Other" with the belief that he is a burden on human civilization. It is a loss of one's own individuality in the maze of cultural standards which are based on incitement towards those who are not subject to the concepts of the "Ego" in the perception and interpretation of the universe, life and all things related to it. Any author who works in accordance with these narcissistic principles may be expected to say about the "Other" what al-Khiyārī, Volney and Marco Polo said, if not more.

### **3. Glimpses of the "Non-Demonic Other"**

In addition to the cultural factors referred to above, one of the significant reasons for demonising the "Other" is due to the ignorance of his nature and the ambiguity of his image, making culture, surrounding circumstances and imagination constitute the whole picture or the greater part of it in the mentality of the other party, as the incomplete

perception, prevents altogether, or at least severely hampers, any precise mental visualization of the "Other" (Greenblatt, 1991. p 11). This applies to al-Khiyārī as it does to others, and it can therefore be seen that the judgment pronounced on the others becomes less severe, or possibly even positive, when encountering and approaching them more, so that approaching the body makes a person realize new features more accurately than those imagined or visualised from afar. We have become acquainted with the author's negative report above about the town of Pendik and another neighbouring town in the suburbs of Asian Istanbul where he said that faces of the women of Pendik were shown uncovered and that its men looked so ugly that he and his companions preferred not to stay there. When arriving at the neighbouring town to Pendik which is called Kartal, he wanted to go to one of its steam-baths (that is, a Turkish bath/*Hamam*) but he was told that all the people working there were Christians.

وبالثانية حمام جديد حسن اُخْتُجْتُ للدخول إليه، فسألت عنه، فأخبرت بأن قيمه امرأة شابة  
نصرانية، وستخدم من تحت يدها خداماً من النصارى

In the latter [the town of Kartal] there is a good and new steam-bath where I needed to go, and when I asked about it, I was told that it was run by a young Christian woman, who used Christian employees to work under her administration as servants (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 238).



Anyone who has read the earlier report on Pendik and other various texts that talk about the satanic "Other" would possibly understand that the writer, after being informed that the administration and staff were all Christians, would have said: "On hearing that, I refrained from going to that place which is shaded by the darkness of aberrance", or some similar statement, just as he had said that the darkness of disbelief obfuscated Pendik's environment and almost obscured the beauty of its coastal buildings. Or at least, he would have said that he went there and found exploitation of customers and improper treatment by people with no adequate skills to do the work, but that this was hardly surprising because they, as is well known, were all Christians! If he had said such things, his targeted readers would not have questioned his sincerity because such a judgement would have been consistent with the overall context of texts that depict the "Other" as a model of evil. The report about Kartal quoted above in fact continues in this way:

يُتَّقِنُونَ صُنْعَ الْحَمَامِ عَلَى أَكْمَلِ وَأَتَمِّ نِظَامٍ. هَكَذَا شَاهَدْتُ مُعَامَلَتَهُمْ، وَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ دَعَوْتُ لَهُمْ وَلِهَا  
بِالْهُدَايَةِ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ

They master the work of bathing to the fullest and best method. This is what I saw of their dealings, and in consequence of that I prayed for them and for her (the manager) to be guided towards Islam (Ibid. I: p. 238).

This quotation here supports the belief that lack of direct knowledge of the "Other" contributes significantly to misleading anyone, because it allows the imagination to

form a disfigured portrait that is amplified constantly, making it look at some stage very far from the real picture.

Images formed by the imagination may be positive or negative depending on the factors affecting their construction; however, in both cases they would be unrealistic. Here, it can be observed that when the writer experienced the "Other" for a very short time, he conveyed his experience to readers logically, and this was not meant necessarily to be positive, but was a description based on tangible things. The judgement about proficiency and good treatment, as referred to here without elaborating, is based entirely on what he observed in the group of workers in the steam bath. Therefore he supplicated for them to be guided to the path that he believes - as a Muslim - is the only way of deliverance in this world and the hereafter, namely Islam. This indicates that human beings in general want the best for those whom they see as good, and admire pleasant treatment and respect honesty and professionalism at work, and that the negative attitude towards the "Other" may be the result of misunderstanding or distrust, so that when a person feels reassured regarding the other side, he starts to change his point of view according to the new data. In the context of praise of a particular skill that the "Other" has, as quoted in Chapter Five (the text in which the writer marvels at the bear in the Turkish port of Tekirdag) a portion of that text will be quoted again here:

جاءنا لباب الخان نصراني أو يهودي، معه دب يلعب به، ويفرج الناس عليه، ويأخذ منهم في مقابل ذلك شيئا ... له في أياديه وأرجله ما يشبه أصابع الإنسان، فيها يلعبه ويصارعه،

ويمسك بأصابع يديه ورجليه عصا بيد صاحبه، وإذا صارعه تغالب عليه فينطرح اتهاما له بأنه  
طرحه

A Christian or a Jew came to the door of the Khan (inn), having with him a bear to perform with, and to make a show in front of an audience, and take some money from them in return for the show... In its four paws there are what look like human fingers which it uses to play and to wrestle with the man, and with its front and rear fingers it holds a stick which its owner holds in his hands, and if the bear wrestled him, it pretended that it had been overpowered and then flung itself onto the ground as though to make out that the owner had thrown it there (ibid 1: p. 356).

In spite of the theme of the text being the bear and its cleverness in interacting with its owner, it also contains a reference to his admiration of the boy who so skilfully managed to tame the animal and to exploit it to become a source of income for him by providing entertainment to the audience. If he did not state the religion of the owner of the bear, it likely would be understood by the reader that this proficiency is one of the advantages of the "self/Turkish/Muslim" on the grounds that the city is located in "the Muslim land/Turkey" and not in the "Land of the Disbelievers/Greece". In addition to that, the root of the matter is the notion that every good thing must belong to the "Ego", whereas everything wrong and evil is - no doubt - the share of the "Other". But the statement of the religious background of the bear owner here and of the team working at

the steam bath there, may have served to dispel part of this polarity of the "good Ego" and the "evil Other".

In some texts, the discrepancy seems very clear to the extent that the reader might think that it was written by two intellectually different writers. In fact, this view may be correct to some degree so that when the image is formed from the cultural background with all the historical heavy baggage that it carries, it will look different from the portrayal formulated on the basis of visual reality as it is, but often they appear to be in conflict. If the writer relied on both sources, cultural and realistic, at the same time and in the same text, it means that two different characters (mentalities) were participating in the writing of the text, even though the writer is one and the same person. Therefore the text seems ambiguous, disoriented and unnatural. One of the most striking examples of this type of duplication is the earlier text which describes the Jewish and Christian population of Thessaloniki as having no beauty in their appearance, nor in the new dresses they wore during the celebrations of some of their religious feasts. In the same period of the two-day visit he spent in the town, and a few lines further on from the negative image presented above, another very different image can be seen, where aesthetic features that cannot be found in humankind at all are to be seen in a part of the population. He describes the masseurs as follows (ibid 1: p. 269):

كَأَنَّمَا صَيَّفُوا مِنْ فِضَّةٍ بِيضَاءَ، أَوْ صَوَّرُوا مِنْ جَامِدِ الْمَاءِ. لَهُمْ حُسْنُ صِنَاعَةٍ، مَعَ لَطَافَةِ أَيَادٍ،  
يَسْتَنْخِسُونَهُمُ الرَّامِقُ مِنَ حَاضِرِ وَبَادٍ

They looked as if they were shaped out of white silver, or created from solid water. They have a good workmanship, with softness of the palms, so that whoever sees them, be they urban city dwellers or Bedouin, will like them.

Here there is no presumption that the team-workers of the bath were Muslim Turks, but on the contrary, everything indicates the opposite meaning. The town is in Greece, and the writer himself states that when he tells us (ibid 1: p. 336): " أن هذا البلد من بلدان اليونان " "This town is one of the Greek territories". And therefore it is assumed that the majority of the population are non-Muslims. Furthermore, if staff in the bath at Kartal mentioned above are non-Muslims, even though they are in Turkey itself, on the outskirts of Istanbul, how would the presence of non-Muslim staff in Greece be surprising? This text shows how the cultural attitude that is isolated from reality can be misleading in conceiving and thus judging on things, and how examining the "Others" and having direct contact with them can make a real and significant difference in all of the author's perceptions, judgements and descriptions. This is something that occurs not only among different authors and various texts, but even in the same text written by the same writer.

## **Conclusion**

The reader of al-Khiyārī's texts about the "Other" finds that most of them depend on the stored-in-subconscious cultural heritage. This type of text, in general, tends towards a lack of precision in the analysis, instead focusing on the idea of the correlation between both evil and the "Other" in a way that promotes the prevailing perception in the Arab

mind about habits and behaviours that are the inevitable outcome of the aggressive culture of the polar "Other".

It can be noted that face unveiling/*Sufur* كشف الوجه is one of the prominent features in the criticism of the women of the "Other" as a moral defect of that community. Here it should be pointed out that Islam firmly prohibits any sexual contact outside of marriage (the Qur'an: chapter 17, verse 32), and to help believers to avoid getting involved in any such action, they have been commanded to close all of the roads that may encourage the commission of this prohibited act. One of those ways that should be avoided is seduction. Therefore both sexes are required to lower their gaze at each other [from looking at forbidden things], and women have been required to not show their charms except that which necessarily appears (the Qur'an: chapter 24, verses 31-32), and to not display themselves like those of the eras of the *Jahiliya* [Pre-Islamic age] (the Qur'an: chapter 33 verse 33).

This background shows that a Muslim woman who displays adornments in front of strangers is seen by the Muslim milieu in a negative way. Hence we can understand the moral of a fable of the message that the author wants to convey to readers when describing Christian women as going unveiled. Nevertheless, the critic/researcher realises that there is a kind of deception in the writer's message that comes in two forms. The first is suggestion that the face unveiling/*Sufur* كشف الوجه and display of adornment/*Tabarruj* التبرج are the same sense. Indeed, according to the classical Arabic dictionary, the concept display of adornment does not necessarily mean face unveiling. Display of *adornment/Tabarruj* التبرج means beautifying one's appearance with jewellery and cosmetics like makeup, eyeliner, Henna ... etc. and then flaunting them in

front of men so as to attract their attention, and may include other effects such as a soft voice, a hip swaying gait and other things that are designed to tempt men (Madani, 1996. p 10 ff). Hence, not every woman who has unveiled her face is an adorned woman/*Mutabbarijah* متبرجة nor does she want to attract the attention of the opposite sex. Second: al-Khiyārī talks about people who do not belong to the Islamic culture, and therefore are not subject to its standards, and therefore its teachings do not apply to them, so why should they be criticized for something that is not part and parcel of their own culture?! In addition, it is unlikely that the writer's piousness is the cause of those negative attitudes. Going beyond those praises of face unveiling/*Sufur* كشف الوجه in several texts as mentioned above, he seemed keen to watch every beautiful female whenever he had the opportunity. Moreover, he sometimes seems like someone who snoops on women's places hoping to gain access to some exciting scene. This is learned from his report about one of the Turkish baths in Istanbul (al-Khiyārī. I: p. 249), where he says he saw there a graceful lady who had a figure like a soft twig, wrapping a towel around her big round buttocks so that the image looked like a soft twig planted in a sand dune. Then he longingly and hungrily imagines her as if she is in a private corner of the bath where there is nobody else and then suddenly and unintentionally the towel has fallen off her, providing him an opportunity to view directly and spontaneously that sandy knoll [her buttocks]. This scene is described in the lines below:

بِحْتَامٍ لَقَدْ أَبْصَرْتُ غَصْنًا	عَلَيْهِ مِنْ رِدَاءِ الْخَسَنِ جَلْوَةٌ
وَقَدْ شَدَّ الْإِزَارَ عَلَى كَثِيبٍ	فَلَاخَتْ مَرْكَزًا لِلْغُصْنِ رَبْوَةٌ
فَوَا شَوْقِي وَوَا ظَمْنِي إِذَا مَا	تَجَرَّدَ مِنْ قَمِيصٍ وَسَطَ خَلْوَةٌ
وَقَدْ سَقَطَ الْكَثِيبُ بِغَيْرِ قَصْدٍ	فَلَاخَتْ رُبْوَةٌ الْكُتْبَانَ عَفْوَةٌ

In fact, the writer did not need to make his texts an exhibition of judgement of the others, and also there was no need to make a link between the groups described and their beliefs as long as the events did not clearly require him to declare the religious position of the case. However, even in this latter case, the issues should be addressed objectively and systematically, not with inflammatory language, which encourages hatred. Unfortunately, the writer tried to support extremism and misleading of readers through Islamic texts, knowing that the Qur'an explicitly rejects of unfair judgements of this kind towards the "Other", regardless of one's attitude towards them:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَىٰ أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا  
اعْدِلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ

**O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allâh as just witnesses; and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety; and fear Allâh. Verily, Allâh is Well-Acquainted with what you do** (the Qur'an . chapter 5, verse 8).

More than that, a Muslim is required to be just with other people unless they show clear enmity and evil towards them:



لَا يَنْهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُمْ مِّن دِيَارِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا  
إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ. إِنَّمَا يَنْهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ قَاتَلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُم مِّن دِيَارِكُمْ  
وَوَظَاهِرُوا عَلَىٰ إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَن تَوَلَّوهُمْ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ

**Allâh does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion and did not drive you out of your homes. Verily, Allâh loves those who deal with equity. Allâh only forbids you from those who fight you because of religion and expel you from your homes and aid in your expulsion - [forbids] that you make allies of them. And whoever makes allies of them, then it is those who are the wrongdoers (the Qur'an . chapter 60, verses 8-9).**

It may be needless to emphasize that there is no a notion of cleansing non-Muslim places, whether places of worship or any other. If there was a place that needed to be purified because of the presence in it of non-Muslims, it was the Holy Mosque of Mecca, which was controlled by the polytheists who lived around it and worshiped their idols in the shadow of the Kaaba. Nonetheless, the Prophet and his Companions never thought about the notion of cleansing the place with water as well as the cleansing by fire, as alleged by al-Khiyārī regarding the place belonging to Jews in Istanbul that has been mentioned above.

At the end, it can be said that cultural conflict and its resulting animosities have created multiple barriers between the Muslim Arabs on the one hand and the Western Christians on the other, resulting in a blurring of the visualisation by each party of the other (if indeed not promoting complete ignorance). Perhaps one of the most significant manifestations of that blurring is the adoption by both parties of the generalization and stereotyping tendency that included the social and cultural elite. Hence, we find that the Jews and Christians are one thing for al-Khiyārī, and the Arabs are the Turks in the concept of the French according to a tale related by Afoqāi. This ignorance of the "Other" has allowed the imagination to create a distorted image built on foundations contaminated by several cultural, historical and political factors which have accumulated throughout history. These accumulations have fuelled the collective mind on both sides of the East-West divide so that the "Other" has become synonymous with evil and barbarism, not only in the imagination of the public, but also among many intellectuals, scientists and philosophers, as is the case for the Arab Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī, the Italian Marco Polo, the French Constantin de Chassebœuf (Volney) and others. Although the Turks are an ethnic and social "other" for the Arabs, al-Khiyārī wrote about them as the "ego" on the grounds that they are Muslims, whereas the Christians and the Jews are the "Other" because they are non-Muslims. On the subject of "the Other" in particular, the author - it seems - was interested in meeting the readers' needs, more than paying attention to communicating what he witnessed with his own eyes. Therefore, his texts have appeared as if they are a reflection of the culture of the traditional reader, the culture of isolation, insularity and local concerns, rather than being a reflection of his own actual experience. He realized that the seventeenth-century reader in the Ḥijāz imagined Muslim Turks as an example of beauty and goodness in contrast to the European Christians who represented the opposite of that. Hence, both

parties were portrayed according to this pre-conception. Turkey is amazing in the nature of land of its parks, rivers, lakes hills and mountains. It is wonderful in its architectural structure of mosques, castles, forts, bridges and stony houses. It is superb in its public places of squares, shopping centres and racing horse fields. Turks are beautiful in their own appearance, social activities, celebrations, and their beauty includes everything - women and men, masters and slaves, shapes and clothes, ethics, and even principles.

The "Other " on the contrary, is portrayed as a barbaric society which has no moral law; it is a society whose women are immodest and men are so ugly in their appearance, voice and morals, and also one in which their environment is dark and their place is dirty, to the extent that people preferred to have it purified by fire. They are seen as odious even in their festivals, so that even bright new clothes could not hide that inherent ugliness! Al-Khiyārī's attitude towards the non-Muslim "Other" was generally negative. There are, however, some positive features that appear from time to time such as regarding the staff in the bath at Kartal who are characterized by excellence and good treatment, as well as the masseurs in the bath of Thessaloniki, these latter being also characterized by a supernatural beauty. It has been suggested that contempt for of any class or group is not attributable to religions, but to a culture of intolerance, whatever its source. And we have seen that Islam in particular cannot support the culture of absolute distortion of the image of others; on the contrary, it stands clearly against it and commands justice and truth-telling, whatever the circumstances. Thus, the claim that the diminution of the value of other cultures is in order to serve the religion is a palpably false claim. The religion that urges hate and contempt of others is not worthy to be a religion, much less to be a guide for the pens and minds of intellectuals.

## **Conclusion of the Thesis and Recommendations**

This research can be counted amongst the academic efforts that studied "non-Arab other" image in the Arab mentality. While there are many other contemporary studies about "the other" image in the ancient and contemporary Arab heritage, this study tried to concentrate on an aspect that was not handled sufficiently in such studies. In addition to the geographical neighbourhood, the Arabs and the Turks have many years of cultural and political relations in common. However, the image of the Ottoman Turks in the Arab heritage is still greatly vague for the Arab reader. Hence, the researcher thinks that this study will plug the gap, as it focuses its concentration on Turkey and its people (in respect of place) and the Ottoman era – seventeenth century (in respect of time). As the research has reached to the end point, we will try to remind the reader with what has been achieved in this study, and what hoped to be fulfilled to continue the work in such field. Therefore, the conclusion contains two main points: findings and recommendations.

### **1. The contribution of the thesis in assimilating the various discourses of the writer's texts**

Although the subject of this study is the image of Turkey: land and human in the al-Khiyārī's travelogue, the researcher has sought to expand the study to include the different contexts surrounding both the text and the author. The ultimate goal is to make use of both aspects in creating a comprehensive background that provides the reader a

deeper understanding of the text. The researcher believes that the study of general situations in the Ḥijāz in the eleventh century A.H/ seventeenth century A.D has squandered much of the shadows surrounding the text. Knowledge of the circumstances in which the writer grew in may reveal important aspects of his character to which the studied text (*Tuḥfat al-'Udabā'*) could be looked upon as one of its most tangible reverberations. Moving from a small town in southwest Asia to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in southeast Europe is a shock which cannot be ignored. Similarly, its reflections on the written material cannot be ignored as well. Within a three-month period, the writer's eye and; therefore, his experience and conception moved from a small and poor town with limited resources, surrounded by desert and barren mountains on each side (Medina) to that extensive city, located on the edges of two continents (Asia and Europe) and overlooks the three seas (the Aegean, Marmara and Black Sea). In addition, the surrounding social environment changed from that small society, which is homogeneous in language, religion, race and culture to a large community that contains a great variety ethnically, religiously and culturally.

A large part of the content of al-Khiyārī's travelogue is looked upon as a reflection of the comparison between binaries which sometimes seemed mentally and physically contradictory and different some other times. The dazzle by al-Khiyārī of the beauty of Turkey, which obviously appeared in most of his texts, was a result of the comparison between his arid land, which rarely receives rain and Turkey, which was full of lushness and filled with agricultural fields, almost drown of abundance of waters (rains, snow, rivers, lakes and seas). Furthermore, it seems that his passion of the beauty of people due to - apparently - the comparison between the Arab human in the Ḥijāz, who was generally characterized by slimness and dark-skin (as described by Joseph Pitts. See: (Al-Shaykh, 1995. P 47): the former was because of poverty and hard work, and the latter was due to high temperatures, which are close to fifty degrees in the summer in comparison with the Turkish human, whose appearance looked wonderful, both in structure and in colour, because of the bounties available in their country and the climate, which ranges between coldness and moderation throughout the year. Discussing/Narrating the females in particular was perhaps due to seeing many unveiled women in Turkey, whether Muslims or not, in comparison with his society in the Ḥijāz, where a man almost never sees a woman's face except for his wife or a female kin.

Finally, it is worth noting that these various differences had clearly been reflected in al-Khiyārī's text. Also, both the conditions of the milieu where the writer grew up and the circumstances of the community that he moved to led to the formation of the author's thinking and; thus, led to the drafting of the text in the way it appeared, whether in the depiction of Turkey: land and human or in portraying the non-Muslims and their environments.

## **2. Findings**

### **1- Reasons of Interest in "the Other" topic in the Arab World**

The western attack on the Arab countries since French campaign on Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century followed by attacks on North Africa then the Levant resulting in occupation of a lot of Arab countries. All this lead Arab intellectuals to become interested in studying the west, trying to identify two important matters: the first: reasons of aggressive and continuous enmity by the West toward the Muslim Arab Levant, the second: reasons of the west's great progress in many fields. Thus we find that "the other" was the subject of many contemporary Arab studies.

### **2- For the Arabs, "the Other" has become the West**

The Arabs lived with the Europeans for about two centuries during the crusade attack on the Levant, from the end of the fifth century A.H./twelfth century A.D., they were left with the impression that those invaders were very courageous, but underdeveloped in moral, medical and scientific fields. After crusaders had left the

region, and for five centuries subsequently, Arabs remained generally ignorant about the Europeans. The European cultural, scientific and military attack, since the end of the eighteenth century, confused Arab intellectuals, so that their interest became focused on causes of the horrendous backwardness that the Arab lived in, and on studying the reasons for the Europeans' progress, those who were pitiful a few centuries previously. Because of these developments the west became a source of worry in the elite Arab circles in general and the academic elites in particular. Although the term "the Other" should refer to all peoples and cultures except "the self", the meaning of this term in most of the Arab studies, and therefore in the contemporary Arab mentality, is generally limited to "the western other".

### 3- The Arab Studies about the Turks

While the Ottoman Turks ruled most of the Arab lands for four centuries, the studies that handled the image of the Turks in the Arab culture are tenuous. These few studies only handled the Turks Arab relations during the Arab world independence from the Ottoman rule in the early of the twentieth century. The researcher found no academic study which handled the Ottoman Turks image in the Arab heritage in general and the Arabian Peninsula in particular.

### 4- Rareness of the Studies about the work of Art and the Author

Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī is somewhat an unknown writer, or at least is not one of the well known characters in the Arab cultural history compared to some of his

contemporaries. This is likely to go back partly to his early death and also the lack of other works by this author. Hence, excluding a few short essays, there are nearly no academic studies about him and his relevant travelogue.

#### 5- Cultural Wave towards the Ḥijāz

In the eleventh century A.H./seventeenth century A.D., The Ḥijāz witnessed the migration of a number of Arab scholars and intellectuals for learning purposes and temporary residence close to the Two Holy Mosques, al-Khiyārī's father was one of them, as he migrated from Egypt to teach in Medina where the writer, Ahmed, was born taught and worked. Some of those migrants and visitors of the Ḥijāz wrote about its various conditions including scientific and cultural conditions. The researcher can see from these essays that there was a fairly active cultural movement owing to the migration of those scholars to the Ḥijāz. On the other hand, there were some intellectuals who migrated from the Ḥijāz to different areas outside the Arabian Peninsula and wrote essays about their travels, one of whom was Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī who wrote this book about Turkey.

#### 6- Genre of Travel Writings

In terms of the texts that the travellers wrote, the researcher found that literature critics and historians have faced a problem in classifying this type of writing, even in naming it sometimes. Because it is mixed text that contains various subjects and it differs from one text to another depending on the writer's time, place and intended



destination. Thus some researchers concluded that the attempt to classify this type of writing is absurd, since it is not an independent genre but one big text containing various smaller texts of differing genres.

#### 7- Travel Writings in the Arab Culture

Arab culture remained an oral one for thousands of years, but its status changed since the advent of Islam, especially since the second century A.H./the eighth century A.D., a period which was distinguished with political stability and economic prosperity under the imperial rule of the Abbasid family in Bagdad. In this period, the Arab culture changed from being oral to utilising writing and most of the oral heritage was written down as well as the latest works at that time. This cultural progress included travel writings that prospered in Bagdad and many other areas in the large Abbasid Empire. At the beginning, the travel writings took a geographical and statistical character, but it varied later as the literary style appeared in many of the travellers writings from the sixth A.H./the twelfth A.D.. In later stages, most travellers' texts were written with a literary style depending on suspense and attracting the reader's attention to follow the travelogue's events. Thus the common name of such writings is Travel Writing in Arab Culture, because most of these works' style belongs to the literature field.

#### 8- Al-Khiyārī and his Travel Writings

The writer lived in a fairly good cultural environment and he himself was a poet and intellectual to the extent that he was well known among Syrian intellectuals even before his visit to Damascus, while on his way to Turkey. Such culture and poetic talent reflected clearly in his texts that seemed to be a gallery for a variety of common Arab knowledge at that time: religious, literary, linguistic, rhetorical knowledge, etc. On the other hand, this intellectual richness that evidently appears in many of the writer's texts caused difficulty in understanding for the ordinary reader, because of his need to be cultured in order to enjoy such references and intellectual hints, in addition to the existence of many Turkish terms that can't be understood except by a contemporary reader.

#### 9- The Writer's Approach

His approach was wavering between poetic and prosaic texts, while the main text is a prosaic one, it contains many poetic texts, whether his own or texts of ancient or contemporary poets. He was writing what he wanted, his notes about what he heard about or anything which attracted his attention, in the shape of diary, and he completed his work as a draft before he went back to his country. The reader will also notice that the author was keen on accuracy and being sure about the information narrated about the others which reflects how much he respects the value of writing and his sense of responsibility towards the audience. When someone told him a story that he wasn't sure about it himself, he usually mentioned that he had narrated it as he had heard and that he is not responsible for its authenticity since he had no other reliable source.

## 10- Turkey's General Image in the Writer's Work of Art

In al-Khiyārī's book, Turkey depicts all that is beautiful, he described Turkey's land and population with the most beautiful descriptions, so it looked like heaven on earth, which is the case not only for Istanbul, but most places he talked about and called the land of the Romans. It is posited that there are reasons behind such positive image, the most important are:

\* Turks were the leaders of the empire and were ruling most of the Islamic countries at that time, including the Arab world, thus the Turks are considered to be the protectors of Islam and the Islamic holy places;

\* The intention of the writer in going to Turkey had been achieved, recovering his job, and he was treated semi formally, especially at the level of scholars and intellectuals. He also met important characters including the sultan himself. So the happiness he felt as a result of such meetings is not strange and it reflected on his texts that optimism, love, happiness and beauty prevail in it. This is supported with the text that was written by the Yemeni author; Mohammed Kibrīt, who visited Istanbul in 1039 A.H./1630 A.D. and because he was disappointed, such feeling reflected on his work that pessimism and

negativity prevailed in it. Therefore Turkey's image doesn't appear with the wonderful image that can be seen in al-Khiyārī travelogue.

\* The small town and desert environment from which the writer came probably caused such astonishment at Turkey where there are big cities, constructional buildings, green natural features, plenty of water, huge numbers of people, shapes, colours, culture, climate, weather and geographical variety.

## 11- Turkey's Infrastructure

At the level of material civilization and architectural arts, al-Khiyārī described many of the buildings, such as sultans' palaces, huge mosques with their artistic embellishments, citadels, castles, bridges, hammams, various markets and monuments that date back to the ancient eras, as well as paved roads, wide squares, many active ports, etc.

## 12- Turkish Society

The writer introduced an overall image about social life in Turkey, especially Istanbul, as well as various positive aspects about women and men's life in public utilities such as places of worship, markets, parks, squares, Turkish hammams and houses in particular. In most of these texts, Turks were described as beautiful, happy, leisured, religious and generous people.

### 13- "The non-Muslim Other" in Turkey

While the Turks were in general "Other" for al-Khiyārī, they may sometimes also be "self". What was said above about the wonderful image of the Turks does not include all population. Praise, admiration and good image are - greatly - concentrated on the Muslim Turks who were the majority of the Turkish people at that time. But "the non-Muslim Other" was also "other", because he was a non-Muslim i.e., he was doubly the "Other". The image which the writer introduced the non-Muslim Turks, whether they were Turks or other than that, was negative in general. We can say that the writer was unfair and unrealistic in many texts that handled "the non-Muslim Other" in Turkey. Such texts written about the non-Muslims were affected by factors that differ from the context and even the writer's character, who loves beauty, respects the host and was keen on accuracy in recording events. The impartial researcher can describe such writing only as a partial and racial one and it is not based on logical deduction. It also contradicts the writer's general style in judging events and commenting on the notes written down in his book. It is obvious that the writer's negative attitude towards "the non-Muslim

Other" was resulting from cultural attitudes which can be traced back to a long history of cultural struggle. It is also clear that these texts go back to the preconceived image, not the visual reality. The evidence is that when the writer dealt directly with "the non-Muslim other", he wrote about him with realistic, logical and balanced manner.

### **3. Recommendations**

The researcher believes that working in this intellectual field: image of "the other" for "the self" and vice versa enables learners to analyze people's mentalities through researching the various cultural effects which are greatly responsible for forming the individuals, then the people's concepts. The researcher thinks that knowing, analyzing and disseminate these effects in the cultural circles would help to reduce stereotyped concepts and negative images about "the Other", disseminating tolerance as a result, as hatred and racism are gained in many cases because of a misunderstanding and deformed concept. This field deserves exerting more effort, since its subject, "the concept", has general human character and doesn't focus on specific cultural, religious or ethnic category. Depending on the title subject and contents of this research, the researcher recommends as follows:

- Continuing research in the texts and works written by the Hījāzi intellectuals during their travels outside the Arabian Peninsula;

- Exerting more effort in studying "the non-Western other" in the Arab heritage, especially in Travel Writings as there are many Arab writers who wrote about African and Asian peoples or religious and ethnic minorities inside Arab or Islamic societies;
- There are many Arab travellers who wrote about their journeys to Turkey during the Ottoman rule to The Arab lands. Studying all these works will give a more general image about Turkey at that time. The researcher recommends studying it through a research workgroup, owing to the long period of the Ottoman rule (four centuries), and because there are too many Arab works which cannot be handled sufficiently by one researcher; and
- The researcher recommends to any who wish to study the Arab works that tackled "the non-Arab Other" to have good acquaintance with the language of that people as well as its culture in general, particularly the prevailing language and culture at the time of the studied text, since this will help him to get more general understanding and clearer impression about the contexts of the relevant texts.

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