NOTIONS OF CAPTIVITY IN ARAB, MALAY AND PERSIAN TRAVEL NARRATIVES

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ABSTRACT

NOTIONS OF CAPTIVITY IN ARAB, MALAY AND PERSIAN TRAVEL NARRATIVES

This study explores notions of captivity in a comparative study of Arabic, Malay and Persian travel writing. It looks at narratives of captivity as well as travelogues from the 15ᵗʰ to 20ᵗʰ centuries with a particular focus on how they comprehend captivity not merely as physical but also as conceptual and dogmatic (or ideological). It analyses comparatively seven works from the three narrative traditions by using Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism to explore the interplay of captivity and freedom throughout the narratives.

The introduction explains the research background, problems, theory, methodology and the concepts of captivity in this study. Chapter one presents the overview of captivity narratives and travel writing in Arabic *Riḥlah*, Malay *Kembara* and Persian *Safarnāmah*. By commencing the exploration of captivity within the theme of travel, chapter two provides the foundation upon which the other chapters rest. Chapters three through five are dedicated to the analysis of the various notions of captivity according to different dimensions, namely the physical, the mind, the nation and the soul. The conclusion section analyses all notions of captivity derived from the selected travel narratives, presents findings regarding the concept of captivity awareness (the ability to recognise or acknowledge notions of imprisonment) and recommends future collaborative studies of Arab, Malay and Persian literature. This study proves that although travel is normally synonymous with freedom in movement, maturity and wisdom, travel writing becomes a potential site to discover and understand various concepts of captivity either directly or indirectly.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN CHARACTERS

Arabic

Letters of the Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Romanization
ا	ل	ل	ا	omit (see Note 1)
ب	ب	ب	ب	b
ت	ت	ت	ت	t
ث	ث	ث	ث	th
ج	ج	ج	ج	j
ح	ح	ح	ح	ḥ
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh
د	د	د	د	d
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh
ر	ر	ر	ر	r
ز	ز	ز	ز	z
س	س	س	س	s
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ
ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ
ع	ع	ع	ع	' (ayn)
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ف	ف	ف	ف	f (see Note 2)
ق	ق	ق	ق	q (see Note 2)
ك	ك	ك	ك	k
ل	ل	ل	ل	l
م	م	م	م	m
ن	ن	ن	ن	n
ه	ه	ة ، ه	ة ، ه	h (see Note 3)
و	و	و	و	w
ي	ي	ي	ي	y

Vowels and Diphthongs

◌َ	a	اَ	ā (see Rule 5)	◌ِي	ī
◌ُ	u	◌َى	á (see Rule 6(a))	◌َو	aw
◌ِ	i	◌ُو	ū	◌َي	ay

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Letters Representing Non-Arabic Consonants

This list is not exhaustive. It should be noted that a letter in this group may have more than one phonetic value, depending on the country or area where it is used, and that the romanization will vary accordingly.

گ	g	چ	ch	ڤ	v
ڭ	ñ	چ	zh	ۋ	v
پ	p	ژ	zh	ڥ	v

Notes

1. For the use of *alif* to support *hamzah*, see rule 2. For the romanization of *hamzah* by the consonantal sign ' (alif), see rule 8(a). For other orthographic uses of *alif* see rules 3-5.
2. The *Maghribī* variations ڥ and ڢ are romanized *f* and *q* respectively.
3. ة in a word in the construct state is romanized *t* See rule 7(b).

RULES OF APPLICATION

Arabic Letters Romanized in Different Ways Depending on Their Context

1. As indicated in the table, و and ي may represent:

    (a) The consonants romanized *w* and *y*, respectively.

waḍ'	وضع
'iwaḍ	عوض
dalw	دلو
yad	يد
ḥiyal	حيل
ṭahy	طهي

    (b) The long vowels romanized *ū*, *ī*, and *ā* respectively.

ūlá	أولى
ṣūrah	صورة
dhū	ذو
īmān	إيمان
jīl	جيل
fī	في
kitāb	كتاب
saḥāb	سحاب
jumān	جمان

See also rules 11(a) and 11(b)(1-2).

(c) The diphthongs romanized *aw* and *ay*, respectively.

awj	أوج
nawm	نوم
law	لو
aysar	أيسر
shaykh	شيخ
'aynay	عيني

See also rules 11(a)(2) and 11(b)(3).

2. ا *(alif)*, و and ى when used to support ء *(hamzah)* are not represented in romanization. See rule 8(a).

3. ا *(alif)* when used to support *waṣlah* (آ) and *maddah* (آ) is not represented in romanization. See rules 9 and 10.

4. ا *(alif)* and و when used as orthographic signs without phonetic significance are not represented in romanization.

fa'alū	فعلوا
ulā'ika	أولائك
ūqīyah	أوقية

See also rule 12 and examples cited in rules 23-26.

5. ا *(alif)* is used to represent the long vowel romanized *ā*, as indicated in the table.

fā'il	فاعل
riḍā	رضا

This *alif*, when medial, is sometimes omitted in Arabic; it is always indicated in romanization. See rule 19.

6. Final ى appears in the following special cases:

(a) As ى *(alif maqṣūrah)* used in place of اٰ to represent the long vowel romanized *ā*.

ḥattá	حتى
maḍá	مضى
kubrá	كبرى
Yaḥyá	يحيى
musammá	مسمى
Muṣṭafá	مصطفى

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(b) As ّىـ ؟ in nouns and adjectives of the form *fāʿīl* which are derived from defective
roots. This ending is romanized *ī*, not *īy*, without regard to the presence of ّـ
(*shaddah*). See rule 11(b)(2).

<div style="text-align:center">

Raḍī al-Dīn   رضى الدين

</div>

Compare the *faʿīl* form of the same root الرضى [without *shaddah*] *al-Raḍī*.

(c) As ّىـ ؟ in the relative adjective (*nisbah*). The ending, like (b) above, is romanized *ī*,
not *īy*.

<div style="text-align:center">

al-Miṣrī   المصرىّ

</div>

Compare المصرىّة *al-Miṣrīyah* and see rule 11(b)(1).

7.   ö (*tā' marbūṭah*)

(a) When the noun or adjective ending in ö is indefinite, or is preceded by the definite
article, ö is romanized *h*. The ö in such positions is often replaced by o.

<div style="text-align:center">

ṣalāh	صلاة
al-Risālah al-bahīyah	الرسالة البهية
mir'āh	مرآة
Urjūzah fī al-ṭibb	أرجوزة فى الطب

</div>

(b) When the word ending in ö is in the construct state [muḍāf wa-muḍāf ilayh], ö is
romanized *t*.

<div style="text-align:center">

Wizārat al-Tarbiyah	وزارة التربية
Mir'āt al-zamān	مرآة الزمان

</div>

(c) When the word ending in ö is used adverbially, ö (vocalized ö̈) is romanized *tan*.
See rule 12(b).

Romanization of Arabic Orthographic Symbols Other than Letters and Vowel Signs

The signs listed below are frequently omitted from unvocalized Arabic writing and printing; their
presence or absence must then be inferred. They are represented in romanization according to
the following rules:

8.   ء (*hamzah*)

(a) In initial position, whether at the beginning of a word, following a prefixed preposition
or conjunction, or following the definite article, ء is not represented in romanization.
When medial or final, ء is romanized as ' (alif).

<div style="text-align:center">

asad	أسد
uns	أنس
idhā	إذا
mas'alah	مسألة
mu'tamar	مؤتمر

</div>

dā'im	دائم
mala'a	ملأ
khaṭi'a	خطئ

(b) ع, when replaced by the sign ٱ (*waṣlah*) and then known as *hamzat al-waṣl*, is not represented in romanization. See rule 9 below.

9. ٱ (*waṣlah*), like initial ع, is not represented in romanization. See also rule 8(b) above. When the *alif* which supports *waṣlah* belongs to the article ال, the initial vowel of the article is romanized *a*. See rule 17(b). In other words, beginning with *hamzat al-waṣl*, the initial vowel is romanized *i*.

Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr	رحلة أبن جبير
al-istidrāk	الإستدراك
kutub iqtanat'hā	كتب اُقتنتها
bi-ihtimām 'Abd al-Majīd	باهتمام عبد ألمجيد

10. ˜ (*maddah*)

   (a) Initial آ is romanized *ā*.

ālah	آلة
Kullīyat al-Ādāb	كلية الآداب

   (b) Medial آ, when it represents the phonetic combination *'ā*, is so romanized.

ta'ālīf	تآليف
ma'āthir	مآثر

   (c) ˜ is otherwise not represented in romanization.

khulafā'	خلفآء

11. ّ (*shaddah* or *tashdīd*)

   (a) Over و:

     (1) وّ, representing the combination of long vowel plus consonant, is romanized *ūw*.

'adūw	عدُوّ
qūwah	قُوّة

   See also rule 1(b).

     (2) وّ, representing the combination of diphthong plus consonant, is romanized *aww*.

Shawwāl	شَوّال
ṣawwara	صَوّر
jaww	جوّ

See also rule 1(c).

(b) Over ى:

(1) Medial ـِّيٰ, representing the combination of long vowel plus consonant, is romanized *īy*.

      al-Miṣrīyah   المصريّة

See also rule 1(b).

(2) Final ـِّيٰ is romanized *ī*. See rules 6(b) and 6(c).

(3) Medial and final ـِّيٰ, representing the combination of diphthong plus consonant, is romanized *ayy*.

      ayyām   أيّام

      sayyid   سيّد

      Quṣayy   قصيّ

See also rule 1(c).

(c) Over other letters, ّ is represented in romanization by doubling the letter or digraph concerned.

      al-Ghazzī   الغزّيّ

      al-Kashshāf   الكشّاف

12.   *Tanwīn* may take the written form ٌ, ً (اً), or ٍ, romanized *un*, *an*, and *in*, respectively. *Tanwīn* is normally disregarded in romanization, however. It is indicated in the following cases:

(a) When it occurs in indefinite nouns derived from defective roots.

      qāḍin   قاضٍ

      maʻnan   معنًى

(b) When it indicates the adverbial use of a noun or adjective.

      ṭabʻan   طبعًا

      fajʼatan   فجأةً

      al-Mushtarik waḍʻan   المشترك وضعًا

        wa-al-muftariq ṣuqʻan   والمفترق صقعًا

Persian

Letters of the Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Romanization
ا	ا	ل	ا	omit (see Note 1)
�	ب	ب	ب	b
پ	پ	پ	پ	p
ت	ت	ت	ت	t
ث	ث	ث	ث	s̲
ج	ج	ج	ج	j
چ	چ	چ	چ	ch
ح	ح	ح	ح	ḥ
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh
د	د	د	د	d
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	z̲
ر	ر	ر	ر	r
ز	ز	ز	ز	z
ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	zh
س	س	س	س	s
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ
ض	ض	ض	ض	ẓ
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ
ع	ع	ع	ع	' (ayn)
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ف	ف	ف	ف	f
ق	ق	ق	ق	q
ک	ک	ك	ك	k (see Note 2)
گ	گ	گ	گ	g (see Note 3)
ل	ل	ل	ل	l
م	م	م	م	m
ن	ن	ن	ن	n
و	و	و	و	v (see Note 3)
ه	ه	ه ، ة	ه ، ة	h (see Note 4)
ی	ی	ى	ى	y (see Note 3)

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Vowels and Diphthongs (see Note 5)

ـٰ	a	آ , ـٰٓ	ā (see Note 6)	ـِى	ī
ـُ	u	ـٰى	á (see Note 7)	ـَوْ	aw
ـِ	i	ـُو	ū	ـَىْ	ay

Notes

1. For the use of ا (*alif*) to support ء (*hamzah*) and آ̃ (*maddah*), see rule 1(a). For the romanization of ء and آ̃, see rules 4 and 5 respectively. For the use of ا (*alif*) to represent the long vowel romanized *ā*, see the table of vowels and diphthongs, and rule 1(b).

2. Final ك and گ (often written ک and گ) may have the form ك, without the distinguishing upper stroke or strokes. The two letters are always distinguished in romanization.

3. For other values of و and ى, see the table of vowels and diphthongs, and rules 2, 3, and 7.

4. ة (dotted o) when used as an alternative to ت is romanized *t*.

5. Vowel points are not printed on Library of Congress cards.

6. See rules 1(b) and 5.

7. See rule 3(d).

RULES OF APPLICATION

Letters Which May Be Romanized in Different Ways Depending on Their Context

1. ا *(alif)* is used:

    (a) As a support for ء (*hamzah*) and آ̃ (*maddah*). In these cases it is not represented in romanization. See rules 4 and 5.

    (b) To indicate the long vowel romanized *ā*. For the use of ا in *tanvīn*, see rule 6.

    dānā   دانا

2. و is used to represent:

    (a) The consonant romanized *v*.

    varzish   ورزش
    davā   دوا
    sarv   سرو

    Silent و following خ is retained in romanization.

    khvāstan   خواستن
    khvud   خود

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(b)   The long *ū*-vowel (and short *u*-vowel in some monosyllables) is romanized *ū*.

dūr	دور
chūn	چون
tū	تو

(c)   The diphthong romanized *aw*.

Firdawsī	فردوسی

When the diphthong precedes a consonantal و, the combination is romanized *avv*. See rule 7.

و may be used as a support for ء (*hamzah*); in this case it is not represented in romanization. See rule 4.

3.   ی is used to represent:

    (a)   The consonant romanized *y*.

yār	یار
siyāh	سیاه
pāy	پای

    (b)   The long vowel romanized *ī*.

Īrān	ایران
qālī	قالی

    (c)   The diphthong romanized *ay*.

ayvān	ایوان
ray	ری

    (d)   The final long vowel romanized *á*.

Muṣṭafá	مصطفیَ

For the use of ی (*y*) as a mark of *iẓāfah*, see rule 8(c).

ی in the medial forms �, ﯦ, without dots, may be used as a support for ء (*hamzah*); in this case ی is not represented in romanization. See rule 4 below.

Orthographic Symbols Other than Letters and Vowel Signs

The signs listed below are frequently omitted in Persian writing and printing; their presence must then be inferred. They are represented in romanization according to the following rules:

4.   ء (*hamzah*)

    (a)   When initial, ء is not represented in romanization.

    (b)   When medial or final, ء is romanized ' (alif) except as noted in (c) and (d) below.

mu'a<u>ss</u>ir	مؤثر
khulafā'	خلفاء

	pā'īn	پائین

(c) When used as a mark of *izāfah*, ع is romanized *-'i*.

	āstānah-'i dar	آستانة در

(d) When used to mark the indefinite article, ع is romanized *'i*.

	khānah'i	خانة

5. Ĩ (*maddah*)

(a) Initial Ĩ is romanized *ā*.

	āb	آب
	Kullīyat al-Ādāb	كلية الآداب

(b) Medial Ĩ, when it represents the phonetic combination *'ā*, is so romanized.

	ma'ās̱ir	مآثر
	Daryā'ābādī	دریاآبادی

(c) Ĩ is otherwise not represented in romanization.

	girdāvarandah	گردآورنده

6. *Tanvīn*, (written ◌ً, ◌ٍ, ◌ٌ, اً), which occurs chiefly in Arabic words, is romanized *un*, *in*, *an*, and *an*, respectively.

7. ◌ّ (*shaddah* or *tashdīd*) is represented by doubling the letter or digraph concerned.

	khurram	خرّم
	avval	اوّل
	bachchah	بچّه
	Khayyām	خیّام

Note the exceptional case where ◌ّ is written over و and ی to represent the combination of long vowel plus consonant.

	nashrīyāt	نشریّات
	qūvah	قوّه

Grammatical Structure as It Affects Romanization

8. *Izāfah*. When two words are associated in the relation known as *izāfah*, the first (the *muzāf*) is followed by an additional letter or syllable in romanization. This is added according to the following rules:

(a) When the *muzāf* bears no special mark of *izāfah*, it is followed by *-i*.

	dar-i bāgh	در باغ
	qālī-i Īrān	قالی ایران
	khānah-i buzurg	خانه بزرگ

(b)   When the *muẓāf* is marked by the addition of ع, it is followed by -*ʼi*.

qālī-ʼi Īrān	قالی ایران
khānah-ʼi buzurg	خانهٔ بزرگ

(c)   When the *muẓāf* is marked by the addition of ی, it is followed by -*yi*.

rū-yi zamīn	روی زمین
Daryā-yi Khazar	دریای خزر
khānah-yi buzurg	خانهی بزرگ

(d)   *Iẓāfah* is represented in romanization of personal names only when expressly identified in the Persian script.

Affixes and Compounds

9.   Affixes.

     (a)   When the affix and the word with which it is connected grammatically are written separately in Persian, the two are separated in romanization by a single prime (ʼ). See also 12(b) below.

	khānah'hā	خانهها
	khānah'am	خانهام
	khānah'ī	خانهای
	mī'ravam	میروم
but	mīravam	میروم
	bih'gū	بهگو
	bar'rasīhā	بررسیها
	Kāẓim'zādah	کاظمزاده
but	Kāẓimzādah	کاظمزاده

     (b)   The Arabic article *al* is separated by a hyphen, in romanization, from the word to which it is prefixed.

dār al-muʻallimīn	دار المعلمین
ʻAbd al-Ḥusayn	عبد الحسین

10.   Compounds. When the elements of a compound (except a compound personal name) are written separately in Persian, they are separated in romanization by a single prime (ʼ). See also 12(b) below.

	marīẓ'khānah	مریضخانه
but	marīẓkhānah	مریضخانه
	Shāh'nāmah	شاهنامه
but	Shāhnāmah	شاهنامه

Note the treatment of compound personal names:

Ghulām ʻAlī	غلام على or غلامعلى
Shāh Jahān	شاه جهان or شاهجهان
Ibn Abī Ṭālib	ابن ابى طالب or ابن ابيطالب

Orthography of Persian in Romanization

11. Capitalization.

 (a) Rules for the capitalization of English are followed, except that the Arabic article *al* is lowercased in all positions.

 (b) Diacritics are used with both capital and lowercase letters.

12. The single prime (ʹ) is used:

 (a) To separate two letters representing two distinct consonantal sounds, when the combination might otherwise be read as a digraph.

 marzʹhā مرزها

 (b) To mark the use of a letter in its final form when it occurs in the middle of a word. See also rules 9(a) and 10 above.

 rāhʹhā راهها

 Qāyimʹmaqāmī قايممقامى

 Bihʹāzīn بهآذين

13. Foreign words in a Persian context, including Arabic words, are romanized according to the rules for Persian. For short vowels not indicated in the script, the Persian vowels nearest the original pronunciation of the word are supplied in romanization.

14. Dictionaries.

 In romanizing Persian, the Library of Congress has found it necessary to consult dictionaries as an appendage to the romanization tables, primarily for the purpose of supplying vowels. For Persian, the principal dictionary consulted is:

 M. Muʻīn. *Farhang-i Fārsī-i mutavassiṭ.*

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However, I hope that one day he will understand that he was my sunshine during this challenging journey. During the most difficult six months of my life, when they had to return Malaysia due to our financial hardships, I thought about quitting many times. However, their continuous support and love made me grit my teeth and keep on moving towards the finishing line.

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0 INTRODUCTION

0.1 ARAB-MALAY-PERSIAN COMPARATIVE STUDY

Comparative studies on travel writing are still lacking, as is research comparing three different literary and cultural contexts, namely Arab, Malay and Persian, which has never been performed. This combination might seem unusual, as it does not fit the templates of either the East-West or North-South framework. Nevertheless, the three all belong to the Islamic community and literature group and, therefore, there is an undeniable connection between them. Arabic and Persian literature have influenced each other linguistically and culturally. On the other hand, classical Malay literature is heavily inspired by important Arabic Sufi works, such as *Fuṣūṣ al- Ḥikām* by Ibn ʿArabī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī and Persian works, such as *Manṭīq al-Ṭayr* by ʿAṭṭār and *Golestān* by Saʿdī.[1] Furthermore, in Malay literature, a cycle of loan words exists from Arabic and Persian, as well as connections in history, culture and civilisation. In reality, Arabic, Malay and Persian literature illuminate each other; hence, their combination in a comparative study is appealing and crucial for further interdisciplinary research. Therefore, the lack of studies comparing these three different literary backgrounds is very disappointing and requires more attention by means of critical studies.

In general, compared to Malay literature, Arabic and Persian literature is more actively involved in comparative studies, especially in the East-West framework. For instance, Ahmed Idris Alami analyses Moroccan, British and French travelogues in the

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[1] Muḥammad Naguib Al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1972), 68.

context of modernity in his book, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing,* to demonstrate the amalgamation and adjustment of Arab-Muslim values to Western civilization in the 19th century.[2] Meanwhile, Kamran Rastegar, who compares Arabic, Persian and English literature in his book, *Literary Modernity between Europe and the Middle East: Transactions in Nineteenth-Century Arabic, Persian and English Literatures,* states his concern regarding the lack of comparative studies between Arabic, Persian and other regional literature. He indicates that scholars of Middle Eastern literature are prone to limiting themselves to entering bi- or tri-linguistic conventions and suggests a broader range through the study of different colonized populations that involve language and cultural diversity.[3]

Regrettably, Southeast Asian literature has generally gained little attention from intellectuals for comparative study, either within or outside of the region.[4] Compared to the amount of studies conducted into Arabic and Persian literature, there remains a paucity of study on Malay literature, despite Malay being considered as one of the dominant scholarly languages in Islamic scholarship. In fact, not even mentioning comparative studies, research into Malay literature alone is still lacking. Unfortunately, according to Amin Sweeney, a prominent scholar of Malay writings, the literature appears senseless, lifeless, dull and unauthentic and is assumed to be a

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[2] Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

[3] Kamran Rastegar, *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007), 5-26.

[4] Rachel Harisson, "Foreword", *The Portrayal of Foreigners in Indonesian and Malay literatures, Ed.* V. I Braginskiĭ and Ben Murtagh (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), IV.

product of Western colonialism, even in the eyes of some researchers of Malay studies. Generally, compared to other fields, Malay studies can be considered to be unpopular both among scholars and the public.[5] Siti Hawa, in her book *Kesusasteraan Melayu Abad Kesembilan Belas,* laments that Malay studies are also unattractive to the local scholars, in that most of the outstanding research into Malay studies has come from the West.[6] This has resulted in the assumption that Malay studies are a product of Western imperialism, which drives Malays to analyse their own works within the Western framework.[7] Nevertheless, since the 1950s, Malay studies have gradually started to attract local scholars. Siti Hawa expresses her hope for more Malay researchers, as they have special knowledge regarding living in the Malay tradition and culture that could result in a deeper understanding and interpretation; however, she does not indicate that this area of study should be exclusively performed by Malays.[8]

Muḥammad Bukhari Lubis, who is a notable scholar in Malaysia for comparative Islamic literature, highlights the scarcity of comparative literary studies in Malaysia and, in term of Islamic research, it is always limited to Arabic and Malay only. Not to mention the restricted focus on the aspects of philology and etymology. He states that, due to the insufficient number of Malaysian experts in various types of literature, they

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[5] Amin Sweeney, "Aboard Two Ships: Western Assumptions on Medium and Genre in Malay Oral and Written Traditions."*Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations,* Ed. A. Gerstle & A. Milner. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994), 317-326.

[6] Siti Hawa Hj. Salleh, *Kesusasteraan Melayu Abad Kesembilan Belas* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997), 442.

[7]Sweeney 1994: 323.

[8] Siti Hawa 1997: 442.

are inclined to apply and follow prominent Western theories and opinions. As a result, any mistake or misapplication of the Western framework in the context of Malay-related studies will go unnoticed or be taken for granted.[9] In light of this, this research aims to appraoch a different type of comparative studies by combining Malay with Arabic and Persian literature, specifically travel narratives with focus on notions of captivity.

0.2 RESEARCH GAP

In general, travel writing has steadily been receiving attention and is being discussed by scholars from various aspects. In general, there are some prominent topics in travel writing studies, which are:

0.2.1 Curiosity

Nigel Leask discusses English travel accounts as literary works focusing on the notions of curiosity and the aesthetic. Leask studies the period between 1770 and 1840 and emphasises the fondness of English travellers for ancient lands, such as Ethiopia, Egypt, Mexico and India.[10] The question then arises as to whether such curiosity from a Westerner towards exotic lands is comparable to the curiosity towards developed lands from the perspective of a traveller from a less developed country.

Daniel Newman states that Muslims in the fifteenth until eighteenth centuries demonstrated little interest to travel beyond the Mediterranean but the situation

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[9] Muḥammad Bukhari Lubis, *Kesusasteraan Islami Bandingan: Menyingkap Tabir Mengungkap Fikir* (Tanjong Malim: Penerbit Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, 2017), 37.

[10] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1.

changed completely when the nonbelievers started to show influence in Muslim countries.[11] In this regard, Bernard Lewis accuses Arab travellers of lacking curiosity towards Europe.[12] However, instead of lack of curiosity, the shortage of travel by Arabs to Europe was due to the scarcity of Islamic religious locations, the travel risks, the discrimination towards Muslims, their fear of the Europeans who had enslaved Muslims and the pirates who might hold them captive.[13] Nabil Matar argues that Arab travellers, regardless of religion, have described their experiences through first-hand travel accounts with curiosity and honesty.[14] Meanwhile, Rebecca C. Johnson in the foreward of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq's translated travelogue *Leg Over Leg*, also denies Lewis' accusation by insisting that contemporary studies provided exposure to uncommon travelogues of the seventeenth until nineteenth centuries and made it accessible internationally. Therefore, the narratives became solid proof that there was a long history of Arab and Europe encouters while refuting the idea of a sudden Europe discovery in the nineteenth century.[15]

According to Matar, in comparison to Western voyagers, Arab travellers were more thorough in describing their journeys. Their reports were unbiased and based

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[11] Newman 2002: 8.

[12] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 280.

[13] Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), 229.

[14] Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century,* (New York: Routledge, 2003), xxi.

[15] Rebecca C. Johnson, "Foreword" in *Leg Over Leg: Volumes One and Two by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq,* Trans. Humphrey Davies, Ed. Michael Cooperson, *(*New York & London: New York University Press, 2015), xxiii.

on facts, whereas European travellers reported false information, influenced by their feeling of superiority and their perceptions of Islam as a fake religion that limited development among Muslims.[16] This does not mean that Arab travel accounts are free from overcritical comments towards Christians. For example, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq[17] in his travelogue rages about evangelist life, complaining about their rigid lifestyle and food.[18] This is to say that harsh critiques towards Christians does exist, but only because of self or predecessor experience, not as a result of racial or cultural discrimination.[19]

0.2.2   Knowledge Seeking

According to Sam I. Gellens, in "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Societies: A Comparative Approach", *ṭalab al-ʿilm* was common among medieval travellers, so the motivation to engage in educational expeditions is obviously high. Gellens studies the concept of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* comparatively; however, the research focuses on the societal framework and not on any specific literary travel accounts. Comparing Egyptian society to Spanish society, Gellens highlights the sense of self-image and localism in the context of the search for knowledge.[20]

Due to the abundance of travel for knowledge, much of the research into travelogues has concentrated on *ṭalab al-ʿilm*. For instance, Roxanne L. Euben

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[16] Matar 2003: xxxii.

[17] Born as a Christian but later converted to Islam.

[18] Johnson 2015: xv.

[19] Matar 2003: xxxiii.

[20] Sam I. Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Societies: A Comparative Approach", *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination,* Ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 20.

compares Herodotus to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and al-Ṭahṭāwī to Tocqueville to analyse the concept of knowledge pursuit among Muslim and Western travellers. In spite of the great interest in *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, Euben defines it as a philosophy rather than as a repetitive theme in Islam.[21] On the other hand, according to Hala Fattah, research on *ṭalab al-ʿilm* is still limited; hence, future research should be impressionistic. In her study of two Iraqi travelogues, in the article "Representations of Self and the Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman Period", she discovers similarities between them and ultimately concludes that they indicate journeys of self-discovery through scholarly travel.[22]

0.2.3   Identity

The notion of self and others – or the notion of identity – has always been a revered subject among travel writing scholars. As an example, Carl Thompson compares the self-fashioning between *Italy* (1705) by Joseph Addison and *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) by Sir Walter Raleigh and analyses the style and narration techniques to uncover the notion of identity presented within the texts.[23] Scholars agree that, recently, the notion of identity has been discussed extensively. However, the topic continues to attract research interest because identity is a never-ending development and, thus, will never be complete.[24] In fact, identity is an unavoidable topic given how

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[21] Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*, (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 6 & 46.

[22] Hala Fattah, "Representations of Self and the Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman Period", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* (1998): 52.

[23] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 100.

[24] Irvin Cemil Schick, "Self and Other, Here and There. Travel Writing and the Construction of Identity and Place", in *Venturing Beyond Borders-Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle*

closely it relates to a traveller's journey and how a traveller faces identity hybridity throughout the journey, as it constantly changes according to the situation and location.

Furthermore, Nazki Ipek Huner proposes that a traveller's identity influences his point of view. In his study of the accounts of two Turkish travellers, Mustafa Ali and Evliya Celebi, Huner postulates that their views of Egypt emerge from Sufistic perspective.[25] If their Sufistic identity greatly shapes their portrayal of Egypt, hence creating differences in perspective, this indicates the possibility that being a physical or mental captive might affect the method of expression or perspective in travel.

0.2.4   Captivity

Unfortunately, there is still a very large gap in studies that relate travel writing to various concepts of captivity. There are studies regarding captivity, but they are limited to physical captivity and typically involve captivity narratives and travelogues of captive hunters or liberators only. On the theme of captivity, Linda Colley and Nabil Matar are among the prominent scholars of physical captives. Colley has studied hundreds of narratives of British-imposed slavery experiences between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Her focus is mainly on the regions of South and Central Asia, the Mediterranean, North Africa and North America.[26] Meanwhile,

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Eastern Travel Writing, Ed. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız and Caspar Hillebrand, (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2013), 14.

[25] Nazki Ipek Huner, "Travelling within the Empire. Perceptions of the East in the Historical Narratives on Cairo by Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi," *Venturing Beyond Borders-Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing,* Ed. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız and Caspar Hillebrand, (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2013), 81-82.

[26] Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 13.

Matar's research has focused on British and Arab captives and captivity literature from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Matar's work has proved useful in my corpus selection, given that some of the travel narratives that he has studied and translated are well-suited to the notions of captivity in my research.

Another interesting study on the concept of captivity is that of Wen-Chin Ouyang, who concentrates on Abū Firās' poetry and a few captivity narratives by al-Tanūkhī. She focuses on Abū Firās' period of captivity in a palace, rather than in a prison, and discovers the existence of a silence of cultural exchange in his work. She argues that captivity is a potential site for cultural encounters and exchanges in both prose and poetry.[27] This sparks curiosity regarding differences in the portrayal of captivity between poetry and travel writing.

For me the most relevant research to my study to date is Gary L. Ebersole's *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Post-Modern Images of Indian Captivity*. He has studied more than three hundred captivity narratives and approaches the texts as a literary and religious scholar, which goes beyond the concept of physical captivity. It is fascinating to read his analysis of texts that implicate diversified concepts of captivity, such as the captivating text, audience confinement and ideological captivity.[28] However, his research is limited to American Indian captivity narratives only, hence the inspiration for me to widen the horizon into other locations and communities.

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[27] Wen-chin Ouyang, "Silenced Cultural Encounters in Poetry of War" in *Warfare and Poetry in the Middle East*, Ed. Hugh Kennedy, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 172 & 189.

[28] Gary L Ebersole, *Captured by Texts* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

Conspicuously, there are various studies into travel writing in general but, regrettably, there has been limited research focusing on the various notions of captivity. In other words, there is a huge knowledge gap regarding the notion of captivity in travel writing, especially in a comparative framework based on Arab, Malay and Persian literature.

0.3 CONCEPTS OF CAPTIVITY

Generally, captivity is associated with limitations and restrictions. Notwithstanding the common unfavourable thoughts that emerge from it, limitation does not always cause negativity. In terms of captivity within the site of travel, the first thought that comes to mind is generally that of physical captivity. This is the basis of an enquiry into whether the type of traveller might affect the expression of a travel narrative. Carl Thompson, in his book *Travel Writing,* questions the need to categorise travel accounts according to the types of travellers.[29] However, Joan Pau Rubies, in his study "Travel Writing and Ethnography", states that the traveller's role is indeed a significant factor in multidisciplinary research.[30] In brief, travellers are categorised as the following: pilgrims, knights, merchants, explorers, colonisers, captives/castaways, ambassadors, pirates and knowledge seekers.[31]

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[29] Thompson 2011:10.

[30] Joan Pau Rubies, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 242.

[31] William H. Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)", *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 30.

It is obvious that only one such category expresses the idea of enslavement, which is that of captive. However, are captives and slaves the same? According to Nabil Matar in his book *Britain and Barbary 1589-1689*, captives and slaves are interrelated, but there is a difference in the meanings of the two. He states that in Arabic, *asr* is captivity while *ʿubūdīyah* is slavery. *ʿUbūdīyah* indicates slavery for one's entire life, while *asr* represents slavery with a chance of release through ransom, trade or exchange. There is an interplay between *asīr* (captive) and *'abd* (slave), since the roles can be easily switched. For instance, Muslims who were once in *asr* were then forced into *ʿubūdīyah* after refusing Christian conversion. Matar claims that in spite of the difference in meaning between *asr* and *ʿubūdīyah*, Western scholars usually translate both terms as slavery.[32] However Suzanne Meirs in her article, "Slavery: A Question of Definition" criticizes the misapplication of the word slavery in the English language. She states that the word slavery usually becomes a symbol of injustice and discrimination in many types of context but it still remains problematic for an accurate definition.[33]

Lydia Wilson Marshall in the introduction of the book *The Archaeology of Slavery: A Comparative Approach to Captivity and Coercion* asserts that the variance and complicatedness of a captive's experience usually mislead people into assuming captivity and slavery as equivalent. However, rather than resolving to an absolute definition, she believes in the flexibility of interpreting slavery through various analysis

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[32] Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 114-115.

[33] Suzanne Miers, "Slavery: A Question of Definition", *Slavery & Abolition*, 24.2 (2003): 1.

and perceptions. [34] Meanwhile in *Captivity Narrative: Enduring Shackles and Emancipating Language of Subjectivity*, Dahia Messara claims that due to the complexity, scholars and professional have been trying to explore the inmost interpretation of captivity. However, as captivity appears variable and versatile throughout history, it should not be limited or restricted to only physical aspect, but also the subjective and cultural aspects of it. [35]

The diversity in the definition of captivity sparks curiosity about captivity in its symbolic as in its actual sense. Referring back to the traveller categorisation (in page 21), with mental captivity in mind, besides captives, other travellers' involvement might increase in relevance. Despite being a free traveller, who knows whether in mind he is imprisoned behind imaginary bars? Since travelling is normally synonymous with freedom in movement, maturity and wisdom, can a traveller realize the true meaning of captivity and freedom through their experience? To complicate the matter further, this begs the question of the interplay between captivity and freedom in travel narratives. In other words, what does travel narrative tell us about notions of captivity?

In my research, I will use the term 'captivity' multi-dimensionally: first, I will look at physical captivity, which involves a captive who is restrained by someone in

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[34] Lydia Wilson Marshall, "Introduction: The Comparative Arcaeology of Slavery", *The Archaeology of Slavery: A Comparative Approach to Captivity and Coercion.* Ed. Lydia Wilson Marshall, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015), 18.

[35] Dahia Messara, "Introduction" in *The Captivity Narrative: Enduring Shackles and Emancipating Language of Subjectivity,* Ed. Benjamin Mark Allen and Dahia Messara, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), xiii.

certain conditions or places. However, in certain cases, regardless of detention in a certain place or not, as long as a person is bound to a master and has many restrictions placed on their rights in life, this study will categorize captives and slaves together in terms of physical captivity. Ironically, this captive might be imprisoned physically, but his/her mind or spirit roams freely.

The second category for review is mental captivity, where a person might be free physically but, in reality, is trapped because of ideology or beliefs. As a result, this 'captive' is restricted in certain activities or ideologies despite encountering no physical bounds. The third type is conceptual captivity, which involves symbolic senses. In some ways, this type of captivity seems to be closer to restriction and limitation. For instance, a kind of limitation concerning time and space or a constraint of genre, convention or audience expectations. Instead of providing absolute definition of the captivity notions, I plan to demonstrate the ways captivity is explored in travel narratives. The comparative approach supports my discovery of various methods and encounters by which the idea of captivity is conceptualized, contested and elaborated.

0.4 HISTORICAL POSITIONING

Mary Louise Pratt defines the term 'contact zone':

> That is, social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.[36]

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[36] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes*: *Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.

In relation to the definition, travel obviously becomes the site of active contact zones and their descriptions usually appear in travel narratives. Therefore, I believe travel writing is the ideal medium to discover the diverse interpretations of captivity. In this study, I will research notions of captivity within a comparative framework involving Arab, Malay and Persian travel literature. The timeframe chosen is between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, an era during which Arabs, Malays and Persians experienced imperialism and colonisation (although Iran has never officially been colonised). To choose a specific decade or century is almost impossible since the study involves three very different cultural and political backgrounds and the production of travel narratives that fit the theme of captivity are not synchronized at a similar time period. Therefore, I chose a span of six centuries that show parallels in the way in which European imperialism affected cultural encounters in each group.

The captivity narratives or travel-themed novels from the Arab and Malay corpus were written in the twentieth century but display the downfall of the prestigious kingdoms of Al-Andalus at the end of the fifteenth century and the Malacca Sultanate during the early sixteenth century, while explaining the contact zones with the Western countries. The Arab travelogues illustrate the era of Muḥammad III of Morocco (1757-1790), who practised diplomacy with the European powers during the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Malay travelogue depicts the era of the British occupation of Malaya in the nineteenth century. In the same centuries, the Persian travelogues feature the background of the Qājār dynasty, which lost some Iranian territories to the Russian and British empires. In other words, the chosen corpora can also be considered to be important historical documents, as

they record the 'essence' of the political struggle with the Western powers of their era.

0.5 RESEARCH PROBLEMS

My main problem involves the concept of captivity; the comprehension of physical captivity is obvious, but the ideas of mental and symbolic captivity are more complicated, which causes difficulties in choosing the primary sources. Generally, everyone is imprisoned within a certain ideology or faith, both consciously and unconsciously. Meanwhile, conceptual imprisonment is such an abstract idea that there is the risk of fallacy or over interpretation. Although it seems rewarding to explore a wide range of mental and conceptual captivities, it is impossible to study all examples of it in the literature of three different languages; this means I have to limit the text selection to those that will provide the most significance to my research.

The next dilemma is the complicated narrative categories that exist under the travel theme, where the issues of fact and fiction become a little problematic. The main subject of my research is travel writing, but this provides a variety of options for categorisation. Among the fourteen texts that were chosen as 'candidates' for my research corpus, finally, after much consideration, I selected seven texts from a combination of travel accounts, captivity narratives and fictionalised travelogues. The complication emerges when fact and fiction intermingle, especially in dealing with fiction that uses real life people as main characters. The analysis of notions of captivity becomes rather challenging, with the intermingling of multi-voices in the narrative concerning the author, the characters in the narrative and the same characters in real life, which sometimes causes confusion.

All issues considered, I chose narratives with major travel themes that could help me to discover the various types of captivity. This is a modern rubric of analysis (fiction versus non-fiction) applied to pre-modern corpus for which this axis in not particularly germane in its context. The diverse corpus can be categorised into a few groups:

1. **Captivity narrative/Fictionalised travel narrative based on real travel account.**

   The first classification is travel fiction inspired by real travel accounts. The framework leans more towards novels, as it involves active plot development and many points of views involving numerous characters. Since the main character is a physical captive, it may also be considered a captivity narrative.

2. **Captivity Narrative/Fictionalised travel narrative not based on travel accounts.**

   The second classification is travel fiction inspired by a real traveller, but without any personal travel accounts or notes. In fact, information about the main character is limited only to the mention of his name in a few manuscripts. Its style is similar to the novel and the text can also be deemed as being a captivity narrative as it depicts the story of the main character, who is a physical captive.

3. **Fictionalised travelogue.**
   The third category is the fictionalised travel account based purely on the imagination and not referring to any real traveller.

4. **Real Travelogue**

   The final category is real travelogues, from real travellers, regardless of their factual and fictional qualities.

0.6 THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

During the mission of discovering the notions of captivity, I conducted close reading

of each text and analysed them using Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism.[37] The

theory is not limited to actual dialogues but is more flexible by involving conversations

of multi-voices and opinions in narrative. With the awareness of the existence of

multi-voices, meanings and expressions, it helps to identify the incorporation of

heteroglossia in the narratives. In his book, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin explains

about heteroglossia:

> Heteroglossia, once incorporated into the novel (whatever the forms
> for its incorporation), is another's speech in another's speech in
> another's language, serving to express authorial intentions but in
> a retracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of double-
> voiced discourse. It serves two speakers at the same time
> and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct
> intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention
> of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings
> and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically
> interrelated, they—as it were—know about each other (just as two
> exchanges in a dialogue know of each other and are structured in this
> mutual knowledge of each other); it is as if they actually hold a
> conversation with each other. Double-voiced discourse is always
> internally dialogized. Examples of this would be comic, ironic or parodic
> discourse, the refracting discourse of a narrator, refracting discourse in
> the language of a character and finally the discourse of a whole
> incorporated genre—all these discourses are double-voiced and
> internally dialogized. A potential dialogue is embedded in them, one as
> yet unfolded, a concentrated dialogue of two voices, two world views,
> two languages.[38]

The identification of the concepts of heteroglossia and double-voicedness is

crucial as they display the obvious and hidden utterances that crisscross between the

author, the characters in the narrative and the expected audience. This becomes a

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[37] For more information regarding the theory, refer to: M. M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* Ed. Michael Holquist, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

[38] Bakhtin 1981: 324-325.

vital tool in determining the interplay of captivity and freedom, either through the characters, the presentation style or the narrative tone. It helps to detect whether the layered voices are in conversation towards captivity or freedom.

According to Bakhtin, dialogism can be detected through "hybridizations,[39] the dialogized interrelation of languages and pure dialogues.*"[40]* In my analysis, I will examine the factors or elements that create dialogism towards a concept of captivity or of freedom. If the process of dialogism is interrupted by a monologism factor, it then leads towards the opposite interpretation. I will show the analysis in more detail in the main chapters. However, the theory will not be applied in every single excerpt since it would be a fallacy to force the theory's application at all times; hence, it will only be applied at appropriate places in the analysis.

Although Bakhtin's ideology of dialogism in narrative is focused on the novel, which has the ability to absorb various genres, I still used it to analyse other forms of travel writing in my research. This is because travel narratives are generally known to incorporate novelistic styles to amuse the readers with foreign places and experiences.[41] Obviously, there is no problem in applying the concept in analysing the captivity narratives and the fictionalised travelogues, as they are also considered to be novels that are focused on travel. On the other hand, the theory application in travelogues that use the first-person perspective might seem mismatched but,

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[39] According to Bakhtin, hybridization is "a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor."

[40] Bakhtin 1981: 358.

[41] Pratt 1992: 210.

surprisingly, it opened wider perspectives in analysing the narrative. Although there might be a risk of fallacy by misjudging authorial intention, with focus on the text, the process became smoother. In short, the dialogism and monologism of utterances or ideas, either in actual dialogues or in the relation of language helps to unleash numerous notions of captivity in my study of Arab, Malay and Persian travel narratives.

0.7 RESEARCH OUTLINE

Chapter One presents the overview of captivity narratives, which then leads to a discussion of travel writing. It showcases the general overview of Arab (*Riḥlah*), Malay (*Kembara*) and Persian (*Safarnāmah*) travel writing, with discussions about their special characteristics. Chapters Two through to Five are dedicated to the analysis of the notions of captivity that are evident in the selected travel narratives. The topic of captivity will be discussed according to three different mediums, which are the physical and the mind, the nation and the soul.

By starting the exploration about captivity within travel, Chapter Two acts as the groundwork for other chapters. This chapter examines two Arab ambassadorial travelogues by the same author, al-Miknāsī, who was responsible for ransoming captives from the European kingdoms. It focuses on the captivity of religion, gender and nostalgia.

Chapter Three deals with the interplay of captivity and freedom between the physical and the mind. This chapter compares two captivity narratives or travel novels that deal most with physical captivity, which are the Arab novel, *Leo Africanus* by Amīn Maʿlūf, and the Malay story, *Panglima Awang* by Harun Aminurrashid. The chapter

introduces both narratives and the real historical figures who inspired their production. Then, the chapter explains the concept of physical versus mental captivity before continuing the discussions according to the themes from the previous chapter (religion, gender and nostalgia), but with different perspectives.

Chapter Four will highlight the imprisonment of a nation. This chapter compares the factual Malay travelogue of Abdullah Munshi and the fictional Persian travelogue of Ibrāhīm Bayg. The chapter is approached differently, since it explains the hierarchy of captivity that leads towards the nation's captivity. It starts with the society, continues with the leaders and finishes with the nation, which is different in each of the two narratives. Finally, the chapter shows the effort to rescue the nation from imperceptible captivity by presenting special narrative techniques of liberation.

Chapter Five will demonstrate the inner human battle by discussing the imprisonment of the soul. This chapter rounds off the discussion of captivity in previous chapters by presenting the ways to achieve freedom during travel. A Persian travelogue by Ḥājj Sayyāḥ will be the focus of this chapter, without any comparison to other travel narratives. This chapter showcases Sayyāḥ's Sufistic method of gaining self-freedom by escaping the prison of ignorance.

Finally, the conclusion completes the study by analysing the overall concept of captivity derived from the selected Arab, Malay and Persian travel narratives, by presenting findings on the awareness of captivity and by suggesting new approaches for future studies.

1 CHAPTER 1: CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE AND TRAVEL WRITING

1.1 CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE

When talking about captivity in literature, the first thing that comes to mind is the captivity narrative, which features the story of captive, with a plot that usually portrays the moment of capture, the hardships endured and the attainment of freedom. According to Elizabeth Ziemba in the chapter "Captivating *Malaeska*" from the book, *The Captivity Narrative: Enduring Shackles and Emancipating Language of Subjectivity,* the conventional type of captivity narrative usually features a factual account written by a Christian white female or, sometimes, male captive. The distinctive tropes are the involuntary travel, the homecoming, the accusation towards the 'changed' captive and the captive's transitional condition in the community.[42] On the other hand, Jacquelynn Kleist identifies the tropes in a captivity narrative as competence, the individual's durability and bodily and mental strength.[43] That is why Joe Snader in his book, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* states that a captivity narrative is not merely a documentation of confinement as many of captivity narratives feature the story of the advanced individuality of the captive who has the ability to adapt to the foreign values of his or her captor.[44]

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[42] Elizabeth Ziemba, "Captivating *Malaeska*" in *The Captivity Narrative: Enduring Shackles and Emancipating Language of Subjectivity,* Ed. Benjamin Mark Allen and Dahia Messara, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 83.

[43] Jacquelynn Kleist, "Sarah Winnemucca's *Life Among the Piutes*: Their Wrongs and Claims as Captivity Narrative." *CEA Critic,* Volume 75, Number 2 (2013): 89.

[44] Joe Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 4 and 5.

Linda Colley, in *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850,* views the process of storytelling by captives as a means of self-comforting and self-affirming in devotion or loyalty to a nation or religion. By revealing their experience, a captive might earn an opportunity to return to his or her homeland by collecting donations, gathering money by selling the stories or having the story published.[45] The stories are usually written from the first-person point of view; however, there are others that feature multiple perspectives, including various first-person narrations and transitions between the first and third-person voice.[46] In a way, this characteristic is similar to the novel, which involves various narrative voices.

Due to the general association of captivity narratives with English-American hostages and Indigenous American captors, they have been defined as an American genre. However, in reality, the genre has a long history, starting from the European Middle Ages.[47] Snader demonstrates the breadth of the genre by exploring British captivity narratives involving capture by other Western powers.[48] Lisa Voigts goes beyond the typical framework by studying Spanish and Portuguese captivity narratives of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. She states that the experience and knowledge gained during the captivity period is valuable for the captive's original kingdom.[49] Moreover, Gordon M. Sayre, in his article "Renegades from Barbary: The

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[45] Colley 2002: 13 & 87.

[46] Snader 2000: 17 and 18.

[47] Ibid: 1.

[48] Ibid: 3.

[49] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds.* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

Transnational Turn in Captivity Studies", stresses that the genre is not exclusive to American literature, as the study of captivity has expanded from North America to the Mediterranean areas. He suggests a transnational approach to the study of captivity narratives by focusing on the comparison between the abductor and the captive. [50]

The genre existed during the late sixteenth century and was especially popular in Britain from the early seventeenth century to the nineteenth century.[51] It is hard to identify the precise number of captivity narratives produced, as some remain in manuscript form and others were published anonymously, which leads to authenticity issues. However, Colley questions the need for authenticity in captivity narratives because regardless of the credibility quality, captivity narratives have been beneficial and valuable for various fields. For instance, they have served as references and sources for new ideas in art and history, particularly in the United States (US).[52] For instance, a captivity narrative entitled *12 Years a Slave* by Solomon Northup, in 1853, was adapted to become a film in 2013. The film and well received by audiences and won prestigious prizes, such as at the Academy Awards and Golden Globe Awards. The story of an African-American man who was born free and was later kidnapped and forced into slavery appealed to film-makers, while also attracting the public and even scholars.

During the eighteenth century, especially in the 1720s, with the amalgamation of narrative styles, imaginary characters and story lines by British authors, fictional

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[50] Gordon M. Sayre, "Renegades from Barbary: The Transnational Turn in Captivity Studies", *Early American Literature* 45.2 (2010): 335.

[51] Snader 2000: 1.

[52] Colley 2002: 88.

captivity narratives started to emerge. This was the era when the travel narrative was booming and the novel genre faced evolution. Therefore, due to its particular characteristics, the captivity narrative could be considered an essential path for the development of the travel narrative and the novel.[53] According to Snader, this is because captivity narrative attempts to combine two contradictory Western notions. Firstly, to present characters of hardship, persistence, and emancipation. Secondly, to deliver the concept of intelligence by comprehending unfamiliar elements of any foreign culture. The two disparate notions contribute towards two seemingly incompatible rhetorical modes; i) the narrative of tribulation which demonstrates a traveler's adventure as series of distress and ii) ethnographic travel narration which portrays a traveler's view at a foreign location. Therefore, the captivity element provides beneficial value to the narrative patterns but at the same time can be bothersome.[54] Nevertheless, the connection between the captivity narrative, travel writing and the novel is undeniable, since they illuminate each other in many aspects. Although, specifically, all three are different, I will combine all of them as narratives, with a major travel theme, under travel writing.

1.2 TRAVEL WRITING

Travel writing has existed for hundreds of years and continues to flourish as a fascinating genre. It is attractive because of its ability to narrate the thrilling sensation of exploring new places and people. Despite being a 'trendy' genre among the public, Thompson differentiates between two types of audience responses to travel writing:

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[53] Snader 2000: 5.

[54] Ibid: 6.

that which is appreciated by general readers and that which can be criticised by scholars.[55] From some scholarly perspectives, travel writing is viewed as a middlebrow genre, due to its common weakness of intermingling fact and fiction.[56] Indeed, the genre's increasing popularity with the public also makes it 'easily accessible' and, thus, it loses its exclusiveness as a scholarly field.[57] However, according to Pratt, travel writing is considered a polyphonic discourse, in that it celebrates a variety of perspectives and ideas and, hence, it cannot be a privileged genre reserved only for specialists.[58]

Despite the negative views of travel writing as a middlebrow genre, it has attracted academic studies in various fields, including geography, ethnography, sociology, politics, culture and history.[59] For instance, Muslim travel narratives are used to consider historical and cultural issues in various locations, thus determining the concept of being brothers and sisters in Islam.[60] That said, although travel writing has contributed to many fields of scholarship, this study will view travel narratives as literary texts.

Travel writing, or travel literature, is an immense genre that includes sub-genres, such as travel accounts, travel guides and other travel-related narratives.

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[55] Thompson 2011:4.

[56] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 31.

[57] Lisle 2006: 30.

[58] Pratt 1992: 216.

[59] Thompson 2011:2.

[60] Euben 2006: 5.

Fictionalised travel accounts and travel novels are narratives affiliated to travel, which arouses confusion regarding whether are they are classifiable as travel literature, a known non-fiction genre. For example, it is believed that the fictionalised travel account *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* was inspired by real travellers, like Marco Polo, hence making it difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. The authenticity is not the problem in this study; instead, the possibility of the juxtaposition of multiple voices in the narratives might complicate a little the process of analysis using Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, which involves the identification of heteroglossia. This study combines the factual and fictional travel narratives from three different literary and cultural backgrounds; Arab, Malay and Persian. As this is the first attempt to combine the three backgrounds, I will first provide an overview of the travel writing genre of each literature, namely, *Riḥlah* for the Arab background, *Kembara* for the Malay background and *Safarnāmah* for the Persian background.

1.2.1 Riḥlah

Travel has been one of the most common recurring themes of Arab literary works and has been depicted through the constant representation of horses or camels. This becomes more obvious when one considers that the noun "travel" is *Riḥlah* in Arabic, which originates from the word *ra-ḥa-la,* relating to the act of travelling with a camel. An active traveller is identified in Arabic as a *raḥḥal* or a *raḥḥalah*, indicating a voyager.[61] In Arabic, travel literature is termed *Adāb al-Riḥlah* and is known practically

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[61] Samiā al-'Itānī, "The Travels of Mahmūd Shihāb al-Dine al-Alūsi Abū al-Thanā": Arabic Riḥlah Literature In the 19th Century." PhD, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), (2003): 41.

as *Riḥlah;* therefore, from this point onwards, Arabic travel literature will be referred to as *Riḥlah*.

Riḥlah is a rich literary genre that serves a variety of travel ambitions. In the Arabic tradition, generally, *Riḥlah* depicts diversified voyages that can be divided into six categories. The first category is the religious journeys, including pilgrimages (*manāsik al-ḥajj*), visits to sacred locations, such as the Jerusalem, visits to the saints (*awliyāʾ*) and missionary trips. The second category, the discovery expeditions, provides descriptions of landscapes, monuments, communities and civilizations. The third category, the educational travels, compromises knowledge seeking (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), knowledge spreading (*intishār al-ʿilm*) and the gathering of scholars. The fourth category is the diplomatic voyages, covering official matters such as ambassadorial tasks, war and even espionage. Fifth is the personal journey category, comprising tourism, visits to relatives and friends and self-discovery expeditions. Finally, the imaginary travels category transcends the limitations of time and space.[62]

Daniel Newman asserts that in the ninth century, Arabic narratives about Western Europe started to appear in "classical Arabic geographical literature". [63] Meanwhile, Maria Kowalska, in her article "From Facts to Literary Fiction: Medieval Arabic Travel Literature*",* implies that *Riḥlah* originated in the ninth century among those who traded with the Chinese and Indians, where literature mainly functioned as reference information of China and India, to establish business relations for instance,

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[62]Ḥusayn Naṣṣar, *Adāb al- Riḥlah* (al-Jīzah: Maktabāt Lubnān, 1991), 17-49.

[63] Daniel Newman, "Myths and Realities in Muslim Alterist Dsicourse: Arab Travellers in Europe in the Age of Nahda (19th c.)" in *Chronos*, 6, (2002): 7.

the book *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-al-Hind*.[64] In the tenth century, Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Ṭurṭūshī, an Andalusian Jew wrote the earliest first-hand narration of numerous European cities.[65] Then, there was a surge in Arabic topographical literature, with a counterbalance between geographic information and creative works, such as *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*[66] by al-Masʿudī[67] but the works were not written from experience.[68] Then, as the style of the "informative" literature tended towards literary fiction, travel narratives, for example *ʿAjāʾib al-Hind,*[69] ascribed to Buzurg ibn Shahriyār al-Ramhurmuzī, was believed to be a sub-genre of novels.[70] This assumption might reflect that there was no perceived status for *Riḥlah* during that century. Nevertheless, some geographers produced impressive accounts, such as Ibn Masʿudī and Ibn Faḍlān, who became epitomes of the *ʿajāʾib* style. According to the Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, the definition of *ʿajāʾib* literature is:

> ʿAjāʾib literature ('mirabilia'), a type of largely geographical or cosmographical writing with an emphasis on those real or imaginary phenomena in the physical world which challenged human understanding; these included man-made objects – prominently among them the great monuments of the pre-Islamic past – and natural phenomena, as well as marvels recounted in mariners' tales and other mirabilia of a folkloric nature.[71]

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[64] Maria Kowalska, "From Facts to Literary Fiction: Medieval Arabic Travel Literature." *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 5-6, 1987-88. (1988): 397.

[65] Newman 2002: 7-8.

[66] The English translation of the title is: *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems.*

[67] Al-ʿItani 2003: 44-45.

[68] Newman 2002: 8.

[69] The English translation of the title is: *Marvels of India*

[70] Kowalska 1988: 397.

[71] Lutz Richer-Bernburg, "*ʿAjāʾib* Literature" in Encylopedia of Arabic Literature: Volume 1, Ed. Julia Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 65-66.

During the eleventh century, the fascination for geographic studies declined and Arabs began to appreciate the travel sensibility to an increased degree, including developing a preference for artistic presentation rather than mere topographical information in narratives. Gradually, by the beginning of the twelfth century, the topographical element had decreased and had been replaced by the *'ajā'ib* aspects favoured by readers.[72] The travelogue of Ibn Jubayr, the twelfth century Andalusian traveller, became the main reference and model for later travel writers, for instance Ibn Juzayy, the scribe of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's travel account, who was believed to have copied a number of place description paragraphs for use in his own manuscript.[73] Regardless of the replication, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah became one of the most prominent Arab travellers of the fourteenth century by means of his travel account. Although he did not write it by himself, rather dictating it to Ibn Juzayy, it was assumed to be the peak of *Riḥlah.* In a way, its identification as a part of *Adab* (literary work), rather than an historical and geographical manuscript, developed *Riḥlah* into a noticeable genre.[74]

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Arab Muslim travellers began to narrate their exposure in the Western countries. Most of them were envoys from Morocco in ransom missions.[75] Nabil Matar, who has performed extensive studies into Arab travellers and travel accounts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, affirms that the Arab travellers of the seventeenth century did not feel any historical

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[72] Al- 'Itani 2003: 40-46.

[73]Ross E Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 313-314.

[74] I.R. Netton, "Riḥlah", *The Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol VIII, Ed. C. Edmund Bosworth and others, (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 528. and Nasser S. al-Samʿāny, "Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims during the 11-12th/17-18th Centuries: Thematic and Artistic Study" PhD, University of Leeds (2000), 4.

[75] Newman 2002: 8.

or cultural conflict, as they considered themselves on a par with Westerners in terms of influence and prosperity. However, when Westerners experienced the surge of modernity, Arab travellers could not avoid wonderment, and also unease, at the sensation of innovation that seemed to be missing from their territory.[76] By the end of the eighteenth century, Muslims began to show an increasing interest in the West, due to the wave of modernity. Despite being previously hesitant, they were then prepared to travel to the West.

By the early nineteenth century, when the evolution of "*iṣlāḥ*", also known as "*al-nahḍah",* had begun,[77] Muslim exploration of the West changed drastically into fondness and even mimicry.[78] It was when the Muslim travellers visited Europe voluntarily rather than for national missions.[79] Due to the surge in Arab travels to Europe for various purposes, the *Riḥlah* genre started to develop and to become an important medium for the Arab and Western relationship.[80] In fact, Arab authors wrote the most comprehensive travel literature about Europe and other Christian kingdoms, compared to other non-Christian travellers.[81] Daniel Newman in his article "Myths and Realities in Muslim Alterist Dsicourse: Arab Travellers in Europe in the Age of Nahda (19th c.)" made thorough analysis about nineteenth century Arabic travel

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[76] Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), xxxvv & 201 and Nabil Matar, "Europe through Eighteenth-Century Moroccan Eyes" *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics,* (2006):215.

[77] Muḥammad bin al-Asfar, *Adab al-Ruḥạlāt fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar: Sanad lil-Ḥarakah al-Iṣḷāḥīyah al-ʿArabīyah*. (Tunis: Dār al-Ittihạf lil-Nashr, Dār Sanābil lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2006), 1.

[78] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 303-308.

[79] Newman 2002: 18.

[80] Matar 2003: xix and al-ʿItani 2003: 40.

[81] Matar 2003: xxii.

accounts on Europe including the published and unpublished manuscripts of authors from various nations, the favourite destinations, the travel intention, the literary genres, the structures, and the themes. [82] He also provided an extensive choronological list of the nineteenth century Arabic travelogues about Europe that can be very useful for future studies.[83] In comparison to other Arab countries, the Moroccans wrote an increased number of travel accounts and, with their attention to detail, such as the records of the time, and their particular literary characteristics, they transformed the "informative" narrative into an art form.[84]

It is of note that Morocco was excluded from the Ottoman-governed area of the South Mediterranean Muslim world. Moreover, with their keen style of Moroccan identity, historical movements seemed to happen regularly there.[85] Therefore, it is believed that, in addition to the Andalusians, the Moroccans also contributed to the glory of Arab travel literature, especially when one of the most well-known Arab travellers, whose travel account has been read in many languages, for centuries, is Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, a Moroccan traveller.

From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, Moroccans produced various travel accounts. These can be categorised into three groups:

1) Local travel inside Morocco;

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[82] Newman 2002: 23-57.

[83] Ibid 2002: 58-67.

[84]al-Samʿāny 2000: 30-35.

[85] Abderrahmane el. Moudden, "The Ambivalence of Riḥlah: Community Integration and Self-Definition in Moroccan Travel Accounts, 1300-1800." *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination,* Ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James P. Piscatori, (Berkeley, California.: University of California Press, 1990), 82.

2) Travel to Hijaz (*Riḥlah Ḥijāzīyah*), including the experience of performing the Hajj; and

3) Ambassadorial travel (*Riḥlah Sifārīyah*), including reports on overseas journeys.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, Moroccans were sent on missions to Muslim and Christian lands. During these expeditions, they usually also took the opportunity to perform the Hajj; hence, the dual identity of the travel account being *Riḥlah Sifārīyah* and *Riḥlah Ḥijāzīyah*. Even in comparison to the Ottomans and Indians, the Moroccans were advanced in their delivery of travel narratives regarding their journeys to Christian kingdoms, marking the importance of their travel accounts in cross-cultural rendezvous.[86] By the eighteenth century, Moroccan travel narratives were actively related to diplomatic activities, for instance Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī's series of travelogues. The world of the eighteenth century witnessed the new relationship and interchange process between the Christian and Muslim powers in various aspects, including politics, the economy and religion. Undeniably the Western domains were more advanced in divergent trajectories, compared to other Islamic kingdoms of that time. Moreover, the landmark events of the eighteenth century, such as the wars of Spain (1702-1713), Austria (1710-1748), England and France (1756-1763), Russia and the Ottomans (between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries) and the constitution of the United States of America (1788),[87] naturally pressured the Moroccans to negotiate their place among the big powers.

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[86] El-Moudden 1990: 70 and Matar 2006: 200.

[87] Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-Sāfir li-Hidāyat al-Musāfir ilá Fikāk al-Asárá min Yadd al-ʿAdūw al-Kāfir,* Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī (Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Jamiʿāt al-Ḥasan al-Thānī, Manshūrāt Kullīyat al-Adab wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyyah, 2005), 22.

Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh or Muḥammad III, who ruled the Moroccan kingdom during the latter half of the eighteenth century, was so concerned with international relations that he crafted a two-dimensional political strategy by strengthening his position In the Islamic world and also with the European kingdoms. Muḥammad III actively sent his ambassadors on diplomatic missions to Europe, such as to England (in 1750 and 1765), Sweden (1762), France (1767), Spain (1780) and America (1786). Meanwhile, the Moroccans reinforced their relationship with the Ottomans by providing material and military support. Furthermore, Muḥammad III was also well-known for his active efforts to ransom Muslim captives without any discrimination as to which nation they came from. At a time when other Islamic kingdoms were picky in their choice of which hostages they liberated, Muḥammad III, in contrast, offered ransom money to redeem Muslim detainees from other nations, including Turkey, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. [88]

However, confidence began to fade from their travel narratives during the nineteenth century, after experiencing continuous martial losses. [89] Contrary to expectations, in spite of the huge contribution of Moroccans towards *Riḥlah*'s reputation, study into them remained lacking and only slight attention has been paid by Western and Arab intellectuals, particularly by *Mashriq* (East Arabian) scholars.[90] Unfortunately, the Moroccans were usually described as uncivilized and remained the

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[88]Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 22-23.

[89] Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), 31.

[90] Ibid: 18.

unsung cultural ambassadors.[91] When examining the Arab lands, Morocco is isolated

at the Far West and is relatively small; hence, it appears to be fragile in comparison to

the other lands.[92] It might well be the case that the current stereotypical impression

of Morocco has resulted in the negligence of other Arab scholars.

1.2.2   Kembara

While *Riḥlah* is believed to have a long history, the status of a specific Malay travel

writing genre remains ambiguous. In fact, it has been doubted that it even exists in

Malay literature.[93] Although the travel theme can undeniably be detected in Malay

classical works, such as the popular *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and *Sejarah Melayu,* these are

probably not strong enough to stand as a genre. Certainly, many prominent Malay

literary works with travel themes, such as *Hikayat Perintah ke Negeri Benggala* by

Ahmad Rijaluddin, *Kisah Pelayaran ke Kelantan* and *Kisah Pelayaran ke Jeddah* by

Abdullah Munshi, *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* by La'udin and *Panglima Awang* by Harun

Aminurrashid, have been the focus of research by scholars. Nonetheless, they have

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[91] Sadik Rddad, "Driss Ben Driss Al-Amraoui: Moroccan Ambassador to Europe", *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing*, Ed. Tabish Khair, Martin Leer, Justin D. Edwards and Hanna Ziadeh, (Oxford: Signal, 2006), 348.

[92] Lewis 2000: 118.

[93] Shamsudin Othman, "Sastera Kembara Yang Perlu Diperhalusi", *Dewan Sastera*, (July 2007): 31.

been studied under the genres of autobiographical literature, [94] biographical literature[95] and historical story,[96] rather than as travel literature.

The existence of a travel literature genre in Malay is itself questionable, and there has never been an official term for it. The popular travel account written by Abdullah Munshi has the words *Kisah Pelayaran* in the title, which translates to *The Story of the Journey*. Meanwhile, one of the most prominent literary magazines in Malaysia, *Dewan Sastera,* made Malay travel literature the monthly focus in the July 2007 edition by terming it *Sastera Kembara*. However, the word *Kembara* does not exist in the title of early Malay travel themed works; therefore, it is questionable as to how to name the travel literature genre in Malay, whether it should be *Sastera Pelayaran* or *Sastera Perjalanan* or *Sastera Kembara*. Nevertheless, if we refer to the encyclopaedia of Arabic literary terms in Malay by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka,[97] the equivalent of the term *Adab al-Riḥlah* is *Kesusasteraan Kembara*. For this reason, in my opinion. it is particularly relevant to term Malay travel literature as *Sastera Kembara* and, practically, as *Kembara*. Therefore, from here on, Malay travel literature will be referred to as *Kembara.*

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[94] The travelogue *Kisah Pelayaran ke Kelantan* by Abdullah Munshi has been studied as an autobiographical account. See: C. W. Watson, "The Study of Indonesian and Malay Autobiography", *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 17.49 (1989): 3-18.

[95] The travel themed classical story, *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* by La'udin has been studied as a biographical work. See: Noriah Taslim, "Hikayat Nakhoda Muda: Biografi Melayu Abad ke-18*", Jurnal Antarabangsa Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (Iman*), 3 (3), (2015): 59-68.

[96] The travel themed novel, *Panglima Awang* by Harun Aminurrashidhas been studied as a historical novel. See: G. L. Koster, "A Voyage to Freedom", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37.109 (2009): 375-396.

[97] Glosari Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan Arab, Ed. Muhammad Bukhari Lubis et al. (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Kuala Lumpur, 2017), 6.

In reality, approximately 50 Malay travelogues exist among Malay literary works. Although this number is relatively small, it shows that this genre does exist in the Malay tradition.[98] From my findings, as mentioned above, an inaugural focus on *Kembara* occurred in the July 2007 edition of the magazine *Dewan Sastera*; however, only three articles from invited authors were published, namely those by Abdul Rahman, Shamsudin Othman and Faizal Tehrani. As expected, many questions and ambiguities surround the status of *Kembara.* To date, no specific research into *Kembara* has been performed, except for a Master's degree dissertation on Malay travelogues by Lisda Mohd Amin in 2014, entitled *Travelog Melayu: Suatu Pengembaraan Intelektual dan Spiritual.*[99] Lisda admits that *Kembara* is an isolated genre compared to other literary genres in Malay literature, as it has not yet been studied extensively.[100] Hence, as an analogy, we can say that *Kembara* is like a neglected stepchild in the family of Malay literature.

According to Siti Hawa Haji Salleh, in her book *Kesusasteraan Melayu Abad Kesembilan Belas*, classical Malay literature is generally divided into six genres. These are religious literature, epic literature, historical literature, law literature, *hikayat* literature and *ketatanegaraan* literature. *Kembara* is not included as it is considered a new genre in Malay literature. Nevertheless, despite being a new genre, Lisda asserts that classical elements remain in Malay travelogues, especially in Hajj travelogues, for

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[98] Lisda Mohd Amin, "Travelog Melayu: Suatu Pengembaraan Intelektual dan Spiritual" Master, National University of Singapore (2014), 39.

[99]Which translates into *Malay Travelogue: An Intellectual and Spiritual Journey.*

[100] Lisda 2014: 3.

instance, the utilitarian motive, which is a descriptive account of the surroundings.[101]

However, Shamsudin Othman believes that *Kembara* originated from Malay classical

oral stories with travel themes, such as *Si Tenggang* and *Malim Kundang*. Then, the

Hikayat genre developed; for example, the stories in the book *Sejarah Melayu,* such

as the journey of *Hang Tuah.* Later, the genre evolved into travelogues, such as the

travel narratives written by Ahmad Rijaluddin and Abdullah Munshi.[102]

Siti Hawa indicates that, from the seventeenth century onwards, Sultans

(Malay kings) began to encourage the progression of Malay literature by making the

court the centre of literary activities and "marketing."[103] Producing literary works

while working under patrons, or at the request of a patron, is considered court

literature. Despite the active encouragement from the Sultans, C. Skinner, in

Transitional Malay Literature: Part 1 Ahmad Rijaluddin and Munshi Abdullah,

evaluates this era of the Malay court as monotonous, as nothing remarkable

happened in Malay literature.[104] However, it has been said the *Kembara* evolved

during the transitional period from classical to modern literature, where the elements,

time and ingredients of the literary works tended to differ.[105] Scholars have proposed

the nineteenth century as the transitional era of Malay literature, as Malay literary

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[101] Ibid: 90.

[102] Shamsudin Othman 2007: 32.

[103] Siti Hawa 1997: 26.

[104] C. Skinner, "Transitional Malay literature: Part 1 Ahmad Rijaluddin and Munshi Abdullah", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 134.4 (1978): 468.

[105] Skinner 1978: 467 and Siti Hawa 1997: 410.

works began to appear under European patrons.[106] In fact, literary works produced during transitional period usually could not escape from the 'ambiguity' trap. For instance, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq's Arabic travelogue, *al-Sāq ʿalā al-Sāq* which had a mixture of classical and modern Arabic literary styles and shifts between standard and colloquial Arabic, was composed during the transitional period of Arabic literature. Therefore, it was hard to categorize his work as it could be under various genres and perhaps could not be classified at all.[107]

Following the power shift from Malay patrons to Dutch and, later, English ones, court literature was maintained, although the benefactors changed.[108] Amin Sweeney, in his book *Reputations Live On: An Early Malay Autobiography,* terms it "the Malay literature of the European court".[109] An example of this is the production of *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala and Hikayat Abdullah* at around the end of the eighteenth century.[110] *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala* was a travel-diary written by Ahmad Rijaluddin ibn Hakim Long Fakir Kandu, who escorted his employer, Robert Scott, to Calcutta. The majority of the account focuses on the portrayal of Calcutta and other towns, with a few pages dedicated to certain events between 1810 and 1811.[111]

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[106] Skinner 1978: 467 and Siti Hawa 1997: 410.

[107] Johnson 2015: xxviii.

[108] Siti Hawa 1997: 28.

[109] Sweeney 1980: 13.

[110] Amin Sweeney, *Reputations Live On* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 12.

[111] Cyril Skinner, "The Author of the "Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala", in *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 132.2 (1976): 201-202.

Hadijah Rahmat suggests that Ahmad's 1810 account was likely to be the first travel account in Malay literature.[112]

In order to make their writings relevant to mass society without causing a surprise by forcing a new style in the literary works, the court scribes could not usually break free from the traditional framework of Malay literature.[113] For example, Ahmad inserted a new form of writing (the travel diary) into the Classical Malay narrative; however, he still could not abandon the traditional style of writing, which is evident through the use of ancient Hindu characters as comparatives and through descriptions in a typically repetitive classical style. Due to this, Skinner refuses to categorize Ahmad as a contemporary writer, since he lacked innovation in his prose and remained heavily attached to the old writing customs. Therefore, Skinner proposes the term of being a "transitional" author in relation to Ahmad, as he produced a work in between "classical" and "modern" literary styles.[114]

In contrast, Ras prefers Ahmad to be termed as a "peripheral" author rather than a "transitional" author, because his narrative did not have any remarkable differences. Although the narrative was slightly distinct from other writers of his time, it was perceived to emerge from an educated court scribe, such as Ahmad. Ras asserts

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[112] Hadijah Rahmat, *In Search of Modernity: A Study of the Concepts of Literature, Authorship, and Notions of Self in "Traditional" Malay Literature,* (Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 2001), 175.

[113] Amin Sweeney, "Some Observations on the Nature of Malay Autobiography", *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 18.51 (1990): 30 and Ben Murtagh, "Introduction", *The Portrayal of Foreigners in Indonesian and Malay literatures*, Ed. V. I Braginskiĭ and Ben Murtagh (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 16.

[114] Cyril Skinner, "Introduction" in *Ahmad Rijaluddin's Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala,* Ahmad Rijaluddin, Trans. Cyril Skinner (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 7.

that his prose is a pleasurable reading experience for Westerners who study Malay, but not for native Malays.[115] As expected, in relation to the court, the panegyric is a basic characteristic in literary works and, therefore, the system is also seen in the European courts. For instance, Abdullah Munshi and Ahmad Rijaluddin demonstrate constant compliments for the British in their writings. Hadijah's analysis suggests that Ahmad's panegyrising for the British in his account's introduction is an expression of adoration and devotion for his employer.[116]

Following the era of European court literature, the nineteenth century witnessed a change in the Malay condition in many aspects, including literature. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, literature became a privilege, as it was restricted by the British authority on education.[117] Therefore, literature blossomed only in the palace, mainly due to the merit of the court scriveners, who were generally multi-taskers, including clerks, authors, manuscript copiers and literature editors, for the purpose of either enjoyment or knowledge. With the exclusivity of literature within the palace area, the only way to develop talent and passion in literature was to be either an aristocrat or a court scribe.[118] That is why early Malay travel accounts were generally written by educated court scribes, such as Ahmad Rijaluddin and Abdullah Munshi.

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[115] J. J. Ras, "Review of Ahmad Rijaluddin's Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 16, Issue 2 (1985): 341-342.

[116] Hadijah 2001:175.

[117] Sweeney 1990: 22.

[118] Sweeney 1980: 10.

Based on the discussions above, my own view is that Malay travel literature does exist due to the presence of various literary works with dominant travel theme in Malay literature. However, the status and identity of Malay travel literature remains weak because research related to it is seriously lacking. Due to this, Malay travel literature does not even have a specific term, making its identity appears ambiguous. For this study, I chose to term Malay travel literature as *Kembara*[119] and further critical study into it remains very crucial. *Kembara* deserves further attention, as do other genres in Malay literature, since further study would allow a deeper understanding of Malay society's history, culture and philosophy.[120]

1.2.3   Safarnāmah

Persian travel literature has consistently been rich with travel writers from different races and cultures, especially during the era when Persian writing was in fashion in India, the Caucasus and Transoxiana.[121] At that time, Persian was one of the world's most important languages. It was used widely from the territories of the Mongols and Turks, to the west towards the Balkan area, to the south to southern India and to the east to include the commerce line in Central China. Persian became the only language that was able to dominate the writing medium over many lands for a long duration, namely five centuries. [122] During this time, non-Iranians who had been deeply

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[119] The reason is explained on page 57.

[120] Lisda 2014: 3.

[121] Iraj Afshar, "Persian Travelogues: A Description and Bibliography", in *Society and Culture in Qājār Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, Ed. Elton L. Daniel, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 148.

[122] Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway. "Persian As Koine: Written Persian In World-Historical Perspective." *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order.* Ed. Brian Spooner and

influenced by Persian language, literature and culture were deemed to be in the sophisticated area of the Persianate world.[123] In addition to the well-known Iranians who authored excellent Persian travel narratives, the Persianates also produced well-known Persian travelogues, for instance Mirza Iʿtiṣām al-Din from India, with his travelogue of European expeditions entitled *Shigarfnāmah Velāyat*.[124]

Iraj Afshar, who has performed extensive research into Persian travel narratives, known as *Safarnāmah* in *Persian Travelogues: A Description and Bibliography*, estimates the existence of a total of 500 Persian travelogues from several sources of experts, a research thesis by Mohamad Asadiān and study notes from 40 years of investigation.[125] For centuries, numerous *Safarnāmah* have been produced and some have gained widespread popularity, such as the travel account of Nāṣir Khusraw. Nevertheless, no matter how well-known some early *Safarnāmah* were during previous centuries, William L. Hanaway suggests, in "Persian Travel Narratives: Notes Toward the Definition of a 19th Century Genre"*,* that this remained insufficient to designate a significant genre, especially when travel narratives do not fall under the category of classical Persian literature.[126] It is possible that Hanaway

William L. Hanaway, (Philadelphia (PA): University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2012), 1.

[123] Saïd Amir Arjomand, "From the Editor: Defining Persianate Studies", *Journal of Persianate Studies* 1.1 (2008): 2.

The Persianate term was invented by Marshall Hodgson. See: Marshall G. S Hodgson, *Venture of Islam, Volume 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (University of Chicago Press, 1977).

[124] For translation, see: Mirza Sheikh I'tesamuddin, *The Wonders of Vilayet: Being the Memoir, Originally in Persian, of a Visit to France and Britain*, Trans: Kaiser Haq (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2002).

[125] Afshar 2002: 145-149.

[126] Hanaway 2002: 249.

means that *Safarnāmah,* with its Western style, became a new form of literary work for Persian literature because, in contrast, Afshar believes that *Safarnāmah* had a comprehensive history, since it involves many forms of Persian literature, including the books of Sufis, travel etiquette and politics. He claims that, between the years of 1688-1906, approximately 234 travelogues were authored and almost 200 of these were written after 1785. These findings show that travel accounts were actively produced from the end of the eighteenth century.[127]

When world conditions began to improve, in the eighteenth century, an increased number of Persians were able to travel. By the nineteenth century, Persian travel to Europe had risen dramatically. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, during the Qājār dynasty (1796-1925), with the extent of Napoleon's battles, Russia's power expansion and financial and martial complications, Persian patrons could no longer avoid political relationships with the West.[128] The mutual relationship that was established encouraged travel between them and the British and Russian travellers actively published travel accounts about their journeys to Iran.[129] Hence, with the fame of travel accounts, we can say that Persian travellers were further encouraged to record their travel experiences, during either internal or external expeditions.

According to Hanaway, with the surge in Persians travelling to Europe, they actively documented their travel experiences; hence, this became the foundation for

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[127] Afshar 2002: 145-150.

[128] Lewis 2000: 119.

[129] Elena Andreeva, "Travelogues by Berezin: A Nineteenth-Century Russian Traveler to Iran", *Society and Culture in Qājār Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, Ed. Elton L. Daniel, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 164.

a new genre in Persian prose.[130] *Safarnāmah* evolved, in terms of form and content, during Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign in the Qājār dynasty, especially when the king himself authored his own travel account of his journey to Europe.[131] Accounts by Qājār travellers of their trips to Europe were popular; they included works by another king, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, the dervishes Ḥājj Sayyāḥ and Ḥajj Pīrzādah, Ṭālib Tabrīzī and a fiction travelogue by Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāgha-ī, to name but a few.[132]

In general, travel has always been an important theme for Arabic, Malay and Persian literature, although ambiguity remains regarding the exact time of the origin of their versions of travel literature. The development process of becoming a recognizable genre called travel literature and the history of their travel-related literary works differs among the three. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the spotlight began to shine upon their travelogues during their encounters with the West. Unfortunately, due to the increase in Muslim travel to the West and their growing involvement with each other, not to mention the rising prestige of travel accounts globally, *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah* were slandered as products that imitated the West.

1.2.4   Mimicry of the West?

According to Mary Louise Pratt, in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, although manuscripts related to travel experiences or themes have existed for

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[130]Hanaway 2002: 249.

[131]Afshar 2002: 148-156 and Elton. L. Daniel, "The Hajj and Qājār Travel Literature", *Society and Culture in Qājār Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, Ed. Elton L. Daniel, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 224.

[132] Afshar 2002: 154-156 and Daniel 2002: 219.

centuries in non-Western literature, the travel literature genre and travelogue template have received the most acknowledgement and have flourished in Western hands. During the nineteenth century, travel literature experienced a boom in popularity paralleling that of the active European imperialism, in search of the "3 Gs": Glory, Gold and Gospel. Travelling widely to foreign regions and colonizing them, with the excuse of being responsible for bringing civilization, encouraged the surge of travel accounts. Therefore, travelogues appeared to be a European conspiracy to implant their superior authority into the readers' minds, generally, and those of the colonized, specifically.[133] Undeniably, travel writing is associated with the diplomatic, economic and scientific pursuit of the colonising authority.[134] Moreover, with their dominance in the knowledge of science and technology, compared to that of other regions and societies, and the application of scientific awareness in their travelogues, Western authors are assumed to be at the top of the travel literature hierarchy. However, linking travelogues to European imperialism only limits the definition and function of travel narratives in a global context.[135]

In reality, although travel writing was a global sensation in the nineteenth century, Europeans received the widest acclaim for it. As a result, other types of non-Western travel literature, including Arab, Malay and Persian, were accused of imitation and mimicry of Western travelogues, which made them appear spurious and without identity. Skinner emphasizes that non-Western travelogues were not always

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[133] Pratt 1992: 7-15.

[134] Andreeva 2002: 165.

[135] Lisda 2014: 12-14.

written voluntarily, but might rather have been encouraged or ordered by their European patrons in order to gain in depth information about the local society.[136] Although this might seem biased, Skinner, furthermore, suggests that writers from the Asian region might have needed to be "ignited" in order to have the courage and passion to break free of the conventional framework of their local literature and to produce novel literary works, such as travelogues, through their encounters with European authority. However, when foreign words began to enter travel narratives, the locals started to view travel literature as another type of Western colonization.[137]

Despite the indictment of copying a Western literary genre, scholars of Arab, Malay and Persian literature attempted to deny this accusation and to acknowledge their travel literature as an authentic genre of their region. El-Shihibi argues that *Riḥlah* is not merely an augmentation of the Western form of travel writing but, in fact, has been maintained in a particular style by featuring Arab Islamic lyrical and narrative artistry.[138] In addition, some accounts of *Riḥlah* are heavily decorated with peculiar stories of *'ajīb* and *gharīb,* which have fantastic or semi-fantastic elements, such as the stories of Sinbād.[139] Nabil Matar, in his book *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the 17th Century,* also defies the typical theoretical study of *Riḥlah* that used Western travel accounts as the main groundwork, because Arabs have their own distinctive and unique history, theory of knowledge, values and literary style.[140]

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[136] Skinner 1978: 468-469.

[137] al-Asfar 2006: 29 and Afshar 2002: 149

[138] Fathi el-Shihibi, *Evolution of Travel Genre in Arabic Literature* (Not identified: Lulu) 2010: vii.

[139] al-Asfar 2006:3.

[140] Matar 2003: xxxii.

Meanwhile, Lisda has defended *Kembara,* which is assumed to have appeared only due to encounters with the West during the territorial expansion of Western borders. She claims that, instead of blindly imitating Western travelogues, Malays only took inspiration from the West and improvised on it, as befitted the condition of society and the Islamic law of that era. She states that the rising Islamic elements in Malay travelogues from the nineteenth century until the present is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that Malay travel narratives are not an exact likeness of European travel narratives.[141]

Safarnāmah peaked during the Qājār dynasty in the nineteenth century, coinciding with the modish Western travelogues of that time, hence, the unavoidable comparison between them.[142] Hanaway dismisses the comparison of using Western travelogues as prototypes because Persian voyagers of the nineteenth century faced different situations to those of Westerners, namely as explorers rather than colonisers. Moreover, their writing style was different, as Europeans tended to write more about the enjoyment of a journey, while Persians preferred to calmly express the journey's foreign experiences as being part of the normal process of completing an expedition.[143] *Safarnāmah* writers also seem to follow the story template of Shaykh Ṣanʿān.[144] They usually let themselves loose, especially towards females, and then

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[141] Lisda 2014: 34.

[142] Daniel 2002: 218.

[143] Hanaway 2002: 250-262.

[144] Shaykh Ṣanʿān is one of the stories in the Persian book *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (The Conference of Birds) by Attar. The story is about a Sufi master who renounced his faith, religion and reputation for the love of a young Christian female. Later, he repented and returned to his original self again. For further information, see: Christopher Shackle, "Representations of ʿAṭṭār in the West and in the East: translations of the *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* and the tale of Shaykh Ṣanʿān" in *Aṭṭār and the Persian Sufi Tradition:*

displayed similar regret. Regardless of any expression of admiration towards foreigners or regret towards the condition of the country, it was considered a moral challenge. Persian travellers would often attempt to present themselves as strongly-rooted Iranians, no matter what occurred.[145]

Regardless of the continuous debate regarding the authenticity of the genre, the main issue at hand is that any literary work should not necessarily be evaluated according to a Western template, since this will only lead to confusion and restriction. In my opinion, the Western guide is useful as a reference, but not as an evaluator of the status of a genre. Each form of non-Western literature, such as Arab, Malay or Persian, should have its own local genre guide that suits its literary style. In a similar vein, *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah* should be given the privilege of standing as a credible genre, not of being wrongly treated as a subcategory of another genre, such as that of the autobiography.

1.2.5 Autobiographical Travel or Travel Autobiography?

Travel narratives are usually heavily dominated by autobiographical element, as they are generally presented in the first person. The concept tends to make travel narratives appear as autobiographical manuscripts, especially as Western travel narratives during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be considered a subdivision of the autobiography, due to their approach to perceiving individuality and

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the Art of Spiritual Flight. Ed. Leonard Lewisohn and Christopher Shackle, (London & New York: Tauris & The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2006), 165-193.

[145] Hanaway 2002: 263 and Tavakoli-Targhi, "Eroticizing Europe", *Society and Culture in Qājār Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, Ed. Elton L. Daniel, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 313.

the living world.[146] The autobiographical element is the perfect tool to express self-transformation during the journey and to present a social or historical analysis of an alien culture through the eyes of a traveller. [147] Therefore, the autobiographical element is inseparable from the travel accounts. Even if a fictional travel narrative is not presented from the first-person point of view, it still contains the element of biography. Nevertheless, this is not a reason to simply categorize travel narratives into the autobiography group and to then isolate them from the travel literature genre.

The concept of the autobiography did not originate in the Arab,[148] Malay[149] or Persian[150] traditions; rather, this literary style is believed to have resulted from the transformation of Western sensibilities. It contains the notion of individuality that is closely linked to the West, but which is missing in other cultures. Non-Western writers who desire to write anything related to the West, such as an autobiography, a sonnet or a novel, not only face accusations of mimicry and inauthenticity, but also struggle in a tug-of-war with their local literary tradition.[151] In fact, if there is any visible Western effect in a literary work, it will eventually be marked as bogus and unreliable.

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[146]Hanaway 2002: 249.

[147] Watson 1989: 3.

[148] For further information on Arabic autobiography, see: Kristen E. Brustad et al., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*. Ed. Dwight F. Reynolds, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

[149] For further information on Malay autobiography, see Amin Sweeney, *Reputations Live On*: *An Early Malay Autobiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), C W Watson, "The Study of Indonesian and Malay Autobiography", *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 17.49 (1989): 3-18, and Amin Sweeney, "Some Observations on the Nature of Malay Autobiography", *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 18.51 (1990): 21-36.

[150] There are many studies on Persian autobiography manuscripts. For instance, see: Shams-i Tabrizi, *Me & Rumi: The Autobiography of Shams-i Tabrizi,* Trans. William Chittick (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2004).

[151] Sweeney 1990: 31.

To deny a literary style because of some similar features seems ludicrous. If a literary style that has developed from cross-cultural elements is considered bogus, then other literary genres would also be spurious, as culture juxtaposition characteristics are usually common.[152]

This highlights the larger issue with *Kembara,* that it is mainly considered an autobiography rather than travel literature. An example of this is the manuscript of *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah Munshi* by Abdullah Munshi, which is marked as an autobiographical account of a sea voyage.[153] This raises the question of why it is identified in this way if it could, in fact, be designated as a travel account. C.W. Watson, in his article "The Study of Indonesian and Malay Autobiography"*,* defends his opinion of Abdullah's voyage as an autobiographical manuscript by stating that Abdullah's statement was a reliable observation of the journey, due to the structure of his perceptions and his implied audience, namely Western or Western-educated readers, who were familiar with the concept of autobiography.[154]

In contrast, Sweeney, in his responding article to Watson entitled "Some Observations on the Nature of Malay Autobiography"*,* questions the need to categorize the book as an autobiography when it merely describes the experiences of the journey, not a life story from birth to adulthood. Although it is written in the first person, it does not necessarily tell a life story but, rather, expresses experiences and

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[152] Watson 1989: 3-4.

[153] Ibid: 7.

[154] Ibid: 16.

observations from it.[155] Although it is understandable that the public might recognize an excessive usage of 'I' and the narration of self-experience in a literary work as an autobiography, it is also important to be able to differentiate between autobiographies and autobiographical elements in order to give justice to a literary work's status.

Instead of a genre, the autobiography should be seen as one of the dominant elements in travel literature, since it plays an important role in presenting realistic travel experiences. Siti Hawa suggests that the decision to determine a categorization for literary works depends on various aspects, including form, technique and the main narrative theme.[156] Therefore, if a literary work revolves heavily around the travel theme, why should it not be categorized as travel literature?

In fact, it is difficult to determine a specific genre when there is a juxtaposition of various elements within a manuscript. Therefore, the question is whether a single manuscript can belong to many genres, or should we just choose the most dominant element and justify a single genre for it? A traveller usually cannot avoid talking about him or herself during an observation of a journey. Meanwhile, a meaningful autobiography that depicts self-transformation usually involves the act of travel, either physical or mental. Since the elements of both autobiography and travel are usually intertwined, should a literary work be identified by mentioning both, according to the hierarchy of dominance, such as an autobiographical travel account or a travelling autobiography? While this might appear appropriate and valid, it is also

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[155] Sweeney 1990: 27-28.

[156] Siti Hawa 1997: 211.

confusing and troubling to have such a lengthy identification process. In my opinion, since autobiographical and travel elements are almost inseparable, it might be more convenient to determine the principal fundamental of a literary work and identify it according to the dominant element. For instance, a travelogue should be classified under travel literature, in spite of the self-portrayal aspects, and a life story should be tagged under autobiography, despite the voyaging element that it contains. Although doubts have arisen about the status of *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah*, it is important to consider their distinctive identity as travel literature, with their own separate flavours.

1.2.6   The Peculiar Characteristics

Combining *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah* in the same position for study is difficult, since they have distinctive historical, cultural and literary backgrounds. Therefore, it is tempting to force a correlation in order to seek parallelism between the three. However, it would be unprofessional to analyse foreign literature merely according to personal criteria, assessments and assumptions. Therefore, the best option is to attempt to be as unbiased as possible, since there is no fixed template to analyse the literature of different traditions.[157]

Nevertheless, in comparison, there are a few common characteristics between *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah.* From their expeditions, they recorded their observations of many aspects, including geography/topography, anthropology, history, politics, religion, economy, technology and others, in narratives in either prose or poetry form. Therefore, the travel accounts are usually encyclopaedic in

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[157] Sweeney 1994: 319-321.

manner, as they include information from many branches of knowledge.[158] Matar particularly stresses the attentive observation and description of the Arabs in their *Riḥlah*s as honest and meticulous, without being tainted by illusion. In fact, misbeliefs included in previous *Riḥlah*s were corrected and they wrote their perceptions with enthusiasm, as first-hand eyewitnesses.[159] However, the *Riḥlah*s were sometimes not constructed from first-hand experiences, especially those concerning the medieval travellers, hence, the inconsistency in narrative flow. Therefore, the gap would be filled with other elements, for instance drawings.[160]

In general, internal travel (within the country) or external travel (outside the country) is performed for personal reasons or official matters. Although it is not compulsory for travellers to author travel accounts from personal journeys, ambassadors, or officers on official journeys, are usually obliged to write travel accounts, or at least travel notes or reports, to be presented to their patrons. For this reason, mentioning the writing's purpose in the early pages of the travel account became a habit of travel writers.

The travel literature produced is usually presented in a dynamic style, where the element of utilitarian description outweighs reflection, or in a static style, where personal perception is the main focus, compared to the topographical and anthropological descriptions. Hanaway suggests that the style of the travel narrative, whether dynamic or static, is associated with the acknowledgement by the author of

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[158] El-Moudden 1990: 74, Hanaway 2002: 255 and Lisda 2014: 24.

[159] Matar 2003: xxi & xxxi.

[160]El-Moudden 1990: 74.

the purpose of his or her writing.[161] This might indicate that authors who mention the travel account's intention as fulfilling a patron's request, or as a report of a diplomatic journey, might produce a dynamic travelogue to provide realistic and detailed information for the benefactor. Meanwhile, travellers with personal journeys might not feel it necessary to reveal the purpose of the account and, therefore, might opt for a static style, in order to allow an increased level of intimacy with the readers by providing personal impressions of his or her expedition.

The "documentary style" of travel accounts was initially in fashion as travel was a privilege only available to those who could afford it. Therefore, geographical descriptions became the preferred way to feed the reader's curiosity about faraway and exotic places. However, when travelling became more common and more travel narratives were written, the eagerness for topographical explanations began to fade, due to their repetitiveness. As a result, personal reflection became the focus, as it marks the uniqueness of a specific travelogue in comparison to others.

During the rise of Western modernity especially, these travel accounts began to voice ideas of reformation, for instance by giving obvious, or subtle, suggestions on adjusting the government structure, notably during the time of European colonialism and their countries' independence days.[162] Some opinions might have been direct and could appear harsh, such as Abdullah Munshi's critical tone in his travelogue, or could hint indirectly at approval of the European system, through displays of admiration and praise, or at regrets about their own country's condition. An example of the latter is

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[161] Hanaway 2002: 254.

[162] Lisda 2014: 51-53.

seen in the fictional travelogue entitled *Siyāḥat Nāmah-ʾi Ibrāhim Bayg,* by Zayn al-ʿAbedīn Marāghah-ī, which is also recognized as a literary work of analytical observation of the politics and society of Iran.[163]

As the majority of Arabs, Malays and Persians are Muslims, there are elements of the Islamic *daʿwah* mentioned, either at length or briefly, in their travel narratives, mostly in Hajj travelogues, by focusing on Islamic values such as *tawḥīd* ,[164] *tarbīyah* [165] and the importance *of ṭalab al-ʿilm*[166]*,* which is highly encouraged in Islam.[167] During journeys to Christian lands, the Arabs, in particular, were very observant of the Europeans' systems in all aspects and would eventually make comparisons with the Islamic way of life, finally stressing their preference for Islam. In other words, the "preaching" element is apparent in connecting their observations and personal reflections.[168] Furthermore, for instance in *Safarnāmah*, Ḥājj Sayyāḥ, who is a dervish, continuously emphasizes the importance of depending solely on God and rejecting anything that will make him overly attached to worldly matters. Meanwhile, Islamic elements were rarely seen in Malay travelogues of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, with the occurrence of the Islamic wave in Malaysia during the 1970s to 1990s, the concept of daʿwa was globalized; hence, there has been a rising

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[163] Afshar 2002: 156.

[164]*Tawḥīd i*s the concept of oneness in Islam.

[165]*Tarbīyah* basically means education.

[166]*Ṭalab al-ʿilm* is the concept of seeking knowledge.

[167] Lisda 2014: 54-59

[168] Matar 2003: xxxviii.

visibility of Islamic elements in Malay travelogues, especially in the early twenty-first century.[169]

The traveller's educational background is an important factor that shapes the outcome of travel accounts. Travellers with a strong upbringing in the literary field often possess the talent to manipulate language and literary elements for their portraiture of the journey, hence, the juxtaposition of prose and poetry in travel narratives.[170] Poet travellers are especially talented at expressing their travel experiences by ornamenting their accounts with rhyming narratives and attractive verses.[171] In addition to literary tools, memories and conversations are reconstructed into attractive forms of expression, including dialogues, monologues and inter-monologues.[172] Hanaway claims that, prior to the nineteenth century, Iranians were unaware of how to transform direct speech into a dictated style in their travel narratives, due to the lack of a system. Later, Muḥammad ʿAlī Jamālzāda developed a specific method to reconstruct conversation and Ṣādiq Hidāyat and Buzurg ʿAlavī pioneered a new way of presentation in Persian narratives.[173] Briefly, speech remodelling became one of the universal characteristics of travelogues; however, *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah* applied it in their own unique literary styles.

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[169] Lisda 2014: 71.

[170] Shamsuddin 2007: 33.

[171] al-Samʿāny 2000: 4 and Afshar 2002: 149.

[172] Shamsuddin 2007: 33.

[173] Hanaway 2002: 254.

2 CHAPTER 2: CAPTIVITY WITHIN TRAVEL

How can the concepts of captivity, travel and composition integrate with each other?

The association of travel and captivity seems paradoxical, since travel is usually

correlated with the concepts of mobility and freedom. However, it appears possible

to relate physical captives with travel, as some of them do so under their masters'

orders. This sparks curiosity of other perceptions of captivity within travel that

transcends the borders of physicality. Nevertheless, travel interprets freedom as a

different dimension; as a Malay proverb says, "Jauh perjalanan, luas pandangan",

which means 'the further you travel, the wider your view becomes'. Regardless of the

traveller's status, this suggests an association between perspectives, experience and

maturity and, consequently, with an upgrade of selfhood through travel. Therefore,

travel provides the opportunity to explore the broader meanings of captivity and

freedom.

On another note, the activity of travel and writing about travel are two

different elements. A traveller might not be a writer and a travel writer might not have

travelled at all. This study will discuss the wider scope of captivity (not only limited to

the body) that can be discovered within the activity of travel and presented in the

form of narrative. This chapter will introduce various types of imprisonment in

selected travelogues and will serve as a framework for later chapters. For this pilot

chapter, two mission travelogues by a Moroccan envoy on ransom duty to Europe will

be examined to identify the interplay of physical, mental and conceptual captivity.

2.1 AL-MIKNĀSĪ'S MISSION TRAVELOGUES

Visits of Muslim diplomats to Western lands were infrequent until the post-Timurid era. Ottoman ambassadors regularly visited Venice since the 1380s meanwhile only by the end of fifteenth century, diplomats from other Muslim lands started to visit northern Europe, especially Hungary and the Holy Roman government. By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, delegates from the Ottoman and Moroccan kingdoms were appointed to France, Italy and Spain.[174] The eighteenth-century Moroccan ambassador, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī, known as al-Miknāsī, authored three travel accounts during his lifetime.[175] The first two travelogues were, *al-Iksīr fī Fikāk al-Asīr* (1779–1780),[176] which documented his expedition in Spain, and *al-Badr al-Sāfir li-Hidāyat al-Musāfir ilá Fikāk al-Asārā min Yadd al-ʿAduw al-Kāfir* (1781-1783),[177] where he travelled in Malta, Naples and Sicily. They were written as the result of his ambassadorial voyages to ransom captives, ordered by the Sultan of Morocco, Muḥammad III bin ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad III). Meanwhile the third travelogue, *Iḥrāz al-Maʿālī wa-al-Raqīb fī Ḥajj Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām wa-al-Ziyārat al-Quds al-Sharīf wa-al-Khalīl wa-al-Tabarruk bi-Qabr al-Ḥabīb* (1785–1788),[178] recorded his journey to the Ottoman territory. Al-Miknāsī's travelogue to the Islamic world was also originally

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[174] Catlos 2014: 250 and 251.

[175] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 47.

[176] The English equivalence will be: "The Elixir to Release the Captives". For English translation of excerpts from the travelogue see: Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015), 31-90.

[177] The English equivalence will be: "The Envoy's Journey of Guiding the Travellers to Liberate the Captives". For English translation of excerpts from the travelogue see: Matar 2015: 91-138.

[178] For English translation of excerpts from the travelogue see: Matar 2015: 139.

a diplomatic mission to deliver financial aid from the Moroccan kingdom to the Ottomans for their war with the Russians. Then, with Muḥammad III's consent, he continued his journey to Saudi Arabia for *ḥajj* and other sacred locations for *ziyārah.* As the act of *ḥajj* was the most crucial element of his journey, he named the travelogue as stated above without any mention of his mission in the Ottoman kingdom.

As a diplomat who experienced two different worlds, namely that of Islam and Christendom, al-Miknāsī's accounts featured various cross-cultural and religious encounters through the extensive descriptions of the lands he visited, the monuments he saw and the people he encountered**.** The travelogues have been textually analysed and have become vital resources for interdisciplinary research.[179] *Al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr*, particularly, have provided important observations of Arabs and Muslims in Western countries,[180] the political conditions between Muslim and non-

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[179] For extensive analysis of *al-Iksīr* as travelogue, See: Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr fī Fikāk al-Asīr*, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī, (al-Ribāṭ: al-Markaz al-Jāmiʿī lil-Bahṭh al-ʿIlmī, 1965).

For extensive analysis of *al-Badr* as travelogue, See: Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-Sāfir li-Hidāyat al-Musāfir ilá Fikāk al-Asārá min Yadd al-ʿAdūw al-Kāfir,* Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī (Dār al-Bayḍā': Jamiʿāt al-Ḥasan al-Thānī, Manshūrāt Kullīyat al-Adāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah, 2005).

For English translation and analysis of *al-Iksīr*, *al-Badr* and *Ihrāz al-Maʿālī* as travelogues, See: Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015).

[180] For instance, *al-Badr* for the study of Arab and Islamic history in Campania. See: Sarnelli Cerqua, C., "La Missione a Napoli Nel 1782 Dell'ambasciatore Marocchino Muḥammad Ibn ʿuṭmān Al-Miknāsī." *Atti del convegno sul tema: Presenza araba e islamica in Campania (Napoli-Caserta ... 1989). A cura di A. Cilardo*. (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi / Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 1992) 491-499.

Al-Iksīr for the study of Arab history in Madrid. See: Paradela Alonso, Nieves, et al. "El Madrid De Los Embajadores Árabes En Los Siglos XVII Y XVIII." *De Maŷrit a Madrid. Madrid y los árabes, del siglo IX al siglo XXI. Ed. Daniel Gil Flores*. (Madrid: Casa Árabe-IEAM, 2011) 108-117.

For the study of Moroccan Spanish, See: Mohammed Bokbot, "El Sultán Mohamed III Y Su Embajador ibn Utman Al Meknasi, Protagonistas Del Entendimiento Hispanomarroquí S. XVIII." *Ramón Lourido y el estudio de las relaciones hispanomarroquíes. Ed. Mª Victoria Alberola Fioravanti, Fernando de Ágreda*

Muslim kingdoms, [181] the concept of othering through the portrayal of specific

locations, [182] gender studies [183] and occurrences involving physical captives, [184]

particularly of the 18th century.

Since *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* are specifically ambassadorial accounts of captive

ransoming missions, the element of physical captivity has obviously been examined.

However, research into the concepts of captivity beyond the physical aspect is still

lacking, although the captive liberation task helps to illuminate wider perspectives of

captivity notions. In this chapter, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* were closely read and analysed

to explore the concepts of imprisonment, using Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of

Burillo, Bernabé López García. (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, 2010) 59-62.

[181] For instance, *al-Iksīr* for the study of cross-cultural diplomacy between the sovereignty of Mohammed III and Spain, Ottoman-Algeria and Istanbul. See: Peter Kitlas, "Al-Miknāsī's Mediterranean Mission: Negotiating Moroccan Temporal and Spiritual Sovereignty in the Late Eighteenth Century." *Mediterranean Studies (Project Muse)* 23.2 (2015): 170-194.

[182] For the representation of Europe, see: Nabil Matar, "Europe through Eighteenth-Century Moroccan Eyes", *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 26 (2006): 200-219.

For the portrayal of Istanbul, see: Ben Hadda, Abderrahim, et al. "Istanbul Dans Les Récits De Voyage Arabes." *Istanbul et les langues orientales. Actes du colloque ... et l'INALCO à l'occasion du bicentenaire de l'École des Langues Orien tales: Istanbul 29-31 mai 1995. Éd. Frédéric Hitzel* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997) 427-432.

For the image of Cadiz, See: Abdelhadi Tazi, "Cádiz En El Viaje De Muḥammad Ibn ʿUthmān, Embajador Del Rey Muḥammad III, A Nápoles Y Malta." *Al-Andalus, Magreb* 6, (1998): 131-151.

[183] For instance, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* for the study of women during Moroccan ambassadorial journeys in the 18th and 19th centuries. See: Malīkah Najīb, *al-Mar'ah fi al-Riḥlah al-Safariyah al-Maghribiyah khilāl al-Qarnayn 18 & 19* (Bayrut: al-Muassasah al-ʿArabīyah lil-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 2014).

[184] For instance, *al-Badr* for the study of captives. See: Nabil Mouline al-Andalusi,"Un Ambassadeur Rédemptoriste Au Service Du Sultanat Sharîfien: Ibn ʿUthmân Al-Miknâsî En Espagne, À Malte Et À Naples." *Captifs en Méditerranée (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles): histoires, récits et légendes. François Moureau (dir.)*. (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008.) 47-58.

And Malika Ezzahidi, "Le Rachat des Captifs Musulmans À Malte En 1782, D'après Le Récit De Voyage D'ibn Uthmân Al-Meknassî." *Cahiers De La Méditerranée* 87 (2013): 221-228.

dialogism. Chapter Two serves as the framing chapter, which sets the basics of various notions of captivity categories in travel narratives that will be explored in later chapters via different settings. Firstly, the limitation of genre and the issue of captive ransoming in the narratives will be explained to demonstrate the active interplay between physical and mental captivity in opposition to freedom. Then, the chapter will explore the ideas of imprisonment from the aspects of religion, nostalgia and gender.

2.1.1 Genre Limitation

As diplomatic travelogues, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* became crucial media platforms for the Moroccan elite in the 18th century by documenting numerous issues, such as international relations, history, entertainment, education and religion. Nabil Matar paid special attention to al-Miknāsī as he translated what he deemed to be important parts of al-Miknāsī's three travelogues into English and provided crucial analysis for interdisciplinary studies.[185] He claims that the narrative presentation of al-Miknāsī's two ambassadorial travelogues showed that they were amended according to the preferences of the elite, especially al-Miknāsī's patron; and that could be detected through the superficial statement,[186] the narrative restraint, the excessive expressions of astonishment at impressive innovations and the amusement of a pleasurable time spent in Europe.

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[185] Refer to: Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015).

[186] According to Matar, the continuous emphasis on expediting the mission due to a yearning for homeland seems superficial. (Matar 2006: 208)

According to Shawkat M. Toorawa, "patronage is the support (financial and political), encouragement (moral, social and economic) and championing of an individual or group engaged in an activity without which they would otherwise have difficulty performing that activity".[187] Therefore, the influence or pressure of the patronage is extremely important and it has the 'power' to shape the presentation of a narrative. However, some prefer to remain ambiguous like Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq who demonstrated bold skepticism in his writings. Johnson asserts that "al-Shidyāq presents the contradictions of source criticism and faith as irresolvable". Therefore, readers were kept confused about his patronage, either the Christian or the Ottoman Muslim.[188]

In my opinion, the restrictions in *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* are driven by the context, namely that of an ambassadorial account. This is by no means a claim to state that all diplomatic travelogues face similar limitations, since the genre is diverse. However, referring to the analysis of *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* as mission accounts, it seems that the 'degree of narrative restraint' is associated with the type of expedition, the role of the author-traveller and the level of writing experience. *al-Iksīr* appears to be restricted in terms of expression, since it represents the voice of a "virgin" traveller to Europe and

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[187] Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Travel in the Medieval Islamic World: The Importance of Patronage, as Illustrated by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) (and Other Litterateurs)" in *East Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050 – 1550,* Ed. Rosamund Allen, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 55.

[188] Johnson 2015: xvi.

a first-time travelogue writer.[189] At the opening *al-Iksīr*, al-Miknāsī expresses his concern about the heavy responsibility of writing a requested travel narrative:[190]

والمانح لما هنا لك وسميته الاكسير في فكاك الاسير وقد رايت ان ما ابصرته في وجهتي واوبتي، من المدائن والحواضر، والقرى والمداشر،وان لم أكن من أهل هذا الميدان، ولا ممن له فيه جولان،لاكنني رسمته لمن هو مثلي بالقصور متعرفا ولم يكن مستنكفا، مستمدا من الله تعالى التوفيق، الى سواء الطريق[191] .

Sidi Muḥammad urged me to write what you have before you, which I have called: al-Iksīr fī fikāk al-ʾAsīr in which I recorded descriptions of the villages and cities I saw in my travels, although I had never been a writer before. But I hereby present the account, admitting to my shortcomings, seeking help from God almighty.[192]

A tone of hesitance can be detected, most probably due to a lack of writing experience. However, there is also a possibility of a 'double voicedness', indicating his gesture of humility, as a minister respecting a Sultan's order. Therefore, having a Sultan as the expected reader of the observations during an important mission to the West might have pressured al-Miknāsī to be extra cautious in composing *al-Iksīr*. Meanwhile, *al-Badr* displays greater flexibility as it embodies the voice of an experienced traveller to Europe. For instance, the exaggerated metrical composition in admiring a woman's beauty and the narration of five long *maqamat* that include complaints about rude travel companions.

Since al-Miknāsī had the privilege to travel to Europe for official matters during a time when travelling to non-Muslim countries was rare, Matar suggests that the use

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[189] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 41.

[190] For this chapter, all English translations for the Arabic quotes from *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* are taken from the book: Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World*. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015). For clarification, Matar's translations are not always accurate as he employs a lot of condensing. However, his translations are still very useful for text analysis in this chapter.

[191] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 6.

[192] Matar 2015: 32.

of a tactical narrative arrangement was probably to steer clear of possible envy from the elite about al-Miknāsī's unique experiences in Europe.[193] Moreover, al-Miknāsī held the status as the only traveller to cover several parts of Europe in his expeditions, marking his importance as the 'final' Arab traveller to Europe prior to the Arab Renaissance.[194]

When there is less freedom of expression in a narrative, the author tends to supply a narration according to the preferences and expectations of the targeted audience, for instance the cosmopolitan members of the community. This type of limitation might be interpreted as a notion of captivity in narration due to lack of freedom in expression, which then leads to censorship or exaggeration. If the constraints were to be ignored, the narrative might be an inadvertent insult to the intended audience, thus tainting the author's reputation.

Obviously, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* could no longer deny the truth of Europe as an advanced place in terms of technology, urbanity and civilisation. Therefore, in between the admiration of Europe's modernity, a sentiment of ambivalence is apparent. If the accounts were to have been excessively complimentary of Westerners, they might have been misunderstood as being the 'products of infidelity' that have been enticed by the charm of the 'infidels' into neglecting the painful experiences of their Muslim ancestors who had been ousted from their land of origin, Spain which was once the glorious Muslim empire, the al-Andalus. Therefore, to avoid this dogma, after most of the acclamations regarding the Europeans, the Muslim

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[193] Ibid: 9.

[194] Matar 2006: 200.

sentiment is intensified with critiques, condemnations and quotes from the Qurān as strong support.

However, no matter how much effort was put into manipulating the narrative, it is noticeable that the active utilization of polyphony in the text also serves as a tool to express the author's personal opinions. In between the 'normal voice' used in describing the quests, a few lines sometimes appear ambivalent, showing the struggle within the narrative to show restraint between the implied and the authentic voice, owing to the restriction. For instance, there is a 'silent' fight between the voices in this excerpt describing the Spanish King's effort to provide excellent recreational services in the royal garden:

> ولو ترى هذا المكان من موضع مشرف عليه لقيت نجوم ءامسلا تمثلت في صفحات الماء، كل حسن في البسيطة فمنه مجلوب، وإن شئت قلت سماء مقلوبة، مرآه الناظر يغني النواظر، والطاغية يصرف على جميع ما يلزم ذلك المكان من المصابيح والزيت والخدمة وأجرة أهل الموسيقي وغير ذلك من عنده، موسعا على رعيته من رفده، ليبقى ذلك تذكرة من بعده، لكنهم سلكوا مع طريق معوج بنظر عليل سقيم، {والله يهدي من يشاء إلى مٍيقتسمٍ طارصٍ} [195]

> If you were to see that place from a high promontory, you would see the stars of the skies reflected in its pools, for everything beautiful in the world had been brought to it. If you wished, you could say it was the sky upside down, a mirror to the viewer. The despot paid for all its expenses from his own money: for lanterns, oil, servants, and wages of musicians and others. He spent from his own income on his people so that he would be remembered. But they had taken the wrong path with sickly eyes: "God guides whomsoever He wills to a path that is straight" [Q 2:213]. [196]

On the surface, this is merely a description of a beautiful panorama and a report about the ruler's activity within his nation. Although the King is mentioned as

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[195] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 146.

[196] Matar 2015: 108.

ṭāghiyah, which means tyrant/despot, the remark about him using his own money for his people's welfare is an obvious suggestion of a compliment. Through such recognition, the real voice seems to imply a hint about the elites (especially the author's patron), suggesting that they should put into practice the same idea about being charitable, by using their own money for the benefit of the nation. However, as this might have been seen as a sensitive request, it is concealed by a double voice. The implied voice can be seen again in terms of criticism, in order to neutralise previous praise, along with a verse of the Qurān as emphasis. In other words, the real voice is restricted to avoid any possible recklessness with the target audience, especially the Sultan.

With such constraint in narrating the quest to liberate captives in Europe, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* illuminate each other in exploring the active interplay of physical and mental captivity in opposition to the idea of mobility and freedom. The dual travel accounts will be the core focus of this research in order to examine the notions of captivity that will fit into the analysis framework for other travel-themed narratives in later chapters. Firstly, I will discuss the physical captivity element of the travelogues, before proceeding to other aspects of captivity.

2.1.2 Captive Liberation

In general, *al-Iksīr* displays an observant description of locations and people, history (of the Jews, America and al-Andalus), the encounter with the King (Carlos III) and few moments with the captives. *Al-Badr* mirrors *al-Iksīr* in terms of content,[197] but it focuses more on the narration of history and modernity. Therefore, at a glance, *al-*

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[197] In *al-Badr*, al-Miknāsī met King Ferdinand IV.

Iksīr and *al-Badr* appear to resemble the style of the typical travel guidebooks to Europe, due to their focus on topographical and sociological elements instead of the ransom operation. Nevertheless, this pattern of presentation was already evident in the travelogues of previous Moroccan ambassadors to Europe, such as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī (1690-91) and Aḥmad ibn Mahdī al-Ghazal (1767).[198] Although scarce, the narration of such missions is sufficiently relevant for an ambassadorial travelogue. Arguably, if the operation were to be presented as the main theme of the content, then it would appear as a mere mission report instead of a travel account, not to mention that the elites would definitely have expected more than just receiving a purely chronological account of a mission. Moreover, diplomatic missions usually involve confidential occurrences. Therefore, a classified and detailed quest report should, appropriately, have been given to the mission's patron.[199]

The infrequent narration about the mission is cleverly crafted into the binary opposition of the moments of lightness and darkness in descriptions regarding physical captivity. For instance, the unfortunate aspect of imprisonment is apparent in the description of the detainees. Such images would cause anguish to anyone:

> فوجدنا الحاكم قد تأهب لذلك وأحضر عسكره أذله الله بموضع متسع وأسارى
> المسلمين بموضع آخر مقابل لذلك فلما أشرفناعليهم أعلنوا جميعا يرفع أصواتهم
> بذكر مولانا أمير نينمؤملا والدعاء له بالنصر والتمكين وعظم ضجيجهم
> واستغاثتهم بجناب سيدنا ومولانا أمير المؤمنين حتى اقشعرت الجلود فبعث
> اليهم الحاكم فأخرجهم في حالة تلين روخصلا، وتمزق فؤاد الكفور، وتترك
> الاماقى بمدامعها تفور والقلوب في الصدور تمور [200]

> We found the governor and his soldiers, may God humiliate him, standing there, across from the Muslim captives. When we reached the

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[198] Matar 2006: 200.

[199] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: page Ha.

[200] Ibid 1965: 163

captives, they all raised their voices in praise of our lord, commander of the faithful, wishing him victory and power. Their voices and pleas to our master and lord grew so loud that the hair on our skin stood on end. The governor permitted them to step out and see us. They were in such a condition that the rocks would have softened at their sight, forcing tears from our eyes, and melting the hearts in our chests. Even the hearts of infidels would break by their cries.[201]

The heart-breaking desperation suffered by the captives in search of freedom can be felt through their circumstances and their agonized reactions when they catch sight of al-Miknāsī's delegation. The despair is heavily exaggerated and the melancholic ambiance is enhanced with the usage of *saj'* in the words of *ṣukhūr-kufūr-tafūr-ṣudūr and tamūr*. This technique of narrating the state of the captives might be a strategy to highlight the power and importance of the Sulṭān, as they seem to be forlorn in their need for help.

Captives of that era faced many consequences; for instance, ransomed, exchanged, involved in negotiations, slaughtered, detained as political capital, forced for physical labor or sold to market. Women were used for labor, domestics or prostiuition meanwhile children were raised as Christians.[202] In general, not only they were treated unfairly during their confinement, they were also discriminated against during the ransom process. In certain cases of captive redemption by other Muslim kingdoms, such as the Ottomans and the Algerians, Turkish hostages were favoured over the Arabs.[203] Al-Miknāsī mentions the discrimination in captive liberation and openly condemns it as an irresponsible act:

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[201] Matar 2015: 81.

[202] Catlos 2014: 157.

[203] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: page Ha.

<div dir="rtl">

فبعث الى عامل الجزائر يحضه على تتميم هذه الحسنة فأعلم الطاغية فحمل جميع أسارى المسلمين في المراكب ووجههم الى الجزائر بقصد مفاداة المسلمين بالنصارى ففدى عامل الجزائر الترك وامتنع من فداء العرب وفدى من بقي عنده من النصارى بالمال ورد المسلمين الى الاسر ببلاد الكفرة فانظر الى هذا الفعل الشنيع والامر الفظيع. [204]

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Our master wrote to the ruler of Algiers urging him to agree to all the exchange, and then, he informed the despot who went ahead and released all the Muslim captives into ships and sent them to Algiers in exchange for the Christians held there. The ruler of Algiers, however, took in only the Turks and refused to take the Arabs: he wanted money for the Christians captives and did not baulk at returning the [non-Turkish] Muslims to captivity in the lands of the infidels. Behold this evil and most horrible deed.[205]

The effort to ransom captives is different between rulers depending on whether their intention is for humanity or profit. However, the Qurān states:

<div dir="rtl">

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَ أَخَوَيْكُمْ ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ[206]

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All believers are but brethren. Hence, [whenever they are at odds,] make peace between your two brethren, and remain conscious of God, so that you might be graced with His mercy.[207]

According to the concept of brotherhood in Islam, Muslims are expected to help each other regardless of their nationality and background. However, in this case, the Algerian ruler clearly demonstrated favouritism in the ransom process. Therefore, the Arab captives must have felt betrayed because they had to suffer a more arduous form of captivity due to being ignored by fellow coreligionist. In contrast, Muḥammad III is portrayed as a just ruler who prefers humanity over profit in working hard to liberate captives from various nations. In fact, due to the influence and efforts of

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[204] Ibid 1965: 165.

[205] Matar 2015: 82.

[206] Sūrah al-Ḥujurāt, Verse 10.

[207] Muhammad Asad, *The Message of the Qur'ān* (Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1984), 793-794.

Muḥammad III, al-Miknāsī's delegation experiences the finest hospitality in almost all the locations to which they travel, with the exception of Malta.[208]

The emphasis on the warm hospitality and respect shown by the Western rulers and officials to al-Miknāsī's contingent brings a ray of light within the distressing narration of the physical captivity. The effortless process of ransoming the captives further brightens the despairing description of the captives, especially when the Spanish King offers some of them as gifts. At the end of both travelogues, the description of Muḥammad III's warm attitude towards the captives implies the brightest ray of light, for instance:

أوقفناهم امامه وواصل كل فرد فرد بصلته، على قدر حاجته وفاقته وضعفه وقوته، وباشر ذلك بيده بالعد والحساب، رغبة فيما عند الله من جزيل الثواب، وكريم المئاب، وأمرنا أدام الله تاييده أن نرافقهم حتى نوصلهم حضرة فاس، ونعين لهم البهائم الكافية لركوبهم الى تلمسان ومن هناك يتفرقون في البلدان.[209]

> We lined the captives in front of him and he gave each a gift in accordance with his need, condition, weakness, or strength. He did that with his own hands, counting and calculating, eager to receive God's blessing and approbation. He then ordered us, may God ever be with him, to travel with the captives to Fez, and to give them enough horses and mules to get them to Tlemcen, from where they would go separate ways.[210]

Not only does he spend money on the captives' ransom, Muḥammad III also provides compassion as he personally pays attention to the captives' needs, when they had previously been denied their rights as human beings. The interplay of the bright and dark moments in the ransom mission dialogically complement each other. The carefully chosen words and occasions pertaining to the mission, either positive or

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[208] The delegation was suspected by the locals of causing a potential uproar due to long stay in Malta.

[209] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 194.

[210] Matar 2015: 89.

negative, can be considered as a form of eulogy that draws attention to the patron's grandeur. Although physical captivity is associated with suffering and torture, it cannot be denied that the element of captivity highlights Muḥammad III as being a hero. This is because the narration of the success of the liberation mission and Muḥammad's warm treatment of the captives remains as a record or evidence of his generosity, power and influence. In other words, physical captivity creates an opportunity for Muḥammad III to increase his influence through his political connections.

Moreover, at the time when other Islamic kingdoms were discriminating in their choice of ransoming captives, Muḥammad III, in contrast, offered ransom money to redeem Muslim captives from other nations, including Turkey, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria.[211] Therefore the travelogues by design or otherwise, illustrate Muḥammad III as the ultimate saviour in the eyes of the desperate Muslim captives, marking his authority over other Muslim kingdoms. [212] The multicultural and multinational situations of the liberated captives strengthen Muḥammad III's influence and power, as they then become "agents" in spreading the word about his benevolence. In other words, the captives' minds ironically are colonised by Muḥammad III's compassion instead, as they would unavoidably be "in debt" to him for the rest of their lives. Examining it from this perspective, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr's* portrayal of the captives constructs an argument that captive redemption can be viewed as a type of

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[211] For more information on Muhammad III's mission on liberating captives, see: Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 67-80.

[212] Kitlas 2015: 181.

colonisation by the benefactor, who in turn captivates others with his favours and *maḥabbah.*

Instead of being limited within the physical captivity element, the ransoming mission demonstrates a wider perspective of captivity and freedom that helps to illustrate other notions of captivity during the journey. This is achieved through a more intense focus on close observations of the wonders and insignificance, with a mixture of harmony and aggressive tones. From al-Miknāsī's ambassadorial travelogues, I have discovered three dominant captivity notions, namely religion, nostalgia and gender. Since al-Miknāsī was a first-time traveller to a Christian kingdom, in his capacity as a representative of a Muslim kingdom, did religion become an agent of captivity or mobility in the narratives? Firstly, I will explore the concept of captivity in religion through the narration of a representative who revisited an 'infidel' region that was once a fallen Islamic kingdom.

2.2 RELIGION

During a visit to a former mosque in Cordoba, where chapels had been built inside, al-Miknāsī conveys extreme irritation with no effort to conceal his frustration:

في احدى الكنائس فنظرت الصليب عليه صورة نبي الله عيسى عليه السلام في زعمهم الفاسد دمرهم الله فلم املك نفسي أن قلت له هذا محض كذب وافتراء لم يقع بنبي الله شيء من هذه المثلة بل منعه الله تعالى منهم ورفعه اليه {وما قتلوه وماصلبوه ولكن شبه لهم}213

In one of these chapels, I saw the crucifix with the statue of the prophet of God, Jesus, peace be on him, as they claim in their faith, God destroy them. I could not control myself and said: "This is total error and untruth. Nothing like this happened to the prophet of God because God protected him and raised him to Him, 'They killed him

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213 Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 60.

not, nor did they crucify him, but so it was made to appear to them' [Q 4:157]."[214]

Noticeably, the declaration of Islamic belief is firmly stated with no tolerance of any form of deviation from it. The explicit tone of anger is apparent in its condemnation of Christianity and a quote from the Qurān, emphasising a solid stance of there only being one faith. Without any consideration of other beliefs, this leads to a possibility of extreme strictness to his own faith that can be viewed as a type of captivity in religion. In this case, I will explain the narrative presentation in the travelogues that affirms the preferences in terms of spirituality, the possibility of religious tolerance and the elements that lead to a notion of captivity in religion.

2.2.1 Brief Tolerance

With the constant affirmation of the superiority of Islam throughout the narratives, *al-Iksīr and al-Badr* appear to be hegemonic. The regular mention of *duʿā* and references to the Qurān and hadith seem to become a steady pattern in creating a specific identity, as the travelogues are embodied with strict Islamic ambience.[215] Nevertheless, at a glance, some parts of the travelogues seem to promote religion tolerance, since other religions are described in a non-acerbic way. For instance, there is a description of the pitiful condition of the Jews who were forced to convert to Christianity via threats of death, torture or expulsion.[216] The mirroring effect of the discrimination faced by the expelled Moriscos might be the reason for documenting a

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[214] Matar 2015: 48.

[215] For the list of *Qurān* versus in *al-Badr*, see Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 291-293.

[216] See: Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 63-65.

few pages of narration focusing on the condition and history of the Jews, in that it implies the writer's compassion towards other religions.

Despite having different beliefs and customs, there are also displays of leniency through interactions with Christians during meetings and events. For instance:

<div dir="rtl">

ومن جملة فرح أهل هذه البلدة بنا وكثرة بشاشتهم بقدومنا، أن ورد علينا الحاكم وأعيان بلده ومعهم الموسيقي وجميع الضامات نساء الاكابر بقصد السلام علينا وتانيسا لنا بالموسيقي والرقص، وذلك هو عندهم الغاية في الاكرام فلم أجد لخواطرهم[217] جبرا يفعلون ما الى والنظر مساعفتهم من بدأ

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> The people of Andujar rejoiced at our arrival and the governor and city dignitaries came to see us. They were accompanied by musicians and damat, the women of high social rank, who wanted to welcome us and entertain us with music and dance.
> For them, such was the height of hospitality and so I found no alternative but to go along and watch what they were doing, just for their sake.[218]

Al-Miknāsī's delegation is treated respectfully and warmly by all levels of the community. Although the event is in contrast with Islamic ambience, the invitation is still fulfilled in order to repay the kindness of their hospitality. Instead of declining the invitation, he tolerates the 'alien' event since, in Islam, hospitality is crucial.

Moreover, there are also calm theological debates with non-Muslims, despite being obviously outweighed by Islamic arguments.[219] There could be harsh refutations or bashing during the debates but, despite the differences in religious views, they are

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[217] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 69.

[218] Matar 2015: 51.

[219] For theological debate regarding the concept of trinity, baptism *(ta'mīd)* and crucification, see: Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 115-116.

conducted peacefully and ethically. For instance, al-Miknāsī acts wisely during a debate about al-Masīḥ with an Arabic-speaking monk:

تعالى الله عما يقول الظالمون علوا كثيرا 278\1، فانقطع ثم جاريته في كلامه وقلت
له: لم اتحد ناسوت واللاهوت كما زعمتم؟
فقال: أراد أن يخلص العالم من خطيئة آدم.
فقلت له: فهل علم ما وقع به في زعمكم أم لا؟
فقال: علمه.
فقلت: هذا يأباه العقل.
فقال: فإن قلت لم يعلم؟
قلت: أقول لك فلم ادّعيت؟
حاصله كل ما لهم من تيقنظا وحدة النظر في الدنيا هم على خلافه في أمور الدين.[220]

God is above all that the misbelievers say. But I continued:
"Why did the human join with the divine, as you claim?"
"He wanted to save the world from Adam's sin."
"Did he know what was to happen, as you claim?"
"He did."
"That goes against reason."
"And if I say he did not know?"
"I say to you: why did you so claim?"
In short, although they are so knowledgeable and learned about the world, they are wrong in religion.[221]

Al-Miknāsī handles the conversation politely, despite the difference of opinions. Being tolerant does not mean defeat, instead it demonstrates maturity. However, his narration outside of the dialogue is not as considerate, as he blatantly declares their beliefs as misguided. The 'attack' on other religions seem to outweigh his tolerance. In other words, a pattern of religion dialogism can be detected in the travelogues; however, the momentum cannot be maintained, hence leading to a concept of confinement in certain faiths.

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[220] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 202-203.

[221] Matar 2015: 135.

2.2.2 Depreciation

There are narration strategies that enhance the strict Islamic atmosphere of the travelogues, namely depreciation and criticism. As a result, they break the flow of religious dialogism in the texts and lean towards monologism. In fact, it is not wrong to be adamant about one's religious preference and one's belief in its superiority compared to other religions, as it is a personal choice. However, once this has been woven with continual devaluation and criticism aimed towards other religions, it contradicts the teachings of Islam that promote peace and tolerance. Therefore, viewing other faiths through a 'hatred lens' might be considered as a type of imprisonment in a misconception of religion.

The factors that block religious dialogism in the narratives are strong, for instance the pattern of addressing the Europeans using deprecatory terms. This might be unnoticed if it were used occasionally. However, the Europeans are addressed in an unpleasant manner so constantly that it cannot be ignored. For example, al-Miknāsī uses words such as *al-kāfir* (the infidel), *junūd iblīs* (the armies of Satan), *'abadat al-ṣalīb* (the worshippers of the cross), *al-'adūw* (the enemy), *al-ḍulāl* (the strayers), *ahl al-nār* (those who reside in hell) and so on. The Europeans could have been referred by other terms, such as "the foreigners," "the Westerners" or "the Europeans",[222] but al-Miknāsī chooses to use disparaging names. In addition, the Spanish ruler is continuously addressed as *al-ṭāghīyah,* or the despot, in spite of the warm hospitality he provided. Furthermore, there are also 'bitter' prayers, wishing misery for the Christians, that usually appear in between descriptions of the warm reception

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[222] He did use the term "the Franks" occasionally.

provided by the Europeans. For instance, during an occasion of liberating Muslim captives, when the Christians treat al-Miknāsī's contingent with utmost respect, instead of appreciation, al-Miknāsī narrates:

فأرونا جميعها حصنا محصنا ومعقلا معقلا الى ان خرجها عن جميعها فاذا بخارجها من الحصون اكثر مما بداخلها جعلها الله تعالى سببا في هلاكها ووبالها. [223]

They showed us all their defences, one by one, and as we travelled farther, we saw even more, by far more fortification than the ones inside, may God make them the cause of their destruction and demise. [224]

Or even at an entertainment event, where the Christians invite the contingent to join in the merriness, the harsh wishes still appear in the narration:

قبحهم الله فما أقل حياءهم، وأكثر اجتراءهم[225]

How shameful! May God rebuke them and humiliate their audacity.[226]

The narration of unpleasant prayers is so regular that it sounds like a curse. The description of friendly treatment by the Christians contributes towards the flow of religious dialogism in the texts; however, it is constantly obstructed by the presence of wishes of misery. In other words, the continuous use of a belittling style weakens the idea of interreligious endurance and strengthens the concept of alterity.

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[223] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 192.

[224] Matar 2015: 88.

[225] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 155.

[226] Matar 2015: 78.

2.2.3 Criticism

The otherness is further enhanced by the bold and acerbic criticism towards non-Muslims. It is as if the narration regarding non-Muslims is stuck in a negative gaze. This is different from Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq in his travelogue *al-Sāq ʿalā l-Sāq (Leg Over Leg)* where he critizes both the Europe and the Arabs, not letting any society to escape his fault-finding observation.[227] On the other hand, al-Miknāsī's criticism style seems to be biased.

An example is in relation to the issue of cleanliness, specifically that of *ṭahārah*, or purity. Any filthiness witnessed is eventually linked to the impurity of the non-Muslims and criticised exaggeratedly. During a visit to a tower in Marrakesh, which bears a similarity to a mosque, al-Miknāsī describes its condition:

> من سيقاونلا خمسة وعشرين منها سوقاذ كبير ذكر لي أن زنتة مائة وخمسة
> وثمانون قنطارا والباقون دون ذلك الا أن الكفار الساكنين بالصومعة المذكورة
> قد أفسدوا داخلها بالبول والقذرات حتى لا يمكن للانسان ان يطلع اليها الا ممسكا
> أنفه من شدة النتن طهر الله منهم البلاد وجعلهم فيئا وغنيمة للعباد }إنا لله وانا اليه
> راجعون{.[228]

> There are twenty-five bells one of which, it was said, weighed 185 quintals but others were smaller. But the infidels who lived there had soiled it with their urine and dirt, creating such a stench that it was impossible for a human being to climb without covering his nose. May God cleanse the land of them and make them our captives. We belong to God, and to Him we shall return [Q 2: 156][229]

The dirtiness is eventually associated with infidels with an unpleasant explanation, a prayer for their defeat and a quote from the Qurān. It is likely that it is caused by a pre-notion that exists about the negligence of cleanliness among

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[227] Johnson 2015: xxvii.

[228] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 39.

[229] Matar 2015: 40.

Europeans since they do not practise the essential procedures of purification.[230]
Ironically, in reality, even Muslim communities face sanitation problems.
Furthermore, approximately one century later, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, an Egyptian and
important figure in Islamic modernism, became popular with his quote: "*I went to the*
West and saw Islam, but no Muslims; I returned to the East and saw Muslims, but no
Islam".[231] This statement highlights that religious values and the practise of religion
are not always in parallel with other. As all religions are known to promote positivity,
any wrongdoings are not supposed to be linked to religion, but to the doer himself.

The criticism becomes more brazen with reviews about the system and the
adherents of other religions. The Pope, the authorial figure of the Catholics, is
described as "the leader of infidelity," who is believed to lead others towards
digression. Friars are also illustrated in a scornful way, for example:

> وبما اختصت به مادريد عن سائرها من بلاد اصبانية أنك لاتلقى بها سا ئلا
> في أزقتها مع ان السؤال في بلاد النصارى لاحد لهم وما رأيت بمادريد أكثر
> مسئلة من الفرايلية أهلكهم الله وطهر منهم البلاد فقد ضلوا وأضلوا وهم اشد
> كفرا وعنادا جعلوا تلك الحرفة التي بأيديهم من اظهار الزهد وهم أشد الناس
> حرصا أحبولة نصبوها على هؤلاءالحمر الذين طبع الله قلوبهم فهم لن يعقلوا
> رشدهم ولم يقدروا مقدار نعم الله عندهم فألقوا أزمتهم بأيديي هؤلاء الفجرة
> الفرايلية يخبطون بهم خبط عشواء، حتى انهم ألزموهم الاقرار بالذنوب
> *فيناجونهم بها نجوا[232]*

Unique in Madrid is the absence of beggars from the streets, although
beggars are numberless in other lands of the Christians. But in Madrid,
the worst beggars are the friars, God destroy them and cleanse the
land of them, for they have lost their way and led others astray. They
are stubborn and relentless unbelievers and they have disguised their

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[230] Josep Lluis Mateo Dieste, *Health and Ritual in Morocco: Conceptions of the Body and Healing*
Practices, Trans. Martin Beagles, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 72.

[231] Zareena Grewal, *Islam is a Foreign Country: American Muslims and the Global Crisis of Authority*,
(New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 152. / Islam Issa, *Milton in the Arab-Muslim*
World, (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 244.

[232] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 106.

profession by feigning poverty. They are most deceitful and have tricked those donkeys whom God had stamped His [message] on their hearts: they have made them lose their reason so that they no longer recognize the benevolences of God after submitting themselves to them. Those iniquitous friars have misled them and convinced them to confess their sins*233*

The friars are deemed as being even more insignificant than beggars are and the critique becomes harsher with condemnation and prayers for their annihilation. Noticeably, the members of the Christian orders are viewed as people who use religion for personal gain although, in general, Muslims also criticise their clergies for doing the same. Although, prior to travelling to *dār al-ḥarb*, al-Miknāsī had prepared himself by reading the New Testament,[234] it is unknown whether he had sufficient knowledge of the system of Christianity or whether his knowledge was based only on assumptions. The critique might be assessed as helping others to discover the truth; however, if this was established by biased pre-notions, then the statements are ethnocentric and contribute towards monologising the religious dialogism in the travelogues.

In spite of the active depreciations and criticisms, Matar suggests that the views regarding Europeans in the accounts are flexible and are not entrapped in the rigid distinction between the diversion of the conservative Muslim geography, *dar al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb,* and between the religions of Islam and Christianity.[235] However, I beg to differ, because the components of divergence are evident and they then progress towards religious monologism (in contrast to religious dialogism), thus

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[233] Matar 2015: 62.

[234] Matar 2006: 203.

[235] Matar 2006: 201.

forming a concept of captivity in the perspective of religion. A question arises as to whether the monologism is an intentional narrative tactic or is unintentional by being naturally ethnocentric. At that time, the view about *dar al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* was glaringly paradoxical and controversial. Brian Catlos in his book *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendo* clearly describes the division between the two worlds:

> …These worlds are seen as two self-contained and largely homogenous and incompatible components of an oppositional binary, as if they were two personalities, locked in what many would see as a timeless struggle – a "clash of civilizations" rooted in the fundamental, immutable, and irreconcilable differences believed to underlie their two cultures.[236]

There was a connotation of distrust for Muslim travellers to the West about the possibility of being "tainted" by infidelity, since recognising the excellence of the Christians might have been misunderstood as an inference of Islam's deficiency. Therefore, it is possible that the path of religious monologism is pre-calculated to fulfil the expectations of a standard travelogue for a Muslim traveller to the West at that time.

Although captivated in religious monologism, the travelogues became an ideal platform to augment the views of Islam's supremacy. They are solid, recorded proof of al-Miknāsī's loyalty and his steadfastness in his faith, despite his experience visiting *dār al-ḥarb*. In one sense, it provides freedom for al-Miknāsī from being imprisoned in the assumption that Muslim travellers to the West would transform into a total alterity. Nevertheless, from another perspective, the reason for his continuous critiques of the Christians might be because the travelogues are addressing a

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[236] Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), xi.

community of Muslims and scholars who feel very strongly about the loss of Spain and Sicily and the ruins caused by the European invasion of the Mediterranean. The bitter nostalgia is still so strong that it distorts the views regarding Europeans and this ignites curiosity regarding another notion of captivity, which is nostalgia. Can nostalgia be viewed as a prison that confines the mind?

2.3 NOSTALGIA

Although the final fortress of the al-Andalus Empire had fallen in Granada in 1492, Muslims still remained in Spain while secretly maintaining their faith. However, between 1609 and 1614, the Christian sovereign commanded the formal expulsion of the Moriscos.[237] In 1609 only, over 300,000 Moriscos were chased to foreign lands; about twenty times more than the banishment of the Spanish Jews in 1492.[238] Despite various efforts to stay in their homeland, unfortunately, in 1727, the final remaining Moriscos were expelled from the land of Spain.[239] The loud nostalgic echoes of al-Andalus are heard from every page of *al-Iksīr,* especially through the titles of the subchapters regarding each location visited. The introduction of every location is accompanied by a prayer for the confiscated land to be returned to the hands of the Muslims, for instance:

<div dir="rtl">

مدينة سنط مرية أعادها الله دار اسلام[240]

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[237]Moriscos were the Muslims in Spain who had converted or forced to convert to Christianity. For more information about Moriscos among other religion communities at that time, see: Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World: The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, (Princeton, US: Princeton University Press, 2013), xvii.

[238] Catlos 2014: xii.

[239] Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), xxi.

[240] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 28.

The City of Santa Maria, May God Return it to *Dār al-Islām.*

The prayer is narrated so constantly in a regular pattern that the memory of the former Islamic kingdom is imprinted in the reader's mind. The established Spain is also constantly addressed as "*al-Andalus*", instead of "*al-Isbāniyā*", perhaps to demonstrate the unwillingness to accept the bitter truth of the fall of al-Andalus and to demonstrate the hopes of a resurrection of an Islamic kingdom. This is to say, the type of language usage in a narrative can be informed by the history of invasion and counter-invasion, colonisation and counter colonisation.

In contrast, in a comparison between *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr*, Matar implies that *al-Badr* is free from the grip of nostalgia due to the extended period that had passed between the fall of al-Andalus and the different locations visited, namely Malta, Sicily and Naples, compared to Spain in *al-Iksīr*.[241] Noticeably, the time span between the fall of al-Andalus (1492) and the writing of *al-Badr* (1783) is almost three centuries. However, the time difference between the total expulsion of Moriscos from Spain (1727) and the composition of *al-Badr* (1783) is just fifty-six years, therefore, the bitter nostalgia of the fallen Muslim empire still lingers. Although Malta, Sicily and Naples are not in Spain, which is the original location of al-Andalus, they are still a part of Europe, which has a history of intrusion by Muslim kingdoms. Therefore, although the Andalusian nostalgia in *al-Badr* is not as strong in *al-Iksīr*, I believe that *al-Badr* still remains attached to the sentiment of nostalgia, especially with the narration about

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[241] Matar 2006: 209.

the bitter history of Muslims in Sicily [242] and the history of Malta as a 'committed foe' of the Muslims.[243]

From one perspective, the al-Andalus recollection in the narratives might be a strategy, as a way of fulfilling the elite's expectations of enlivening the spirit of al-Andalus within the pages. It is also probable that it is a standard template for travelogues, written in the span of a few centuries after the fall of the al-Andalus kingdom in Spain. For instance, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Ghassānī's travelogue entitled *Riḥlah al-Wazīr fi Iftikāk al-Asīr*, written between 1690 and 1691, and sharing the same mission of ransoming captives in Spain, also applies the style of reminiscing about Andalusian nostalgia. The attachment to past memories is strong in *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr*, which is evident in the narration of Islamic traces and history.

2.3.1 Islamic Traces

There is a recurrent pattern of narration about new locations; any Islamic traces will be examined from almost all possible aspects, such as architecture, agriculture, manuscripts, people and culture. The reason for the maintenance of Muslim styles in the building works is unclear. It may be an acknowledgement of Muslim artisan skills or perhaps a sign of domination the Chritians have over Islamic culture. Nevertheless, Islamic design styles were physically notable even in church constructions.[244] Through al-Miknāsī's narration, it is as if each location is a mission to hunt for secret treasures that would be proof of the once glorious al-Andalus in the

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[242] For the history of Muslims conquering and losing Sicily, see: Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 198-202.

[243] For the story of hostility between the Maltas and Muslims, see: Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 111-120.

[244] Catlos 2014: 47.

Christian Spaniards' land. During a visit to the Escorial, the library was specially opened

for al-Miknāsī's delegation, to allow him to see the collection of Muslim writings in

numerous languages.[245]

ومن اعتنا الطاغية بنا فتح لنا وحتفنا لنا الخزانة بأمره، فأرانا كتب المسلمين، وعدتهم
فلا ثمانمائة سفر فيها نسختان من القرآن الكريم وعدة تفاسير جملها شواشي
وكثير من كتب الطب، وقد طالعت مساهمة القوت معمضيقه، فخرجت من الخزانة
بعد أن قدت نار الأحزان بفؤادي هناك، وندت لتلك فلك ذخايا أحد ثراها، يا
ليتني لم أرها[246]

> Because the despot wanted to honour us, the keepers opened the
> library for us and showed us the books of Muslims. There were 1800
> books, including two copies of the Holy Qurān, numerous books of
> exegesis with copious notes in their margins, and many books of
> medicine. I perused what I could in the short time I had there, and then
> I left the depository with a fire of sorrow burning in my heart. I sought
> vengeance for these books, but no vengeance ensued. I wish I had not
> seen them.[247]

After seeing the tightly-guarded, massive collection of Muslims' manuscripts

in a Christian library, the melancholic tone appears, with an analogy of a heart on fire

with anguish, which is then emphasised with an expression of hopelessness and

regret. The description illustrates the image of the library as a prison and the Islamic

manuscripts as prisoners. As an ambassador for a ransoming mission, al-Miknāsī might

have felt responsible for retrieving the books as well, but to no avail; therefore, he

leaves the library with a bitter feeling and, perhaps, guilt for failing to free the

manuscripts from 'captivity'.[248]

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[245] For explanation about the manuscripts, see the footnotes at: Matar 2015: 70.

[246] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 127.

[247] Matar 2015: 70.

[248] Later after the visit to Escorial, Al-Miknāsī managed to retrieve some Muslim books which were given
to him as gifts from the despot. See: Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 144-145.

Despite the differences in language and beliefs, Islamic manuscripts are treated in a special manner, instead of being burnt or discarded. Al-Miknāsī voices his curiosity:

فتلقانا كبيرهم وأدخلنا إياها وأرانا جميع قببها، وفيها خزانة من الكتب مجموع فيها كتب الملل كلها من المسلمين والنصارى واليهود فقلت لهم: ما تصنعون بكتب القوم الذين لا تعرفوا لغتهم ولا شرائعهم؟ فقالوا: قصدنا أن تكون الخزانة جامعة وإذا أتى أحد من رحّال البلاد نريهم ذلك، فهم يفتخرون بهذا كثيرا249

> We were taken there and shown all its rooms along with its collection of books by Muslims, Christians and Jews. So, I asked: "What do you want with the books of people whose language and religion you do not know?" They answered: "We want this collection to be inclusive and to show it to visitors from other lands." 250

In fact, Muslim compositions are considered exotic keepings that are valuable for exhibition. Having them is a privilege, indicating the importance of Muslim heritage to the Christians, hence their protective manner towards the 'seized treasure'.

Due to this, al-Miknāsī feels the need to rescue any piece of Islamic heritage he encounters by offering money; however, his requests are constantly denied.251 The bitter rejection further enhances the importance of the Muslim legacy in the land, as the Europeans firmly held onto it. One viewpoint is that the Westerners are enchanted or trapped by the aura and memories of al-Andalus and are 'obsessed' about collecting and maintaining Islamic traces. In other words, this 'obsession' can also be viewed as a notion of nostalgia captivity.

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249 Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 73.

250 Matar 2015: 125.

251 For description about Islamic traces and attempts to compensate them, see: Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 52-55.

2.3.2 History

The sentiment of nostalgia in the travelogues is not limited to physical remains alone, but it is strengthened by the narration of the bitter history of the Muslims' defeat by the Christians.[252] Although it is unpleasant to recollect the painful past, perhaps the historical documentation is conducted to avoid the possibility of eventually becoming oblivious to the loss of a Muslim land. The tendency to lean towards nostalgia is also supported by highlights of how the Europeans, despite being a rapidly progressive community, still regard history as a valuable treasure.

> وقد انتزع من ذلك اللوح خاتما وقال: هذا الخاتم كان يستعمله كارلوس ملك إصبانية لما كان في نابل ولما أراد التوجه إلى إصبانية انتزعه من يده ورده إلى موضعه.[253] فانظر إلى اعتناء القوم بأثر من تقدم، فهذا ملك لم تتشوف نفسه إلى أن يأخذ خاتما ويصحبه معه إلى بلد آخر حيث كان من أثر هذه المدينة[254]

> He took a ring and said: "Carlos, king of Spain, used this ring when he was in Naples but when he was ready to return to Spain, he took it off and returned it to its place." Consider how much they care for the things of the past. Here was a king who did not take a ring to another country because it belonged to the history of this city.[255]

This excerpt stresses the importance of history, which should be preserved carefully and respected by people, no matter where they are. The emphasis on the significance of history further supports the effort of recalling Andalusian nostalgia in the travelogues. In other words, the constant pattern of reminiscing about al-Andalus at every opportunity possible captivates the readers in a unique space with a vivid

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[252] For the story of Moriscos expulsion from al-Andalus, see: Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 92-93.

[253] I changed the sentence a bit as I applied the male pronoun for the word *khātim* (ring) instead of female pronoun in the original sentence. The original sentence is as follows:

هذه الخاتم كان يستعملها ملك كارلوس إصبانية لما كان في نابل ولما أراد التوجه إلى إصبانية انتزعها من يده وردها إلى موضعها

[254] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 160.

[255] Matar 2015: 116.

nostalgic atmosphere. In the face of the fall of the last fort in Granada, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* instead became the 'forts of nostalgia'. The 'thick bricks' are constructed from the dialogism of numerous narrative techniques, such as melancholia and harsh tones, to maintain the reminiscence. The strategy is powerful in that it binds the 'fort's bricks' and transforms the readers into captives of nostalgia.

In general, the findings suggest that the concepts of nostalgia and religious captivity are part of the major conceptual captivity that develops throughout *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr*. They influence other observations and contribute towards the emergence of other notions of captivity. One of the most remarkable perceptions is seen in the issue of gender, where the ladies of Europe appear very peculiar in the author's eyes.

2.4 GENDER

According to Malīkah Najīb, women entered the pages of Moroccan ambassadorial travelogues of the 18th and 19th centuries through four gateways: existence in public spaces and socialisation with men, outdoor jobs, cultural and entertainment activities and physical beauty.[256] In *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr,* women appear occasionally in scenes with a mixture of positive and negative reviews but are mainly portrayed in a cynical tone. In the accounts, European women seem to be categorised into three groups; noble ladies, common females and nuns.

2.4.1 Noble Ladies

The aristocratic ladies are described as living in an ambience of elegance and civility. Not only are they beautifully dressed, they are also portrayed as being well

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[256] For narrative examples of the mentioned criterions, see: Malīkah Najīb 2014: 215-240.

mannered, especially during events where knowledge of protocols and of the world is necessary. They are depicted like precious glass balls that are carefully protected and given respect and dignity by men. Al-Miknāsī even had the privilege to meet a royal lady, specifically the Queen of Naples:

ثم قيل : إن الملكة في انتظارك، وقد بعثت هذا طليعة لأخبارك، فلتتقدم اليها لتفعل معك من الملاقاة ما يجب عليها، فعجنا إلى بابها، فتلقانا كبير حجابها، ودخل معنا إلى قبة كبيرة فوجدناها واقفة على طبلة والقبة (ملئى) بنساء 119\ الأكابر والأعيان، فسلمت علينا، وكيفيته: هو انحدارها حتى كادت أن تجثي على ركبتيها، وهكذا يسلمن ءاسنلا عندهم، فأشرت اليها باليد ردا لسلامها، فأعادت، فأعدتُ، ثم أعادت فأعدتُ ثلاثة مرات، كما فعل الطاغية، فلما دنونا منها قالت: مرحبا بك وبقدومك، وقد طال انتظارنا إليك، وكل ما يصعب عليك من أمورك عند الطاغية نقف لك في قضائه، فلتطب نفسك، ولا يفارقك أنسك، فإنك لا تمر من عندنا إلا مجبور الخاطر، محبة ألقاها لك في قلوبنا من هو للعالم فاطر. فاستبشرنا بقضاء المآرب، وعلمنا أن حظنا من كأس النجاح شارب، وأرغم أنف كل حسود عائب، ما بعد هذا استلزاما للنجاح وبيانا :

ليس الشفيع الذي يأتيك مؤتزرا   مثل الشفيع الذي يأتيك عريانا[257]

Then it was said: "The queen is expecting you and she has sent this contingent to accompany you. Proceed to her so she can welcome you as is appropriate" [Maria Carolina, 1752-1814]. So, we walked to her door, where her chamberlain met us and walked with us into a large doomed room. We found her standing near a table, surrounded by women of dignity and status. She greeted us, and the way she did was as follows: she lowered herself so that she was nearly kneeling. This is the way their women greet guests. I gestured with my hand to return the greeting. She repeated what she had done, and so I too repeated what I had done, and then she did it again, and I did the same-three times, exactly as with the despot. When we approached her, she said: "Welcome: we have been long awaiting you. Whatever difficulty you encounter with the despot, we will help you to resolve it. Ask what you want: we don't want you to be unsatisfied. We have your mahabba in our hearts." We took that as a sign of success in our mission and knew that we would meet with good fortune, against all the envious. 'A confident intercessor is better than a helpless one."[258]

[257] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 134-135.

[258] Matar 2015: 104.

The encounter with the Queen is described in detail, with a tone of admiration and the recognition is evident in the portrayal of the Queen. Firstly, despite being female, she is trusted to handle an important task by being a delegate to foreign envoys. Secondly, the Queen's attitude illuminates her wisdom, being educated about proper protocol and having knowledge of manners. Thirdly, the way in which she negotiates shows her confidence in her responsibility, yet she has the gentleness of a lady. Al-Miknāsī's response to the encounter further intensifies the value of the noble lady through the way in which he respects the Queen, by practising the same procedures of appreciation to the despot and to the lady. Her classy consultation method influences al-Miknāsī's remark about the favourable outcome of his task, hence his quote of poetry regarding his preference for a poised negotiator, regardless of their gender. In other words, the elements of recognition in the narration dialogically create an elevated position for Europe's noble ladies.

2.4.2 Common Females

In contrast, common women, especially during the entertainment occasions, are presented in shameful tone. The beautiful women in the overly sociable environment, while entertaining men, seem to have lost their dignity in al-Miknāsī's eyes. In an analogy, they are depicted as being pretty, but low value, females, like balls that are easily kicked and thrown around. During participation in an entertainment event, al-Miknāsī describes with irritation:

ثم برز أهل \136\ الموسيقي والطرب، وصعدوا فوق الرتب، وأخذوا في
(نقر) الأوتار، وخلع العذار، ووصف كؤوس العقار، وأطرحوا الحشمة
والوقار، نساء وولدانا، اتخذناهن لنادخأ ، والولدان قد خصوا لتبقى (أصواتهم)
عند الغناء رقيقة، مستحسنة أنيقة، تشاكل أصوات النسوان في كل أوان، وهم
يمكنون أنفسهم من الخصي باختيارهم لاحتياجهم وافتقارهم، فيتوصلون بالغناء
إلى الغنى، لأن لهم على ذلك جعالة وافرة معروفة، وهمم القوم إلى سماعهم

مصروفة. وقد قيل إن النساء يملن إلى هؤلاء الأخصياء بسبب التهمة التي
بعدت، والأمن من ظهور حمل مع بلوغها ما أضمرت ووجدت ــ قبحهم الله،
وقبح حالهم، وقلل امثالهم.[259]

They climbed upstairs and began playing on their stringed
instruments, heedless of decorum, men, women, and children,
without shame, like "prostitutes [Q 4:25]. There were boys who had
been castrated to keep their voices always soft, just like the voices of
women. These castrati chose to be castrated because of their
poverty, and so by singing they grew rich and popular because people
loved listening to them. It was said that women really liked those
castrati because they could not be held suspect, since there was no
danger of pregnancy, should one of the women decide to indulge
herself. May God demean them and their deeds and reduce their
likes.[260]

The free mingling of different genders upsets al-Miknāsī, as it reduces decency

and leads towards the possibility of adultery. The feeling of disgust is evident with the

word choice of 'prostitute' and the association with the Qurān verse 4:25, which says:

وَمَنْ لَّمْ يَسْتَطِعْ مِنْكُمْ طَوْلًا اَنْ يَّنْكِحَ الْمُحْصَنٰتِ الْمُؤْمِنٰتِ فَمِنْ مَّا مَلَكَتْ اَيْمَانُكُمْ
مِّنْ فَتَيٰتِكُمُ الْمُؤْمِنٰتِ ۚ وَاللهُ اَعْلَمُ بِاِيْمَانِكُمْ ۚ بَعْضُكُمْ مِّنْ بَعْضٍ ۚ فَانْكِحُوْهُنَّ بِاِذْنِ
اَهْلِهِنَّ وَاٰ تُوْهُنَّ اُجُوْرَهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوْفِ مُحْصَنٰتٍ غَيْرَ مُسٰفِحٰتٍ وَّلَا مُتَّخِذٰتِ اَخْدَانٍ
ۚ فَاِذَاۤ اُحْصِنَّ فَاِنْ اَ تَيْنَ بِفَاحِشَةٍ فَعَلَيْهِنَّ نِصْفُ مَا عَلَى الْمُحْصَنٰتِ مِنَ الْعَذَابِۚ
ذٰ لِكَ لِمَنْ خَشِيَ الْعَنَتَ مِنْكُمْۚ وَاَنْ تَصْبِرُوْا خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْۚ وَاللهُ غَفُوْرٌ رَّحِيْمٌ[261]

And as for those of you who, owing to circumstances, are not in a
position to marry free believing women, [let them marry] believing
maidens from among those whom you rightfully possess. And God
knows all about your faith; each one of you is an issue of the other.
Marry them, then, with their people's leave, and give them their
dowers in an equitable manner-they being women who give
themselves in honest wedlock, not in fornication, nor as secret love-
companions. And when they are married, and thereafter become
guilty of the immoral conduct, they shall be liable to half the penalty
to which free women are liable.
This [permission to marry slave-girls applies]to those of you who fear
lest they stumble into work. But it is for your own good to preserve in

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[259] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 143-144.

[260] Matar 2015: 107.

[261] Sūrah al-Nisāʾ, Verse 25.

patience [and abstain from such marriages]: and God is much-forgiving, a dispenser of grace.[262]

The verse stresses the importance of marriage to a decent woman, regardless of their status in society. One of the criteria of being decent is chastity, where the woman should not become involved in illegitimate sexual relationships. The word *'akhdān'* means 'secret lover', which can be understood in contemporary terms as 'pet' or 'toy boy.' An example of this moral code is given through al-Miknāsī's narration, where he talks about the relationship between the women and the castrated boys who can be found at entertainment events. In al-Miknāsī's eyes, the women are seen as exploitative and lustful and he degrades them in *duʿā* (prayers) for destruction.

In short, it seems that the women of Europe are mostly stuck in al-Miknāsī's negative gaze. Nevertheless, there is also obvious appreciation for them, through the declaration of what he regards as their supreme and incomparable beauty. At times, the sentiment of ambivalence heightens, especially during encounters with alluring women. In a special opera performance, al-Miknāsī witnesses an extremely attractive lady performer who makes him forget his previous critiques about female entertainers. To avoid being blamed for his intoxication, he also claims that it is not just him that is captivated by her charms, but also other men are too. The style of narrative suddenly transforms into that of a confession, mirroring the characteristic of classical *ghazal*, which features a proclamation of love to a beloved. For instance:

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[262] Asad 1984: 107.

تحفة من تحف الزمن، لا هي في الشام و لا في اليمن، لا شيء يعادلها في الدنيا ولا يكافيها، فإذا مشت الهوينا فضحت فيما صنع ردينا، وإذا أفترت باسمة، كانت للقلوب قاسمة، وإذا نظرت بلحاظها شزرا، تركت القلوب متأملة حسرا، فإذا أقبلت قتلت، وإذا ولت استوطنت القلوب وحلت، بعدما أضلت العقول والأحلام وأزلت[263]

She was a masterpiece of the masterpieces of time, not to be found in Damascus or Yemen. Nothing was like her or even came close. When she sauntered, she was like a spear, and when she parted her lips in a smile, she divided hearts, and if she looked from the corner of her eye, she left hearts broken with sorrow. When she approached, she killed, and when she withdrew, she conquered the hearts and prevailed, having dissipated minds and dreams.[264]

The description of the lady's charm is exaggerated with the usage of *tashbīh* (analogies) to maximise the 'danger' of the allurement, which has the ability to 'kill'. Moreover, the utilization of *saj'* (rhyming words), for example, *al-zaman/al-yaman, yuʿādiluhā/yukāfīhā, bāsimah/qāsimah* and *shazran/ḥasran,* seem to interact to form a song in the heart of a love-struck man. Nevertheless, before he becomes any more intoxicated, the eulogy is curtailed with an accusation of her attractiveness being a trap.

ثم أزمعت على الانتقال، قبل الوقوع في حبائل الهوى والاعتقال، وطلبت من الوزير في الرواح إسعافنان فقال: قد رمت في هذه الليلة إجحافنا، فألححت عليه فأجابنا....[265]

I determined to leave before I fell in the snares of passion and possession. I asked the vizier to help us leave. He said: "You will disappoint us tonight." But I insisted, and so he complied.[266]

[263] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 148.

[264] Matar 2015: 110.

[265] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2013: 151.

[266] Matar 2015: 111.

The allegation can be seen as a way to avert al-Miknāsī from the criticism of being bewitched by an infidel lady. It also functions as a closing remark to the string of passionate admirations of European woman.

2.4.3   The Nuns

Despite the differences in beliefs, al-Miknāsī has an opportunity to visit a convent and a monastery. Although both genders can be found in those locations, al-Miknāsī's narration about the nuns is more focussed. Their living conditions are extremely simple and restricted, to the point at which they could be said to be torturing themselves; for instance:

<div dir="rtl">

ولهن بجدار الدار طاق كبير أوقفوا فيه خشبة لها طبقات مغلقة وهى تدور
بوسطه فحيث يردن أن يخرجن شيئا من عندهن الى خارج يجعلنه في الخشبة
ويدورنها فتخرجه فياخذ من هو موكل بذلك واذا أراد أن يدفع لهن شيئا
فكذلك*267*

</div>

There is a large window in the building wall with a wooden panel: if they want to send anything out, they place it on the panel and rotate it to be picked up outside by the one in authority; the same is done if they want to receive something from the outside.[268]

As if the sun might be poisonous, they purposely limit their movements in the perimeter of the church building and windows seem to be their only link to the outside world. The portrayal generates a perception of the church as a prison and the nuns as prisoners. The described observation embodies the concept of *rahbānīyah,* or 'monasticism', which strongly rejects worldly matters.

 The notion of *rahbānīyah* is apparent in the explanation of a nun's 'recruitment':

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[267] Miknāsī, Ed. Muḥammad Fāsī 1965: 157.

[268] Matar 2015: 78.

وهن راهبات يلزمن الديار ولا يخرجن منها بقية عمرهن، وذلك أن من أرادت الترهب من النساء فإنها تدخل لتلك الديار وتمكث بها سنة، فإن كانت بالغة فإنها تستشار في المكث او الخروج إلى سبيلها، فإن اختارت الخروج خرجت وإن آثرت الترهب والزهد في الدنيا ولم يبق لها أرب في زوج ولا في غيره من زينة الدنيا، فإنهم يطوفون بها في البلد حتى تراها كالمودعة.[269]

They were nuns who did not leave their houses and for the rest of their lives. If a woman wanted to become a nun, she entered one of those houses and remained there for a year. Once she reached puberty she was queried whether she wanted to stay or go on her way: if she chose to leave, she left, and if she chose to stay and live a monastic life, giving up on the world, on a husband, and on the transitory things, they paraded her around the city, as if to have her bid farewell.[270]

The nuns' portrayal demonstrates their seriousness in segregating themselves from earthly elements and in focusing solely on religious matters in the name of piety to God. The nunneries' concept of single life and marriage refusal is a contrast to the marriage value in Islam, where it is highly honoured and encouraged.[271] Although there is the concept of *zuhd*, which is a notion of asceticism in Islam, it is different from *rahbāna*. *Zuhd* is not as extreme as *rahbānīyah*, where one must completely renounce all worldly pleasures. In the journey towards spiritual contentment, *zuhd* still allows enjoyment of life's pleasures, such as marriage; meanwhile, *rahbānīyah* totally rejects earthly life to focus on the hereafter, thereby contravening Islamic teaching as stated in the Qurān 57:27:

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[269] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005:164.

[270] Matar 2015: 118.

[271]Islam highly honours the concept of marriage, for instance as stated in Qurān:

وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ أَنْ خَلَقَ لَكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَزْوَاجًا لِتَسْكُنُوا إِلَيْهَا وَجَعَلَ بَيْنَكُمْ مَوَدَّةً وَرَحْمَةً ۚ إِنَّ فِي ذَٰلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِقَوْمٍ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ

And one of His signs is that He has created for you, spouses from amongst yourselves so that you might take comfort in them and He has placed between you, love and mercy. In this there is surely evidence (of the truth) for the people who carefully think. *(Surah 30, Verse 21)*

وَ رَهْبَانِيَّةً ابْتَدَعُوهَا مَا كَتَبْنَاهَا عَلَيْهِمْ إِلاَّ ابْتِغَاءَ رِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ فَمَا رَعَوْهَا حَقَّ رِعَايَتِهَا[272]

But as for monastic asceticism – We did not enjoin it upon them: they invented it themselves out of a desire for God's goodly acceptance. But then, they did not [always] observe it as it ought to have been observed.[273]

Therefore, from the narration about the nuns, a monastery can be viewed as a form of captivity in an imaginary world of piety. The excessive constraint contradicts human nature; hence, the existence of the ugly truth in the "prison of imagined religiosity," namely lesbianism. Al-Miknāsī mentions lesbianism in the narration about his visit to the convent.

وشأن هؤلاء الراهبات في عزلتهن، مناكر معتكفات عليهن قد جالوا من المساحقة في مجال، مع إبليس حيثما جال، واستغنوا عن الرجال[274]

In their isolation, those nuns committed many sins. Having renounced men, they joined with Satan and practiced lesbian activities.[275]

By denying the nature of women to find comfort and love, physically and mentally, from the opposite sex and the essence of a mother being pregnant with her own child, some nuns are misguided to find inner and outer affection from the same gender. Although the contemporary world has become more lenient towards the idea of lesbianism, in general, lesbianism is considered to be a sin in most religions. That is why the narration associates lesbianism with being a ploy of devil.

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[272] Sūrah al-Ḥadīd, Verse 27.

[273] Asad 1984: 842.

[274] Al-Miknāsī, Ed. Malīkah al-Zāhidī 2005: 164.

[275] Matar 2015: 118.

In short, there is a mixture of reviews about European women; however, the unfavourable observations seem to outweigh the appreciative ones. There is no definite statement regarding what an ideal woman should be, as no comparisons are made to other women, either Muslim or Moroccan. This is different from Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq who clearly states about idealized women in his travelogue as fair members of a society who have the privilege to choose either to have a job or to stay at home.[276] From the three categories of European women that are narrated in the al-Miknāsī's travelogues, the noble ladies are illustrated as having a high status among the community, as they are treated respectfully by men. Although expressions of adoration can be detected for common ladies in entertainment activities, they are usually described as being associated with the lustful attention of men. Meanwhile, the nuns appear to be free from male influence, due to the restrictions in the nunnery. However, because they put extreme constraints on anything regarding men, some of them are depicted as going astray by channelling their inner and outer needs to other women. Although the three categories of European women seem to differ from each other, from a different viewpoint they actually fall into the same group. The groups dialogically demonstrate their connection under men's gaze. Based on the description of women in *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr*, it appears that the value of a woman is confined to how she is viewed by a male. The rising and descending level of attention from the opposite sex, the existence or absence of a man's gaze and of his respect and responsibilities towards these women, actually determine a lady's virtue. That is to say, the travel accounts imply the depiction of European

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[276] Johnson 2015: xxxiii.

women as a form of female imprisonment in a male's power of dominance. Therefore, the narration suggests that the patriarchal system was dominant in the European community of the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, it is questionable whether the portrayal of European ladies is purely based on his observation or if it had been heavily influenced by the author's own background, namely his nationality, culture and religion. According to the pattern of remarks that are made towards the women, Malīkah Najīb claims that the ladies are viewed through an Islamic lens.[277] However, does the object of observation really deserve criticism if the experience and the expectations are not parallel? This ignites interest about the possibility of placing these observations in a certain framework, based on the writer's personal background and prospects. If the framework becomes rigid, it then forms a mental constraint that filters views. In summary, in the restrained presentation of both accounts, we are able to discover the prominent notions of captivity through the selected highlights of the event of ransoming the captives, the tendency towards religious monologism, the confining perceptions about European women and the strategy of imprisoning readers in nostalgia, especially that of al-Andalus.

In conclusion, *al-Iksīr* and *al-Badr* are distinctive ambassadorial travelogues, which provide the opportunity to explore notions of captivity of individuals and communities. This initiates further interest about how other forms of travel narrative explore the idea of captivity through different dimensions. From the analysis framework in this chapter, I will proceed to study notions of captivity in various

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[277]Malīkah Najīb 2014: 248.

dimensions, namely between the body and the mind, the nation and the soul. In the next chapter which focuses on the aspects of physicality and mentality, I will analyse and compare two pieces of captivity narratives or travel fictions, and how each narrative explores various concepts of captivity.

3 CHAPTER 3: THE BODY AND THE MIND

> I, Hasan the son of Muhammad the weigh-master, I, Jean-Leon de Medici, circumcised at the hand of a barber and baptized at the hand of a pope, I am now called the African, but I am not from Africa, nor from Europe, nor from Arabia. I am also called the Granadan, the Fassi, the Zayyati, but I come from no country, from no city, no tribe. I am the son of the road, my country is the caravan, my life the most unexpected of voyages.[278]

The novel *Leo Africanus* by Amīn Maʻlūf starts with a prologue in a playful tone that confuses its readers with its high tone of ambivalence by announcing a variety of names,[279] religions,[280] origins and demonyms. The narrator then distances himself from being confined to a specific space or community and introduces a broader dimension of the sense of belonging by presenting various tropes of motion; roads, caravans and voyages, that symbolise the idea of freedom.[281] From the beginning, *Leo Africanus* emphasises the freedom of individual identity by eliminating the limitation that derives from the urge of attachment to a specific identification. Therefore, the preface offers readers a sense of paradox, because the protagonist is known as a

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[278]Amīn Maʻlūf , *Leo Africanus* (Chicago, IL: New Amsterdam, 1992), 9.

[279] Between his real name as a born Muslim, Hassan the son of Muhammad and his post-baptised name as Jean-Leon de Medici.

[280] Circumcision implicates his status as a Muslim and baptism hints his position as a Christian.

[281] Neil Doshi analysed the exact excerpt and elements in it to discover the notions of Mediterranean identity. On the other hand, I analysed this passage to represent the concept of freedom of a physical captive which then leads to my study about notions of captivity. See more at: Neil Doshi, "Materiality, Modernity and the Dialectics of Reading in Amīn Maʻlūf 's Mediterranean", *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 16.1 (2013): 73-89.

captive who is abducted by Christian pirates and who is presumed to be bound by numerous types of constraint.

Despite the theme of physical captivity, the narration, on the contrary, suggests a high level of individual liberty, depicting the active interplay of captivity and freedom in the novel. This invokes curiosity about the connection between the body and the mind in captivity. Will a captive of the body also be a captive of the mind? On the other hand, can a free person fall into mental imprisonment? This chapter will examine the intertwining but contradictory concepts of containment and freedom within the body and the mind, hence uncovering various notions of captivity. For this purpose, two captivity narratives or travel fictions will be studied comparatively: the Malay novel *Panglima Awang* by Harun Aminurrashid and the Arab novel *Leo Africanus* by Amīn Maʻlūf .

In comparison, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus* are similar in various aspects. The protagonists of both novels, Leo and Awang, are captured by the colonisers in the 16th century and the novels are based on real events and real historical figures with the same names. For this reason, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* are commonly known and studied as historical novels due to strong references to actual incidents and individuals. On the other hand, this chapter will approach the novels with the purpose of unveiling the notions of captivity within travel, based on the themes of identity, religion, nostalgia and gender**.**

3.1 GENRE

While other chapters deal with travel accounts that can be encapsulated under the category of travel writing, novels have an ambiguous status in the genre. In fact,

there is no definitive name for the travel genre where a few terms surface in the research world, including travel writing, travel literature, travel narrative and literature of travel,[282] making the categorisation and definition problematic. The placement of travel themed novels into a study of travelogues might be dubious in terms of validity, due to the endless debates regarding what is factual and what is fictional. Putting the issue aside, this research combines the entire selected corpus into the same group: narratives with a travel theme. In fact, novels and travel accounts have an influence on each other that makes the connection between them inseparable. Travelogue writers apply novelistic styles to make their travel experience compelling to readers, such as the implementation of dialogue, plots and characterisation. Meanwhile, novels with a travel theme apply the observation and description techniques from travelogues to create a realistic imaginary world.[283]

Travelogues are mainly written based on real experiences and presented in the author's voice. Therefore, travelogues usually have a reputation of authenticity, hence their credibility. However, the chance to elaborate the narrative from various angles is limited because the only available point of view is the author's. On the other hand, although novels are clearly fictitious, novelists have more creative freedom to explore the narrative from multiple perspectives. Therefore, we can say that the travelogue form has more limitations compared to the novel form. For that reason, among the entire selected corpus of narratives with a travel theme, I purposely selected two

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[282]Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in *Perspectives of Travel Writing.* Ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004), 12.

[283] Percy G Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 134 and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4.

novels or captivity narratives for comparison in this chapter. Since novels usually have

numerous characters and demonstrate a broader dimension of perspectives, they

enable a deeper and more diversified exploration of the notions of captivity within the

body and the mind. In this case, I will firstly introduce both novels and the real-life

individuals that inspired the narratives, before proceeding to the analysis section.

3.2   LEO AFRICANUS

3.2.1   Leo Africanus the Historical Figure

Leo Africanus is a novel based on a sixteenth-century traveller, whose real

name was Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Fāsī,[284] who was later baptised and

was known by several names: Giovanni Leone, Joannes Leo, Joannes Medici[285] and

Yūḥannā al-Asad.[286] However, he was widely known as Leo Africanus, the captive-

cum-traveller-cum-writer and as the "most famous late medieval Muslim immigrant

to Europe".[287] Much of his life remains unknown since he barely wrote about himself

and remarks about his private life in the writings of others are limited. Natalie Zemon

Davis, in her book *Trickster Travels,* intensively tracks his movements and produces a

scholarly view of Leo's life in chronological order. According to Davis, to date, many

studies have examined Leo as a binary man, in that he had a dual audience, faith,

insights and cultures, due to his baptism during captivity.[288] He is considered to be the

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[284] He was also known as al-Gharnati (the Granadan) since his origin is believed to be Granada, the last fallen city in the Empire of al-Andalus.

[285] The names that are believed to be given to Leo after his master, Giovanni de' Medici. Later de'Medici became the priest who baptised him, his godfather and also his patron.

[286] The Arabic name he chose himself after his conversion.

[287] Catlos 2014: 230.

[288] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 3.

last Arab scholar who gained inspiration from the Muslim civilisation in Spain and was an apprentice of an influential Christian monarchy. This is because, brilliant Muslim captives with exceptional knowledge or skills were deemed priceless.[289]

Leo arrived in Rome as a captive and is believed to have lived there until the end of his life, after ending his travels as a captive. Despite his baptism, Davis claims that Leo remained loyal to his original religion and dreamed of returning to his homeland. [290] This statement is supported by Professor Muṣṭafa Ṭāhir from the University of Fez, who believes that Leo was always a Muslim due to his habit of recording his previous Muslim name in his writing, linking himself to his origin, and also referring to Muslims as 'we'. Taher assumes that he practised '*taqīyah*', a religious act that permits faith denial in a position of deadly risks.[291] Especially under severe threat, *'taqīyah'* acts as ultimate protection in opposition to apostasy.[292]

As an intelligent captive, Leo was given the opportunity to leave the dungeon and was referred to the Pope who, at the time, was organising crusades. Leo eventually became close to the Pope, was baptised and then adapted well into his new religion, society and culture. Professor Mustafa Bensdira from the University of Fez, who has spent his career studying Leo, claims that his easy adaptation to different cultures and religions might have been due to his parents' influence. Bensdira assumes

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[289] Catlos 2014: 270.

[290] Davis, 2006: 3-13.

[291] BBC Arabic, 2011. Leo Africanus: A Man between Worlds. [video online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nxMbTbndGrA. [Accessed 1 May 2014].

BBC Arabic traced Leo throughout Spain, Africa and Rome in a documentary entitled *Leo Africanus: A Man between Worlds* in 2011. The programme gave brief information about his dual journeys: his intellectual travel from Africa to Europe and his spiritual expedition from Islam to Christianity.

[292] Catlos 2014: 483.

that his mother was Jewish and had converted to Islam and that Leo might have inherited his mother's ability to adapt to any situation.[293]

3.2.2 Leo's Masterpiece - The Description of Africa

Leo is best known for his book, *Descrittione dell' Africa* (*Description of Africa)*, a travel account which is divided into 9 books describing the geography, the people, the beliefs and the history of Africa. In comparison to the popular fictitious travel account '*The Book of John Mandeville*', Crofton Black asserts Leo's credibility as an author-voyager who really witnessed and experienced Africa in the 16th century. Paradoxically, Black also claims Leo's excessive independence in previous accounts for certain parts that he was unsure about.[294] Nevertheless, after *Riḥlah* by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Description of Africa* is considered as the most important source for Africanists. [295]

Description of Africa was probably written in Arabic at first, then later rewritten in Italian and has since been translated into numerous languages, including English, French, Latin and Dutch.[296] The numerous translations expose Africa to a wider audience especially the European region but *Description of Africa* has been

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[293] BBC Arabic 2011.

[294] Crofton Black, "Leo Africanus's "Descrittione dell'Africa" and Its Sixteenth-Century Translations", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 263-264.

For other study comparing *Descrittione dell'Africa'* to *The Book of John Mandeville*, see:

Khalili, Raja Khaleel al-, et al. "The Master's Tale and The Slave's Narrative: The Book of John Mandeville, Leo Africanus' "A Geographical Historie of Africa" And Christopher Marlowe's The Jew of Malta." *Cross-Cultural Communication* 8.i (2012): 74-79.

[295] Peter C Mancall, *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 96.

[296] Carmine Di Biase, *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006) 176.

interpreted and represented according to the preference of the translators.[297] The

English version of it was translated by John Pory in 1600 and was edited with notes by

Dr. Robert Brown in three volumes.[298] Although Leo is considered to be 'secretive'

about himself, Eleazear Gutwirth claims that the historical context of *Description of*

Africa can provide many resources regarding Leo's life.[299] According to the *Description*

of Africa research team, Leo gathered information about Africa on a journey he

conducted with his uncle during which he crossed 15 African kingdoms. Most

travellers who have written about North or Central Africa refer to Leo's book, but the

comments are not always favourable. Nevertheless, Leo's writing has a distinctive

style that is humorous, futuristic, free from superstition and efficient.[300] Leo and his

masterpiece, *Description of Africa,* have regularly been an interesting topic for

scholars from various fields, such as history, literature, geography and anthropology;

for instance, in May 2003, a special conference on Leo was held in Paris for three

days.[301]

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[297] For studies regarding the various translations of '*Descrittione dell' Africa'* see: Crofton Black, "Leo Africanus' "Descrittione dell'Africa" and Its Sixteenth-Century Translations", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002):262-272/Oumelbanine Zhiri, "Leo Africanus and the Limits of Translation", *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period,* Ed. Carmine Di Biase, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 175-186.

[298] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, Trans. John Pory, Ed. Robert Brown, (Farnham [England]: Ashgate, 2010).

[299] See: Eleazar Gutwirth, "Crossing the Borders of Modernity: Towards A Context for Al-Gharnati (Leo Africanus)." *Miscelánea De Estudios Árabes Y Hebraicos (Sección Hebreo)* 62. (2013): 83-114.

[300]Africanus, Ed. Brown 2010. ix-cxi.

[301] To see the variety of discussions during the conference, see: Siegbert Uhlig, *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg, July 20-25, 2003*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

As a person, Leo is appealing not only for having impressive writings, but also for having an extraordinary background story through his extensive travel experiences and his ability to be a 'chameleon' in terms of his extraordinary ability to adapt to various cultures and religions.[302] Therefore, it is not entirely surprising that Leo has become an inspiration for many creative works. For instance, it is believed that one of Shakespeare's character, Othello, was inspired by Leo, as it has several striking similarities. [303] Furthermore, Leo was also a muse for mystical writings by W.B. Yeats, who claimed to be in 'conversation' with Leo's incarnation.[304]

3.2.3 *Leo Africanus* by Amīn Ma'lūf

One of the most well-known creative writings inspired by Leo's story is Amīn Ma'lūf 's novel, entitled *Léon l'Africain* (translated as *Leo Africanus* in English*),* published in 1986. Maalouf wrote his first novel in French by blending fact and fiction. Maalouf was born in 1949 in Beirut, Lebanon but in 1976, he moved to Paris with his family. Although his native language is Arabic, he usually writes in French and he is well known as a Francopohone Lebanese writer.

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[302] Chameleon as analogy because it has the ability to change its skin colour according to the surroundings, showing the mastery of adaption; fitting the characteristics of Leo who adapts well to various cultures, locations and religions.

[303] For studies regarding the connection between Othello and Leo, see: Lois Whitney, "Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?", *PMLA* 37.3 (1922): 470-483. / Jonathan Burton, "'A most wily bird': Leo Africanus, *Othello* and the trafficking in difference", *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, Ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, (London: Routledge, 2004) 43-63.

[304] For studies regarding the 'involvement' of Leo in W.B. Yeats' writing, see: Oliver Hennessey, "Talking with the Dead: Leo Africanus, Esoteric Yeats, and Early Modern Imperialism", *ELH* 71.4 (2004): 1019-1038. /

Claire Nally, "Imperial Politics, Leo Africanus and Discarnate States", *Envisioning Ireland: W.B. Yeats's Occult Nationalism (Reimagining Ireland)*, (Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2010), 129-147.

Although *Leo Africanus* is originally in French, the essence of it is in an Arab context. This study will read and analyse *Leo Africanus* as a narrative of Arab culture and literature despite the difference in language. In reality, there has been continuous disconnection between francophone and Arabic cultures and scholars have been promoting a more flexible approach to both without separating them. [305] Karima Laachir in her article, "*The Aesthetics and Politics of 'Reading Together' Moroccan Novels in Arabic and French*" suggests the approach of reading side by side postcolonial novels in Arabic and French. She strongly disagrees with the focus on reading of a single language:

> Therefore, I argue that a monolingual reading and framing of Morocco's postcolonial multilingual literary filed is problematic in the way it promotes a polarised understanding of language politics in Morocco and the way these various languages have been cohabiting and have co-constituted a rich literary field. It also reproduces the marginality of Moroccan literature in relation to other single language hegemonic literary systems such as Arabophone or Francophone and denies the specificity and the links of Moroccan novels in Arabic and French expression to their pre-modern narrative tradition and to their locality. Therefore, 'reading together' multilingual literary traditions moves beyond linguistic determinism and hence an exclusive understanding of 'national' literature. [306]

Although Laachir's arguement is specific about reading together Moroccan novels in Arabic and French, it can also be applied in reading other Francophone literature regardless of the nation. I agree with Laachir about the problematic monolingual reading, therefore, this study will approach the novel *Leo Africanus*, written by a Francophone Lebanese in its Arab context and will categorize it under Arab literature.

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[305] Jane Hiddleston, "Francophone North African Literature" in *French Studies*, 70(1), (2015): 91.

[306] Karima Laachir, "The Aesthetics and Politics of 'Reading Together' Moroccan Novels in Arabic and French", *The Journal of North African Studies* 21.1 (2016): 34.

Leo Africanus was later translated into English by Peter Sluglett, where it became *Leo the African* for the UK edition in 1988 and *Leo Africanus* for the US edition in 1992. therefore, this novel is categorised under Arab literature for this thesis. The narrative profile for *Leo Africanus* can be considered as 60% narrative and 40% dialogue. The story is mainly told from the perspective of a first-person narrator with Leo as the active participant, but the role switches to the first-person observer in the dialogue. The shift solicits the reader's attention because the changing perspectives can sometimes be confusing.[307]

Writing chronologically, Maalouf divided the novel's 40 sub-chapters into four main chapters according to the important cities in Leo's life, namely "The Book of Granada", "The Book of Fez", "The Book of Cairo" and "The Book of Rome". The novel gives the impression of being a biography as it starts with Leo's childhood in Granada, then continues with his migration to Fez, his exile in Cairo and his captivity in Rome. In short, the novel depicts the quest of a man who is constantly travelling, but who

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[307] For instance:

'You were sitting on my knees, my son; I held you very close and kissed you warmly on the neck. "Foreteller of evil tidings!" I snapped at Sarah, more from irritation than malice. "Are our daily sufferings not overwhelming enough? Do you really need to prophesy an even worse fate for us?" But the Jewess would not be distracted from her theme. "Rabbi Ishaq is a regular visitor to King Ferdinand, he knows many secrets, and if he uses the language of the prophets it is to make us understand things which he would not otherwise be able to divulge." – "Perhaps he is trying to warn you that Granada will be taken, but that is no longer a secret."' (p. 50)

From the excerpt, it is clear that Leo was engaged in a dialogue with his mother. Then his mother inserted another piece of dialogue into her dialogue to explain her meeting with Sarah, the Jewess. This type of dialogue occurs at various times throughout the novel where there is a rapid changing of the 'narrating I' and the 'experiencing I'. Although Leo is active as a first-person narrator (first actional participant), he sometimes seems to take a third-person omniscient perspective through other conversations as he seems to know a lot of other characters' inner thoughts and feelings. Overall, the role of the narrator plays a huge contribution in detecting and understanding the notions of captivity in the narrative.

later becomes a captive and always longs to return to his roots. Throughout his journey, he simultaneously develops maturity and wisdom from the experience. Maalouf's focus is largely on Leo's days in Granada, Fez, and Cairo, rather than in Rome where he is transported to as a captive. However, although the Rome chapter is just one-fifth of the novel, it offers the story's climax when the captivity period helps him most in developing into a knowledgeable and mature man.

By comparison, the historical figure, Leo Africanus, and his book, *Description of Africa,* are studied in more depth compared to the novel *Leo Africanus*. There are studies of different notions of the novel, for instance Anthony Johae analyses the novel's travel motif by exploring the binary themes, such as home and destination etc.[308] Neil Doshi delves into the concept of the Mediterranean in the novel,[309] supporting my categorisation of the novel under Arab Literature, despite it being written in French. In general, the studies of the fictional *Leo Africanus* always dwell with the tropes of travel and the oppositions in discovering the variety of concepts in it. In this chapter, I will also follow the same trail, but I will focus on a different notion, which is captivity. Since the protagonist is a captive, it is expected that this study will touch on physical captivity, which will be the 'stepping stone' to an in-depth examination of the idea of captivity. Since the central themes of *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* show some resemblance, it is compelling to combine them in this chapter under the body and the mind chapter. To support the relevance of the

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[308] See: Anthony Johae, et al. "Patterns of Islamic Travel in Amīn Ma'lūf 's Leo The African." *Annals of Arts and Social Sciences* 21, no. 163 (2001).

[309] Doshi 2013: 73-89.

comparability, I will introduce the Malay fiction entitled *Panglima Awang,* which is
inspired by a historical figure with the same name.

3.3   PANGLIMA AWANG

3.3.1   Panglima Awang, the Historical Figure

Panglima Awang (Commander Awang) is an ambiguous Malay captive in the
sixteenth century, who was understood to be the first world circumnavigator;
however, the credit for this feat is usually given to his owner, Ferdinand Magellan.
Magellan is believed to have died on an island before completing his mission to prove
that the world is round. Awang then continued the expedition and completed the
mission by returning to his homeland. In the first novel written about him, he is
referred as Panglima Awang. In fact, his real name is unknown; however, he was
attributed a few names, such as Henry the Black and Enrique of Malacca, as it was
speculated that he had been baptised. Since the publication of the novel, he is best
known as Panglima Awang, especially among Malaysians. Unlike Leo, Awang has not
left any writings and he has only been mentioned a few times, with various names, in
historical documents,[310] making it more challenging to confirm the authenticity of the
legendary figure. In spite of the ambiguity, it is believed that Awang's house is situated
in Kuala Sungai Baru, Malacca and, according to the housekeeper, Awang's grave is in
Rembau, Negeri Sembilan.[311]

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[310] For instance, others travel notes and Ferdinand Magellan's will.

[311] The authenticity of Panglima Awang's house and grave needs more research for confirmation. For
reports of visits to Panglima Awang's house, see:

Talib Samat, "Catatan Pertama ke Teratak Enrique, Kuala Sungai Baru, Melaka pada 19 April 2015", in
*Perjuangan Mengantarabangsakan Kepahlawanan Panglima Awang (Melaka): Orang Melayu Pertama
Mengelilingi Dunia (1511-1521)*, Ed. Talib Samat, (Tanjong Malim: Penerbit Mentari, 2015) 3-18. / Talib
Samat, "Catatan Perjalanan Kedua dan Terakhir ke Teratak Enrique Panglima Awang di Kuala Sungai

There has been moderate interest for Awang among Malaysians, which has spiked in the 21st century. In order to commemorate his probable achievement and to 'search' for him through history, the government of Malacca sponsored a group of experts to conduct extensive research, which resulted in the publication of a 235 page coffee table book in 2010, written in Malay and entitled, '*Panglima Awang/Enrique Melaka: Melayu Pertama Mengelilingi Dunia*', which means *'Panglima Awang/ Enrique of Malacca: The First Malay World Circumnavigator'.*[312] Although the study is supported by evidence in historical documents and events to prove the theory about Awang, unfortunately it is still not recognised worldwide.

On 29th April 2015, a special seminar was held at Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia regarding Awang as a historical figure and a novel character. In conjunction with the seminar, a book was published consisting of reports of visits to the assumed house of Awang, the analysis of novels related to him and 158 items of poetry about him. Despite lacking acknowledgement, Awang has been a popular legend who inspires Malaysian novelists. Among the novels written about, or inspired

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Baru, Melaka pada 6 Mei 2015", in *Perjuangan Mengantarabangsakan Kepahlawanan Panglima Awang (Melaka): Orang Melayu Pertama Mengelilingi Dunia (1511-1521)*, Ed. Talib Samat, (Tanjong Malim: Penerbit Mentari, 2015) 19-30. / Fāṭimah h Azzahra Pazimen et. al. "Laporan Lawatan ke Teratak Enrique Panglima Awang Melaka pada 19 April 2015", in *Perjuangan Mengantarabangsakan Kepahlawanan Panglima Awang (Melaka): Orang Melayu Pertama Mengelilingi Dunia (1511-1521)*, Ed. Talib Samat, (Tanjong Malim: Penerbit Mentari, 2015) 396-422.

[312]Before that, the expert group has published some of their findings about Panglima Awang in a journal. See:

Nik Hassan Shuhaimi et al. "Enrique Melaka @ Panglima Awang sebagai Magellan Melayu" in *Sari-International Journal of the Malay World and Civilization* 27.2 (2009): 167-198.

For more information on the real life Panglima Awang, see: Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, et al. *Panglima Awang @ Enrique Melaka: Melayu Pertama Mengelilingi Dunia* (Melaka: Perbadanan Muzium Melaka, 2010).

by, Awang are *Enrique Mengundang Jauh* by H.M. Tuah Iskandar,[313] *Aku Penyudah Tugas Kpt. F. Magellan dan Laksamana Hang Tuah* by Zain alJohan,[314] *Panglima Awang Penguasa Lima Lautan* by Rosli Mohd Sah[315] and *Awang Kembara Mengelilingi Dunia* by Kamaludin Abdul Settar.[316] However, the pioneering novel, written about Awang by Harun Aminurrashid in 1957, and entitled *Panglima Awang,* is also the most well-known novel. It has initiated other creative works and has also become an important reference for scholars from various fields. It became a school textbook in Malaysia in the 1960s. Many creative projects have taken place regarding Awang, the latest being a theatre performance by a combination of new and veteran actors on the 23rd, 24th and 25th September 2016 at Auditorium Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur.[317]

3.3.2   *Panglima Awang* by Harun Aminurrashid

The latest English translation of *Panglima Awang* was made by David Nicholas Bakewell in 2011 and was published by the Malaysian National Institute of Translation (ITNM).[318] The narrative profile for *Panglima Awang* can be considered as 70% narrative and 30% dialogue. The story is told through the third person omniscient perspective, with Awang as the protagonist. Harun decided to write the novel after he

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[313] H.M. Tuah Iskandar, *Enrique Mengundang Jauh* (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication, 2003).

[314] Zain alJohan, *Aku Penyudah Tugas Kpt. F. Magellan dan Laksamana Hang Tuah* (Selangor: Pekan Ilmu, 2012).

[315] Rosli Mohd Sah, *Panglima Awang: Penguasa Lima Lautan* (Selangor: Yamani Angle, 2014).

[316] Kamaludin Abdul Settar, *Awang Kembara Mengelingi Dunia* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2016).

[317] The theatre entitled 'Bangsawan Pelayaran Panglima Awang (Henry the Black)' was written by Prof. Emeritus Dato. Dr. Wan Hashim bin Wan Teh and directed by Mohd Diani Hj. Kasian.

[318] For the first English translation of *Panglima Awang*, see: Harun Aminurrashid, *A Malay among the Portuguese*, Trans. Ahmad Hussain, (Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1961).

came across news articles about the possibility of a Malay captive to Ferdinand Magellan being the unsung hero as the first person to circle the world. Based on scarce information, Harun uses his imagination to create a remarkable story of a Malay captive traveller who makes history by voyaging the earth. He claims that he named the protagonist Panglima Awang, instead of Henry or Enrique, because it was the best name with which to portray the Malayness of a brave young Malay man.[319]

The novel begins with the Portuguese attack on Malacca, which leads to Awang's valiant defense and, ultimately, to his capture by Alfonso de Albuquerque. Magellan, who is a gentler Portuguese officer, purchases Awang and takes him along on his journeys. The owner and captive relationship then slowly develops into a brotherly relationship after a long period of the voyage. The story also features romantic storylines involving the separation of Awang and his fiancée, Tun Gayah, and an unexpected romance between a Western lady, Mariam, and Awang as a captive. During the expedition to prove that the world is round, Magellan is killed during a confrontation with the natives of Hambunan Island. Therefore, Awang continues his incomplete mission and finally returns to his homeland, where he is reunited with his fiancée. They get married and continue their effort to fight the colonisers together.

Researchers have been studying *Panglima Awang* from various aspects, especially historical ones. Mawar Shafei studies the intertextuality of historical texts in *Panglima Awang* and concludes that the novel provides a new perspective of

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[319] Harun Aminurrashid, *Panglima Awang* (Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1958), 3.

Malaccan history.[320] Rather than looking at its historical values, Virginia M. Hooker analyses the literary and social changes in *Panglima Awang* and views it as a text of radical criticism for the modern community, although it uses the 16th century as its background. On the other hand, G. L. Koster studies the notion of colonialism in the novel by focusing on the concepts of 'citizenship, nationalism and patriotism.'[321] I will continue the research concerning *Panglima Awang,* but from a different perspective that focuses on the notions of captivity within the framework of travelling.

With the seemingly similar time background and character development, specifically of the protagonists, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus* resemble each other in certain aspects, especially as they are both works of fiction based on real life sixteenth-century captive-travellers. As novels, with the flexibility of exploring various viewpoints in the narrative, it is compelling to analyse the comparison of these two similar novels in terms of captivity within their own distinctive cultural contexts, namely Malay and Arab. Since the protagonists of both novels are involved in physical captivity, firstly I will analyse the intertwining concepts of captivity and freedom that lead to the exploration of physical and mental captivity. Then, I will proceed with the discovery of other notions of captivity that have been categorised in the previous chapter; gender, religion and nostalgia.

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[320] Mawar Shafei, *"Hipoteks Sejarah Dalam Novel Panglima Awang"*, *E-BANGI: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1, Directory of Open Access Journals, EBSCO*host*, viewed 5 November 2015. (2006): 16.

[321] Koster 2009: 375-396.

3.4 PHYSICAL VERSUS MENTAL CAPTIVITY

3.4.1 Identity

Sa-telah beberapa kali Enrique mengikut Fernado dengan kapal itu berulang alek ka-negeri-negeri di-utara Afrika itu, Enrique sa-makin banyak mendapat pengetahuan dan pengalaman; apalagi Fernado sendiri sendiri memandang Enrique bukan sa-bagai hamba, tetapi sebagai kawan yang sa-hidup sa-mati. Rupanya segala gerak geri Enrique yang bebas itu telah menchurigakan pihak orang-orang Portugis yang sa-panjang masa menaroh dengki kapada-nya.

Perubahan besar yang ganjil terdapat pada diri Enrique sekarang ia-lah telah boleh masok ka-rumah Fernado ketika balek dari pelayaran; bukan saperti mula-mula ia di-bawa ke-negeri itu. Telah dapat pula ia berchakap-chakap dengan bebas kapada wanita Portugis yang jelita itu. Keluarga Fernado memandang Enrique ada-lah sa-bagai pengawal Fernado yang sangat setia, Enrique pula sangat pandai menjaga diri-nya dan menunjokkan juga kapada keluarga Fernado yang diri-nya memang mengerti sopan santun sa-chara kebangsawanan, apalagi memang pada masa Panglima Awang di Melaka, ia sa-orang panglima yang di-hormati oleh bangsa-nya.[322]

With each occasion Enrique accompanied Ferdinand to and from North Africa, he grew more and more knowledgeable and experienced and Ferdinand no longer viewed him as a slave but as a dear friend. Enrique's complete freedom to come and go as he pleased aroused the suspicions of several Portuguese, who had been envious of him for a long time.

One of the most significant changes was that Enrique was now free to enter Ferdinand's house when he came back from their voyages, not like in the beginning when he had been brought to the country. He was also allowed to talk freely with the beautiful young Portuguese maiden. Ferdinand's family regarded Enrique as Ferdinand's loyal bodyguard. Enrique was very clever at looking after himself and also at conducting himself properly with Ferdinand's family in a manner appropriate to that of a statesman, just as he had been in Melaka as Panglima Awang- a respected warrior by his countrymen.[323]

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[322] Harun Aminurrashid1958: 100-101.

[323] Harun Aminurrashid, Trans: Bakewell 2011:78.

The excerpt demonstrates the evolvement of the protagonist's identity (Awang or Enrique as mentioned in the excerpt), which is evident through the improved acceptance of the surrounding community, flexibility in mobility, better social interaction and increased recognition. As a warrior in his homeland, he is respected for his bravery and leadership, but his reputation vanishes once he falls into captivity. However, despite his status as a foreign captive, he is later granted privileges that incite envy from the Portuguese locals. The description of the protagonist's circumstances in Portugal reflects contradictions in relation to the typical portrayal of a captive. Generally, captives are human beings who are tested to their extremes, such as having their freedom stripped away against their will, being forced to leave their homeland, being forced into conversion or into camouflaging themselves with another religion, losing their own name, which is considered to be their personal identity, the degrading of their integrity and the risk of their physical body being a potential site of torment and misfortunes.[324] The struggle of a captive to bear the extreme tests and to survive them would be a phenomenal victory for the essence of humanity.[325]

Nevertheless, captivity does not offer total negativity as, sometimes, it provides unexpected opportunities that cannot be achieved if a person is still a free being, which fits with a verse in the Qurān from the chapter of *al-Baqarah*, verse 216:

وَعَسَى أَن تَكْرَهُواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَى أَن تُحِبُّواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ

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[324]L. Spitzer, "A Name Given, a Name Taken: Camouflaging, Resistance, and Diasporic Social Identity", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30.1 (2010): 22. / Ebersole 1995: 6 & 8.

[325] Stephan Palmié, *Slave Cultures and the Cultures of Slavery*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995) xviii.

But it may well be that you hate a thing the while it is good for you, and it may well be that you love a thing the while it is bad for you: and God knows, whereas you do not know.[326]

Just as every cloud has a silver lining, being a captive might be a blessing in disguise. In this case, *Panglima Awang* seems to indicate that, in captivity that involves active mobility to various spaces over a long period of time and with the dynamic interconnection of multiple cultures and religions, maturity and individual values are Nūrtured.

Panglima Awang describes the captive protagonist as a developed and mature man with language skills, a well-built body, impressive oceanic navigation knowledge and a charismatic aura. One interpretation of this would be that mobility in captivity has developed an incarnation of a new identity. As an analogy, the protagonist is like a phoenix (a newly refined identity) that is reborn from the ashes (the lost identity during captivity). This has similarities with the protagonist of the novel *Leo Africanus,* written by Amīn Ma'lūf . The protagonist claims:

My years of captivity were thus without pain for the body and highly profitable for the mind. From one day to another I felt my knowledge increase, not only in the subjects which I studied but equally from the contact with my teachers, and with my pupils, two Aragonese priests, two Frenchmen, two Venetians, and a German from Saxony.[327]

Leo Africanus demonstrates the interplay of captivity and freedom when Leo is bound physically, but his mind is treated with the highest regard. Baptised personally by the Pope, Leo is also imprisoned several times during his stay in Rome, but he appreciates the experience as it gives him knowledge and a priceless

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[326]Asad 1984: 47.

[327] Ma'lūf 1992: 294.

experience. In fact, he is given the opportunity to be a learned man and is entrusted to be an adviser to the Pope. Therefore, he never regrets his physical captivity because it granted him the freedom of becoming a wiser man. It is questionable whether he would be happier if he were to remain as his former self in his homeland, with fewer chances to develop as a person.

Due to the similar conditions of the protagonists, we are able to associate *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* as works of fiction that make the protagonists' captivity a counterpoint of reference to reconstruct hardships into encouragement in the process of rebuilding improved individuality. Perhaps this is why G.L. Koster suggests that *Panglima Awang* is inspired by the pattern of Panji romance, stating the similarity in the narrative flow as the reason:

> The generic plot of the Panji romance is that of a quest: a circular movement which leads the hero from identity through alienation back to identity again. Identity equals the hero's being at home in an idyllic day-world, associated with happiness, security, freedom, and justice. Absence of identity or alienation, on the other hand, means that the hero finds himself in a demonic night-world of exciting adventures which, however, involves separation, loneliness, oppression, humiliation, and other ills.[328]

Referring to the excerpt, *Panglima Awang* undeniably deals with themes of losing and regaining identity in the same way as a Panji romance. Koster's indication of the fiction style might suit *Leo Africanus* as well, since it shows the same journey of recovering identity. However, with deeper analysis, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus* dwell on the reconstruction of a more prominent identity of the protagonist, instead of merely returning to the previous identity. Therefore, instead of a circular

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[328] Koster 2009: 378.

movement in identity exploration, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus* seem to portray

a V-shaped movement but with an imbalanced height, like the following:

Figure 1: Protagonist Identity Movement in

Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus
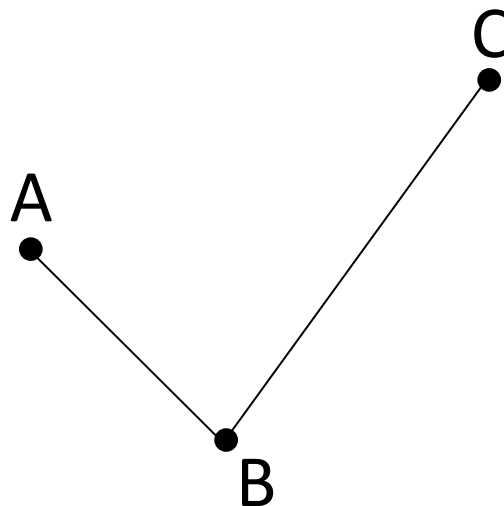
Point A indicates the original identity of the protagonist at the beginning

of the narrative plot. Their identity then descends to point B after falling into

captivity. However, through the difficulties and valuable experiences, they climb

to the higher position of C, which represents an upgraded personality. In other

words, both protagonists experienced a V-shaped evolution in their voyage

through the intertwining notions of captivity and liberty.

3.4.2   Ideology

In contrast, the side characters are displayed in contradiction as free

individuals but imprisoned in imaginary bars of expectation, emotion or

ideologies. For instance, *Leo Africanus* depicts Muhammad, the protagonist's

father, as being imprisoned by his self-esteem in the expectations for his son

when he totally ignores the birth of his daughter as his first child. He is also

entrapped in the need for admiration from society for his 'success' in

impregnating his wife and his female slave at the same time. Therefore, he forces the heavily pregnant ladies to walk around town for many hours, without realising the risks that he might have placed on his unborn children and their mothers.

Meanwhile, *Panglima Awang* illustrates Vasco de Gama as a captive in the prison of jealousy. He cannot bear to see how justly Fernado treats the protagonist, especially when the protagonist is strong and is trusted to manage the ship. For him, the protagonist is merely an individual from a lower rank who only deserves to be treated as a captive. In the end, this envy leads him to his own death, when he is killed by another person who takes revenge on him. In other words, in spite of being free individuals, Muḥammad and de Gama are mind captives in prisons of egotism, recognition and resentfulness. In actuality, the mind captives reconstruct their hardships into pressures and problems, resulting in a lack of identity development. From a perspective, the intertwining and shifting concept of captivity between the body and mind in this chapter suits with Frantz Fanon's idea of colonialism which is naturally psychoanalystic since it causes commotion to the mind of both the colonized and the colonizer.[329]

From this paradoxical situation, it is more likely that *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* apply the concept of captivity awareness, which means the recognition of being in either physical or mental captivity. Both novels display a high level of captivity awareness during physical captivity, which re-establishes misfortunes as inspiration for identity construction. Concurrently, the level of captivity awareness might be minimal for a free individual and these individuals

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[329] Pramod K. Nayar, *Frantz Fanon,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 42.

end up transforming their discomforts into pressure and complications that result in stagnation or reduction of the value of identity. This is not to suggest that being a physical captive is favourable, but to illustrate the potential of personality reconstruction regardless of the 'bad luck' of being captured. Like a caterpillar that is entrapped in a small cocoon for a while in order to transform into a beautiful butterfly, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* propose the idea of a captive who travels as an impetus for a refined identity, thus making the story of a 'zero' becoming a 'hero' fascinating and memorable to readers.

In the intertwining concepts of captivity and freedom among the individuals in both novels, a specific category invites further examination, which is the female gender. It is interesting to explore in what ways *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* display the captivity concept in gender, especially with the background time of both novels being in the 16th century, where women faced more limitations compared to today.

3.5 WOMEN IN PRISON HOUSES

In *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang*, female characters play important roles in guiding the narrative flow and providing 'flavours', hence becoming essential agents in exploring the concept of captivity for this study. *Leo Africanus* dedicates specific sub-chapters of each main chapter in the novel to narrating plots focusing on the female characters. In summary, the division can be seen as follows:

Table 1: Main female characters in *Leo Africanus*

Main Chapters	Sub-Chapters	Main Female Characters
The Book of Granada	The Year of Salmá al-Ḥurrah	Salmá and Wardah
The Book of Fez	The Year of Bride	Fāṭimah and Hiba
The Book of Cairo	The Year of Circassian	Nūr
The Book of Rome	The Year of Conversa	Maddalena

Noticeably, there are different prominent female characters in each main chapter in *Leo Africanus,* but, in general, they are divided into two main categories: noble ladies versus female slaves.[330] The enticing factor that links all the women, regardless of different times and spaces, is their involvement in the interplay between captivity and freedom.

3.5.1 Society's Values

Between the characters of Salmá and Wardah, *Leo Africanus* demonstrates female dilemmas in confronting the issues of society's values in culture and emotions. Leo's mother, Salmá, discloses the sad reality about her struggle for her husband's love and attention:

> 'I was free, and she was a slave,' said my mother, 'so we were not evenly matched. She had all the wiles of seduction at her disposal; she could go out unveiled, sing, dance, pour wine, wink her eyes, and take off her clothes, while I could never, as a wife, abandon my reserve, still less show the slightest interest in your father's pleasures. He used to call me "My cousin"; he would refer respectfully to me as al-hurra, the free, or al-'arabiyya, the Arab, and

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[330] Salmá, Fāṭimah and Nūr are free women meanwhile Wardah, Hiba and Maddalena are female slaves.

> Wardah herself showed me all the deference a servant girl owes to her mistress. But at night, she was the mistress.[331]

Salmá's acknowledgment of her emotional suffering illustrates the 'silent war' between a free woman and a female slave. The respect and obedience that a mistress of the household earns are supposed to be the privilege of a legitimate spouse but, unfortunately, these privileges come with restraints that can only be broken by a girl servant. Salmá is a lady of honour, but she fails to capture her husband's heart. She is always bound by cultural rules and has to be refined, so she has refrained from doing anything deemed unladylike. Meanwhile, the slave girl, Wardah is free to flaunt her womanhood, thus winning her master's love.

This conflicting state displays the bitter truth of the switching roles between a noble lady and a female slave. Salmá's efforts to win her husband's love are monologised with the issues of societal expectation and tradition. The sentence "*But at night, she was the mistress*" seems like an announcement of the servant's victory in the love war and a double-voice of confession about her own captivity behind the walls of tradition and emotion.

This fate is replicated by Fāṭimah, Leo's wife, and Hiba, a female slave gifted to Leo, as the attention and love they receive also lack fairness.

> I also saw Fāṭimah, whom mourning had made neither less grumpy nor sweeter, and who gave a tearful look in my direction. I turned instinctively to see whether Hiba was behind me. A strange sensation: I found myself repeating my father's actions, caught between two women, a radiant slave girl and a cousin in tears.[332]

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[331] Ma'lūf 1992: 6.

[332] Ibid 1992: 173.

The description of Fāṭimah is 'dry', without any affection, while the examination of Hiba represents immense interest. *Leo Africanus* portrays Hiba as Leo's first love, whereas his marriage to Fāṭimah was an obligation to fulfil his uncle's request. The *'strange sensation'* that Leo feels can be viewed as a potential guilt for being unable to offer his love accordingly. Although he seems *'caught between two women'*, the two females are actually captives in a bigger prison of tradition and social hierarchy.

Through the portrayal of the four characters, Salmá, Wardah, Fāṭimah and Hiba, Leo *Africanus* illustrates the free women as being trapped within the walls of tradition, causing them to drown in sadness and jealousy, while the female slaves feel happy and loved despite being bound to a master. A paradox exists between being free and enslaved, as it is acknowledged that gender plays a vital role in the portrayal of captivity in society. In certain communities, females are kept 'untainted' by restricting them from certain exposures while, in reality, they are held as captives in the name of tradition and culture. *Leo Africanus* highlights this paradox through the words of the lady who offers a magic potion to Leo's mother: *"Freedom is a deceitful form of bondage, and slavery a subtle form of freedom"*.[333]

Captivity has always been camouflaged in female gender issues. Despite the burden of social values, religion offers many alternatives in maintaining a successful marriage. Unfortunately, Salmá falls deeper into mental captivity when she chooses a

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[333] Ibid 1992: 6.

superstitious act to win her husband's love. Driven to using a magic potion on her husband, Salmá challenges herself to exorcise him despite the fear of being caught:

> The first evening, my father slept in Salmá'a room, and she had no difficulty in reciting the words and pouring out a drop of the elixir. On the second evening, however, there came to pass what any intelligent being might have foreseen. Muhammad was with Wada, and my mother slipped trembling into their bedroom. She was about to pour out the liquid when the concubine let out a piercing cry, at which my father awoke, and with an instinctive movement seized his frail aggressor by the ankle. Salmá fell sobbing to the ground.
>
> Seeing the phial in her hand, Muhammad accused his wife of sorcery, of madness, and of attempting to poison him. Without waiting for dawn, he at once cried out to her three times in succession: 'Anti taliqa, anti taliqa, anti taliqa', declaring thus that she was henceforth free of him and divorced.[334]

Salmá's effort to escape from misery fails when she is caught red-handed. The declaration of divorce three times is like the passing of a sentence for a prisoner. Salmá receives the freedom that she fears the most (freedom from marriage) due to her entrapment in the walls of superstition. In general, the four female characters are struggling to navigate the conflicts of status, customs and love that are always in dialogism in creating an ambiguous boundary between female captivity and freedom.

3.5.2 Integrity
Although the characters of Nūr and Maddalena are not linked at all in the narrative, they illuminate each other by highlighting the female struggle of fighting for integrity. Nūr, in Cairo, is the beautiful Circassian widow of 'Alā al-Dīn, a potential successor to the throne in the Ottoman dynasty. She constantly lives in fear as she is terrified that Bāyazīd, her son from her previous marriage, will be taken by the Grand

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[334] Ma'lūf 1992: 100.

Turk. Nevertheless, after she remarries Leo, as a mother she has an ambition to redeem her son's identity as the descendant of a royal family. Therefore, she demands that her husband fulfils her desire, despite it being precarious. Leo expresses his refusal when he realises that she has become overly ambitious:

> 'Do you know what you are suggesting me? To do the job of a spy, to come out of Salim's antechamber to go and tell Qansuh what has been said there. Do you know that the words that have passed between us, you and me, here in this room, would be sufficient to have our heads cut off?'
>
> 'Don't try to frighten me! I am alone with you and I am speaking in a low voice.'
>
> 'I left Egypt for your sake and now you are asking me to go back there!'[335]

In this case, Nūr is a free lady, but she is compelled by her obsessive fascination with royalty. Due to lack of power and recognition as a woman and widower, she is constrained; however, she exploits her husband to execute her dangerous plans, although they might result in death. In her quest to gain the integrity of sovereignty, she becomes a prisoner of her desire, which 'blinds' her.

On the other hand, Maddalena is a female version of Leo, who is originally from Granada and is baptised due to her status as a captive, which results in a crisis of identity. Among the first sentences she utters during her first encounter with Leo is: "Is it true that you are from Granada, like me, and that you are also a convert, like me?"[336]

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[335] Ma'lūf 1992: 261.

[336] Ibid: 306.

With mirroring fate, Maddalena finds comfort in Leo. Without being asked, she

fills Leo in with her life story.

> ....'My mother, my father and my young brother had perished. I was
> eight years old. An old nun took me in. She took me with her to a
> convent of whish she was abbess, and hastened to have me baptized,
> giving me the name of Maddalena; my parents had called me Judith.
> In spite of the sadness of having lost those most dear to me I was
> careful not to curse fate, since I ate my fill, learned to read and was
> never whipped without due cause. Until that day that my
> benefactress died. Her replacement was the natural daughter of a
> grandee of Spain, shut up there to expiate the sins of her family, who
> considered that this fine convent was nothing but purgatory for
> herself and the others. However, she reigned supreme, distributing
> favours and punishments. For me she reserved the worst of her
> heart. For seven years I had been an increasingly fervent Christian.
> To her, however, I was just a convert, a conversa of impure blood,
> whose very presence would bring down the worst curses upon the
> convent. And, under the hail of humiliations which rained down
> unjustly upon me, I felt myself returning to the faith into which I was
> born. The pork which I ate began to give me nausea, and my nights
> were tormented by it. I began to think up plans to escape. But my
> only attempt failed miserably. I never ran very fast, particularly in a
> nun's habit. The gardener caught me and brought me back to the
> convent twisting my arm as if I were a chicken thief. And then I was
> thrown into a dungeon and whipped until the blood came.'[337]

Maddalena experiences the typical fate of a captive, such as the separation

from her own people, baptism, loss of identity, abuse, humiliation and loss of hope for

freedom. Physical captivity and a very similar destiny become the main link between

Maddalena and Leo that leads them to marriage. Although Maddalena has been

unwillingly transformed into a new identity, leading her to the fall of her integrity as

an individual, she finally finds happiness with Leo as he makes her feel free from her

new enforced personality. Based on the portrayal in the narrative, Nūr and Maddalena

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[337] Ma'lūf 1992: 307.

can be seen as being stuck in ambiguity during the quest to regain their integrity. However, with the rescue by the protagonist through marriage, both recover mobility to continue their 'battle'.

In short, the main female characters of the abovementioned subchapters are bound to diverse forms of captivity, including physical and mental. From one perspective, they are all captives in their own version of prison houses and need the same 'key' to unlock their captivity. In this case, besides Muḥammad (Leo's father), it is mostly Leo the protagonist who has the ability to 'rescue' them from their physical or mental confinement, marking the prominence of the male gender as a gateway to freedom.

3.5.3 East versus West

On the contrary, *Panglima Awang* does not portray physical captivity through the main female characters, Tun Gayah and Mariam. They are described as dignified ladies, while symbolising opposite categories: women of the East versus the West. Tun Gayah is Awang's fiancé, who develops into a female warrior during her separation from him. Impressively, she is also the leader of Tun Fatimah's group, a mixed gender underground team that constantly attacks the coloniser. Mariam is a noble Portuguese lady who is also the sister of Fernado, [338] Leo's kind master. She is described as a pious Christian woman, who has striking features and shows interest in Awang. Both ladies have touched the soft spot in Awang's heart and made him contemplate his feelings for the two very different women:

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[338] Ferdinand Magellan is addressed as Fernado in *Panglima Awang*.

Lama Enrique termenong mengenangkan wanita Portugis yang tinggi lampai dan jelita itu; tetapi kemudian bertukar dengan kenangan-nya kapada Tun Gayah tunangan-nya yang jauh di-mata itu. Kechantekan kedua wanita itu bermain di-hadapan mata-nya: yang sa-orang puteh tinggi lampai dengan semyum-nya yang manis dan sa-orang lagu puteh kuning tidak inggi berambut ikal mayang, wanita bangsa-nya yang berani mati. "Kita akan berjumpa kalua umor-panjang," kata Enrique dlam hati-nya di-tujukan-nya kapada Tun Gayah.[339]

For a while, Enrique's mind was filled with memories of the tall and beautiful Portuguese young woman, but then his thoughts turned to Tun Gayah, his fiancée, so far away. The beauty of the two young women layed in his mind's eye, the one tall, pale and slender with her sweet smile, the other tanned and not tall, but with lustrous curly hair, his compatriot who was not afraid to die. "We will meet again if our lives are spared," said Enrique in his heart, referring to Tun Gayah.[340]

With two attractive ladies, Awang cannot escape the comparison of physical beauty and personality between them both. Despite their distinctive backgrounds and characteristics, *Panglima Awang* presents the ladies of the East and West in harmony with their own best personas. The pattern of balanced presentation might be seen as a bridge to introducing tolerance between the Malayans and the foreigners. In other words, it balances the concept of othering by avoiding favouritism. In an article entitled "History, Literature, and Social Change: Harun Aminurrashid's Independence Novel Panglima Awang", Virginia Matheson Hooker states that Mariam's character neutralises the concept of othering because, as a foreigner and a noble lady, she still sees Awang as a person, instead of as a slave.[341] She even falls in love with him and is

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[339] Harun 1958: 98.

[340] Harun Trans. Bakewell 2011: 76.

[341] Virginia Matheson Hooker, "History, Literature and Social Change: Harun Aminurrashid's Independence Novel Panglima Awang", in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 72 ii.277 (1999): 13.

willing to be his wife. However, in my opinion, the neutralisation of othering cannot be sustained throughout the narrative, as voices of preference start to appear. During a casual stroll in Portugal before he leaves to set sail again, Awang (addressed as Enrique) has a monologue moment:

Pada suatu malam bulan terang, Enrique bersiar di-hadapan tempat yang akan di-tinggalkan untok sa-lama-lama-nya itu. Ia chuba mene'mati sa-keliling pandangan di-kawasan itu bagi kenang-kenangan-nya. Ia berjalan perlahan-lahan di-kebun bunga sambal melihat bunga-bunga yang sedang berkembang. Ingatan-nya melayang balek ka-Tanah Ayer Melaka yang d-kalahkan oleh orang-orang Portugis itu. Ia chuba membandingkan bunga-bunga yang indah warnan-nya itu dengan bunga-bunga di-Tanah Ayer-nya. Berkata-lah ia dalam hati-nya, "Sunggoh pun bunga-bunga di sini besar-besar dan chantek, tetapi bunga-bunga di Tanah Ayer-ku harum mewangi semerbak di-sakitarnya. Tiba2 ingatannya melayah jauh lagi kapada tunangan-nya Tun Gayah. Terbayang-bayang wajah Tun Gayah pada hari yang akhir-nya ia berjmpa bertentang mata di-khemah Albuquerque. Dengan suara halus ia mendengar sperti bunga2 itu berpoantun:

Bunga melati berjinjang2,
Bunga mawar di-dalam raga,
Jikalau ada umor pajang,
Lambat laun bertemu juga.[342]

One evening, when the moon was full, Enrique was walking around outside the new home that he would soon have to leave forever, as he wanted to commit the place to memory. He walked slowly around the garden, noticing that the flowers were blowing. His thoughts flew back to his homeland, his beloved Melaka, which had been subjugated by the people of the country where he was now staying. He compared the beautifully-coloured flowers with the native flowers of Melaka. His heart whispered within him, 'The flowers here are large and beautiful, but the flowers of home spread their fragrance all around. In his mind's eye, he suddenly saw a picture of his fiancée, Tun Gayah. He recalled her face the last time they had seen each other in the camp of Albuquqrque. In a soft voice, he sang:

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[342] Harun Aminurrashid1958: 116.

<div style="text-align: center">

The jasmine tree wafts its flowers,
Roses in a basket lain,
If I live for many hours,
Eventually we'll meet again.[343]

</div>

The serene and enchanting landscape triggers Awang's longing for his homeland. At the same time, his mind starts to make a comparison between the flowers in his homeland and the ones in foreign lands. The comparability is literal but it unleashes the hidden utterance about his preference for anything related to his nation. Typically, from an analogy of the flower, the female gender comes to mind. In this case, it suggests his inclination towards Tun Gayah, especially when suddenly, immediately after making the comparison, he remembers Tun Gayah and imagines the flowers,[344] reciting a *pantun*[345] about the possibility of a future encounter. During an unanticipated rendezvous with Mariam at the park that night, Awang receives an unexpected confession from her:

> *Enrique terdiam mendengarkan rayuan gadis Peringgi yang jelita itu. Ia hairan pula bagitu berani gadis itu menyatkan rasa hati-nya berterus terang. Ia teringat kapada peribadi gadis2 bangsa-nyayang lemah lembut; sa-panjang yang di-ketahui-nya tidak akan berani membuat kata2 yang merayu2 saperti yang dikeluarkan oleh Mariam itu, ini-lah perbedzaan besar yang didapat oleh "Panglima Awang" atau sekarang sedang bergelar Enrique. Berbedza benar dua jenia wanita Barat dan Timor itu. Terharu benar Enrique mendengar kta yang di-keluarkan oleh Mariam, dan ta' pandai ia bertikam lidah atas soal chinta itu; sebab ia di-peranakkan ada-lah mempunyai peribadi keras untok bertikam senjata di-medan perang.[346]*

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[343] Harun Aminurrashid Trans. Bakewell 2011: 91.

[344] In the Malay text, Awang imagines that the flowers recite poetry. However, in the English translation, Awang himself sings a song.

[345] *Pantun* is a Malay form of poetry which consists of four stanzas. The first and the third stanzas match the ending rhymes while the second and the fourth verses have identical ending syllables.

[346] Harun Aminurrashid 1958: 118.

<div style="text-align: center">154</div>

Enrique listened in silence to the entreaty of the beautiful Portuguese maiden, amazed at her frankness in speaking from her heart. He could not help reflecting how different the spoken girls of his own land were, who would never in their whole lives make an outspoken appeal as Isabel had just done. This was a great difference between western and eastern women, realised Panglima Awang, the eastern man with western name-Enrique. He was truly touched by Isabel's words, but he has not skilled in wielding his tongue in matters of love, because he had been raised to wield the sword in the field of battle.[347]

The excerpt shows obvious comparison between the women of the West and of the East. The difference leaves the protagonist in awe since he is a trained warrior who is not used to romantic words. The boldness of a Western lady works as a double-edged sword in terms of being either a strength or a weakness in Awang's eyes. Nevertheless, he is shocked to hear a bold love confession from a noble European lady to a mere slave like him. He politely declines her love and has a monologue moment in his room:

Enrique balek ka-bilek-nya dengan membawa suatu perasaan yang belum pernah di-alami-nya. Ia merasa menyesal berchakap-chakap panjang dengan gadis Peringgi itu pada malam itu, kerana perjumpaan yang tidak di-sengaja itu telah mengikat benang halus yang tidak di-ingin-nya. Hati-nya memang tertarek juga oleh kejelitaan gadis Barat yang thau memberi timbang rasa sa-sama manusia. Ia memandang tinggi kehalusan budi gadis itu. Dalam hati-nya berkata: Sa-kiranya Mariam itu gadis sa-bangsa-nya, sudah jelas ia akan membawa-nya ka-mana sahaja; sa-hidup sa-mati bergandingan dengan tunang-nya Tun Gayah.[348]

Enrique returned to his room experiencing an emotion he had never felt before. He regretted having spoken at such length and so freely to the young Portuguese girl that night, because, as a result of that unexpected meeting, the seeds had been sown that he had not wished for. His heart felt an enduring attraction to the beauty of this

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[347] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 92-93.

[348] Harun Aminurrashid 1958: 121.

western girl who knew how to be considerate of the feelings of others. He felt the highest respect for her impeccable manners and he said to himself, "If Isabel was from my own people, I would take her with me wherever I should go through life until death, together with my betrothed, Tun Gayah."[349]

Despite Awang's refusal of Mariam's love, he is obviously attracted to her, especially as she has admirable features and personality. However, the tone of ambivalence starts to increase when Mariam is addressed as *'gadis Peringgi'*[350] and *'gadis Barat',*[351] instead of by her name. Although the name Mariam does appear in the monologue, the voice of alterity echoes louder with Awang's real reason to decline Mariam. In fact, as a slave, it would be very rewarding for him to be married to a European noble lady since it would provide him with a new status. However, because she is not Malay, he decides to refuse her. From a different view, his preference might be seen as due to the sentiment of loyalty or nationalism, but, in this case, the tendency towards othering seems stronger.

Tun Gayah and Mariam are presented as excellent female role models but, unfortunately, Mariam 'falls' into the prison of othering. Although, at first, she is described as a favourable lady, she loses her charm in the narrative when she is rejected by the protagonist. By implication, the female gender becomes a victim by being stuck in alterity caused by a male's perspective. From this, it is reasonable to conclude that *Panglima Awang*'s dialogism of representing Western and Eastern women to harmonise otherness is monologised by a strong sense of alterity.

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[349] Harun Aminurrashid Trans. Bakewell 2011: 95.

[350] *Gadis Peringgi* is the Malay translation for Portuguese lady.

[351] *Gadis barat* is the Malay translation for Western lady.

This raises curiosity about the reason for othering in travel novels, which are commonly known to display the idea of diversity. Is it rooted in the mind-set of nationalism or religion? The reason is unclear but, undeniably, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus* efficiently demonstrate the fluidity and flexibility of religion within the landscape of physical captivity.

3.6 RELIGION AS IMPRISONMENT?

3.6.1 Tolerance

When Muslim captives arrived at infidel kingdoms, they were usually given the choice to remain in their original faith or convert to Christianity. However, it usually came with pressure and the consequences differ from a territory to another. [352] Particularly for the issue of religion, Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia provides observations on how religious discourses conflict, harmonise, or even retransform within the narratives. [353] Pertaining to the theme of religion, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* dwell on the notions of captivity through two concepts: firstly, tolerance and, secondly, submission. By viewing the fictions as a heteroglot space, I would like to show the existence of dialogical religious discourses within the texts, specifically between Islam and Christianity. *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* utilise religious dialogism to promote religious diversity and tolerance by indicating regularly intertwining religious beliefs and practices. Although the protagonists are originally Muslims, the novels show tolerance towards Christianity throughout the plot, such as

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[352] Catlos 2014: 45.

[353] Stacy Burton, "Difference and Convention: Bakhtin And the Practice of Travel Literature" in *Carnivalizing Difference: Bakhtin and the Other,* edited by Barta P. I., (London and New York: Routledge Academic Harwood Publishers, 2001), 227.

in the favourable relationship with the Christians,[354] the discussions about faith and the sessions in church. In fact, the religious dialogism is stronger in *Leo Africanus,* since it not only portrays the intertwining elements of Islam and Christianity, but also the Jewish faith. This is not to encourage the idea of being unfaithful to personal religious choice, but it is to stimulate the idea of openness towards other religions and to avoid being imprisoned in single-minded fanaticism.

This is not the case for G.L. Koster, as he interprets the dialogical interaction with Christianity in *Panglima Awang* as luring the Malays away from Islam. He views it as a 'danger of ethical colonialism' that can be a threat to the identity of Malays as Muslims.[355] A possible explanation for his claim is that *Panglima Awang* demonstrates the Christians' dominance over the Muslims. While this statement might seem radical, there is undeniably evidence that supports such claim. For instance:

> *Tugas Albuquerque yang kedua untok menyebarkan ugama Keristian di-jalankan dengan besar2an, paderi2 di-bawa dari Goa, gereja di-bangunkan di bandar Melaka itu. Orang2 tawanan di-beri kata dua, mana yang suka memelok ugama Keristian di-bebaskan dan mesti mengikut apa kata Paderi portugis, mana2 perempuan yang tidak kuat iman-nya banyak yang di-ambi oleh Peringgi itu di-jadikan gundek-nya. Berbagai2 undang2 sa-chara paksa di-keluarkan di-antaranya Peringgi itu mengeluarkan undang2 kerja paksa. Mana2 orang tawanan yang degil tidak mahu menjadi Keristian di-paksa membuat kerja berat2 sebab masa itu mula Peringgi membuat kota di-tepi laut berhampiran degan bandar.[356]*

> Albuquerque'a second task after colonisation was to spread Christianity and he did this on a grand scale by bringing in priests from Goa and building churches in Melaka. Captives were given two choices; those who were willing to embrace Christianity were freed

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[354] In *Leo Africanus*, Leo has close relationship with the Pope. Meanwhile in *Panglima Awang*, Awang is considered as a brother to his master, Fernado who is also a pious Christian.

[355] Koster 2009: 388-389.

[356] Harun 1958: 51.

and ordered to follow the instructions of the Portuguese priests, while the women who were not keen on religious practices were taken by the Portuguese as mistresses. Several mandatory laws were issued by the Portuguese, among them laws requiring forced labour. Any of the prisoners who were stubborn and refused to become Christian were forced to do heavy labour in the construction of a fortress, which the Portuguese were building on the coast near the town.[357]

The above passage particularly shows the active inculcation of Christianity by the colonisers using many approaches, such as missionary jobs and church construction. As a result of physical captivity, Christianity seems to be dominant through forced baptism, prostitution and labour. While it might well be valid that this supports the claim about the indoctrination of Christianity through colonialism, it is still not dominant enough that it could be a threat to other faiths. Although, undeniably, the Muslims are described as being weak, the protagonist, in contrast, is shown to be steadfast in his own faith and is not easily influenced by other doctrines. Despite his loyalty to own religion, there is no harsh criticism of Christianity; in fact, it is celebrated as diversity. For example:

> *Orang tua Philip kerapkali mengajar Enrique menulis dan membacha Bahasa Portugis, dan kadang2 bercherita fasal bible, tetapi pada Enrique cherita2 itu hanya di-dengar-nya sa-bagai cherita dongeng.*[358]

> Enrique's elderly friend, Philip, often taught Enrique how to read and write Portuguese and sometimes he told stories from the Bible, though to Enrique they were no more than fairy tales.[359]

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[357] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 41-42.

[358] Harun 1958: 92.

[359] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 72.

Here, Awang shows tolerance towards Christianity by listening to stories from the Bible and reacting to them appropriately, despite being a Muslim, hence, contributing towards the concept of religion tolerance in *Panglima Awang.* The tolerance is further strengthened by the displays of respect. For example, Awang is given a Bible as a present and he does not disregard it:

> *Bible itu di-taroh-nya dalam buntil sebab ia ta' pandai membacha huruf2 halus apalagi Bahasa-nya tinggi yang ta' dapat di-faham-nya dan ia ta' mengerti apa-kah guna-nya buku itu, tetapi pernah ia melihat orang tua itu selalu membacha buku itu.[360]*

> He placed the Bible into a cloth bag, since he was unable to read its fine lettering, let alone understand its high language. He was not sure what use the Bible was supposed to be to him, but he had often watched the old man reading it in his free time.[361]

In spite of the portrayal of Awang's ignorance about the Bible, his way of handling it is an indicator for the concept of consideration towards other faiths. In spite of abandoning or giving away the Bible, Awang handles it with care by keeping it in a proper place. This approach silences the 'false alarm' of danger pertaining to ethical colonialism since religious faithfulness and respect are evident in the fiction. Koster's assertion can be seen as a form of paranoia towards other religions, which imprisons the original concept of religion promoting peace and understanding of others. The focus on other religions in a narrative does not always mean hidden propaganda. Instead, it can be viewed as a strategy to promote harmony.

In contrast to the expectation of 'danger' in mingling and living among Christians, *Panglima Awang* displays increasing knowledge and love for one's own

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[360] Harun 1958: 98.

[361] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 76.

religion. During his travels with the Portuguese, Awang has the opportunity to interact with several Moroccans:

> *Sa-lama di-negeri itu, Enrique telah dapat berkawan dengan beberapa orang Moroko, apalagi mmereka mengetahui Enrique tidak berudama Islam saperti mereka, jadi bebas-lah Enrique makan minum di rumah2 orang Moroko dan berpeluang pula Enrique mempelajari soal2 ugama Islam yangagak mendalam; ke=erana sa-dari kechil-nya ia hanya di-katakan berugama Islam tetapi ta' mempelajari soal2 ugama Islam. Enrique merasa shukor ia pandai sadikit berbahasa Portugis sedang di-Moroko itu pula ada orang yang menag pandai berbahasa itu, jadi senang-lah ia bertukar2 fikiran.[362]*

> While he was there, Enrique made friends with several Moroccans. Once they discovered that he was not a Christian but a Muslim like they were, he was free to come and go and eat and drink in their homes. He also had the opportunity to study some of the deeper issues of Islam. Although he has called himself a Muslim since he was a child, he had not until now studied Islam properly. Enrique was thankful that he had a passable knowledge of Portuguese and in Morocco there were men who were fluent in the language so it was easy to exchange ideas.[363]

It is Awang's fall into physical captivity that results in him having to live among the Christians, yet it is his captivity that gives him the opportunity to come into contact with people from various locations and backgrounds. Using the language he learnt from the Christians, he manages to communicate across cultures and succeeds in learning and understanding more about his own religion. As he progresses in his voyage, he grows into an avid learner and believer, indicating the process of faith strengthening.

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[362] Harun 1958: 100.

[363] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 77-78.

It is worth noting that *Panglima Awang* was intentionally written to commemorate Malaysia's Independence Day.[364] Therefore, the target audience for *Panglima Awang* is not the people of Malay race only, but also the Malaysian citizens who are multi-racial, as the country is made up of three major races, consisting of Malays, Chinese and Indians. Generally, the Malays are Muslims, the Chinese are Buddhists and the Indians are Hindus, although some Chinese and Indians might have embraced Christianity. Therefore, it is irrelevant to view the religious dialogism in *Panglima Awang* as a threat to the readers. In fact, it can be seen as an encouragement for openness towards other religions, since religious tolerance became a major factor in maintaining harmony among different races at the dawn of Malaysian independence.

3.6.2 Religious Camouflage

Interestingly, both *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* exploit the highly sensitive issues of the unwanted events of baptism and religious camouflage during physical captivity as gateways to religious exploration and tolerance. In *Panglima Awang*, there is no mention of the protagonist's conversion, but he is given a new name by Fernado to disguise himself as a Christian in order to avoid threats from his fellow shipmates. His fate seems better compared to other captives left in Malacca because he is not forced to convert or to carry out any Christian practices but, nonetheless, camouflaging his religious identity is forced upon him. Meanwhile, in *Leo Africanus*, the protagonist faces baptism because, as a captive who could be abused,

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[364] In the early pages of *Panglima Awang*, the author implies his intention of writing the novel to celebrate the historical moment. It was first published in May 1958, just a few months apart from the official declaration of Malaysia's Independence Day on August 31, 1957.

banished or even killed at any time, assimilation into Christianity seems to be his safest option. During the baptism ceremony, Leo struggles with an inner conflict, which is evident in his monologue:

> Kneeling facing the altar, clad in a long white woollen cloak, I was bemused by the odour of incense and crushed by so many undeserved honours. None of the people assembled in this place was unaware that his 'Magian King' had been captured on a summer night by a pirate on a beach in Jerba and brought to Rome as a slave. Everything which was said about me and everything which was happening to me was so insane, immoderate, so grotesque! Wasn't I the victim of some bad dreams, some mirage? Wasn't I really in a mosque in Fez, Cairo or Timbuktu, as on every Friday, my mind affected by a long sleepless night? Suddenly, in the heart of my doubts, the voice of the Pope rose again, addressing me:
>
> 'And you, our well-beloved son John-Leo, whom Province has singled out among all men...'
>
> John-Leo! Johannes Leo! Never had anyone in my family been called thus! Long after the end of ceremony I was still turning the letters and syllables over and over in my head and on my tongue, now in Latin, now in Italian. Leo. Leone. It is a curious habit which men have, thus to give themselves the name of the wild beasts which terrify them, rarely those of the animals which are devoted to them. People want to be called wolf, but not dog. Will it happen to me one day that I shall forget Hasan and look at myself in a mirror and say: 'Leo, you have shadows under your eyes?' To tame my new name, I soon arabized it; Johannes Leo became Yuhanna al-Asad. That is the signature which can be seen under the works which I have written at Rome and at Bologna. But regular visitors to the papal court, somewhat surprised by the belated birth of a brown and fuzzy Medici, immediately gave me the additional surname of Africanus, the African, to distinguish me from my saintly adoptive farther.[365]

The monologue obviously presents the raging storm felt by the protagonist, despite the portrayal of the serene event of baptism. The descriptions of the moment through the use of words such as *bemused/crushed/insane/immoderate/grotesque*

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[365] Ma'lūf 1992: 297.

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/bad dream/mirage/doubts can be observed in the dialogism to express his silent revolt. The Christening act is believed to be a privilege for a convert, as he is chosen by the Province. However, it is like a sentence for Leo as it comes with identity loss and constant alterity. The conversion abuses his conscience and it feels like a betrayal of his integrity.

Abandoning Islam and submitting to another religion, known as *murtad* in Arabic, is considered to be one of the biggest sins in Islam. Death is known to be the penalty, but there is an exception for captives who are in danger, like the protagonists. In the Holy Qurān, from the chapter *al-Naḥl*, verse 106, it is stated:

مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اِيْمَانِهِ اِلَّا مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالْإِيْمَانِ وَلٰكِنْ مَّنْ شَرَحَ بِالْكُفْرِ صَدْرًا فَعَلَيْهِمْ غَضَبٌ مِّنَ اللهِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيْمٌ

As for anyone who denies God after having once attained to faith – and this, to be sure, does not apply to one who does it under duress, the while his heart remains true to his faith, but [only to] him who willingly opens up his heart to a denial of the truth-: upon all such [falls] God's condemnation, and tremendous suffering awaits them.[366]

This verse appropriately suits captives who have to submit to another religion under duress from their captors. Although true faith cannot be measured or quantified, converted captives should not be blindly blamed or punished, for they are in very difficult circumstances. One can also see this from another perspective; it is baptism and religious camouflage that forcefully 'pushes' the protagonists to become acquainted with, learn and be open to another religion. Remarkably, there might be only a slight chance, or no chance at all, of religious receptiveness if they remain in the security of being a Muslim in their homeland. In fact, as characters who are living

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[366] Asad 1984: 413.

with a cross-religious identity, the protagonists of *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* offer 'attractive voices' in the narrative, as they present the perspective of both 'insider' and 'outsider'. In other words, the fictions 'assign' the protagonists, who are captive travellers, as agents to break through the prison of the fanaticism of religion intolerance.[367]

3.6.3 Submission to God

Secondly, both novels also illustrate religion as a form of submission to God but using two contrasting concepts of liberty in opposition to captivity. *Panglima Awang* emphasises the concept of submission to God through scenes that are often 'staged' at sea, since it is the main landscape for the protagonist as a captive traveller who is also an excellent seaman. The eerie feeling that the sea gives awakens and intensifies the raw calling for the Deity:

> *Fernado dan Enrique merasa senang dalam pelayaran memotong selat itu sebab terlindong dari angina rebut; tetapi akhir-nya mereka merasa sangat ganjil keadaan 'alam yang di-tempoh-nya, kerana sa-makin lama sa-makin tenang dan aman dan akhir-nya menemui satulautan yang lapang terbentang tenang tenteram sangat menggerunkan hati mereka.*
>
> *Sa-belum mereka meneruskan pelayaran-nya di-lautan yang maha luas terbentang tenang dan membiru pekat itu, semua kapal2 itu berlaboh di hujong selat itu beberapa hari bagi menimbnagkan pelayaran-nya yang akan datang. Fernado terus sembahyang tiap2 hari, kemudian ia memereksa buku2 chatatan-nya serta beberapa buku2 lama.*[368]

> Ferdinand and Enrique were relieved to cut through the straits, because it meant they were protected from the strong winds, but

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[367] As a matter of fact, the author of *Leo Africanus*, Amīn Maʿlūf is an Arab Christian who originated from a majority Muslim country, Lebanon. Later, he moved to France. Perhaps his own experience of religion tolerance contributed towards his portrayal of the protagonist in a similar yet not the same situation: a Muslim who lives in a majority Christian country.

[368] Harun 1958: 132-133.

they began to feel uneasy at the weather conditions they encountered the further they went, because the sea became calmer and less windier until eventually they came to an area of ocean so calm that it terrified them.

Before they launched out across this vast sea of calm and intense blue, all the ships moored at the entrance of the straits for several days to take stock of the situation, Everyday Ferdinand prayed and examined his logbooks and several other old books.[369]

In spite of the sea being spacious and seemingly calm, the serenity that is being offered, in contrast, recreates the image of the sea as a prison. The ambivalence about the future, the possibility of dying in the middle of the ocean with a shortage of supplies, food and water, without seeing any land, confines their physical bodies in an ambiguous space while their minds are stuck in fear. Although the sea is regarded as a prison with pressure and hardships, the real value of dependence on God would be revealed. In this case, the escapism from the fear and ambiguity is in the constant prayers and indulgence in reading, instead of depending on superstitious objects like amulets or rituals and letting the mind be imprisoned in fear (regardless of the type of religion, either Islam or Christianity). The concept of submission in Islam is portrayed as befitting the word Islam itself, which means total 'surrender' to God by obeying Him and avoiding any sins. Even if it seems like a notion of confinement to a deity, in reality it is a concept of freedom, as the being is totally submitted to God and no other factors, such as emotions or other people's perspectives, matter anymore.

On the other hand, *Leo Africanus* touches on the opposite idea of submission to God as confinement in religion through a side-character. Julius de Medici is

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[369] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 104-105.

described as a prince of the church but enjoys living his life in malevolent ways that worry the Pope. Conversely, Guicciardini defends Julius's lifestyle preferences:

> "Julius has all the qualities of the perfect gentleman, a patron of the arts, tolerant, good company. Why the devil should anyone want to make a man of religion out of him?"[370]

Ironically, the positive statement about a non-religious lifestyle is uttered in front of a Pope, who puts religion as the fundamental influence in his life. The statement is made with praise and rhetorical questions; however, the utterance '*Why the devil*' delivers a double-voiced message that suggests religion as a 'prison' that limits a person's activity and development. In other words, religion is seen as a form of captivity that provides a stagnant and colourless life.

Abu Hurairah reported that Prophet Muḥammad P.B.U.H. said: "The world is a prison for the believer and a paradise for the disbeliever"[371] (from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*). From this *Ḥadīth*, it is understandable that, for a believer, the world is full of limitations because he has to refrain from doing whatever he pleases. For instance, the desire for the opposite gender should only be unleashed through marriage. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between beneficial and harmful life pleasures. A believer restricts his actions under Islamic rules because of his obligation and love as a slave of Allāh, especially given his awareness that Allāh is always watching. He should unconditionally believe that the restrictions he submits to in this world will provide rewards in the present world or in the hereafter, or in both. Therefore, being faced

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[370] Ma'lūf 1992:303.

[371] Imām Abū al-Hussayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, "The Book of Asceticism (Al-Zuhd) and Heart-Softening Reports" [7417] 1-(2956) in *English Translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,* Volume 7, Ed. Hafiz Abū Tāhir Zubair 'Alī Za'I, Trans. Nasir al-Dīn al-Khattāb, (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), 361.

with such restriction – a notion of being in captivity – does not always bring harm to the self but instead gives benefits and contentment.

Nevertheless, the perception of religion as a sort of confinement does not surmount the content of *Leo Africanus*. Although the protagonist has to lead a double life, as a Muslim and as a Christian, due to physical captivity, it is religion that helps him to maintain his sanity and persistence in life. For instance, during the first experience as a prisoner in Rome, the protagonist expresses the alienation that suffocates him:

> Since arriving in Rome, I often used to suffer from insomnia, and I eventually came to guess what it was made the hours so oppressive; far worse than the absence of freedom, or the absence of a woman was the absence of the muezzin. I had never previously lived thus, week after week, in a city where the call to prayer did not rise up, punctuating time, filling space, reassuring men and walls.[372]

As a human being who basically needs sleep, mobility and companionship, Leo is still strong in facing their limitation during imprisonment. However, the lack of *adhān*, or the Islamic call to worship, makes his captivity unbearable. In his most desperate moments, he has to find an alternative to maintain his rationality.

> Darkness, cold, insomnia, despair, silence…In order not to succumb to madness I resumed the habit of praying, five times a day, to the God of my childhood.[373]

Behind bars, '*darkness, cold, insomnia, despair, silence*' are in dialogism to unleash the raw need for the Almighty. The nature of a human that depends on God revives Leo's long-lost practice of worship. He prays five times a day in the cell to avoid insanity from the harsh imprisonment. In other words, religion becomes the

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[372] Ma'lūf 1992: 289.

[373] Ibid: 323.

stronghold of survival and determination in a human being's life, and specifically this case, a physical captive's life. Accordingly, religion becomes the gateway to liberation, regardless of any hardships faced.

Despite the inspiration of the idea of religious tolerance, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* present most of their characters as being steadfastly attached to their original religions and that their submission to God is a notion of freedom. This raises the question about the reasons behind the characters' loyalty towards one religion. Is it reflected from an individual's nature or their upbringing and background? Or it is perhaps an indication of the bondage to nostalgia for the homeland? Coincidentally, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* bear a striking resemblance in terms of having a strong theme of nostalgia.

3.7   THE PRISON OF NOSTALGIA

Similarly, *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang* portray historical kingdoms in the 16th century, but in two different continents, namely the al-Andalus kingdom and the Sultanate of Malacca, as objects of reminiscence. Unfortunately, both empires collapsed, forcing the protagonists to leave their homelands, [374] hence their motherlands becoming objects of longing. Since the downfalls of these civilizations are based on real historical events, it seems that *Leo Africanus* and *Panglima Awang,* which were written in the 20th century, are trying to remove the oblivion about the kingdoms' glorious 16th century pasts by reviving nostalgia for them.

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[374] In *Leo Africanus*, the protagonist is exiled from his homeland while in *Panglima Awang*, the protagonist is captured by the Portuguese.

3.7.1 Reflective Nostalgia

The concept of nostalgia in both fictions appears to have two different directions, restorative and reflective, as indicated by Svetlana Boym in her book '*The Future of Nostalgia*':

> Restoration (from re-staure-re-establishment) signifies a return to the original stasis, to the prelapsarian moment. The past for the restorative nostalgic is a value for the present; the past is not a duration but a perfect snapshot. Moreover, the past is not supposed to reveal any signs of decay; it has to be freshly painted in its "original image" and remain eternally young. Reflective nostalgia is more concerned with historical and individual time, with the irrevocability of the past and human finitude. Reflection suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis. The focus here is not on recovery of what is peceived to be an absolute truth but on the meditation on history and passage of time. [375]

In general, Boym identifies restorative nostalgia as emphasising homecoming, while reflective nostalgia delays homecoming through adaptability. *Leo Africanus* represents reflective nostalgia by redirecting the protagonist's memory of his homeland into the discovery of 'mini homes'. Nevertheless, the memories of the al-Andalus kingdom, especially Granada, as the final surviving city, echoes actively in the early parts of *Leo Africanus* through the side characters' reminiscences, which ignited the emotion of longing. Leo's father, Muḥammad, tells him about the inner suffering of the Granadans who are forced to leave their motherland:[376]

> … 'You see, Hasan, all those men still have, hung up on their walls, the key to their houses in Granada. Every day they look at it and looking at it they sigh and pray. Every day their joys, their habits and a certain pride come back to their memory, and these things they will never rediscover in exile. The only reason for their existence is the thought that soon, thanks to the Great Sultan or to Providence, they will find their house once again, with the colour of its stones, the smell of its garden, the water of its fountain, all intact, unaltered, just

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[375] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 49.

[376] In this particular excerpt, Leo is addressed with his real name, Hasan.

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as it has been in their dreams. They live like this, they will die like this, and their sons will do so after them. Perhaps one day it may be necessary for someone to dare to teach them to look unflinchingly at their defeat, to explain to them that in order to get on one's feet again one must first admit that one is down on the ground. Perhaps someone will have to tell them the truth one day. But I myself do not have the courage to do so'.[377]

This passage demonstrates the condition of exiled Granadans, who are haunted by the memory of the fallen Granada. The preserved house keys of their previous houses become the trope for their bindings to nostalgia. Although Granada has fallen into the hands of the Christians, it remains alive in their senses: sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. Without realising it, Granada has transformed into a utopia for them; it is an earthly paradise that only exists in their imaginations. Living in denial, the nostalgia is passed down to the younger generations, making their circumstances even more devastating. In other words, they are imprisoned by delusions and false dreams, camouflaged as nostalgia. Muḥammad feels the urge to awaken his fellow country mates from their sleep, but he is helpless. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the bitter truth is crucial for them to move on. As quoted by Muḥammad: "A lost homeland is like the corpse of a near relative; bury it with respect and believe in eternal life."[378]

A defeated nation is like the death of a precious family member. No matter how hard it seems, bidding farewell is necessary to allow the self to be liberated from painful nostalgia. Letting go does not mean disregarding the nation but, instead, igniting a positive notion of nostalgia that motivates people to achieve realistic dreams.

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[377] Ma'lūf 1992: 124.

[378] Ibid 1992: 71.

In truth, the utopia that lives in the souls that are trapped in the past has transformed into an unfavourable place, as depicted in the following:

> 'Since it has fallen into the hands of infidels, this city has become a place of infamy for us all. It is a prison, and its door is being slowly closed again. Why not take advantage of this last chance to escape?'[379]

Since Granada has fallen into the hands of the Christian Spaniards, the once magnificent homeland has been transformed into a prison. The utopia is actually a dystopia, which imprisons the Granadans physically and conceptually through the ban on freedom for religion expression. For the locals who are faithful to their original religion, the only 'key to escape the prison' is migration.

On the other hand, the protagonist is not described as being stuck in a nostalgic reminiscence of al-Andalus. This is probably due to how young he was when he was forced to leave Granada, resulting in a lack of opportunity for memory building. Another possibility is that he is realistic about letting go of the impossible fantasy of regaining al-Andalus from the hands of the Spaniards. Although he is not 'drowned' in nostalgia, it still ignites love and desire, which might lead to rejuvenation, reincarnation, reimagination or recreation of the past. Although Granada will never be home again, the feeling of longing is not ignored, but is redirected in a new way.[380]

This different route later leads to the building of a new place, which provides escapism from the dystopia. In the case of *Leo Africanus*, a more likely interpretation for the fresh site is heterotopia, a term introduced by Michael Foucault in a lecture

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[379] Ibid: 75.

[380]Wen-chin Ouyang, *Politics of Nostalgia in the Arabic novel*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 2013), 51 and 80.

entitled *'Des Espace Autres'* in March 1967. He indicates that heterotopia is capable of 'juxtaposing in a single real place several places, several sites that are in themselves incompatible'.[381] In this case, the protagonist 'collects' the ruin of al-Andalus, the pain, the longing, the dreams and the hopes, and recreates heterotopia in other spaces, which offer him a sense of belonging and the opportunity to grow as a person. *Leo Africanus* introduces the heterotopia in the form of the cities where Leo lives and these locations are significant in his life, such that they become the title of the main chapters in the narrative's outline.

The first heterotopia for Leo is Fez, which is situated in Africa. It is a 'sacred space' where he finds protection after being exiled from Granada. In fact, the Moriscos who were expelled to another Muslim country for instance Morocco, adapted well to the new environment and developed a very particular identity that made them appear different compared to the locals.[382] Initially a foreign space for refugees, Fez becomes a new home for Leo's family and a new site for his growth and discovery during childhood and it eventually evolves into a heterotopia. The heterotopia then creates 'new nostalgia' and the protagonist is free from being confined in the nostalgia of al-Andalus, as he has no urge for an immediate return to his lost homeland.

Due to being accused of a crime, Leo experiences the second exile in his life when he is banished by the Royals. Although banishment is seen as a shameful punishment, Leo proves his non-attachment to space and nostalgia by leaving Fez in luxury:

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[381] See more at: Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", Trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16.1, (1986): 22.

[382] Catlos 2014: 305-306.

My departure from Fez was flamboyant. I decided to go into exile with my head high, dressed in brocade, not at night but right in the middle of day, passing through the swarming alleys, followed by an imposing caravan: two hundred camels, loaded with all sorts of merchandise, as well as twenty thousand dinars, a treasure protected by some fifty-armed guards, dressed and paid for out of my own pocket, in order to discourage the bandits who roamed the roads. I stopped three times: in front of the madrasa Bu Inania, in the courtyard of the Mosque of the Andalusians, and then in the street of the Potters, near the ramparts, to shower the passers-by with pieces of gold, reaping praise and ovations in return.

I was taking risks by organizing such a show. Some spiteful words whispered into the ear of the chancellor, then into the ear of the monarch, and I could have been arrested, accused of having mocked the royal punishment which had struck me. However, I had to run the risk, not only to flatter my self-esteem, but also for my father, my mother, my daughter, for all my family, so that they should not live in disgrace through the period of my banishment.[383]

The flashy clothes, the massive team, the few stops on his journey and the generous public donations for theatrical effect are in dialogism to prove his lack of care about his punishment. Instead, it represents power and pride, which reflects his lack of bond with the past. The possible hazard of his 'performance' becomes a thrill, as he intentionally puts a show on to preserve his dignity and that of his family. Subsequently, Leo moves to Cairo to live after being expelled from his second homeland, Fez. He quickly blends into his new surroundings and his second heterotopia comes into existence.

I felt that this city was mine and it gave me a great sense of well-being. Within a few months I had become a real Cairene notable. I had my donkey-man, my greengrocer, my perfumer, my goldsmith, my paper-maker, prosperous business dealings, relations with the palace and a house on Nile.

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[383] Ma'lūf 1992: 209-210.

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I believed that I had reached the oasis of the clear springs.[384]

Leo expresses his sense of belonging in Cairo, where he gains many valuable assets, influence and a beautiful Circassian wife. The statement *'oasis of the clear springs'* represents a place of comfort which is equal to home. Despite the tragic fate of having to start a new life in an alien location due to a false accusation, he manages to reverse it by blending the unhegemonic conditions to create a heterotopia. Unfortunately, Leo is abducted and unwillingly deported to Rome. This is worse than banishment, as Leo falls into captivity in the hands of infidels in yet another foreign location. Experiencing physical imprisonment a few times in Rome and living with an identity moulded by his patron might be factors that would potentially transform Rome into a dystopia for Leo. On the contrary, Rome becomes his third heterotopia, which is evident through his comments about the city:

> I had to acknowledge that without having made a fortune I had not had to undergo the rigours of captivity. And that Rome had made me taste of two-real kinds of happiness: that of an ancient city that was being reborn, drunk with beauty, and that of a son who was sleeping on the knees of the woman I loved.[385]

Despite the anticipated bitter experience of captivity in Rome, Leo gets to experience civilization and family life. The awkward combination of darkness and brightness in Rome produces a heterotopian space for him. In fact, the paradoxical sensation strengthens the sense of belonging to the people and the place.

Nevertheless, in the final part of the novel, Leo and his small family finally head to Ṭūnis, located in North Africa, to flee the war in Italy. The protagonist is a vagabond

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[384] Ma'lūf 1992: 232.

[385] Ibid: 314-315.

in essence, without any strong attachment to any specific location, which he clearly

states in the prologue:

> "He has granted me forty years of life, which I spent where my travels
> have taken me: my wisdom has flourished in Rome, my passion in
> Cairo, my anguish in Fez, and my innocence still flourishes in
> Granada."[386]

Despite the various tribulations, he has found contentment in all the cities in

which he has lived before i.e. Granada, his motherland, and Fez, Cairo and Rome,

which have become his heterotopia. He carries the pride of being a traveller who is

not 'entrapped' in a single region and has the ability to fit in anywhere, like a

chameleon that is capable of changing colours according to its surroundings.[387]

It seems that *Leo Africanus* applies a specific formula for the protagonist to

avoid being chained by nostalgia, which can be summarised as follows:

Figure 2: Formula of nostalgia in *Leo Africanus*

Easy adaptation → Rapid sense of belonging → Heterotopia building → No urgency of homecoming → Free from nostalgic imprisonment

Easy adaptation to supposedly distressing locations (due to exile and captivity)

develops a rapid sense of belonging, thus creating a habit of constructing heterotopia,

which delays or removes the urgency for homecoming. The four elements work in

dialogism towards liberation from entrapment within nostalgia.

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[386] Ma'lūf 1992: 1.

[387] From a perspective, this situation is a reflection to the author of *LA*, Amīn Ma'lūf who had to leave his birth land Lebanon due to war and travelled the world enthusiastically and built his main heterotopia in France. Nevertheless, he never forgets his roots and is considered to be one of the representatives of Arabs in the Western world.

3.7.2 Restorative Nostalgia

On the other hand, *Panglima Awang* embodies restorative nostalgia by re-establishing the longing for a nation into a determination for a homecoming without any intention of creating heterotopia. The surrender of Malacca into the hands of the Portuguese and his comfortable life in Fernado's household in Portugal might contribute to a preference to live in a safer and more stable foreign land. However, according to Catlos, staying in an infidel kingdom seems paradoxical to the soul of a Muslim, as if living in sin.[388] Not to mention that the protagonist still feels responsible for returning and fighting for his homeland, a situation that depicts the determination of the colonised to recover their nation's dignity. Despite the protagonist's belief about the flat shaped world, which does not allow a homecoming, *Panglima Awang* purposely 'locks' the protagonist in the memory of his homeland by demonstrating his strong persistence and seemingly impossible dream of returning to the Malay Archipelago. His attachment to the memory of his homeland can be detected through a conversation with his kind master:

> *Tiba2 Fernado bertanya Enrique, "Bersedia-lah engkau mengikut aku belayar?"*
>
> *Dengan tidak berlengah lagi Enrique menjawab, "Aku bersedia mengikut engkau barang ka-mana asalkan belayar; tidak tinggal tetap di-negeri ini."*
>
> *Tersenyum Fernado mendengar perkataan Enrique dari berkata lagi, "Aku memang berchita-chita hendak membawa engkau balek ka-Melaka. Aku tahu kalaui diri aku menjadi saperti engkau tentu aku snetiasa rindu kapada Tanah Ayer-ku. Sebab itu bersedialah engkau, dalam beberapa hari lagi kita akan meninggalkan negeri ini; belayar ka-negeri Moor."*

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[388] Catlos 2014: 312.

Bukan main gembira hati Enrique mendengar perchakapan Fernado. Pada malam itu Enrique ta' dapat ridor sebab teringat2 perkataan Fernado yang berjanji akan membawa ia balek ka-Tanah Ayer-nya sa-mula. Enrique memang perchaya kapada pengakuan Fernado, sebab bukti-nya banyak yang telah di-lihat: terutama sa-lama ia tinggal di-negeri itu. Ia di-pelihara denga nbaik dan tidak pernah di-seksa, apalagi kelakuan Fernado lemah lembut tidak saperti orang2 Portugis yang lain itu kasar2 sahaja. Semua ini pada pendapat Enrique ia-lah disebabkan Fernado kuat dengan ugama-nya.[389]

Suddenly Ferdinand asked Enrique: "Are you willing to sail with me?"

Without hesitation Enrique answered, "I am ready to follow you anywhere, just as long as we are not going to stay put in that country."

On hearing Enrique's words, Ferdinand smiled and said, "Of course, I fully intend to take you back to to Melaka. I know that if I was in your position, I would be constantly homesick for own country. So then, get yourself ready. In a few days, we will leave here and set sail for the country of Moors."

Enrique's heart was greatly lifted on hearing Ferdinand's words. That night he could not sleep for thinking of Ferdinand's promise to take him back to his home country once more. He fully trusted Ferdinand's word, because he had seen many instances of Ferdinand's trustworthiness, the main of which was the fact that he had been protected from harm ever since arriving in this country, as well as Ferdinand's honourable conduct, quite unlike that of other Portuguese, who had shown nothing but brutality. Enrique put down this great difference in character to the fact that Ferdinand was a devout follower of his faith.[390]

Panglima Awang illustrates Portugal as a possible heterotopia for Awang because, despite being a captive, he is offered comfort, respect and love during his stay there. However, the dialogical conditions that lead to the creation of heterotopia are firmly monologised by Awang's strong determination for a homecoming. The statement "*I am ready to follow you anywhere, just as long as we are not going to stay*

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[389] Harun 1958: 93-94.

[390] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 73.

put in that country" echoes the voice of alterity that intensifies his determination for a possible reunification with his homeland by not staying permanently in a foreign place. His resolution's 'obsession' is noticeable through the portrayal of his giddiness from the news of a near future voyage and his reliable master's trust. Despite his years of travel over land and sea, he is unable to create his heterotopia, marking his double captivity as a captive and also as a prisoner of the nostalgia for his homeland.

Based on the analysis of the travel novel *Riḥlah Ibn Faṭūmah* by Najīb Maḥfūẓ,[391] Wen-chin Ouyang in her book *Politics of Nostalgia in the Arabic novel*: *Nation-State, Modernity and Tradition,* states that a captive of nostalgia is considered a 'prisoner' who remains stagnant and fails to reunite with their own people.[392] However, I would like to suggest another type of captive of nostalgia, from a contrasting perspective. Based on the discussion regarding Awang, it is implied that the protagonist is a prisoner of nostalgia but that the 'captivity', in contrast, encourages him to work harder and finally reconciles him with his own society.

Nevertheless, *Panglima Awang* also depicts a non-captive of nostalgia through the character of Fernado. In spite of being a high-ranking person among the Portuguese, his reputation is tainted by accusations from envious officers and the Portuguese government's distrust of his claims and ambition regarding the shape of the earth, i.e. it being round instead of flat. Portugal develops into a dystopia for Fernado, which encourages his escape from his own homeland. Due to his decision, his sister Mariam attempts to tie him down with nostalgia for Portugal:

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[391] For English translation of the novel, see: Najīb Maḥfūẓ, *The Journey of Ibn Fattouma,* Trans. Denys Johnson-Davies, (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2006).

[392] Ouyang 2013:37.

Tiba2 Mariam menyampok, "Tidak-kah baik kalua abang berjuang membaiki fahaman orang2 kita yang terpesong itu, daripada mengambil leputusan meninggalkan negeri ini?"

"Engkau sendiri tidak merasai penghinaan yang aku terima Mariam! Sekarang aku hendak menunjokkan kapada bangsa kita yang aku bukan sa-mata2 menarohkan pergantongan dan perlindongan kapada negeri ini, tetapi aku perchaya seluroh dunia ada-lah bumi Tuhan. Sebab itu aku henda menchubakan pendapat aku. Tujuan besar-nya aku hendak menunjokkan kapada orang besar2 dan raja negeri ini pada satu amsa nantu mereka akan insafi ynag diri aku menjadi kemegahan kapada mereka," jawab Fernado dengan tenang.[393]

Then Isabel suddenly spoke up, "Wouldn't it be better for you to stay here and correct the misguided ideas of our people, rather than leaving the country?"

"You didn't feel the depth of hatred that I experienced from them, Isabel. Now I want to show my people that it's not just this country that I depend on and protect, but I believe that the whole world is God's earth. Because of this I want to test my own conviction and its great purpose and I want to show the leaders of this country and the king, so that they will one day realise that I am a source of pride to them," replied Ferdinand calmly.[394]

Fernado refutes his sister's question, which doubles as a suggestion and a desire, with a declaration of his non-dependence on his nation. He prefers to be free from 'prison' in Portugal and to prove his worth to those who oppose him physically and mentally. Experiencing alterity within his own nation, he redirects his loyalty and passion to Spain. From there, he continues with his mission to circumnavigate the world with the full support of the Spanish kingdom. Not lingering on the memory of the past, without hesitation he changes his citizenship to Spanish, where he gains a sense of belonging, respect and motivation and also financial aid. The elements are in dialogism towards reincarnating a dystopia in Fernado's life (Portugal) into a

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[393] Harun 1958: 115.

[394] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 90.

heterotopia (Spain), proving his freedom from being imprisoned in the nostalgia of homeland.

3.7.3 Reincarnation of Warriors

Nevertheless, *Panglima Awang* applies another strategy to strengthen the 'imprisonment of nostalgia' in the narrative. *Panglima Awang* enhances it by recreating the persona of historical male and female Malay warriors in the characters, which is established through character development and historical reminders in the fiction. In the foreword pages of *Panglima Awang*, there is a suggestion about the possibility of the real Awang being a descendant of Hang Tuah (a legendary Malay warrior), due to his heroic qualities.[395] The protagonist has the characteristics of a national hero, a knowledgeable sailor and a traveller, which mirrors Hang Tuah.[396]

Moreover, a scene in *Panglima Awang,* when the protagonist fluently explains the names and functions of various *keris* (traditional Malay weapons), it seems to mimic parts in *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. The extensive knowledge of matters regarding *keris* depicts a Malay who is breathing and living the Malay tradition and this is not to mention the deliberate use of Hang Tuah's name and history in the dialogue:

> *"Keris pandak itu-lah yang menyelamatkan Hang Tuah pada tiap2 kali ia bertikam dengan musoh, dan dengan keris itu juga ia membunoh Hang Jebat sa-orang yang di-katakan menderhaka kepada Sultan Melaka."*
>
> *"Buatan siapa keris itu?"*
>
> *"Hadiah dari Raja Majapahit kapada-nya."*
>
> *"Di-mana sekarang keris itu? Kerana aku pun dengar cherita Pahlawan Hang Tuah itu sa-orang yang berani, bijak dan pandai."*

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[395] Harun Aminurrashid 1958: ii

[396] Koster 2009:379-380.

Jawab Panglima Awang, "Hilang bersama Hang Tuah di-hutan Melaka."

"Hang Tuah mati ta' berkubor?" Tanya Fernado dengan hairan.

"Memang ta' ada kubor-nya, dia jadi keramat," jawab Panglima Awang.[397]

"That keris protected Hang Tuah every time he was stabbed by his enemies and with it he also killed Hang Jebat, a man who it was said, turned against the Sultan of Melaka."

"Who made this keris?"

"It was a gift from King Majapahit to him."

"Where is it now? I have heard of the warrior Hang Tuah before; he was a man famous for his bravery, wisdom and skill."

Panglima Awang answered, "It was lost in the jungles of Melaka with Hang Tuah."

"Was Hang Tuah's body never buried?" asked Ferdinand, in astonishment.

"Of course, there was no grave; he was spirited away," answered Panglima Awang.[398]

The dialogue mentions the renowned *keris* fight scene between Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat, the background story of Hang Tuah's *keris*, praises for Hang Tuah and the mystery about him. *Panglima Awang* uses many techniques to present the essence of Hang Tuah as a constant reminder of a Malay warrior. From this perspective, since the real Awang is an unsung hero who seems invisible in the eyes of the world, *Panglima Awang* commemorates the nostalgia of Hang Tuah to make it relevant to the recognition of Awang's identity, the protagonist of the fiction and also the historical figure who is the first Malay world traveller.

Meanwhile, Tun Gayah the protagonist's fiancée, who later becomes his wife, might be an echo of a Malay female fighter named Tun Fatimah. Tun Fatimah was the

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[397] Harun 1958: 71.

[398] Harun, Trans. Bakewell 2011: 56.

Queen of Malacca and was believed to be involved in the riots opposing the Portuguese in the 16th century. There is an obvious resemblance between Tun Fatimah h and Tun Gayah, since Tun Gayah is portrayed as a female fighter who fought against the coloniser. Moreover, her troop is called Tun Fatimah h, which strengthens the mimesis link between Tun Fāṭimah h and Tun Gayah.

In brief, *Panglima Awang* applies the impression of male and female Malay heroes in its character building and plot as a method for nostalgia confinement in the narrative. Visually, the concept can be interpreted as follows:

Figure 3: Nostalgia confinement in *Panglima Awang*
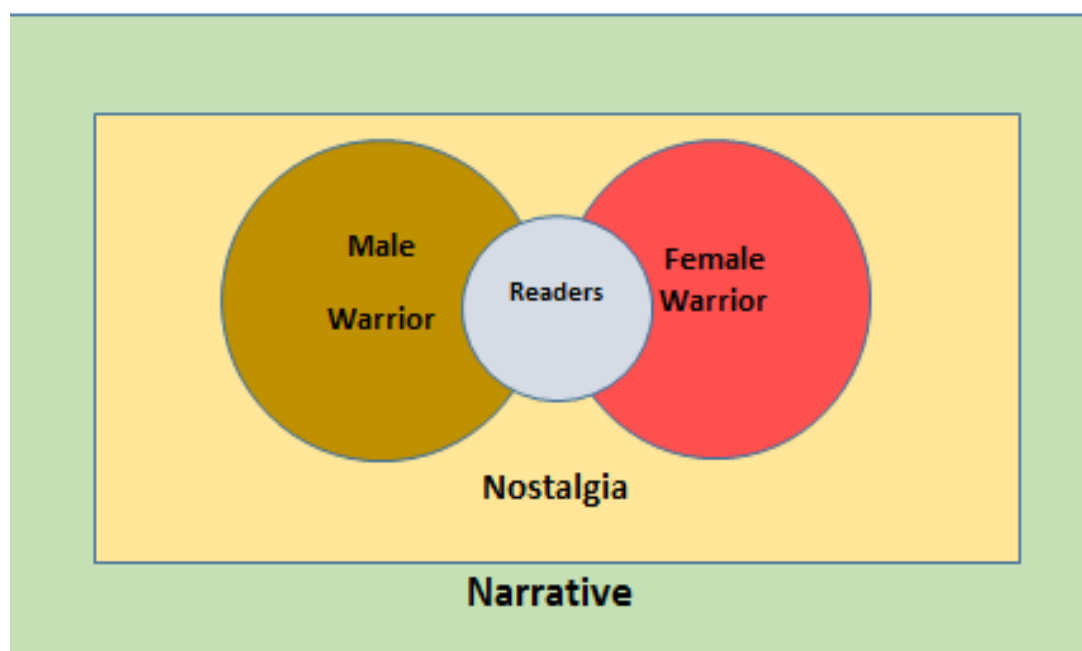
The narrative of *Panglima Awang* is a wide public space that provides the freedom of plot flow within the story's framework. *Panglima Awang* reserves a private space which is generally nostalgic and is specifically nostalgic of male and female Malay warriors in the 16th century, and 'urges' readers to stay there. *Panglima Awang* 'locks' the readers as captives of nostalgia, not to be stuck but to be constantly reminded about the legendary fighters of the past and the encouragement of the new

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generation to relive the spirit of nationalism. With the reincarnation of the Malay warriors through the attributes and characteristics of the protagonist and Tun Gayah, *Panglima Awang* transforms into a medium of remembrance about the nation's heroic fighters to ignite the patriotism that fits the celebration of Independence Day.

In this chapter, we have observed how both novels demonstrate the interplay of physical and mental captivity within the body and the mind through an in-depth exploration of the themes of gender, religion and nostalgia. However, how intensely could the notions of captivity be further explored if the study extended its analysis beyond the body and the mind? How could travel-themed narratives display the idea of captivity in a more extensive manner that includes the community or the whole nation? In the next chapter, a factual and a fictional travelogue will be compared to uncover the notions of captivity within the nation.

4　Chapter 4: The Nation

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در همه جا تكاليف حكام ووظايف محكوم، معلوم ومعين است، مگر در ايران كه ما بدبختان اسير حكم تابع خواهش های نفسانی اين مشتی فراعنه ونمارده هستيم كه هرچه برمال وجان وناموس ما حكم رانند مُجراست وبازخواست ومؤاخذه ای برای ايشان نيست. فرياد دادخواهی ما به جايی نمی رسد. امروز زنگيان حبش وسودان از امثال اين اسارت وتعديات رسته اند وهرگونه حقوق بشريه را مالك اند؛ مگر ما بيچارگان كه زنجير اسارت راهمه روزه سخت تر ودايرهٔ حقوق بشريهٔ ما را هر لحظه بيش ازپيش تنگ تر می كنند.»[399]

</div>

"…Everywhere the obligations of the ruler and the duties of the ruled are known and specified, except for Iran, where we unlucky people are prisoner to the order and subject to the carnal requests of this handful of pharaohs and Nimrods for whom whatever they command about our property, life, and honour, is carried out, and they are not called to account. Our screams for justice get nowhere. Today, the blacks of Habash and the Sudan have been delivered from this imprisonment and oppression and possess every kind of human right. But poor us, they harden the chain of our captivity daily and tighten the circle of our human rights every moment more than before."[400]

This excerpt from *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* is a lamentation about Iran, which is described as a nation without justice. The association with the Pharaohs and the Nimrods, who were known as tyrant rulers in ancient times, illustrates the oppressive characteristics of the nation's leaders. On the other hand, the citizens, as nonphysical captives, are pictured as more unfortunate compared to the Habash and the Sudan, which had a long history of slavery. The growing restriction of their human rights is analogized as a gripping chain of captivity. Although it seems like the cry of an

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[399] Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, *Siyāhatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*, Ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Sipānlū (Tehran: Āgāh, 2010), 66-67.

[400] Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, *The Travel Diary of Ibrāhīm Bayg*, Trans. James D Clark (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda, 2006), 55

For this chapter, all English translations for the Persian quotes from *Siyāhatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* are taken from this book. For clarification, Clark's translations are not always accurate as he employs a lot of condensing. However, his translations are still very useful for text analysis in this chapter.

oppressed heart, the excerpt stimulates a deeper interpretation of captivity. While a nation cannot be associated with physical or mental captivity, it is justifiable to portray a forlorn nation as being conceptually imprisoned. This chapter will go beyond the physical and mental borders and discuss another view of captivity, which is the conceptual captivity that involves a nation.

Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg (SIB)*, a fictionalised Persian travelogue written by Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, and *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah (KPA)* [401] a Malay travelogue written by Abdullah Munshi, similarly portray unfavourable commentaries about a nation during a travel period. Both deliver multi-layered messages through observations, series of dialogues, intertextuality quotes and various analogies, which will be revealed in the analysis. Firstly, I will introduce the factual and fictional travelogues that will be analysed in this chapter, before proceeding to a discussion about a nation in captivity.

4.1 FACTUAL AND FICTIONAL TRAVELOGUES

4.1.1 *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah* [402] (KPA) by Abdullah Munshi

Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah is considered an innovative travel account in early modern Malay Literature since it was the first Malay travelogue to apply the Western style of travel writing.[403] It was written by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, an Arab–Tamil, who was widely known for his exceptional talent in crafting Malay literature and was

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[401] There are many versions of this travelogue. For this study, I will mainly use this version: Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi. *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*. Ed. Syed Abdullah bin Abdul Hamid al-Edrus, (Singapore: Qalam, 1960).

[402] The English translation for the title will be: *The Story of Abdullah's Voyage.*

[403] Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, *Karya Lengkap Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi Jilid 1*, Ed. Amin Sweeney, (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2005), 61.

deemed the 'Father of Modern Malay Literature'. Being well-educated, he spoke and wrote competently in various languages, including Tamil, Malay, Arabic, English and Hindi. He had experience working with the British and Christian evangelists as a language teacher, translator[404] and scribe,[405] but some of his co-religionists saw that as something to be frowned on instead of an achievement.[406] Known as Abdullah Munshi ('teacher'), he became one of the most extensively researched scholars in Malay literature. Abdullah left a number of notable works, but his masterpiece is his memoir, entitled *Hikayat Abdullah*. According to Amin Sweeney, in his article "Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi: A Man of Bananas and Thorns," many celebrate Abdullah's contributions to the development of Malay literature, but there are also many who criticise him as an Anglophile.[407]

In March 1838, Abdullah was hired as a letter bearer to Kelantan and as a personal interpreter for an English officer named Grandpe. Travelling by water, Abdullah and his companions stopped by other Malaysian states, namely, Pahang and Terengganu. He later recorded his experiences in the form of a travel account entitled *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah.* Taib Usman perceived the travelogue as lacking because, in general, it very minimally portrayed Abdullah's mission as a letter bearer.[408] However,

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[404] He used to translate the bible to Malay language, therefore he was mocked as 'the priest'.

[405] Sanjay Krishnan, *Reading the Global* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 96-98.

[406]G. E. Marrison, "Abdullah, the Paderi and the Bible", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 25:72 (1997): 140.

[407]Amin Sweeney, "Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi: A Man of Bananas and Thorns", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34.100 (2006): 225-226.

[408] Mohd. Taib Usman, "A Note on Abdullah's Account of The Kelantan Civil War in His Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Deel 120, 3de Afl. (1964): 342.

the account provided detailed observations of the places and their inhabitants, along with social commentaries. Therefore, the choice of issues to be presented in the travelogue is up to Abdullah and should not devalue the work, especially as the travelogue was not written at anyone's request.

Abdullah's decision to recount his journey was motivated by encouragement from a British missionary, Alfred North, who later helped him to publish the account. Amin Sweeney, who has carried out extensive research on Abdullah Munshi, translated and analysed his works in 2 volumes of books. According to Sweeney, Abdullah presented his journey draft to North and asked for his guidance about writing Western-style travelogues.[409] With North's help, Abdullah succeeded in writing his first modern travel account.[410] In her book *In Search of Modernity: A Study of the Concepts of Literature, Authorship, and Notions of Self in "Traditional" Malay Literature,* Hadijah Rahmat applauds Abdullah's efforts in applying modern techniques in his travelogue. For instance, Abdullah placed himself at the centre of the work, implying his importance and wisdom through events such as giving advice to a prince, or mentioning how the Kelantanese thought that he was a Sayid (a noble descendant of the Prophet Muhammad). Hadijah asserts that Abdullah was among the first authors to make himself the centre of the work, since self-effacement was a common theme in classical Malay works.[411] Nevertheless, Vladimir Braginsky claims that the concept

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[409] Abdullah Munsyi, Ed. Amin Sweeney 2005: 61.

[410] Malay travel accounts before that were heavily influenced with the classic style of writing. For an example, refer to Ahmad Rijaluddin's travel account: Ahmad Rijaluddin. *Ahmad Rijaluddin's Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*. Trans. Cyril Skinner (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).

[411] Hadijah 2001:76.

of self-awareness among Malays had already been increasing since the early sixteenth century, due to growing religious understanding.[412]

KPA is a controversial piece for the critics because it includes unpleasant remarks about the Malay society and a Malay royal family member (Tengku Temena), alongside sarcastic comments comparing the Malays and the British, hence the impression of Abdullah as a lackey for the English. However, none of the narration touches sensitive religious issues. Whether the unpleasant remarks about the nation originated entirely from Abdullah is unknown, because the travelogue was drafted in two phases. Additionally, North most probably intervened in the crafting of the account, especially as the original and the revised versions contradict each other, with the latter appearing to be more acerbic in tone.[413]

Although KPA narrates a few critiques about British rulers, the tone is far milder compared to the comments about the Malay rulers and people.[414] For instance, there is criticism about Malay princes, labelling them as lazy in their search for knowledge, although later there is mention of a prince who asks Abdullah to stay behind to teach him but is refused. Sweeney exposes Abdullah's intention to humiliate Tengku Temena (a Malay prince) at every opportunity. Despite Tengku Temena's hospitality, Abdullah views everything with negative eyes and goes so far as to make sarcastic comments in his dialogue with the prince. Nevertheless, Abdullah fails to condemn the royals completely when he credits Tengku Temena's concern in listening

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[412] Braginsky 1993; cited in Hadijah 2001:77.

[413] Hadijah 2001: 229.

[414] Ibid: 232.

to the villagers' complaints.[415] Furthermore, a contrasting perspective can be seen between Abdullah and his employer. Sweeney differentiates the perspectives of Abdullah and Letnan Newbold (Abdullah's manager of three years) towards the Malays as being harsh and mild, respectively. In their writings, while Abdullah looks for fault at every opportunity, Newbold praises the Malays and shows appreciation for them as fellow human beings. [416] Therefore, Sweeney questions the authenticity of his observations, since there are contradictions between the description and criticism in the narration.[417]

On the other hand, Hadijah interprets Abdullah's writing as a sort of court literature, since it is one of the dominant themes in Malay narrative. The theme is marked by a sense of loyalty from the author towards the king and religion. A court author usually claims devotion through excessive praise of the king, not to mention adhering to the obvious restriction of not condemning their patron. Therefore, Hadijah sees KPA as a court literary work but with an exchanged patron—the British instead of the Malay kings.[418] This situation seems to befit with Frantz Fanon's concept of colonialism. According to Nayar, Fanon's ideas about the identity of the blacks in colonial circumstances are:

- *In the colonial context the black man only sees himself as the negative to/of the white man.*
- *White is the norm, and black the deviation from the norm.*
- *The black man only sees himself as an object, with no sense of the*

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[415] Sweeney 2005: 74.

[416] Ibid: 83.

[417] Ibid: 64.

[418] Hadijah 2001:102 and 231.

Self because the white man only sees him as an object.

- *To escape from the condition of being mere object, the black man seeks to become white: he craves recognition from the white man.*
- *Thus, there is no self-recognition, no self-awareness in the black man in the colonial situation.*[419]

Although Fanon's idea of colonialism is in the black-white context, it can also be applied in Abdullah's case despite being another race since it is about the colonized in opposite of white colonizers. From the writing tone, it is clear that Abdullah appreciates English values more than Malay values. For instance, he criticises Malay food as being 'smelly', while praising butter, which is a British food. Sweeney questions who Abdullah was trying to impress and about what. Generally, it seems that Abdullah tries hard to convey his Western or 'civilised' values to the readers and sometimes this is overdone to the point that he sounds more English than the English themselves. However, act of mimicry does not usually provide positive results; in contrast it might be the source of intimidation. Fanon views it as a continuous case of self-doubt for the colonized as he will be stuck in the middle; not accepted by his own community and also the colonizers.[420] According to Sweeney, Abdullah's mimicry did not help him since the Britons of his time still regarded Abdullah as a lower-class person because he was not white.[421]

In contrast, Abdullah's travelogue to Mecca, which is his final piece of writing before his death,[422] is more relaxed in tone and words, presumably because he is free

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[419] Nayar 2013: 42-43.

[420] Ibid 2013: 46 and 53.

[421] Sweeney 2005:79.

[422] See: Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi. *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ka-Kelantan dan ka-Judah*. Ed. Kassim Ahmad, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1960) /Raimy Ché-Ross, "Munshi Abdullah's

from British officials and missionaries. The two travel accounts are the first and last of his publications and display distinct differences illustrating the various levels of expression in Abdullah's writings. [423] Freedom from restriction—or release from mental captivity—results in a notable focus and expression in his writing. Abdullah seems to have freedom of expression in KPA since he is brave enough to comment on the royal family members and his country mates. However, without help from the British, it would have been difficult to have published his first travel account, not to mention that his jobs are always related to the British and, therefore, they closely observe his writings. [424] Therefore, Abdullah is also considered to be restricted in terms of expression since his works are catered for European taste.

Notwithstanding KPA's tendency towards Western values and harsh tones towards the Malays, it is still appreciated due to its revolutionary style and was utilised as a textbook in schools. In comparison to previous travelogues, Skinner praises KPA as a travelogue with an intellectual writing style, as it features analysed situations through a combination of information searches and expressions of opinions, instead of mere description. [425] In other words, KPA can be seen as a manuscript of literary reformation but Sweeney refutes this by accusing it of being a means of sabotaging Malay values. [426] This study will propose a different perspective by regarding the

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Vogage to Mecca: A Preliminary Introduction and Annotated Translation". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 28.81 (2000): 173-213.

[423] Sweeney 2005: 53.

[424] Sweeney 2006: 231 and 243.

[425] Skinner 1978. 470.

[426] Sweeney 2005: 80.

unfavourable narrations in KPA as a strategy to expose the nation's captivity, making

it an act of rescuing the nation instead of one of 'treachery.' KPA will be studied in a

comparative approach with another travel narrative, *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg,*

which shows similarities in many aspects.

4.1.2 *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* [427] (SIB) by Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī

Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg is a fictionalised travelogue written by Zayn al-

ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, who spent most of his life abroad, including in Russia and Istanbul.

He was a writer of social and political articles for newspapers; however, his most

important work is his travel story of Ibrāhīm Bayg.[428] According to Yaḥyā Aryān Pūr, SIB

is avant-garde in Persian literature as it is believed to be the first Persian novel with

European style.[429] However according to Abdelwahab Mahmud Aloob, who carried out

a detailed analysis of the form and plot of SIB in his thesis entitled *The Persian Social

Novel from 1900 to 1941,* SIB is not a novel but a travelogue that is written in *maqāmāh*

style. He compares the narrative structure of SIB to the structure of a *maqāmāh* and

concluded that SIB's style suits *maqāmāh* better than the modern novel.[430] According

to the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature Volume 2*, the definition of *maqāmāh* is:

> Classical Arabic literary genre, developed in the fourth/tenth century
> out of a cluster of adab prose genres, which basically comprised all
> of the education and learning of court circles. The *maqāmāt* were
> usually composed in collections of short independent narrations
> written in ornamental rhymed prose *(sajʿ)* with verse insertions,
> which shared a common plot-scheme and two constant protagonists:
> the narrator and the hero. In each narration (*maqāmāh*) one familiar

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[427] The English translation of the title will be: The Travel Diary of *Ibrāhīm Bayg.*

[428] Īraj Pārsīnizhād, *Rawshangarān-i Īrānī va Naqd-i Adabī* (Tihrān: Sukhan, 1380 [2001]), 187-189.

[429] Yaḥyā AryānPūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, *Jild-i Avval*, (Tihrān: Chāpkhānah-ʾi Sipihr, 1357 [1978]), 210.

[430] Abdelwahab Mahmud Aloob, "The Persian Social Novel from 1900 to 1941", PhD, The University of Michigan, (1988): 78-80.

adab topos is usually chosen to be elaborated. The narration tells of an episode in which the hero, a vagrant and mendicant but also a man of letters and eloquence, appears in a certain public place (a market, a mosque, a cemetery, a public bath, a traveling caravan, etc.) in different guises, and tricks people into donating him money by manipulating their feelings and beliefs.[431]

Based on the criteria mentioned in the above definition, SIB suits with the *maqāmāh* genre including the narration style in rhymed prose, the existence of a narrator and a hero, and the hero appearance at public places. However, the hero in SIB does not appear in disguise and does not exploit others. It is questionable whether SIB is a novel or a modern *maqāmāh* or both. In my opinion, although SIB features typical traits of *maqāmāh*, it befits more in the novel genre as it is one of the most important literary works in early modern Persian literature which shows apparent influence of the European novel style. However, it is still acknowledgeable that SIB is a hybrid type of novel that is mixed with the *maqāmāh* form. Nonetheless, this chapter will study SIB as a fictionalised travelogue, in comparison to a factual travelogue.

SIB had a remarkable effect on the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905-1907), as it depicted the real conditions of the politics, society and culture of Iran in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.[432] However, it was presented in the form of an imaginary travel account. This sparks questions about the reason behind Marāghah-ī's choice of a travel diary as the genre for the first ever Persian novel. The narrative structure was likely chosen to take advantage of the popular Persian travelogue literature during the nineteenth century, hence becoming

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[431] Rina Drory, "Maqāmā (pl. Maqāmāt)" in *Encylopedia of Arabic Literature: Volume 2*, Ed. Julia Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 507.

[432] James D. Clark, "Introduction", in *The Travel Diary of Ibrāhīm Bayg*, Zayn ol-'Abedin Maraghe' i, Trans. James D. Clark (California: Mazda Publishers, 2006), IX.

a favourable strategy for introducing a new form of novel to the audience. Alternatively, it might have been to avoid any responsibility for criticism, as it was merely fiction.[433] However from another perspective, because of the 'I travel, I witness' nature of a travel narrative, Marāghah-ī might have chosen it for its characteristics of authenticity and wisdom, despite the typical framework of a novel. This strategy might have been crucial in having his narrative being taken seriously as it contained opinions and criticisms of the Iranian government of the time.

SIB was published in 3 volumes, following the trend of the time. However, since the travelogue illustrated the bitter truth about society, and due to restrictions in controversial publications, the first and second volumes of the travelogue were published anonymously, at different locations and different times. Anyone who was caught reading it would be fined it, but it still became a popular read due to the Constitutional movement.[434] The first volume was published in Cairo during 1896, the second in Calcutta in 1905 and the third volume in Istanbul in 1909.[435] Only after the formulation of the Constitution was the author's name displayed on the third volume, revealing "Ḥājī Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, an Iranian merchant residing in Istanbul."[436]

The first volume particularly embodies a travel account, with a dominant mood of disappointment and annoyance. The second volume portrays the sequences after

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[433]Clark 2006: xviii.

[434] Aloob 1988: 70.

[435] Pārsīnizhād 1380 [2001]: 190.

[436] Aloob 1988: 70.

the travel, narrated by Ibrāhīm's travel mate, Yūsūf 'Ammū or Uncle Yusuf. Entitled 'The Consequences of his Fanaticism', the tone is milder compared to the first volume, as it portrays Ibrāhīm's love story and his illness due to his frustration about Iran. Meanwhile, volume three appears to have been unplanned because of its random extracts of poems, wise sayings and articles. Therefore, Sipanlu suggested that Marāghah-ī might have written volume three unexpectedly due to the popularity of the previous volumes. [437] According to Aḥmad Kasravī, due to the discrepancies between the volumes, some scholars have expressed doubt about Marāghah-ī being the author of the whole series and suspect that Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, a Persian newspaper editor in Istanbul, was the co-writer.[438] Regardless of the ambiguity about the real author, SIB remains an important reference for scholars in various fields, including the literature, history, sociology and politics of late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century Iran.[439]

SIB has been translated into many languages, such as German in 1903, Russian in 1963 and English in 2006.[440] James D. Clark translated only the first of the three volumes into English. This chapter will also incorporate only the first volume of SIB as it provides important observations about a nation during travel, which sits well with the study about the notion of captivity of a nation. The first volume of *Siyāḥatnāmah-*

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[437] Muḥammad 'Ali Sipanlu, "Naqsh-i Tārīkhi-yi Ibrāhīm Bayg" in *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*, Ed. Muḥammad 'Ali Sipanlu (Tehran: Asfar, 1985), 15.

[438] Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭah-i Irān*, Volume 1 (Tihrān: Nigāh, 1940), 45.

[439] Clark 2006: x.

[440] Natalia L. Tornesello, "The Travel Diary of Ibrāhīm Bayg by Zayn ol-'Abedin Maraghe'I by James Clark" (trans. and ed.), Middle Eastern Literatures, 17:2, (2014): 215.

ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg is divided into five main parts. The first section is the author's appeal to Iranian authors, politicians and readers. The second part is a prologue narrated by the author introducing the Ibrāhīm Bayg and his family's background and then showing Ibrāhīm Bayg's return from his journey to Iran. When Ibrāhīm goes to the public baths, the author/narrator asks for his travel account and recites it for the readers. The third part represents the travelogue, with Ibrāhīm Bayg as the narrator and main character. The fourth part is the conclusion and the fifth is the appendix.

In general, volume one of SIB narrates the story of Ibrāhīm Bayg, who is Iranian by origin, but was born and raised in Egypt. His father teaches him about the wonders and stories of Iran and sows patriotism and longing for the homeland in him. Ibrāhīm then travels to Iran to fulfil his father's last wishes. Paradoxically, Iran is different from his father's description, making him experience deep and bitter disappointment. This unexpected contradiction results in an identity crisis between being a nationalist and a realist. Due to the shock and frustration of witnessing the distressing conditions in Iran, most of the expressions in SIB are either depressing or acerbic. The plot seems a bit similar to Iraj Pezeshkzad's novel entitled *Māshā' Allāh Khān dar Bārgāh-i Hārūn al-Rashīd (Mashallah Khan in the Court of Harun al-Rashid)* where it features the protagonist to be unhappy with his current government and through his readings, he idealizes the kingdom of Harun al-Rashid in the eight-century of Abbasid. However, when he travels back in time to his dream dynasty, he experiences many hardships and starts to realize his misleading imagination.[441]

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[441] Īraj Pizishkzād, *Māshā' Allāh Khān dar Bārgāh-i Hārūn al-Rashīd*, (Tihrān: Intishārāt-i Ṣafī ʿAlīshāh, 2005).

At a glance, Ibrāhīm, the fictional character in SIB, and Marāghah-ī, the author, seem to have the same condition as Iranians who live in foreign countries. Despite being diasporic, they both have a special sentiment for Iran: Ibrāhīm with his crazy love for Iran and Marāghah-ī for his active participation in modern Persian literature. This leads to an assumption that Marāghah-ī was probably trying to express his opinions and concern about his country of origin through the fictional character of Ibrāhīm.

The unfavourable remarks about the nation act as a wake-up call to the awareness of the nation's real condition. Although, at first, SIB was published anonymously, later it gained recognition as being important in the process of a country's revolution. Paradoxically, KPA, which was published publicly from the beginning, was seen as propaganda to devalue the nation. Moreover, there have been no studies into the possible influences of KPA on the Malayan political situation. Nevertheless, it is considered to be a valuable work for the transitional period from classic to modern Malay Literature. Therefore, since it contributes towards the crucial development of the language and literature of the nation, KPA can also be deemed to be a revolutionary work.

In fact, despite the displeasing ambiance of both narratives, the doctrine of nationalism actively echoes. This view might sound contradictory, since KPA and SIB appear to be stuck in negative contemplation but, nevertheless, Benedict Anderson, in

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To read critical study about the novel *Māshā' Allāh Khān dar Bārgāh-i Hārūn al-Rashīd*, see: Nasrin Rahimieh, "Back to the Future: Time Travel and Iranian Identity" in *Iranian Culture: Representation and Identity*, (London and New York, Routledge, 2016), 16-42.

his book *Imagined Communities,* suggests the possibility of patriotic works that reflect

antagonistic tones. In a chapter of "Patriotism and Racism" he claims:

> In an age when it is so common for progressive, cosmopolitan intellectuals (particularly in Europe?) to insist on the near-pathological character of nationalism, its roots in fear and hatred of the Other, and its affinities with racism, it is used to remind ourselves that nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love. The cultural product of nationalism—poetry, prose fiction, music, and plastic arts—show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles. On the other hand, how truly rare it is to find analogous nationalist products expressing fear and loathing. Even in the case of colonized peoples, who have every reason to feel hatred for their imperialist rulers, it is astonishing how insignificant the element of hatred is in these expressions of national feeling.[442]

Due to the diversity in their expressions of love, KPA and SIB should be

considered as cultural products of the nationalism for their respective countries,

Malaya and Iran. Although both narratives seem to have similar atmospheres, they

have very different backgrounds, as can be seen in the table:

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[442] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso, 1991), 141-142.

Table 2: Comparison between *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah* by Abdullah Munshi and *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* by Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī

Comparable Elements	*Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah* by Abdullah Munshi	*Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* by Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī
Language	Malay	Persian
Form	Travelogue	Fictionalised travelogue
Timeline	1837-1838	1890s
Writer's Background	Abdullah Munshi, a well-known learned person of his time	Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, an Iranian who spent most of his life abroad
Main Character	Abdullah Munshi	Ibrāhīm Bayg
Purpose of Travel	Fulfilling his duty as a letter bearer and interpreter	Fulfilling his late father's will to visit his nation of origin for the first time
Journey Itinerary	Malay states on the east coast	Iranian states
Political background during journey	Malay Sultanate[443]	Qājār dynasty

Despite the disparities, it is fascinating to discover that both travel narratives portray a nation in captivity. This is because they provide realistic descriptions that

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[443] On the other hand, Abdullah came from Singapore, a Malay state that was a British colony at that time.

show the captivity of the society, the leaders and, eventually, the nation. It is worth noting that KPA and SIB's presentation of the 'chains' of captivity are strikingly similar, suggesting the universal causes that impede a nation's development.

Although the previous two chapters were explored according to the main themes of religion, nostalgia and gender, I will approach this chapter differently by exploring the notions of captivity according to the hierarchy that will finally lead to the discovery of a nation in captivity. Nevertheless, the three themes will still be discussed as sub-themes instead of the main themes. Firstly, I will explain the chains of captivity that bind the society. Secondly, I will present the imprisonment of the leaders and then I will analyse the issue of a nation in layered captivity, which is presented differently by KPA and SIB. Finally, I will show the literary strategies of KPA and SIB in their efforts to liberate the captive nations.

4.2   THE SOCIETY

One of the most important pillars for a nation is its people. If the society is 'sick' it will greatly affect the country. KPA and SIB mostly describe the people with frustration that represents anger and sympathy at the same time. Similarly, both identify the three biggest problems that imprison society, which are ignorance, filthiness and idleness.

4.2.1   Ignorance

One of the major chains of captivity that appears in KPA and SIB is ignorance, which is presented in various ways, marking its seriousness in making the nation imprisoned in backwardness. In general, ignorance is highlighted through two major themes: knowledge variety and priority application. KPA and SIB display deep

concerns about people's negligence of many types of knowledge. KPA, particularly, highlights the indifference of Malay people towards the importance of Malay language skills. During a visit to Pahang, Abdullah expresses his frustration:

> *Sa-bermula ada-lah bahasa mereka itu bahasa Melayu, lagi halus dan betul jalan bahasa, kerana asal-nya bahasa-nya itu tumboh-nya dari Johor. Maka ada-lah sahaya ter-sangat duka-chita ada-nya, Sebab sayang hati mendengarkan bunyi bahasa mereka itu, terlalu bagus lagi dengan manis-nya, kerana tiada mereka itu mau belajar bahasa-nya sendiri, lagi pun tiada ia menaroh akan tempat belajar itu. Maka jikalau kira-nya di-usahakan oleh mereka itu menchari guru yang pandai akan mengajar anak-anak mereka itu, neschaya penoh-lah dalam negeri-negeri Melayu orang yang tahu membacha dan menulis dan mengarang segala jenis kitab-kitab dan ʻilmu-ʻilmu. Maka sahaya pohonkan kapada Tuhan yang maha besar supaya di-bukakan-nya mata hati mereka itu akan mendapat fikiran yang benar lagi berguna ada-nya. Bukankah kedudokan yang demikian itu sia-sia ada-nya? "Yang di-kejar tiada dapat, dan yang di-kandong berchecheran;" ertinya: bahasa Arab itu tiada dapat, dan bahasa-nya sendiri itu pun terbuang. Maka bukan-kah salah yang besar itu, Sebab menghilangkan umor kanak-kanak itu dengan tiada belajar bahasa-nya?* [444]

> The Malay spoken in Pahang is elegant and correct, as it should be since it is the Malay of Johore. When I heard how well and charmingly the people spoke, I felt really grieved that they did not study their own language and had no schools. If in Malay countries (states) the people would exert themselves to get a good teacher for their children, all those states would be full of people knowing how to read and write and compose religious and scientific books. I pray that Almighty God may open their eyes and turn their thoughts to more useful objects. What a useless life they lead. As the proverb says, they grasp at shadow and lose the substance i.e. they never really learn Arabic and neglect the study of Malay. It is very wrong that children should waste their youth when they should be learning their language. [445]

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[444] Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, Ed. Syed Abdullah bin Abdul Hamid al-Edrus, (Singapore: Qalam, 1960), 24-25.

[445] Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, *The Story of the Voyage of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi,* Trans. A.E. Coope, (Singapore: The Malaya Publishing House Ltd, 1949), 10.

The praise of the elegant manner of speaking of the Malays in Pahang offers an assumption about the excellent Malay language skills of the Pahang society. However, contrastingly, it makes Abdullah despair as their talent is not polished with proper language education. Befitting the Malay axiom "*Bahasa jiwa bangsa*",[446] the critique highlights the worry about the future of Malayans' art of composition, which is important in presenting the identity of the Malays through the beauty of language. Through the criticism, KPA seems to propose the following formula:

Figure 4: Formula for a civilized nation in KPA

| Malay language education | Establishment of writing skills | Spread of variety of knowledge | Civilized nation |
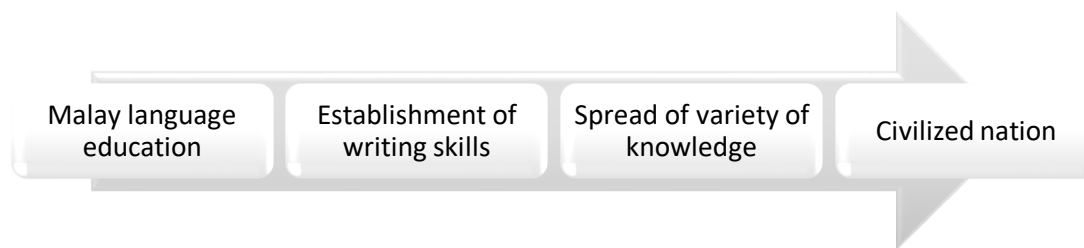
The focus on improving people's Malay language knowledge will sharpen their composition skills. Then, with the publication of books from various fields, the knowledge will be spread towards creating a developed nation. However, the process of building a civilized nation through the enhancement of language skills is blocked by a lack of educators. The utterance of prayers in between the criticism echoes a double voice as a cry for the Malayans' unawareness about the chain of ignorance. The people study Arabic, the language of the Qurān; however, KPA emphasizes mastering their native language first, before considering a foreign language. The absence of proper Malay education for the younger generation is seen as a huge fault that will later ruin the Malays in various ways.

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[446] *Language, the heart of a nation*

KPA also stresses the significance of life management knowledge. During a visit

to Kelantan, Abdullah expresses his surprise at witnessing how people are unable to

realize life opportunities and use them wisely for a better future:

> *Maka ada-lah sahaya lihat beratus-ratus lembu dan kerbau dan*
> *kambingtidor sa-panjang–panjang sawah itu dengan tiada*
> *bekandang dan gembala, hidup dengan demikian sahaja. Maka kata*
> *sahaya kapada orang itu, "Siapa-kah yang empunya binatang bagini*
> *banyak?" Maka jawab-nya, "Semua-nya orang di-kampong ini, ada*
> *masing-masing punya. Maka sakalian-nya berkampong, demikian*
> *menjadi baik. Dan ad ayang di-makan harimau, da nada yangmati,*
> *ada yang beranak, tiada orang pedulikan." Maka kata sahaya,*
> *"Tiada-kah di-perah susu-nya, atau di-makan daging-nya?" Maka*
> *kata-nya, "Orang tiada suka minum susu atau makan daging di-sini;*
> *terlebeh baik sa-puloh kali ikan," Maka berfikir-lah sahaya dalam*
> *hati maka jikalau kira-nya ada sa-paroh sahaja binatang ini kapada*
> *sa-orang dalam Singapura, neschaya menjadi kaya-lah sebab hasil-*
> *nya. Dan lagi, sahaya lihat, segala binatang dan hidup-hidupan*
> *mereka itu, dan tanam-tanaman mereka itu, sakalian-nya gemok-*
> *gemok dan subor-subor ada-nya.*[447]

> And I saw cattle and buffaloes and goats by the hundred lying all over
> the rice-fields; they had no pens and no one was looking after them;
> they just lived on their own.
> I asked the man who owned them.
> He said that everyone on the locality owned some; they went about
> in herds and multiplied; they might get taken by tigers, they might
> just die, they might produce young-no one cared.
> I asked whether they were not milked and was their flesh not eaten.
> He said, no, people in Kelantan did not care for milk or meat; they
> infinitely preferred fish.
> I reflected that if a man in Singapore had even half of these animals,
> they would soon make him rich. I observed too that all these animals
> and the live-stock generally and the plants were in fine condition.[448]

KPA reveals a problem in society relating to ineffective domestic animal

management. In spite of being blessed with many domestic animals, the Malays in

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[447] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. A. H. al-Edrus 1960: 143.

[448] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 51.

Kelantan waste their golden opportunity without even realizing it. With lack of proper living places and supervision for the animals, no benefits taken and total negligence, the community can be seen as being entrapped in the prison of ignorance. Although there is no direct criticism of the Kelantanese, the comparison with Singaporeans reflects a double tone implying the ignorance of Malays in Kelantan for whom a better life would be possible if they knew how to reap the benefits of their rich natural resources.

On the other hand, SIB focuses more on the heedlessness of Iranians towards arts and science. The disappointment is frequently portrayed in a combination of anguish and melancholic narration.

> هرگاه ملت این علم شریف را در مکاتب از روی کتاب وتقریر وتلقین
> آموزگاران فرزانه یادگرفته بودند، امروز از اطراف وانحاء مملکت چندین
> معادن گرانبها پیداکرده وطن را تا یک درجـه از احتیاجات رهایی می دادند
> وهم آن قدر خانه ها را که کیمیاگران شیاد وبی مروت به شرارهٔ خانه براند از
> اکسیر سوزانده اند از آن آتش خانمان سوز نجات داده سکنهٔ آن ها را از
> مصائب مذلت پس از عزت نگاه می داشتند وبه مراتب آگاهی وطن می
> افزودند. 449

> If the nation had learned this noble science in schools from books, recitation, and the instruction of intelligent teachers, today they would have found numerous valuable mines around the country and have relieved some of the needs of the homeland to a degree. And, to the same extent, having saved from that destructive fire the homes that the false and inhumane alchemists burned with the destructive spark of the elixir, it would have protected their inhabitants from the misfortunes of abjection following honor and have gradually added to the civilization of the homeland[450]

The comments are made up of conditional sentences, which provides a double voice of regret about the 'damage' that has been done in the nation. During his travels

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[449] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 225-226.

[450] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 242.

across Iran, the protagonist observes that the lack of excellent educators leads to lack of attention to science education. As a result, the society misses many opportunities, such as discovering the wonders and riches of the world and cannot avoid the misfortune that comes from ignorance. Unfortunately, this shackle of ignorance binds the community in despair and the nation in stagnancy and backwardness.

In short, KPA and SIB continuously illustrate the lack of diverse knowledge as one of the factors in a nation's captivity. The variety of education should have been in dialogism to create a civilized society; however, ignorance becomes the monological factor that hinders progress. This sparks curiosity as to whether the people themselves, in this case the Malayans in KPA and the Iranians in SIB, do not have the ability to take in and retain a great deal of knowledge. SIB particularly stresses the tremendous potential of Iranians who live in foreign lands and, therefore, the excuse of incompetence due to ethnicity or nationality is unacceptable. The protagonist believes that being well-educated is not implausible for Iranians, as he has witnessed it himself:

> همچنین است در تحصیل علوم جمعی از نجبازادگان ایران را میدانیم که بمدارس متعددهٔ روس و فرانسه و انگلیس برای تحصیل داخل شده با همه شداید غربت وبیگانگی در امر تحصیل گوی سبقت از بومیان ربوده اند. ولی با اینهمه استعداد ما درزاد مطالعه کنندگان خواهند پرسید که چرا ایرانیان در همه چیز از سایرین عقب مانده اند. سبب آن معلوم است؛ از نبودن مربی، از نبودن مربی. هدنند تیبرت ندوبذ ز ا [451]

> I know a group of children of the nobles of Iran who entered numerous schools in Russia, France, and England to study. With all the difficulties of living abroad and being aliens, it seems that they have surpassed the natives in the matter of education. But with all of this God-given ability, the readers will ask, "Why Iranians remained behind

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[451] Zayn al-ʿAbidīn Marāghah-ī, *Siyāhatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg,* Ed. Bāqir Muʾminī, (Tehran: Nashr-i Andīshah, 1975), 188-189.

the others in everything?" The reason for that is obvious: from the lack of mentor; from the lack of an educator.[452]

Regardless of the nationality factor, Iranians are able to excel in their knowledge in other developed countries. The rare praise from the protagonist is actually layered with the voice of captivity awareness which is the awareness or recognition of involvement in captivity. While praising brilliant Iranians in foreign lands, at the same time he is emphasizing the imperceptible imprisonment of Iranians in their own homeland. Their rights and opportunities to be educated are denied due to a dearth of skilled instructors. Therefore, there might be a double voice that urges Iranians to leave their homeland in order to be knowledgeable. From another perspective, the praise can be deemed as a warning about the chance of Iranian intellectuals disappearing as they will eventually emigrate abroad to gain knowledge if there is no initiative to free Iran from the chains of ignorance. In short, KPA and SIB both highlight the importance of expertise in various fields of knowledge that can help society unbind itself from the ignorance chain.

The second category of ignorance is incompetence in recognizing and implementing priorities. KPA and SIB highlight the problems of identifying priorities in traditional and contemporary issues. Undeniably, traditional customs are an important element of a nation as they represent the identity and uniqueness of a community. Nevertheless, there is difference between beneficial and useless traditions and, sometimes, superstitious rituals are also camouflaged as ethnic culture. KPA continuously stresses the community's worthless practises that are

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[452] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 232-233.

usually misunderstood as loyalty to its predecessors' rituals. Furthermore, the attitude of following without comprehending, like parrots, binds them to idiocy. KPA displays the traditions of a Malay state he visited:

> *Maka seperti larangan-nya, negeri ini, apabila melalui Kampong Raja tiada boleh berpayong, dan tiada boleh pakai kasut, dan pakaian kuning, dan khasah nipis sakalian itu larang sa-kali-kali.*
>
> *Maka apabila sahaya dengar akan larangan yang tersebut itu, maka berfikir-lah sahaya sa-jurus, sambil tersenyum, Sebab mendengarkan adat bodoh dan sia-sia itu, sebab sakalian itu perkara yang kechil-kechil menjadi salah dan larangan. Mengapa tiada di-larangkan burong terbang dari atas istana itu, dan mengapa tiada di-larangkan nyamok memakan darah, dan pijat-pijat di-bantal raja itu, dan mengapa tiada di-larangkan gajah berteriak, dan orang bergelanggang di-hadapan istana itu? Bukankah sama juga perkara yang tersebut itu, dengan perkara yang kechil-kechil ini? sebab segala perkara yang kechil-kechil itu menjadi besar.*[453]
>
> As regards the laws of the country, you must not keep an umbrella up when passing the house of a Raja. And you must not wear shoes or yellow clothes[454] or fine muslin. All these are absolutely forbidden.
>
> When I heard this, I smiled inwardly.
>
> What stupid and pointless regulations! What piffling things were forbidden as criminal! Why didn't they forbid birds to fly over the palace? Why didn't they forbid mosquitoes to bite the Raja and bugs to hide in his pillow? Why didn't they forbid elephants to trumpet in front of the palace and people to have cock-fights in front of it? All such things are on a par with the things which are prohibited—mole hills made into mountains![455]

The state's customs, which are explained by the locals, seem ridiculous to Abdullah. In a monologue, he expresses his thoughts on the traditions in a sarcastic tone. His smile serves as a gesture of mockery, which is strengthened by his

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[453] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. A. H. al-Edrus, 1960: 49.

[454] Yellow is the royal color of Malay sultanate.

[455] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948:17.

description of the customs as idiotic and worthless. Then, he asks several acerbic questions, which build up his assertion of the society's ignorance. The useless tradition not only wastes the community's time and energy, it also lays them open to ridicule as being 'idiots.'

On the other hand, SIB mostly focuses on the opposition between important and trivial matters in the contemporary world. One of his concerns is the role of the *ulama* in society, who tends to lead the people to less significant matters. The protagonist complains about the priorities placed on religious matters, as the *ulama* mostly dwell on trivial matters rather than the fundamental issues in Islam, such as jihad and homeland defence. Through his observations, it is as if the people are entrapped in ritual ideology without the basics of understanding Islam.

SIB also questions the role of the media, which is important in moulding the society's thinking patterns. He is astonished to see the newspapers in Iran:

گفت: «روزنامهٔ ایران. هفته ای یک بار، روزهای چهار شنبه، طبع ونشر می شود.»

متعجبانه گرفته وخواندم. درزیر عنوان «اخبار داخله»، پس از تفصیل تشریف فرمایی موکب همایون به شکارگاه ودعای ذات ملکوتی صفات همایونی، مجلس دربار دولت هفته ای سه روز در عمارت مبارکه «خورشید»، به ریاست فلان، انعقاد می یابد. سپاس خدای راکه کلیهٔ امور واعمال دربار دولت ومهام داخلیهٔ مملکت، قرین نهایت انتظام است ودر ضمن اخبار ولایات نیز از این قبیل. مثلاً می نویسد «کاشان: الحمدلله از اهتمامات کافیهٔ فلان حاکم، رعیت مرفه الحال وآسوده به دعای بقای عمر ودولت همایونی مشغول اند. کاه وجو فراوان وسایر اجناس هم ارزان است. اصفهان: ایضاً. کرمان: ایضاً. شیراز: ایضاً.» وقس علی هذا البواقی.

در ضمن اخبار خارجه هم از جغرافی جزیرة: «کوبا» وامثال آن بعض چیز ها می نویسند که نه خود آن مطالب را می فهمند، نه یکی دیگر از ایرانیان.

از دیدن این ها دود از سرم بلند شد. روزنامه را به دور انداخته گفتم: «در تمامی ولایات ایران فریاد مردم از بیداد حکام به فلک می رسد، این بی انصاف به عدالت آنان شاهد می گذراند؟ مسلمانان! کسی نیست که از این

روزنامه نویس بی دین سؤال کند: درحالی که در تمام ایران پنجاه نفر پیدا نمی شود که از جغرافیای وطن خودشان خبردار شده سرحدات وثغور ممالک ایران را بشناسند، از خواندن ونفهمیدن جغرافی «کوبا» به حال ایشان چه فایده حاصل تواند شد؟ به جای این مطالب بی سر وبن، مقال های سودمند نوشته، رعیت را به اطاعت پادشاه وپادشاه را به مهربانی در حق رعیت تشویق وترغیب کن، کردار نیکوکاران را ستایش ومعنی این را یادآوری کن که رعیت بی سلطان وسلطان بی رعیت نمی شود! این دو عنصر لازم وملزوم همدیگرند ودر لفظ دو اما در معنی یکی هستند. باید رعیت پادشاه را پدر مهربان وپادشاه رعیت را اولاد گرامی خود شمارد تا هر دو نیکبخت شوند!»456

"The newspaper Iran. It's published once a week on Wednesdays and distributed on Saturday."

Surprised, I took it and read it. Under the heading "Domestic news," following the details of the shah going to the hunting grounds and the celestial qualities of the royal essence, the assembly of the court of the government is convened three days in the blessed 'Khorshid' building under the leadership of so-and-so. Thank God all of the affairs and actions of the court of the internal government of the country are completely in order. Meanwhile, the provincial news is along these lines. For example, it writes, "Kashan: Praise be to God for the sufficient efforts of such and such governor. The subject is well off, calm, and busy praying for the continuation of the royal life and state. Straw and barley are abundant, and the other goods are inexpensive." Isfahan is the same. Kerman is the same. Shiraz is the same. And so on in the same manner. In the course of foreign news about the geography of the island of Cuba and things like that, why write some things whose subjects neither they nor any other Iranians understand.

Smoke rose from my head upon seeing these things. After throwing the newspaper aside I said, "In all of the provinces of Iran the cry of the people reaches up to the heavens because of the oppression of the governors. This unfairness is a witness to their justice. O Moslems, is there no one who will ask this irreligious newspaper writer. 'When fifty persons can't be found in all of Iran who know anything about the geography of their own homeland so as to recognize the borders of the regions of Iran, what benefit can reading about and not understanding the geography of Cuba have for them? Instead of these worthless subjects, write beneficial articles and

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456 Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 129.

encourage the subjects to obey the padishah and the padishah to be kind towards the subjects. Write sections about the good acts of justice and the evils of oppression, reproach the actions of oppressors, laud the works of do-gooders, and mention the meaning of it so that the subjects aren't without a sultan and the sultan not without subjects. These two elements are in need of one another. They are two words, but one in meaning. The subjects must consider the padishah their father, and the padishah must consider the subjects his own dear children so that both may be fortunate."[457]

The newspapers feed the people with the protocols of the royal family and are full of flattering praise for them, the happiness of a fantasy world and useless complicated matters relating to foreign lands. The trivial issues are in dialogism to plant false hopes and imaginings in the minds of the society. The expression of anger can be viewed as a cry for the needs of captivity awareness. Awareness can only be gained if the truth of the society's problems, which are the people's despair and ignorance, are explored. The suggestions for the new presentation of the newspapers focus on issues that could harmonize the intertwining relationship of the people and their leaders. In other words, both sides, the citizens and the rulers, should be in cooperation to build a developed nation.

In short, the frequent expressions regarding the various aspects of ignorance in KPA and SIB demonstrate the seriousness of the disease that 'eats' society. The stupidity is illustrated in various heteroglossic expressions that involve various tones, including descriptive, anguished, melancholic and sarcastic. Through the numerous narrations on the issue of ignorance, readers of KPA and SIB can easily acknowledge the dialogism between them that portrays ignorance as a strong chain that shackles society. Unfortunately, it is only one of the various captivity chains that are

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[457] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 127-128.

demonstrated in both travel narratives. KPA and SIB also dwell in the issue of filthiness. How can a seemingly trivial matter such as uncleanliness be a damaging factor for a nation? As insignificant as it seems, it actually has the power to overwhelm people, hence dragging down the nation.

4.2.2   Filthiness

It is fascinating to discover that both KPA and SIB focus on the importance of hygiene, as it is a basic need for human beings. Both narratives portray cleanliness as one of the fundamentals for civilisation and the development of a nation. Unfortunately, the people are stuck in filthiness and do not seem to care or realize its consequences for their lives and homeland. Therefore, it is crucial to spread the captivity awareness and, hence, KPA and SIB apply different strategies for it. SIB does not touch on the issue of filthiness as frequently as KPA does but, nevertheless, his strategy for captivity awareness is through exaggeration and vivid descriptions. For instance:

> پیرمردی هفتاد ساله کلاه نمدی در سر، لنگی را به دور آن پیچیده، ریش سرخ وچهرهٔ سیاهی داشت. فلک خاک غم بر سرش بیخته وهمهٔ دندان هایش ریخته بود. چشم های نیم مرده اش در چشم خانه می گردید. لباسش چندان کثیف بودکه به تقریر نمی آیـد. معلوم نبود که متن پارچهٔ لباس هایش در آغاز چه رنگ داشته.[458]

> I saw an old man of seventy years who had a felt hat on his head, a towel wrapped around it, a red beard, and a black face. A ton of dirt had been sifted on his head and all of his teeth had fallen out. His half-dead eyes rolled in their sockets. His clothes were so filthy that it is beyond description. It wasn't clear what colour the cloth of his clothes was in the beginning.[459]

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[458] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 70.

[459] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 59.

The description of the old man's appearance and clothes is exaggerated with analogies, but it provides a vivid illustration of a very dirty person, which gives a feeling of disgust. On the other hand, KPA uses the continuous display of filthiness as a way to spread captivity awareness. It is so frequent that it becomes annoying, hence providing a realisation of the seriousness of the matter. KPA usually presents filthiness in a 'whole package' that involves many aspects:

> *Shahadan, ada-lah rumah-rumah mereka itu atau lagi perbuatan-nya pun tiada senonoh. Maka di-bawah rumah-nya itu penoh-lah dengan longkang dan sampah-sampah. Maka ada-lah beberapa rumah yang sahaya masok la-dalam-nya sebab hendak melihat peratoran-nya. Maka sahaya lihat darihal tempat tidor mereka itu dan perkakas mereka itu, dan daripada makan minum mereka itu, sakalian-nya dengan kekotoran ada-nya: lagi tiap-tiap rumah itu busok bau-nya.*[460]

> The houses were thatched, and poorly constructed; under them were puddles and piles of rubbish. I entered a number of houses to see how they were arranged inside and observed the sleeping and living and eating arrangements; everything was dirty and smelly.[461]

The observation demonstrates dirtiness in many categories, such as in the people's dwellings, habits, utensils, food and surroundings. Although the descriptions are not as rich as SIB's, their frequency 'hammers' the image of filthiness into the readers' minds. The narration seems to be made under the gaze of a 'clean freak', who seems to nit-pick almost everything. In fact, KPA even comments on the putridness of typical Malay food in comparison to Western food, making it one of the reasons for the accusation towards the text as being Anglophilic. However, from another perspective, the strategy succeeds in providing awareness of the captivity chain.

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[460] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. A. H. al-Edrus 1960:

[461] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 43.

Why does exposing the reality of the society's dirtiness matter? KPA and SIB treat it as a severe problem that could drag the nation into misery. Although their styles of presentation of the hygiene problem are different, with vividness versus frequency, both mirror each other in presenting the harm arising from dirtiness. SIB describes the experience in a bath house:

وقتیکه بﮧ حمام داخل شدیم بوی گند آب از دور نزدیک بود خفه ام کند. گودالی با آب متعفن انباشته نامش را خزینه وبعبارت دیگر (کر) گذاشته اند. آب آن از بسیاری کثافت رنگ پرطاووسی گرفته, بوی بدش مغز آدمی را پریشان میکرد.[462]

When we entered the bath, the smell of the putrid water almost chocked me from afar. They had collected a pool of stinking water and called it a cistern or, in other words, kor. Its water had taken on the colours of a peacock because of the abundance of filth, and its foul smell agitated a person's brain.[463]

On the other hand, KPA illustrates the condition of houses that locate their toilets directly beneath them:

Maka sa-olah-olah ia melawan akan kasehan Allāh yang telah menjadi-kan segala tabiat bau-bauan itu demikian; maka Sebab itu-lah ia menaroh limbahan dan jamban di-bawah rumah-nya, bertentangan dengan tempat-nya diam dan tidor, supaya naik betul meruap busok itu masok ka-dalam otak-nya, dan jangan menyempang bau itu ka-kiri ka-kanan lagi. Maka sebab perbuatan yang demikian itu-lah ia tinggal sa-panjang umor-nya dalam busok dan ber-bagai-bagai penyakit.[464]

It is as if they rejected the mercy of God who has made smells what they are; and so, they keep pools of water and privies right up against the place where they live and sleep in order that the smell may seethe up into their brains, instead of being carried away by the wind. And thus, it is that they live all their lives in stink and sickness.[465]

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[462] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Mu'minī 1975: 35.

[463] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 38.

[464] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. al-Edrus 1960: 157-158.

[465] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 57.

Both narratives pinpoint the disgusting effects that assault the senses of smell and sight. As usual in SIB, the analogy of the water's colour as being the colour of a peacock creates the vividness of the dirtiness in the reader's mind. Meanwhile KPA stresses the bad habit of leaving excrement under the house and living in a putrid environment as if it were normal as an act of opposing God's grace. Prophet Muhammad, who is the role model for Islam, emphasises the importance of hygiene in life, as quoted in hadith from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: "Purification is half of faith".[466]

Clearly, the religion of Islam positions cleanliness as one of the most fundamental aspects of a believer and, therefore, indifference towards cleanliness is viewed as ignoring Islamic teaching. Here, KPA and SIB's aggressive narrations on filthiness are in dialogism to convey its effect on the brain. The foul smell that irritates the brain is represented as being harmful to health. It is as if the putridness 'numbs' the mind from intelligent thinking, thus creating a hindrance for personal development and, eventually, the advancement of the country. Therefore, it is crucial to recognise indifference towards hygiene as one of the captivity chains of society. Although it is not demonstrated as elaborately as the ignorance issue is, it is still a significant factor that needs to be attended to in order to liberate a country from imprisonment.

4.2.3 Idleness

Unfortunately, the captivity chains are not only limited to ignorance and filthiness. KPA and SIB also demonstrate another shackle of society, which is idleness.

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[466]Imām Abū al-Hussayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, "The Book of Purification" [534] 1-(223) in *English Translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,* Volume 1, Ed. Hafiz Abū Tāhir Zubair 'Alī Za'I, Trans. Nasir al-Dīn al-Khattāb, (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), 354.

In other words, doing nothing is actually doing harm to society and, eventually, to the nation. KPA and SIB consider it a serious disease that could immerse people in nothingness. During a visit to Terengganu, KPA describes the condition of the society:

> Dan lagi beberapa banyak kanak-kanak, sahaya lihat sa-panjang-panjang jalan, bermain-main dan berbuat barang kahendak-nya, dengan tiada sa-suatu pelajaran dan pekerjaan dengan kelakuan yang malas itu, tiada menjadi larangan. Dan lagi, apabila sa-orang dagang atau orang puteh yang datang ka-negeri itu, maka beratus-ratus orang dan kanak-kanak berlari-lari pergi mendapatkan berkerumun kepada-nya tindeh-menindeh. Maka masing-masing meninggalkan pekerjaan-nya yang patut ia menchari kehidupan-nya dan kehidupan anak isteri-nya, datang berhimpun.

> Maka ada-lah apabila sahaya melihat hal perempuan-perempuan itu berkedai di-pasar dan berjaja, dan menchari kehidupan-nya itu, terlalu susah hati sahaya, kerana perkara yang tersebut itu semua-nya, patut pekerjaan laki-laki, sebab maka apabila perempuan itu mengerjakan pekerjaan laki-laki, dan meninggalkan rumah tangga-nya berhari-harian, neschaya tinggal-lah anak-anak-nya dengan sa-kahendak hati-nya, menggelomang dengan kotor, dan sejok, dan basah-kering. Maka sebab yang demikian itu-lah datang berbagai-bagai penyakit, dan jatoh dan bengkak-bengkil, dan lemah-lemah badan-nya, dan penoh dengan kudis dan puru, dan luka-luka, dan sa-bagai-nya. Maka bukan-kah patut sentiasa hari perempuan-perempuan itu tinggal di-rumah serta dengan memelihara makan minum suami-nya, dan memeliharakan anak-anak daripada segala bahaya-bahaya yang tersebut itu, dan daripada berkampong dengan anak-anak yang jahat-jahat itu, dan menyuchikan kampong halaman-nya dan rumah tangga-nya. Maka jikalau kira-nya laki-laki itu pergi menchari kehidupan-nya, dan berbuat segala pekerjaan yang mendatangkan faedah bagi-nya dan bagi isi rumah-nya itu, bukan-kah beberapa lebeh berani daripada orang memikul senjata berhari-harian sa-panjang-panjang jalan, pada waktu sentosa, saperti anak-anak berjalan berbuntut-buntut, yang tiada mendatangkan pergunaan dan kebajikan ada-nya; sebab orang yang boleh melawan akan nafsu-nya yang malas, dan bercherita-cherita, dan makan tidor, itu-lah orang yang berani, kerana segala orang

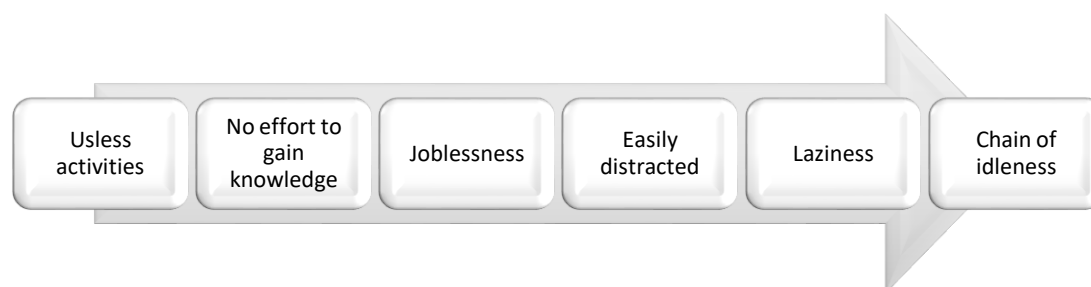*yang hina dan yang penakut itu pun boleh memikul senjata ada-nya.* [467]

I felt really distressed when I saw that it was women who sold in the market and women who hawked goods, women in fact who kept the house in food. The work that women did ought to have been done by men. * For when women do men's work and leave their houses for the whole day, there is no one to look after their children, who do as they please, and wallow in dirt, and get cold or wet or dry with no one to say to them nay. And so, the children get all sorts of diseases, and fall about and get bumps; and their bodies get enfeebled and covered with itch and yaws** and so on.

Surely women ought to stay at home and see to their husbands' meals and save their children from the dangers above described and rom bad associations! And they ought to employ themselves in cleaning their houses and the surroundings.

If the men went out to earn their living and do work profitable to themselves and their families, they would show themselves more truly brave than by carrying weapons hither and thither all day long in time of peace. Now they are like children who trail about without doing anything that serves a useful purpose. The really brave man is he who overcomes his desire to be idle and sit swapping stories and do nothing but eat and sleep! Any coward can carry weapons! [468]

In this excerpt, the society's chronic disease is highlighted by presenting the elements, effects and suggestions regarding idleness. KPA displays the elements that build the idleness chain, which can be understood as follows:

Figure 5: Elements of idleness chain in KPA

Usless activities → No effort to gain knowledge → Joblessness → Easily distracted → Laziness → Chain of idleness

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[467] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. al-Edrus 1960:

[468] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 22.

The citizens' daily activities, such as merely eating and sleeping, taking part in continuous storytelling and playing around with weapons, are worthless. Although weapons are generally known as a symbol of manliness in Malay society, merely handling them without attention to other responsibilities, by contrast, creates an irresponsible man. KPA refutes the typical concept of manliness by inserting sarcasm about cowards and unworthy men being able to handle weapons as well. The society does not feel any urgency to improve their life, hence the lack of effort to search for knowledge or jobs. Lack of focus on an ongoing activity by being easily distracted illustrates the people's empty mindedness. In addition, laziness is one of the most dangerous diseases in that it can block any kind of development. KPA unleashes the crucial elements that are in dialogism in forming the chain of idleness and presents the consequences of it in the context of society, particularly in the family institution.

KPA focuses on the worst victims of the chain, the men who are the family heads, because their idleness could bring harm to other family members. Paradoxically, idle men create active working women, as they have to step up as the families' breadwinners. As a result, women will be absent from home frequently, which would affect the upbringing of the children, the future generation. In short, working women could cause neglect of a family's health, safety and welfare.

KPA seems to tend towards anti-feminism, as it suggests that women should be confined at home. Nevertheless, from a paradoxical point of view, KPA might be promoting feminism by defending the rights of Malay women who seem to be denied the freedom to manage their own children and households, due to their husbands' idleness. In fact, it is a form of mistreatment of women when there is a need for men to be more aware of being more responsible. It is stated in the Holy Qurān:

<div dir="rtl">

الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَىٰ بَعْضٍ[469]

</div>

> Men shall take full care of women with the bounties which
> God has bestowed more abundantly on the former than
> on the latter.[470]

KPA's focus on the responsibilities of men and women can be linked to this verse. The castigation of idle men and the disapproval of working women illustrate concerns about the future generation, who need competent and well-managed family institutions. It urges men to be aware of the harm caused by idleness and to immediately play their roles as leaders of their families.

As educated individuals, it is disheartening for the protagonists of both travel narratives to see their nations enjoy idleness when their conditions are so alarming. For almost every location, SIB provides a summary of the visit that mostly highlights the society's sluggishness:

<div dir="rtl">

حالت مردم شهر را- **چنان** که گفتیم- از دنیا به همان قوت شبانه روزی قانع اند. نمی خواهند از آن نقطه که ایستاده اند قدمی بالاتر گذارند. تن‌پروری، بیعاری در تمامی رگ وریشۀ ابدانشان جای گرفته؛ یک برادر به سبب ابتلای ناخوشي جذام از خانه ولانه دور، برادر دیگر در کنار رودخانه با دیگران در عیش وسرور؛ جمعی هم مبتلای درد بی دردمان تریاک کشی شده اند که بدتر از جذام است؛ از معنی «حب الوطن من الایمان» همگی بی خبر؛[471]

ابداً از دنیا وآخرت خبر ندارند، از منافع تزیید ثروت عمومی وعلم معیشت و حب وطن بالمره غافل اند. «مرده اند ولی زنده، زنده اند ولی مرده.»[472]

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> As I said about the condition of the people of the city, they are, to
> that same degree, satisfied with the world day and night. They don't
> want to rise one step above the place where they are standing now.

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[469] Sūrah al-Nisā' Verse 34.

[470] Asad 1984: 109.

[471] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 170-171.

[472] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 159.

Self-indulgence and wantonness have taken over every bit of their bodies. One brother is distant from the home because of being afflicted with the illness of leprosy. Another brother is enjoying himself beside the river with others. A group is afflicted with the incurable pain of smoking opium, which is worse than leprosy. All are ignorant of the meaning of "Love of the homeland is part of faith."[473]

Never were they informed about this world and the hereafter. They are completely ignorant of the benefits of increasing the wealth of the general populace, the science of living, and patriotism.

They are dead, but alive; alive, but dead.[474]

Like a regretful sigh, SIB explains the acuteness of the society's slothfulness by listing the prominent factors that contribute towards it: lack of ambition and motivation, self-indulgence and wantonness. The example of three brothers who are drowning in nothingness with no care for each other is specific and realistic in order to serve as a wakeup call. Compared to KPA, SIB is more active in linking the effects of captivity chains to the development of the nation. Here, SIB clearly highlights the bad effect of idleness on the economy, knowledge and love of the nation. Moreover, the repetitive sentence '*They are dead, but alive, alive but dead'* in most of the summaries of the visits, functions as a declaration of captivity to which attention should be paid, as they are just like living corpses.

KPA and SIB are both in conversation in an attempt to display the danger of idleness in the community. Although sluggishness might seem harmless and insignificant, it can cause serious damage to a nation since the people are the builders of the nation. With the proof of the society's captivity in various chains openly displayed, KPA and SIB go further by exploring the reason for the captivity. In this light,

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[473] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 176.

[474] Ibid: 162.

like parents and their children, leaders should protect and Nūrture their people to their best potential to create a great nation. From the constant narration regarding leadership, it is obvious that KPA and SIB portray crooked rulers as the main cause of society's captivity.

4.3 THE LEADERS

In relation to being bound in various captivity chains, the society is not totally to blame. Even with the combination of hope, awareness and effort to progress, society is hindered by oppression by its leaders. KPA and SIB actively show the lamentation due to oppression through heteroglossic narratives from various points of view, such as personal observations and dialogues with others. Unfortunately, oppression by cruel leaders is considered as a normal representation of the world. The Holy Qurān highlights the reality in Chapter Al-An'am, verse 123:

وَكَذَٰلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكَابِرَ مُجْرِمِيهَا لِيَمْكُرُوا فِيهَا ۖ وَمَا يَمْكُرُونَ إِلَّا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَمَا يَشْعُرُونَ[475]

And it is in this way that We cause the great ones in every land to become its [greatest] evil doers, there to weave their schemes, yet it is only against themselves that they scheme—and they perceive it not.[476]

Although the cruel leaders seem unassailable and all-powerful in their oppressive acts, they are actually living in an imaginary world of success. In this context, KPA and SIB portray the imperceptible captivity that also binds the leaders. Despite being the upper class, unfortunately, the leaders are in imprisonment that makes them blind in relation to their own schemes of oppression. Both narratives

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[475] Sūrah al-Anʿām, Verse 123.

[476] Asad 1984: 191.

present many unfavourable accounts relating to the leaders but, noticeably, they are described as being bound by two chains of captivity: indifference and greed.

4.3.1 Indifference

KPA describes Tengku Temena, a member of the royal family, in a regretful tone:

> *Sa-telah pagi-pagi hari maka naik-lah sahaya bersama-sama Grandpre ka-darat sebab hendak menchari Tengku Temena itu. Maka sahaya dapati ia lagi tidor di-rumah orang di-pantai itu. Maka ada-lah kira-kira pukul sa-belas baharu-lah ia bangun tidor. Sa-bermula maka ada-lah ia-itu makan chandu, maka badan-nya pun kurus kelihatan tulang-nya dan berjerangkang dan bibir-nya hitam, dan badan-nya pun tiada bergaya. Maka sa-telah sudah ia bangun tidor, maka dudok-lah shaya berkhabar-khabar akan hal sahaya hendak belayar, melainkan menantikan sampan pukat itu sahaja.*[477]

> Early next morning Gradpre and I went ashore to see Raja Temenabut we found that he was still asleep in a house by the shore; he did not get up until about 11 o'clock. The fact was that he was an opium-smoker; he was very thin—a bag of bones, in fact—and his lips were black and he had a spiritless look. When he got up, I sat chatting with him for a while about my forth-coming voyage; we were only waiting for the Chinese boat.[478]

The excerpt gives a seemingly straightforward description of a royal person, but it actually describes the severe problem of a leader who is supposed to be an icon for the people. The narration highlights the lack of ambition, charisma, health and concern as the aspects that form the chain of indifference. The expression of pity shows awareness of the captivity but, unfortunately, the leader himself remains unaware of it, or perhaps is ignoring it. This begs the question of how a reckless person can be in charge of a community trying to build a good nation.

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[477] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. al-Edrus 1960: 146.

[478] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948:

4.3.2 Greed

On the other hand, SIB stresses the greed that has imprisoned the leaders, until they have 'lost' all their senses. The leaders' greed has diversified into many features, such as power, authority, wealth and recognition. SIB showcases the protagonist's encounter with an Iranian city governor:

گفت: «حاکم شهر است به شکار می رود.» به ما گفت: «راست ایستاده هنگام عبور آن «کرنش» وتعظیم نمایید، چنان که دیگران می کنند.»
چون یک نظر کردم دیدم هی از چهار جانب وشش جهت سجده است که مردم می کنند. آن هم ابداً به روی بزرگواری خود نیاورده از چپ وراست هی سبیل های خود راتاب می دهد.
گفتم: «هرگاه تعظیم نکنم چه می شود؟»
گفت: «آن طرفش را فراشان می دانند وچوب دست های آنان. گویا از حیات هم سیر شد,اید؟»
گفتم: «نه! هزارگونه آرزو در دل دارم.»
در نهایت ادب راست ایستاده هنگام نزدیک شدن حاکم در کمال فروتنی رکوعی به جای آوردیم. «رسیده بود بلایی ولی به خیر گذشت.» چون تاکنون این وضع رادر هیچ جایی ندیده بودم، خیلی تعجب کردم.
گفتم: «آباد باشی ایران! حاکم شهری مانند لندن - که دارای هفت ملیون جمعیت است - از هر جاتنها می گذرد واحدی إعتنا به شأن اونمی کند. ما شاء الله حاکم یک ولایت کوچک ما این قدر جلال وجمعیت دارد. سلطنت باید این طور باشد.[479]

"It's the governor of the city," he said. "He's going hunting." He told us, "Stand up straight. When he passes, bow like the others are doing." When I took a good look, I saw that the people were prostrating from all four sides and in six directions. And he, paying no attention to it at all, kept twisting his moustache right and left.

"What will happen if we don't bow?" I said.

He said, "They call those on that side of him with their clubs the footmen. It seems that you have grown tired of living."

"No," I said. "I still have a thousand desires left in my heart." Very courteously and standing up straight, I bowed with complete humility when the governor came near. "A calamity had come, but it passed without incident."

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[479] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 63-64.

Since I had never seen this situation anywhere until now, I was very surprised. I said, "May you be civilized Iran! The governor of a city like London with a population of a million goes everywhere alone and no one pays any attention to him. It's remarkable that the governor of one of our small provinces garners such respect. Kingship must be like this."[480]

The description of the governor screams arrogance, as he seems to enjoy his people's prostration before him in an egotistical manner. The prostration is a gesture of respect due to fear, as the people are threatened with physical abuse if they fail to comply. The condition portrays the governor's huge greed for authority, recognition and attention, although he is not suited to it. The prayer for the Iranians and the comparison between leaders in London and Iran represent the protagonist's cry for immediate awareness of captivity. Meanwhile, the declaration of surprise is a heteroglossic expression that denotes sarcasm about the bitter reality in Iran. In short, the clasp of greed wraps around the leaders' minds and hearts, making them practise merciless corruption and oppression on the society. Meanwhile, the chains of indifference that bind the leaders harm the society as they do not receive protection and guidance from their patrons. Therefore, the rulers' two shackles of captivity are in dialogism to be the crucial factors that push the society into their own version of captivity.

KPA and SIB feature narrations that describe the captivity chains that bind the society and the rulers. How can invisible imprisonment identify a nation in captivity? In the next subtopic, I will approach the issue with the concept of layered captivity.

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[480] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 52.

4.4 THE IMPRISONED NATION

Benedict Anderson defined a nation as "an imagined political community…and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".[481] In other words, the citizens and the rulers depend on each other to build a nation. Without either one, a nation will not come into existence. Therefore, the existence, progress and fall of a nation depend entirely on the community and the sovereignty. Until now, we have witnessed the captivity of the citizens and their leaders in KPA and SIB, which relate to the chains of ignorance, filthiness and idleness that shackle the society and the chains of indifference and greed that capture the leaders. Although the captivity chains of the two groups are not the same, dialogically they create the most pitiful victim, which is the nation. In other words, the nation is locked in a layered captivity that prevents it from progress and drags it into misery. KPA and SIB both portray the nation's layered captivity, but in different forms.

4.4.1 The Captive Nation in KPA

The tiered imprisonment of the nation in KPA can be viewed as follows:

Figure 6: Tiered Nation Captivity in KPA

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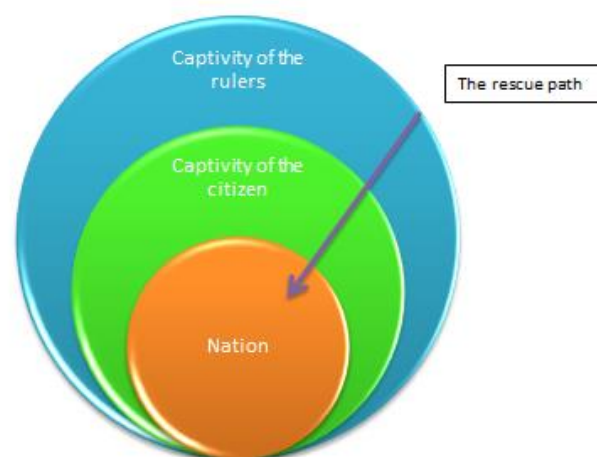
[481] Anderson 1991: 5.

Noticeably, from the pie chart, the leaders' captivity has imprisoned the citizens. With the dialogism of the captivity of the leaders and the society, we can see the depth of the nation's fall into the pit of captivity. This pie chart demonstrates the stages involved in imprisoning the nation in conceptual captivity and the steps that should be taken to liberate it. Consequently, the only way to penetrate the walls of multiple prisons is by building a rescue path. In the final subchapter, I will discuss the rescue path in more detail.

4.4.2   The Captive Nation in SIB

On the other hand, the layered captivity of the nation in SIB is more complicated compared with that of KPA, because it involves more tiers or, in other words, more victims. The fourth victim in SIB's nation's tiered captivity is the protagonist, Ibrāhīm Bayg. This sparks curiosity as to how a protagonist who serves as an observer in a travel narrative could possibly become involved in a tiered captivity. Firstly, I will discuss Ibrāhīm's captivity in the prison house of nostalgia. Then, I will explain how his imprisonment in nostalgia makes him a victim of the nation's layered captivity.

4.4.2.1   Captives of Nostalgia

SIB delivers actively intertwining concepts of nostalgia, nationalism and fanaticism and the borders between each concept remain ambiguous. In addition to the protagonist, his father is also portrayed as a character who seem to be stuck in these three-sided ideologies. SIB starts with the introduction of Ibrāhīm's father:

این تاجر درستکار پاک اعتقاد در ظ ف سالیان دراز که در مصر مقیم بود
در هیچیک از عادات مستحسنۀملی واطوار پسندیدۀ ایرانی خود تغییر نداده
در وضع معاشرت بامردم وخوردوخواب و پوشاک بهمان و تیره که از
نیاکان خود دیده بود رفتار مینمود و درتعصب ملی چندان سخت بود که در
ظرف چندین سال یک کلمه عربی با کسی حرف نزد، بلکه نخواست یاد

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بگیرد. گفتگویش همه از ایران بود، پیوسته ترانهٔ وطن میسرود. هر کس را دیدی ازوضع وطن و حال هموطنان پرسیدی، خودش در مصر همواره خیالش در ایران بود.[482]

> This honest merchant of pure belief, during the long years that he resided in Egypt, never changed a single one of his admirable national habits or his own praiseworthy Iranian manners. In his association with people, in his eating and sleeping, and his own dress, he behaved in that same manner that was seen in his ancestors. In terms of patriotism, he was so intense that during all those years he had not spoken one word of Arabic with anyone. On the contrary, he did not want to learn it. All of his talk was of Iran. He continuously sang a melody of the homeland. From every person he would see, he would inquire about the state of the country and the conditions of his fellow countrymen. He himself was in Egypt while his thoughts were always in Iran.[483]

Instead of introducing the protagonist, the travelogue first introduces his father to show the possibility of the 'hereditary' imprisonment, which Ibrāhīm might have inherited from his father. The father is portrayed as a person who remains patriotic to his homeland, despite living abroad. The portrayal of his nationalism conveys the double voicedness of fanaticism. However, from another perspective, his daily activities, fashion style, language fanaticism, singing habits and curiosity about Iran dialogically build a nostalgia prison house, which provides a more melancholic feel compared to fanaticism. Nostalgia is magical as it gives the power to relive sensations and feelings, especially during one's absence from one's homeland. As a trader, Ibrāhīm's father travels to seek bigger business opportunities and, finally, chooses to settle down in Cairo, Egypt. However, through the depiction of his high intensity attachment to Iran, it is questionable as to why he does not choose to return to his

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[482] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Muʾminī, 1975: 7-8.

[483] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 5.

homeland. In this light, there is no urgency for a homecoming but he constantly ignites the love for Iran in his son.

This triggers an assumption that, perhaps, he is longing for a lost time instead of a lost space; therefore, the love he has for Iran might be dedicated to his childhood or his youthful memories of Iran. Since it is impossible to revisit time in the same way as one can revisit space, he constantly delays his homecoming and it is possible that he has no real intention of returning. His strong sentiment towards Iran can be seen as reflective nostalgia, where he continuously experiences feelings of longing for his homeland. This also sparks curiosity as to whether his nostalgia for Iran was built on his past experiences in the country or, paradoxically, is a utopia created from his own bittersweet experiences. However, for this discussion, we will assume that Ibrāhīm's father is trapped in his nostalgia for Iran in the past, which shapes the first of the four models of Iran that appear throughout SIB.

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm is described as a young man who is proud of his love for Iran, even though he has never been there. Unfortunately, this so-called 'nationalism' is confused with a type of blind fanaticism. Without realising it, he is, in fact a victim of his father's captivity in his nostalgia for Iran. Ibrāhīm's obsession with Iran is indescribable, according to the narrator:

> باری تعصب ایرانیگری او بدرجهٔ بود که قلم از نگارش تفصیل آن عاجز است. مثلا هر گاه کسی عمداً و یاندانسته در نزد او بدی از ایران نقل میکرد او را به بیدیدنی و بیغیرتی نام برده تا آخر عمر با او حرف نمیزد.[484]

> In any case, his fanatical Iranianness was of such a degree that the pen is incapable of writing about it in detail. For example, whenever someone unintentionally or unknowingly related something bad about Iran in his presence, he would label him with impiety and

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[484] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Mu'minī, 1975: 8.

cowardliness to the point that until the end of his life he wouldn't speak to him.[485]

Ibrāhīm inherits his father's fanaticism but, regrettably, his level of obsession is worse as his imagined love has led him to extreme behaviours. For instance, his tendency to label people as impious or cowards, in addition to intense silent treatment, unleashes the hidden voice of Ibrāhīm's captivity. His father's stories and practices in relation to Iran have built an imaginary nation for him, which forms the second model of Iran in the travelogue. As a result, he has monologised a love for Iran where he rejects any elements that could destroy the reputation of his beloved nation and warmly welcomes anything positive regarding it. Unfortunately, his endless adoration of Iran is his biggest weakness, as people exploit it for their own benefit.

Since nostalgia is not always about the past,[486] Ibrāhīm is considered as being confined in his nostalgia for Iran, despite not having been there before. Hence, this indicates that Ibrāhīm is stuck in a restorative nostalgia, where he has a strong intention for a homecoming, which is further triggered by his father's determination for him. The excessive sentiment has made his imaginary Iran seem realistic. In spite of all the warnings to avoid travelling to Iran, he is steadfast in his decision to see it. The formation of Ibrāhīm's nostalgia for Iran starts from his father's nostalgia for the past. Consequently, in addition to his fantasy in relation to Iran, an amorphous nostalgia is shaped, which does not belong to a specific timeline, neither the past, present nor future. In summary, Ibrāhīm and his father's nostalgia for Iran is as follows:

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[485] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 7.

[486] Boym 2001: 16.

Figure 7: Model 1 and Model 2 of Iran in SIB
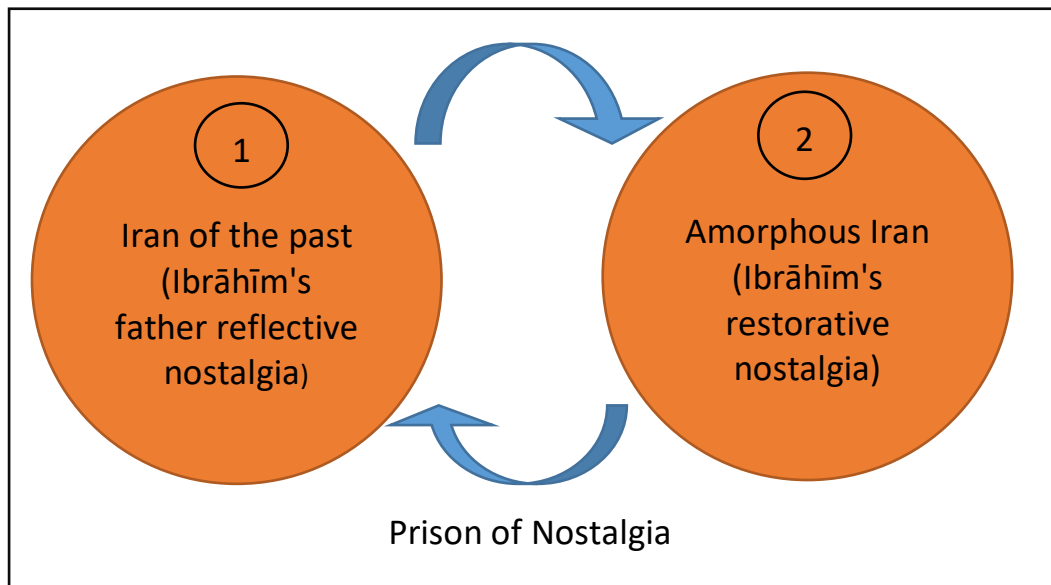
In this regard, Ibrāhīm seems to be imprisoned in his own version of an amorphous Iran. However, from another perspective, Ibrāhīm is captured in a greater confinement, which includes his father's version of nostalgia. In reality, Ibrāhīm has been wandering between the past and a nebulous Iran so he is unable to see the truth, which makes him fall deeper into captivity.

Ibrāhīm 's condition in the travelogue can be linked to Reinhart Keselleck's categorisation, which focuses on the horizon of expectation and the space of experience.[487] While being within the boundaries of an amorphous Iran, Ibrāhīm is in a state of confusion between reality and expectation. Before he started his expedition, his expectations were camouflaged as reality, which made him unaware of his imprisonment in nostalgia.

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[487] The space of experience is the adaptation of the past into the present. The horizon of expectation is the way to perceive the future. For more information on these two historical categories, see: Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time,* Trans. Keith Tribe. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 255-275.

However, when Ibrāhīm 'encounters' Iran for the first time, he finally enters the real space of experience. This space introduces the third model of Iran in the narrative, which is the present-day Iran, according to the timeline of the fiction travel diary. Suddenly, tones of ambivalence start to echo throughout the text, as his expressions about Iran are formed into binary oppositions. Being shocked to finally witness the truth of Iran, Ibrāhīm moans:

از شنیدن این ماجرا دنیا در مد نظرم تیره و تار شد، آهی از دل پردرد کشیده گفتم خداوند خداوندا اینها همه کیفر دعوایی است که من در مصر بناحق در سر این کارها با مردم می کردم و هر چه از این قبیل چیزها می گفتند باور ننموده با آنان پرخاش کرده دلشان را می آزردم.[488]

My view of the world turned black from hearing about this happening. I let out a sigh from my pain-filled heart and said, "O' God, these are all punishment from the arguments I unjustifiably had in Egypt with people about these subjects. Not believing what they said about these kind of things, I quarrelled with them and made them very upset.[489]

In the meantime, underneath the utterances of regret, Ibrāhīm is actually presenting his confession of his 'blindness'. This is the moment when he is shocked by captivity awareness, which leaves a crack in his prison of nostalgia. Finally, his monologised love is broken and finds dialogism, which opens the door of his fanaticism. Consequently, Ibrāhīm is in awe, as he always presumed that the horizon of expectation would be matched by the space of experience. Regrettably, the disproportion in the two perceptions can be outlined as below:

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[488] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010:28.

[489] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 41.

Figure 8: Expectation versus experience in *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*
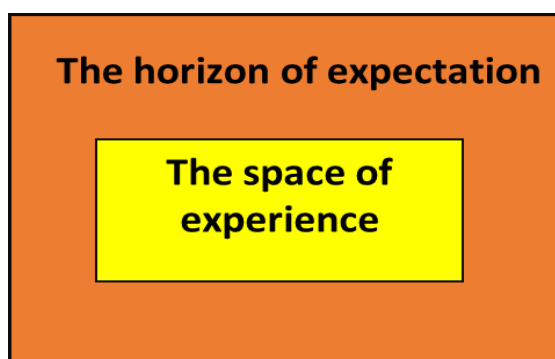
It is noticeable that the horizon of expectation is larger than the space of experience and they do not fit each other, hence the beginning of the hostile tone in the text during Ibrāhīm's visit to the present-day Iran. In the space of experience, he not only gains captivity awareness of himself, he also becomes aware of the captivity of the nation. In experiencing Iran first hand, Ibrāhīm starts to see the truth and does not continue to avoid reality. In a way, his honest observations about Iran indicate his efforts to liberate himself from his own nostalgia captivity.

However, with the constant shocks from recognising the critical captivity of Iran during his expedition, the frequency of ambivalence in the narration increases. Being unable to cope with the stress and burden, Ibrāhīm experiences many collapses, including sickness, depression and slight madness. The regular breakdowns start to transform into obstacles for Ibrāhīm's escape route from nostalgia captivity. At one point, even when it is obvious that he has been suffering during his journey in Iran, he seems to be in denial about the bitter truth. In a dialogue, he expresses his steadfast opinion about Iran:

گفتم از وضع صحبت و سخنان شما چنان معلوم میشود که از ایران خیلی رنجیده اید.
ابراهیم گفت حاشا که من از محبوب خود برنجم. {من لاف عشق میزنم این کار کی کنم}. حیات من در گرو مشتی از خاک آن زمین پاک است. همه

آزردگی دل غم پرور من از غفلت باغبان است وگر نه باغ را تقصیری
نیست.. [490]

"It becomes apparent from the manner and words of what you say
that you suffered very much from Iran," I said.
Ibrāhīm said, "God forbid that I should suffer from my beloved. 'I
boast of love. When should I actually do it? My life is in a handful of
soil from that blessed land. All the vexation harboured by my sad
heart is from the heedlessness of the gardener. Otherwise, the
garden is not at fault.'[491]

In a poetic manner, Ibrāhīm declares his unwavering love for Iran. This provides
a paradoxical effect, especially after the series of unfavourable expressions about Iran
and its people that dominates the text. Ibrāhīm's act of defending Iran introduces a
hint of the appearance of a new version of captivity. Previously, by gaining captivity
awareness, Ibrāhīm succeeded in making a breakthrough from the nostalgia prison
house that consists of the past and the amorphous Iran. However, the various
breakdowns, moments of denial and hints of madness are in dialogism in building a
new prison house for Ibrāhīm. He might not be aware of his own condition, but this
new captivity is noticeable through the utterances of a side-character:

صاحب خانه می گوید هر چند که از قدیم بمراتب تعصب ملی ابراهیم بیک
آگاهی داشتم ولی چنان گمان می کردم که پس از سیاحت ایران و دیدن آنهمه
ناملایمات آتش تعصب او تا یکدرجه سردی و خاموشی گرفته است. اما از
ملاحظهٔ این حال و شنیدن این تفصیلات دیدم خیر ظن من بخطا رفته،
بالعکس بمراتب تعصب ملی او افزوده است. پس در دل خود تصدیق کردم
که این خوی او فطریست نه عارضی {با شیر اندرون شده با جان بدر رود}.
راستی از آه های سرد پی در پی او دلم آتش گرفت. رفتم دست داد. بیخود
از جای برخواسته گریه کنان او را بکنار کشیدم و از سر و صورتش بوسیده
گفتم: برادر جان، نعمت وطن پرستی بر تو گوارا باد. [492]

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[490] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Mu'minī 1975: 203.

[491] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 263.

[492] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 177.

The owner of the house says, "No matter how much I knew about Ibrāhīm Bayg's fanaticism from a long time ago, I thought that after his journey to Itan and seeing all of those unpleasant things the fires of his fanaticism had cooled and subsided to a degree. But after observing this condition and hearing these details, I saw that, no, my suspicion had been wrong. On the contrary, his nationalist fanaticism had increased. So, I confirmed in my heart that this disposition of his was intrinsic, not accidental. 'Having been mauled by the lion, escape with your life.' In truth, my heart ached because of his cold sighs one after the other. I took pity. Weeping, he stood up, and I took him aside, kissed him on the head and face, and said, "Dear brother, may the blessing of patriotism be pleasing.[493]

The melancholic proclamation of the house owner's observations about Ibrāhīm offers an unexpected twist in the plot. It presents a declaration about the defeat of a person who has been striving to liberate himself from the chains of nostalgia. The various elements in the description, including the displeasing condition, failed anticipation, heartache, cold sighs, weeping, consoling and *duʿā*, are all in dialogism towards the confirmation of Ibrāhīm's status as a rebound captive.

In other words, he is being imprisoned again, but in a different type of nostalgia prison house, and this condition happens because he is not strong enough to handle the chronic condition of the nation in captivity. Therefore, the captive nation 'swallows' Ibrāhīm and 'drags' him into imprisonment, which can be viewed as follows:

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[493] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 259.

Figure 9: Tiered Nation Captivity in SIB
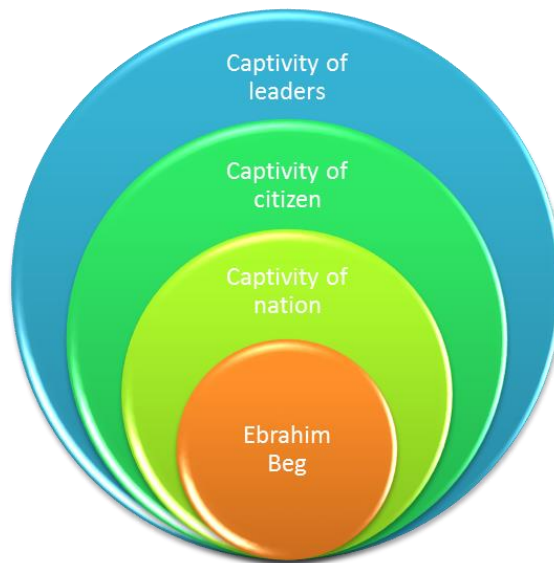
The pie chart showcases four tiers of captivity linking to the captive nation. Different from KPA, SIB positions Ibrāhīm in the deepest pit and portrays him as the most affected victim of the nation's captivity. In this case, the nation's captivity contributes towards the building of Ibrāhīm's new prison house, which consists of nostalgia for the present Iran and the future Iran, as seen below:

Figure 10: Model 3 and Model 4 of Iran in SIB
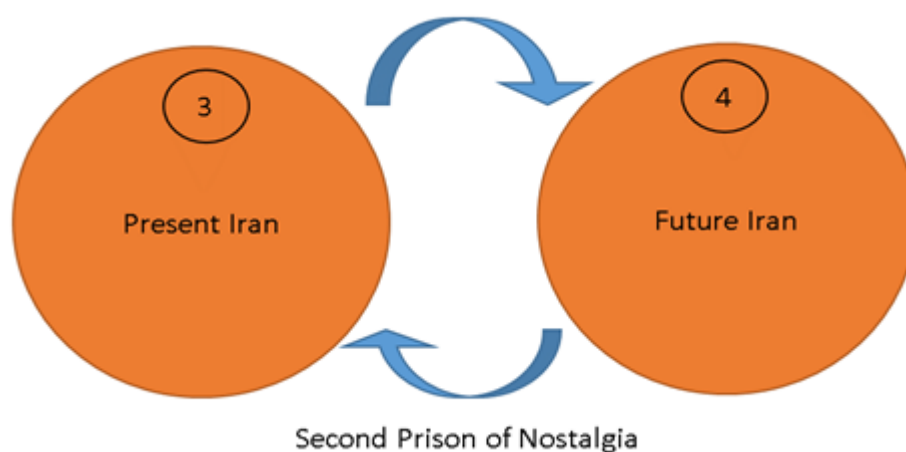
This time, Ibrāhīm falls back into nostalgia captivity with depression and hopelessness. This imprisonment is more disheartening because the pain 'eats' Ibrāhīm's soul and mind. In the first prison of nostalgia, he does not acquire any captivity awareness, which explains his calm and ordinary everyday life. However, in the second prison of nostalgia, he is stuck wandering between the present and the future Iran. This is evident through the juxtaposition of critiques and hopes for Iran in the narrative. Unfortunately, the confinement harms Ibrāhīm so badly that he is unable to control himself during a debate with a mullah. When labelled as an apostate by the mullah, who he thinks should be held responsible for the damage to the nation, he suddenly loses his mind, screaming madly, and ends up foaming at the mouth. SIB then ends with tragedy, when the tent they are in for their discussion is engulfed by fire started by a lit candle. From a symbolic perspective, it seems as if Ibrāhīm is being burnt in a captivity caused by the nation's imprisonment.

On another note, by involving the concept of time (past, amorphous, present and future of Iran) in the above discussion, one might think that SIB can be also considered as a time-travel narrative especially when it features some plot similarity to the popular time-travel Persian novel, *Māshā' Allāh Khān dar Bārgāh-i Hārūn al-Rashīd* by Īraj Pizishkzād. However, Michael Cooperson in "Safar The Early History of Time Travel Literature: al-Muwaylihi's Hadith 'Isa b. Hisham and Its Antecedents" states that:

> More than any other genre of fiction, time-travel stories - that is, stories in which a character travels physically from one clearly

defined period of history to another - foreground historical change and our perception of it.[494]

In SIB, Ibrāhīm does travel to Iran to witness the bitter reality of the nation. However, he does not travel physically to the idealized version of Iran. It might be the past of Iran for Ibrāhīm's dad but it is only an imagination for Ibrāhīm himself; hence I term it as amorphous Iran. Cooperson then asserts that physical transmission in time travel narrative is unnecessary as dreaming is enough to categorize it as a timid version of time travel.[495] Nevertheless, SIB lacks another important theme of a time-travel narrative; the existence of specter beings. Cooperson claims that spectral creatures are common in time-travel narratives as they portray the concept of time shifting.[496] Therefore, SIB does not suit well with the time-travel genre as it lacks the components of time-travel despite having a few resemblances in term of the story plot.

4.5 LIBERATION

Although KPA and SIB present their captive nations differently, both display the same efforts to liberate the nations from imprisonment. Referring to both previous pie charts regarding nations in tiered captivity, the way to liberate the nation is to build a rescue path by penetrating the prison houses layer by layer. The liberation should start with breaking through the leaders' captivity, followed by that of the citizens. Along the path, captivity awareness should be circled in order to reach the captive nation. Aside

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[494] Michael Cooperson, "Safar The Early History of Time Travel Literature: al-Muwaylihi's Hadith 'Isa b. Hisham and Its Antecedents" in *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms,* Ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 419.

[495] Cooperson 2008: 426.

[496] Ibid 2008: 421.

from the bold observational expressions to spread captivity awareness, KPA and SIB

use similar literary strategies for the impossible mission of rescuing the unfortunate

nations, i.e. dialogues with the leaders and displays of nation management strategies.

4.5.1 Dialogues with the Leaders

"Ada pun apabila sa-orang di-jadikan Allāh ia raja bukan-nya sebab hendak memuaskan nafsu-nya dan berbini sa-puloh, dua puloh atau mencari harta, dan membunoh orang, dengan aniaya-nya, melainkan sebab di-suroh Allāh memelihara manusia, supaya tiada di-aniaya oleh sa-orang akan sa-orang-itu-lah guna-nya. Maka sebab itu, patut-lah segala raja-raja itu, menaroh kitab Taju's-alatin (erti-nya mahkota segala raja-raja) dan menilek akan dia pada tiap-tiap hari, dan menchari orang yang tahu dan belajar kapada-nya, dan menerima segala nasihat orang yang alim, supaya Tengku ketahui hal segala raja-raja yang 'adil dan yang dzalim. Ini sahaya lihat terlalu hairan. Kechuali hal Raja Melayu kebanyakan yang tiada tahu membacha surat, dan lagi tiada suka belajar, melainkan dudok dengan huru-hara dunia sahaja."

Maka kata-nya, "Tuan ini terlalu pandai membacha khutbah, baik-lah tuan diam di-sini, supaya boleh sahaya jadikan kadhi dan khatib." Maka jawab sahaya, "Kalau boleh, Tengku, sahaya pohonkan kapada Allāh, jangan-lah kiranya di-hidupkan-nya sahaya dalam negeri Melayu. Dan lagi di-jauhkan Allāh berdekat dengan raja-raja, kerana orang yang hampir kapada raja itu, saperti bersahabat dengan ular yang bisa, maka salah sadikit, di-pagut-nya biji mata."

Maka tertawa-lah ia, serta kata-nya, "Sakalian perkataan tuan ini benar. Dan-lagi tiada boleh di-alahkan lidah tuan itu."[497]

"God makes a man a ruler, not that he may satisfy his passions and have ten or twenty wives and gather wealth and kill his subjects with oppression; nay, it is God's will that the ruler guards his people, so that no man may oppress his neighbour; that is the purpose of government. That is why all rulers should possess the book "Taj al-Salatin" (meaning "The Crown of Princes"); they should refer to it everyday, and seek a good teacher from whom to learn, and accept the advice of wise men; thus, the read and do not want to learn they just sit and plague the world."

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[497] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. A. H. al-Edrus, 1960: 156-157.

"How you preach!" said Raja Temena, "You had better stay here, and I'll put you in charge of the mosque". "Nay, Sir". I said, "I pray God that I may never live in Malay territory. And God forbid that I should ever be near to Rajas. For a man who is near a Raja is a man who makes friends with a poisonous snake; if a trifle goes wrong, he gets bitten in the eye". Then the Raja laughed.

"All you say is true," said he. "And there is no arguing against that tongue of yours".[498]

KPA presents various daring actions, including engaging in provocative conversations with Malay rulers. In the dialogue between Abdullah and Tengku Temena, Abdullah shamelessly 'preaches' to the Malay ruler about the state governance guidelines, instead of merely acting as a letter messenger and interpreter during the journey to Kelantan. This conversation echoes daring, as reflected by the critiques of the behaviour of Malay rulers, the recommendations for a nation management textbook and declarations of antipathy towards the Malay monarchy. The conversation appears hegemonic, with an unfavourable regard towards anything related to the Malay. However, the antagonistic expression can be deemed an utterance of heteroglossia, particularly the sentiment of nationalism. The adverse critiques seem to be double-voiced, with feelings of concern about the future of the nation and its people.

Unfortunately, the attempt to build captivity awareness in the leader through the conversation is fruitless. The failure can be seen through Tengku Temena'a insensitive reply. He does not mention anything about the issue being addressed; on the contrary, he offers Abdullah an opportunity for residency in his state, as well as a job opportunity. This might seem like a friendly reply from a generous royal member

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[498] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 57.

but is probably just a tease. However, it is possibly double-voiced with sarcasm, to urge Abdullah to suspend his 'lecture'. It might also be a possible threat to confine Abdullah's duties within the parameters of a mosque. In this regard, Abdullah does not blatantly refuse the possibly fake offer; instead, he avoids a potential confrontation with a humble gesture of "*kalau boleh*", which means "*if it is possible*", and continues by uttering a prayer. Despite his previous monologised effort, Abdullah makes a second attempt by delivering a heteroglossia of prayers, which connotes his refusal of the offer, disfavouring the Malay management by its monarch and proclaiming the captivity that haunts the community under Malay patronage, which is carefully layered with the analogy of a man and a snake. Consequently, this time, Tengku Temena agrees with Abdullah's remarks, but the royal still declines Abdullah's attempt at building captivity awareness with an indifferent reply and laughter. In the end, Abdullah's silent cry for awareness of the Malay people's captivity is muted by their alleged saviour.

SIB also applies the same strategy by displaying conversations between the rulers and the protagonist. Despite his status as a mere traveller from another land, the protagonist fearlessly engages in a long series of dialogues with numerous leaders, including Iranian ministers, namely the Interior Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of War. Compared to KPA, SIB shows harsher consequences from the conversation series:

چون سخن بدین جا رسید، دیدم رنگ از رخ وزیر پرید به آواز مهیب صدا زد: «اسد! اسد! اسد!»
اسدبیگ فراشباشی آمد. گفت: «این پدرسوختۀ فضول ویاوه گوی راکدام پدرسگ بدین جا راه داد؟»
گفت: «قربان حاجی خان رقعه ای به بنده نوشته بود.»
گفت: «گه خورد باپدرش. بزنید این پدرسگ را! بزنید! بکشید بیرون!»
دیگر [حال] خود رااندانستم، هی مشت وسیلی بودکه به سر وصورت من از آسمان چون قطرات باران فرو می ریخت. وقتی دیدم که نه عبا در دوش ونه

کلاه در سر دارم، پنج شش نفر به دست وپای وگریبانم چسبیده پایین می کشند
ودر سر پله لگدی به کمرم زدندکه در آخرین پله به زمین نقش بستم، چند تن
هم از پایین هجوم کردند که گرفته به محبس ببرند.[499]

When my talk reached here, I saw that the color had vanished from the face of the minister, and with a dreadful voice he called out, "Asad! Asad! Asad Bayg!" The head footman came. What son of a bitch let his nosy, babbling rascal in here?" he said.

He said, "Sir, Hajji Khan had written a note to me."

"May he eat shit with his father!" he said. "Beat this son of a bitch! Beat him! Beat him! Drag him out!"

I didn't know myself anymore. Fists and blows kept pouring down on my head and face from the sky like drops of rain. Suddenly I saw that neither my cloak was on my shoulders nor my hat on my head. Five or six persons grabbed onto my hands, feet, and collar and dragged me out. At the top of the stairs they kicked me in the waist such that on the last step I lay totally motionless on the floor. Several persons then ran down the stairs and, having taken hold of me, were going to carry me off to jail. [500]

The excerpt shows the aftermath of an intense dialogue with the Minister of War. Unfortunately, Ibrāhīm's intention to share captivity awareness with the leader is denied. The facial expressions, tone of voice and curses are strong signals from the minister in blocking Ibrāhīm's efforts to create captivity awareness. He tries to liberate the nation from captivity but, unfortunately, he receives a physical attack that nearly ends with him in physical captivity.

In other words, KPA and SIB seem to be on a mission to liberate the imprisoned nations by negotiating with their leaders. However, through a series of monologised dialogues with the patrons, both KPA and SIB seem to have failed in their quests of 'ransoming the captive'. Furthermore, since the protagonists are commoners, their

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[499] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 97.

[500] Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 90.

actions are deemed as 'madness' and their conversations with the leaders amplify the sentiment of patriotism.

The preaching styles of KPA and SIB, where there are conversations with rulers including critiques and advice, are not only limited within the framework of dialogues but this is also evident in general narrations throughout the texts. In fact, KPA and SIB both reserve a special space towards the end to present personal perspectives and advice on government administrations.

4.5.2 The Display of Nation Management Strategies

در جایی که سخاوت وخست میزان محسنات وذمائم حال وزرا باشد، از آن ملک چه امید ترقی توان داشت؟ زیراکه این هر دو خوی را مدخلیتی در امر وظیفه وتکالیف وزرا نسیت. وزیر را باید به علم وآگاهی وکارگذاری ودرستکاری ستایش کرد ونیایش نمود، نه به سخاوت جعلی. همچنان دیگری را به خیانتکاری وبدرفتاری باید نکوهش کرد نه به خست طبع، چه نیک وبد این هر دو حال به شخص ایشان عاید است نه به وظیفه وتکالیف ایشان. آری، شخص وزیر باید به حفظ شئون مأموریت خود پرداخته، چند نفر نوکر وخدم داشته باشد ودر مواقع مقتضیه مجالس مهمانی بسیار باشکوه ترتیب بدهد. دولت نیز باید برای وزیر چندان مواجب معین کند که مخارج لازمهٔ از را کفایت نماید. وزیر هم باید به همین یکی شاکر باشد. هرگاه وزیر بدین یکی قانع نباشد،[501]

> In the place where munificence and miserliness are the measure for the virtues and vices of ministers, what hope of progress can that country have? For neither of these two dispositions have any way of entering into the matter of the ministers' duties. A minister must be lauded for his knowledge, information, experience, and uprightness, not for false generosity. In the same vein, another must be castigated for treachery and bad behaviour, not for inherent stinginess. Whether good or bad, both of those dispositions refer to their person, not to their duties. Yes, the minister strives to preserve the dignity of his own assignment, have several persons as servants, and, at appropriate moments, organize very splendid gatherings. The state must also designate a salary for the minister such that it suffices

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[501] Marāghah-ī, Ed. Sipānlū 2010: 221.

for his necessary expenses, and the minister must be grateful for it.[502]

This excerpt touches on the issues about ministers that are crucial for the country's development. The narration outlines the important aspects involved in 'creating' an excellent minister: the required characteristics, non-biased treatment and designated salary. In other words, the suggestions are elements involved in creating a liberation path for the imprisoned nation. On a regular basis, SIB presents very lengthy suggestions of national management methods that mirror the style of a text book, which is the common characteristic of the Mirror of Princes genre.[503] SIB equally reflects the components of *Andarz* literature, or the Persian Mirror of Princes genre, in which popular works include *Siyāsatnāmah*[504] or *Siyār al-Mulūk*, written by Niẓām al-Mulk, as well as *Qābūsnāmah*,[505] written by Kaykāvūs. On the other hand, KPA clearly declares the recommendation of *Tāj al-Salāṭīn*,[506] written by Bukhārī al-Jawharī, which is one of the most well-known manuscripts in the Malay Mirror of Princes genre.[507]

The incorporation of the elements of the Mirror of Princes genre in the travel narratives can be seen as a tool to enhance the double-voicedness of nationalism that echoes behind the seemingly destructive descriptions of the community. Travel writing

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[502]Marāghah-ī, Trans. Clark 2006: 236.

[503] Mirror of Princes is a genre of advice literature that describes the management ethic for rulers.

[504]The English translation for the title *Siyāsatnāmah* is the Book of Government. It was written in the eleventh century at the request of Mālik Shāh.

[505] *Qābūsnāmah is a* well-known work from the Persian Mirror of Princes genre. It is written in the framework of a father's advice and memoir to a son.

[506] *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* is a Malay book of the Mirror of Princes genre written by Bukhari al-Jawhari in the 17th century. It is believed to be written based on the Andarz genre of Persian literature.

[507] In Malay, the Mirror of Princes genre is known as Sastera Ketatanegaraan.

becomes the most suitable method of disseminating the awareness of captivity, since it provides authentic accounts from travellers who have witnessed the reality of society. Although there are ambiguous lines between fact and fiction in the travelogues, particularly in SIB, which is obviously a travel fiction, the elements of travel and first-person perspectives somehow appear convincing to the readers.

One of the controversial strategies of KPA and SIB in presenting management advice is through comparisons with other nations. SIB compares Iran with various locations, such as Germany, Italy, London, Russia, Japan, Ethiopia and the Sudan. In general, SIB tries to demonstrate the difference between Western and Eastern nations. On the other hand, KPA boldly makes biased comparisons between the Malay states managed by the Malay sultanate and the Malay states under British colonial influence, especially Singapore (Abdullah's place of residence). For instance:

> *Jauh beza-nya antara negeri-negeri Melayu dengan negeri yang di-bawah perentah Inggeris itu atas beberapa perkara. Pertama-tama: tiada aman dalam negeri Melayu daripada harta atau jiwa atau daripada barang suatu. Maka dalam negeri Inggeris, ada aman ia-itu terpelihara daripada segala bahaya. Kedua: amanah, maka ia-itu tiada dalam negeri Melayu, maka ada dalam negeri Inggeris. Ketiga: dalam negeri Melayu, ada hamba-hamba raja yang boleh membuat apa-apa yang tiada patut atas hamba Allāh; kerana apabila mati sa-orang hamba raja, bela-nya tujoh orang. Maka dalam negeri Inggeris tiada demikian.Maka jikalau anak Raja Inggeris, atau raja sa-kali pun membunoh sa-orang dengan tiada sa-benar-nya, maka ia-itu akan di-bunoh juga hukum-nya.*[508]

> I summarized above the difference between the rule of the Malay States and that of English countries and will now expound them in detail.
> In the first place in the Malay States there is no peace either for a man himself or for his property or for anything else; while under English rule one is protected from all dangers.

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[508] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. al-Edrus 1960: 190.

> Secondly, in Malay States there is no security such as English Territory gives.
>
> Thirdly, in Malay States there are Rajas' Slaves who maltreat God's people at their pleasure, and, if a Raja's Slave is killed, seven lives are forfeit. In English territory if a ruler's son, or even a ruler himself, were to kill a man unlawfully, he would be sentenced to death.[509]

Clearly, the passage demonstrates the difference between Malay and English-ruled states, and its preference leans heavily towards the English. The comparison focuses on three important factors, safety, honesty and justice, which seem to be absent from Malay states. The differentiation might make it appear hegemonic and ethnocentric; however, from another perspective, it can be deemed as the hidden voice of nationalism. In this regard, the comparisons are intentional, to serve as positive provocation or wake up calls in relation to captivity awareness. However, the incitement plays a double role as an alternative for solutions where role models are introduced as guidance towards a possible reformation of the imprisonment. In fact, KPA goes further, with not only comparison, but also with praise for the British coloniser and a declaration of gratitude for a Singaporean residency that is a British colony. Daringly, the utmost respect and preference for the British king, compared to the Malay sultan, is presented:

> *"Bagaimana, tuan, kalau Raja Inggeris di-suroh-nya bekerja akan raayat-nya, ada-kah di-beri-nya upah atau tidak?" Maka jawab sahaya, "Jangankan raja-raja di-sini, kalau Sultan Inggeris itu sa-kali pun, jikalau ia hendak menyurohkan barang sa-suatu pekerjaan, melainkan di-tentukan-nya upah-nya dahulu; kalau tidak, orang tidak mau kerja."[510]*

> "Tell us, Sir, if an English ruler wants the people to work does he pay them?"

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[509] Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 68.

[510] Abdullah Munshi, Ed. al-Edrus 1960: 154-155.

> "Not only the English rulers out here! I said. "The Sultan of England himself would not make anyone work except for agreed pay; of otherwise, the man would refuse to work".[511]

In the conversation with the villagers, KPA highlights the British king's superiority after narrating a series of complaints from the villagers about the Malay rulers. Here, the words *'Raja Inggeris'* (English king) are noticeable in the villagers' comments. However, the reply addresses the same person by a different name, which is *'Sultan Inggeris'*. In fact, Sultan also means king; however, it is specifically used for Muslim rulers and it is very unusual for it to be used for a king of a Christian empire. The choice of *'Sultan Inggeris'* makes KPA appears to be an Anglophilic text, especially with its continuous praise for the coloniser. However, this word choice can be considered as a strategy to help the nation by providing a role model who befits the characteristics of a Sultan, despite the King's real identity as the king of a Christian kingdom. In conclusion, KPA and SIB are heteroglossic travel narratives that strive to spread captivity awareness in order to free the nation from sinking deeper into captivity.

Freedom is already an abstract notion and, therefore, liberation from conceptual captivity is a very complicated struggle. Nevertheless, the narratives have played their part. Now it depends on the readers to benefit from their writings and to act accordingly. It is stated in the Holy Qurān:

إِنَّ اللهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ[512]

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[511]Abdullah Munshi, Trans. Coope 1948: 55.

[512] Sūrah al-Raʿd Verse 11.

> Verily, God does not change men's condition unless they change their inner selves.[513]

In agreement with the message of the importance of awareness and effort for development in the Qurān, both travel narratives remain as cultural nationalist products, with their own distinctive styles. Although the travelogues contain active dialogism that portrays various forms of captivity, they inspire generations to liberate the captive nation. This sparks curiosity about travel narratives that portray the opposite, which is freedom. To be specific, how can a travelogue discover liberation from notions of captivity through travelling? After exploring numerous concepts of captivity in previous chapters, I will focus on the freedom from notions of captivity in the next chapter. Until now the study has explored captivity within the body, the mind and the nation; therefore, for the next chapter we will approach captivity through a spiritual aspect by exploring the soul, as it contains the key to either being in real captivity or genuine liberation.

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[513] Asad 1984: 360.

5 CHAPTER 5: THE SOUL

Captivity and freedom are paradoxical concepts, yet they cannot be completely separated from each other. Freedom might be discovered within captivity and imprisonment might happen amidst liberation. In other words, both concepts are always intertwined with each other in any type of journey, either physical, mental or spiritual. Therefore, is it possible to obtain an authentic freedom without having a connection to any notion of captivity? Both concepts are philosophical and, therefore, the validation will be indefinite. If we review all the mediums of captivity that we have discussed so far, the body, the mind and the nation, they do not have complete power to control either captivity or freedom. In general, external help is needed in order to obtain freedom for the mediums, such as assistance from a master, family members, friends, society and leaders.

However, it is different with the soul as outside intervention is not required to control the notions of captivity or freedom within it. It is completely under the power of the individual, yet it is the most difficult mission compared to the other mediums. This is because the biggest enemy to battle is the self/soul, which is the most personal and the most significant essence of a human being. Hence, we can say that the ability to control one's own soul provides a genuine freedom that overthrows other notions of captivity.

This chapter will examine a Persian travelogue written by Ḥājj Sayyāḥ, entitled *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang*, which presents a journey of escaping mental and conceptual captivity and heading towards absolute liberation by disciplining the soul. However, to make the regimen effective, the awareness of being in invisible

imprisonment is essential. With the achievement of captivity awareness, the soul can

be trained with discipline and, only then, will the path towards freedom be available.

Therefore, this chapter will explain the concept of captivity awareness first, before

introducing the travelogue and its author and discussing the analysis.

5.1 EARLY AWARENESS OF CAPTIVITY[514]

گفتم آقای من، من اگر صاحب علم و فهم بودم چرا بهر دیار سرگردان می
گشتم وبقدریکه میدانستم از معنی آن گفتم و بعد عرض کردم وضع مملکت
ما این است که شخص باید زحمتها بکشد و تصدیق نامه بگیرد آنوقت به
لیاقت بهر او خدمت رجوع میشود و من بنده را حالت جوانی و تن پروری
مانع از تحصیل گردید، بعد از آنکه قبح نادانی را دانستم دیگر روی ماندن
و تکلم با مردم نداشته فرار کردم، الحال نزد اهل علم نمی توانم صحبت
بدارم ولی چون اینجا ها غریبم کسی نمیداند که من نمیدانم.[515]

> "If I had knowledge, sir, I wouldn't be wandering in the countries of
> the world," and added, "In my country, one should study with effort
> and get a certificate. Then in accordance with his ability he can have a
> position, but laziness prevented me from studying in my youth. When
> I realized the defects of ignorance, I was ashamed to encounter
> people, and I escaped. Even now I cannot speak with an intellectual.
> But, as I am a foreigner, nobody knows that I am uneducated".[516]

During a conversation with a wise Swedish man who knows Arabic, Ḥājj Sayyāḥ reveals

his awareness of the 'prison houses' in his life: the entrapment in negligence, in his

inferiority complex and, particularly, in ignorance. In light of this realization, Sayyāḥ

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[514] The ability to recognize/acknowledge notions of captivity.

[515] Muḥammad ʿAlī Sayyāḥ, *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang*, Ed. ʿAlī Dihbāshī, (Tihrān: Nashr-i Nāshir, 1984), 224-225.

[516] Muḥammad ʿAlī Sayyāḥ, *An Iranian in Nineteenth Century Europe: The Travel Diaries of Hâj Sayyâh, 1859-1877*, Trans. Mehrbanoo Nasser Deyhim, (Bethesda, Md: IBEX Publishers, 1998), 167.

For this chapter, all English translations for the Persian quotes from *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang* are taken from this book. For clarification, Deyhim's translations are not always accurate as she employs a lot of condensing. However, her translations are still very useful for text analysis in this chapter.

looks for a path to liberation, which he finds in travelling. The word "*farār kardam*", which means "I escaped", signifies his withdrawal from interacting with people who make him feel ashamed of his inadequacy. From another perspective, it connotes his attempts to free himself from the captivity of ignorance. This escape mission is reinforced by the active voice of captivity awareness in the Persian travelogue, *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang* (SHS), as Sayyāḥ continuously laments his entrapment in a prison of idiocy. He is determined to set himself free by surviving through numerous layers of escape gateways. Firstly, he leaves his own community to avoid its suffocating traditions, particularly the arranged marriage to his cousin. Secondly, he flees from his homeland, which is restrictive in terms of a lack of opportunities and resources.

ʿAlī Dihbāshī, the editor of SHS, asserts that, despite the active escape theme demonstrated by the fleeing from home, family, conventional customs, stereotypical study styles and Iranian politics, Sayyāḥ does not actually abandon self as he tries earnestly to promote his individuality.[517] How did Ḥājj Sayyāḥ's escape mission, from being a captive of society and traditions to being a liberated individual, influence his narrative? What is the role of travelling in his mission towards liberation? Before continuing with the analysis, I will introduce the Persian travelogue and its writer and explain the travelogue's significance for this study in relation to the imprisonment of the soul.

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[517] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 14.

5.2 *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang* [518](SHS) by Ḥājj Sayyāḥ

Ḥājj Sayyāḥ, whose real name was Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Maḥallātī, was born into a family who emphasised religious education. When he was young, he was sent away to a clerical scholarship in various locations, including Tihrān, Karbalā and Najaf, but did not complete it in the end. His perpetual eagerness to learn and discover new things was stunted by a lack of opportunities. The prospects of an arranged marriage with his own cousin, a pre-determined life path as a typical cleric and the unstable Iranian political conditions that caused the people unwarranted misfortune, [519] culminated in his decision to pursue a personal journey, despite insufficient funds and preparation. Staying true to his known name, Sayyāḥ, which means "traveller", he undertook intermittent voyages around the world over a twenty-year period[520] and successfully penned a number of travel diaries. [521] His domestic and foreign expeditions are significant as they mark the meeting of an Iranian with the outer world, especially with the West, hence the importance of his travel narratives in the study of Iran in the 19th century.[522] Sayyāḥ was also the first Iranian to become naturalized as an American citizen, whilst also being the pioneer of modernist travel writers and

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[518] The English translation of the title will be: *Ḥajj Sayyāḥ's Travelogue to Europe*

[519] Ali Ferdowsi, "ḤĀJJ SAYYĀḤ," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XI/5, pp. 556-560 and XI/6, p. 561, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajj-Sayyāḥ.

[520] ʿAlī Dihbāshī claims that Ḥājj Sayyāḥ spent 20 years travelling around the world while Ali Ferdowsi suggests that Sayyāḥ travelled for 18 years. See: Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 10 and Ali Ferdowsi, "Ḥājj Sayyāḥ: Fashioning a Self by Exploring the World", *Middle East Review* of IDE JETRO, vol. 2, 2015: 126.

[521] To read his travel diaries, see Muḥammad ʿAlī Sayyāḥ, Ed. ʿAlī Dihbāshī, *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang*, (Tehran: Nashr-e Nashir, 1984) for his travels to Europe and Ḥājj Muḥammad-ʿAlī Sayyāḥ, Ed. Ḥāmid Sayyāḥ, *Khāṭirāt-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ: yā Dawrah-yi Khawf va Vaḥshat*, (Tihrān: Gulkār, 1967) for his expedition to America.

[522] Ferdowsi 2015: 123-126.

contemporary jail diary authors. Furthermore, Sayyāḥ experienced physical imprisonment for 22 months between 1891 and 1893 due to political issues.[523]

Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang (SHS) is not particularly a Sufi manuscript, however the tropes and ambiance of the Persian travelogue mirror the characteristics of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism,[524] as it portrays the way in which Sayyāḥ deals with worldly and spiritual constraints. It depicts Sayyāḥ's spontaneous travel adventure while being ill-equipped in preparation and experience. With dependence on God, he interprets his poor state as being unrestricted by any form of worldly captivity. The early stages of his journey are centred on the concept of *zuhd,* a period of extreme simplicity during which he travels mostly by foot, sleeps where he lays and eats whatever is available. However, he feels content and enjoys his freedom from being bound to tradition and society's expectations. His body, constantly subjected to pain from fatigue and hunger, puts him in a position to strengthen his reliance on, and relationship with, God. He pushes against his physical boundaries to pursue his dream of *ṭalab al-'ilm.* This copies the image of a dervish in Sufism, who leads a life of extreme minimalism. Therefore, Sayyāḥ represents the essence of Sufism, which is tolerating scarcity by fully submitting to God and achieving completeness through selflessness.[525]

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[523] Ali Ferdowsi, "ḤĀJJ SAYYĀḤ," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XI/5, pp. 556-560 and XI/6, p. 561, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajj-Sayyāḥ.

[524]Ferdowsi 2015: 123.

[525] Abu 'l-Qasim al-Qushayri, *Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism,* Trans. Alexander D. Knysh (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2007), 290.

The later part of the travelogue shows a tendency towards modernity through the focused description of the Western advancement. This inclination does not correspond with the typical Sufi element, which only emphasises spiritual matters. Peter Avery claims that the obvious paradoxical Sufi style in SHS highlights the misconception in Sufism concerning the neglect of realistic elements.[526] This might be a reason for Sayyāḥ to consider himself as a liberal dervish, as he does not fit the criteria of a typical Sufi. Nevertheless, the concept of Sufism is portrayed in a particular style through the dialogical display of active perseverance in eschewing dependence on worldly matters and a high level of contentment in extreme conditions.

Since Sayyāḥ is considered to be one of the most influential people in the history of modern Iran, due to his political activities,[527] his writings attract researchers. This is especially true of SHS as it describes the first encounter of a modern Iranian with the Western world. With major self-revolution apparent throughout the journey, SHS has mostly been studied through the concept of transformation. Therefore, the evolution of a 'zero' into a 'hero' might have led SHS to be perceived not only as a travel narrative, but also as a Bildungsroman piece.[528] Kamran Rastegar, in his book *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe*, emphasizes Sayyāḥ's skill of incorporating the ideas of personal growth within the travel narrative framework. Despite the odyssey being one of individual development, in general Sayyāḥ is "silent"

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[526] Peter Avery, "Introduction" in *An Iranian in Nineteenth Century Europe: The Travel Diaries of Hâj Sayyâh, 1859-1877*, (Bethesda, Md: IBEX Publishers, 1998), 12.

[527] Sayyāḥ is deemed as influential in politics of Iran. For more information, read section "Role in the Constitutional Revolution" at Ali Ferdowsi, "ḤĀJJ SAYYĀḤ," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XI/5, pp. 556-560 and XI/6, p. 561, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajj-Sayyāḥ.

[528] Ferdowsi 2015: 124. and Claus V. Pedersen, "Pre-Modern and Early Modern Persian Literature: Written While Travelling?" *Persian Literary Studies Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, (2012): 82.

about his private matters but focuses instead on the theme of transformation. Therefore, Rastegar commends SHS as one of the pioneers in breaking the author-focused context in travel narratives by presenting a subject-focused travelogue. [529]

On the other hand, Ali Ferdowsi, in his article "Ḥājj Sayyāḥ: Fashioning a Self by Exploring the World", claims that Sayyāḥ is silent in expressing his personal transformation. Instead of telling, he 'presents' his progress through his encounters with the modernity of the foreign world. Therefore, Ali suggests that Sayyāḥ incorporates the notion of performativity by relaying his development process through modernization. Nevertheless, Sayyāḥ is not easily affected by culture shock, instead he 'interprets' the alien modernity to fit his audience's capacity by fashioning himself accordingly.[530]

Meanwhile, in the article "Pre-Modern and Early Modern Persian Literature: Written While Travelling?", Claus V. Pedersen asserts that Sayyāḥ voices his contradictory ideas boldly (compared with other Iranians of his time), for instance, in his preference towards the systemization and freedom of human rights as the keys to a developed society. [531] His evolution, from being a traditionalist to becoming a modernist, leads to a wider perspective of freedom. Moreover, since he had no expectant readers, such as a patron, he was not forced to restrict himself in expressing his reflections and his literary style. The mission of gaining freedom from the prison of ignorance serves as an inspiration for the distinctive narrative style in SHS. Perhaps

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[529] Rastegar 2007: 9 and 84.

[530] Ferdowsi 2015: 125-126.

[531] Pedersen 2012: 80.

this is why the information in SHS appears raw and lacks proper organisation in its relevance. At times, Sayyāḥ mentions an event without any significance, as if he is recording a travel report by gathering extensive information. His friend even criticises his hastiness in visiting so many places in such a short period of time. There seems to be a pattern of short visits in SHS, where Sayyāḥ visits a location briefly, records his experience there and leaves. Despite the brief visits, he documents everything for his travelogue. From this perspective, SHS can be viewed as a very passionate knowledge seeker's notebook, a travel guidebook that contains a plethora of information or a 'thesis' that proves that travelling can be a tool to escape the prison house of ignorance and to gain a more meaningful freedom.

Consequently, this sparks curiosity about the interaction between freedom and captivity in SHS, because the fight for, and focus on, freedom usually originate from the pressure of being stuck in notions of captivity. Unfortunately, there is still a lack of studies that focus on the interplay between captivity and freedom, especially ones that involve spiritual and mental aspects. Although, later in his life, Sayyāḥ eventually falls into physical captivity due to political controversy, my focus will be on the interrelation of conceptual captivity and freedom specifically within the soul.

In this chapter, SHS is analysed as a travelogue that uses the notions of Sufism in order to gain freedom, through travelling, from the imprisonment of ignorance. Different from other chapters, I will approach this chapter by underpinning the 'purification' process in reaching the exceptional kind of liberation. Firstly, the concept of knowledge and ignorance that became the basis of the journey in SHS will be presented. Secondly, the concept of capturing the soul in order to escape imprisonment by idiocy is discussed. Thirdly, the six chains of soul that appear in SHS

are introduced. Finally, the journey of freedom in SHS is explained according to the framework of Sufi concepts about human conditions in an odyssey towards God.

5.3 KNOWLEDGE VERSUS IGNORANCE

According to William C. Chittick, in his book entitled *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-ʿArabi's Metaphysics of Imagination*, knowledge can either be referred to as *ʿilm* or as *maʿrifah* in the Sufi world. *ʿIlm* is gained through Islamic or Sufi coaching so, therefore, it is naturally translated as "sciences" and "doctrine". On the other hand, *maʿrifah* is comparable with the uninterrupted wisdom gained through revelation, observation and experience, so Sufis mostly consider *maʿrifah* to be more privileged than *ʿilm* and, therefore, the common translation for *maʿrifah* is gnosis (knowledge of spiritual mysteries).[532] In the case of SHS, the focus is on seeking *ʿilm* rather than *maʿrifah,* as frequently narrated, for instance:

<div dir="rtl">

به زبان ارمنی پرسید چه می کنی؟
گفتم: نقد عمری بهای کرایه نشستن بر زمین صرف می کنم.
گفت: چه مرضی بر شما عارض شده؟
گفتم: نادانی[533]

</div>

> He asked me in Armenian what I did.
> I said, "I spend my life as rent for living on earth."
> He asked, "What is your illness?"
> I answered, "Ignorance."[534]

The awareness of being stuck in ignorance makes the mission to seek knowledge throughout the travel become clear and persistent. In SHS, the 'ṭalab al-

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[532] William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-ʿArabi's Metaphysics of Imagination*, (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989), 148-149.

[533] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 55.

[534] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 44.

'ilm' journey is notably focused on the effort of learning numerous languages, which then leads to amassing information on anthropology, geography and psychology. Although Sayyāḥ's target knowledge does not seem to fit the typical Sufi category of knowledge, it is still reasonable to classify it in the "*ilm*" group.

Being incompetent in the science of languages makes Sayyāḥ feel useless and helpless. The condition builds an invisible prison of ignorance that makes him feel suffocated, hence his persistence in finding a way to break through. According to Ibn ʿArabī, knowledge will only become compatible with the soul and generate pure happiness with every level of development through its constant application with faith.[535] In Sayyāḥ's case, after fleeing from a series of challenging circumstances in his homeland, he is finally alone; however, he is still imprisoned in ignorance and this ignites an internal confrontation. How can a battle with his own soul help him to gain freedom? His soul is deemed as being spoilt, in the comfort zone of ignorance, due to past laziness. It is incompatible with knowledge and, therefore, he plans paradoxically to achieve freedom from the prison of ignorance by choosing the imprisonment of the soul.

5.4   IMPRISONING THE SOUL

In Sufism, the soul (*nafs*) is not considered as the body or the being. Similar to the spirit (*rūḥ*), the soul is an exquisite essence in the physical body. In binary opposition, the spirit stores the positive attributions, while the soul records the negative aspects. These components are constantly battling each other, signifying the

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[535] Chittick 1989: 152.

characteristics of a human being.[536] Referring to SHS, apart from the lack of

opportunity, Sayyāḥ admits that laziness is the weakness that contributes towards his

idiocy. Laziness resides in the *nafs* and hinders development. Therefore, the *nafs* has

to be tamed and managed so that it does not overthrow the *rūḥ*. A renowned Sufi

master, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, lists the hardships required to achieve the noble level of

managing the *nafs*.

> No one will ever attain the degree of the righteous until he has
> overcome six obstacles: first, that he shut the door of bounty and
> open the door of hardship; second, that he shut the door of vainglory
> and open the door of humility; third, that he shut the door of
> response and open the door of earnest striving; fourth, that he shut
> the door of sleep and open the door of night vigil; fifth, that he shut
> the door of wealth and open the door of poverty; sixth. That he shut
> the door of hope [for a better future] and open the door of readiness
> for death.[537]

Correspondingly, SHS depicts these difficulties in Sayyāḥ's spontaneous

expedition to Europe, which indicates his determination in the inner battle. In other

words, Sayyāḥ purposely puts his soul in captivity during his significant mission

towards his freedom from ignorance and then the captive soul is trained vigorously at

the travel site. In Sufism, travel (*safar*) is classified into two categories: the physical

journey, which involves movement through spaces, and the spiritual voyage, which is

linked to inner improvement. Physical travel is optional in Sufism but a few people,

such as Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, spent their whole lives in

a state of travel during their missions of 'finding' God.[538] In SHS, Sayyāḥ single-

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[536] Al-Qushayri, Trans. Knysh, 2007: 109.

[537] Ibid 2007: 119.

[538] Ibid 2007: 297.

mindedly disciplines his soul during the expedition, which is like the analogy of taming a pet by chaining it. The effort to break free from the "prison of ignorance" proves that the travelogue transcends the typical elements of physical travel. In general, SHS displays six chains in capturing the soul, namely physical hardship, renunciation, poverty, loneliness, illness and being on the verge of death, which are particularly intense during the travel's early phase.

5.4.1 Physical Hardship

هر چه اصرار کرد سوار نماید قبول ننمودم. بالجمله رفتیم تا به کاروانسرایی رسیدیم. قدری که آسوده شدم پاهایم گرفت بنحوی که نمی توانستم حرکت کنم. چند تا ول هم از زیر انگشتها بروز کرد. دیدم سایر پیاده ها گردو را گرفته بر پا می مالند و از پشکل شتر دود می دهند. خواستم گردو بگیرم پول سیاه نداشتم، صاحب گردو هم پول سیاه نداشت. ناچار به همان پشکل شتر دود داده شب را روز آوردم.

بنای رفتن رسید. دیدم قوهٔ حرکت ندارم. باز تصور کردم در راه مردن بهتر است از عاجز بودن. بالجمله بهر مشقتی که بود رفتم. قدری که رفتم پاهایم باز شد، چنانچه جلوقافله می رفتم. رفته رفته آبله پاها بهتر شد.[539]

He insisted that I should ride with him, but I refused. When I wanted to get up I had cramp in my legs and could not move. I also noticed that a few blisters had appeared under my toes. I saw that travellers on foot rubbed walnuts on their feet and held their feet in the smoke of burning camel dung. I did not have any change to buy walnuts, so I spent the night by keeping my feet in the smoke of the burning dung.

The next morning, at the time of setting off I was not able to move, but I preferred to die on the road than to stay disabled. Therefore, with great difficulty I started walking. After a short distance, my legs warmed up, and I was in front of the caravan. The blister on my toes got better too.[540]

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[539] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 26-27.

[540] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 20.

In this excerpt, Sayyāḥ prefers walking in harsh conditions even though, in the beginning, he is offered a place in a caravan. This marks the first chain for the soul, which is "physical hardship". In fact, during the journey's early stages, almost all kinds of travel facilities are rejected, despite their availability. Any form of comfort during the travel might become a distraction from the mission. Cramps and blisters are not a hindrance as they become an encouragement and achievement in the journey. Physical pain serves as a "whip" that stops the soul from going wild and ensures its focus on the goal.

5.4.2   Renunciation (*Zuhd*)

Sayyāḥ maintains his lifestyle of extreme minimalism, especially at the beginning of his travel, indicating the second chain for the soul, which is "renunciation" (*zuhd*). Ibn al-ʿArabī indicates that *zuhd* might be useful in the early stages of a journey, as Sayyāḥ went through, but it cannot be maintained to the extreme, since the world is the most notable indication of God's power. He does not recognise it as an indicator of excellence in the path towards God, because renouncing the world might lead to a decrease in knowing God through His creations.[541]

Nevertheless, *zuhd* plays an important role as the chain for the soul in Sayyāḥ's mission since it makes him concentrate on *ṭalab al-ʿilm,* instead of being indulged in comfort. Ibn Jallāʾ explains that renunciation highlights worldly matters as temporal

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[541] Chittick 1989: 157.

and leading to nothing, therefore easing the process of abandoning life's mundane issues.[542] SHS displays great perseverance in extremely unsatisfactory conditions.

من به سکو بر آمده پاره آجری بالین نموده عبا را نیمی فرش ونیمی لحاف، خوابیدم. ولی باطناً خوشحال بودم که چندان از کسی منت نکشیدم. ولی پارس سگها و سرمای زمستان وفریاد شاگرد داروغه ها نگذاشت لحظه ای بیاسایم. به علاوه موش هم در زیر عبایم به اقسام مختلف آزارم می کرد. گاهی هم سگی حمله می آورد ولی به حکم ((غیر تسلیم ورضا کوچاره [ای]))، از هر جهت آسوده بودم.[543]

I climbed the platform. I used a brick for a cushion and as usual used half of my robe as a mattress and the other half for covering myself and tried to sleep. Deep in my heart I was glad that I was under nobody's obligation for a place for the night. But the barking of the dogs, the cold weather, and the shouting of the night watch boys did not let me have any peace even for a second. Also, there were mice wandering in my robe. Once in a while a dog attacked me. I could not help it and had to be content.[544]

The excerpt demonstrates Sayyāḥ's utterly simple sleeping conditions, with a brick as a pillow, a platform as a bed, cold weather as a heater, barking dogs as music and mice as sleeping partners. Moreover, the only garment that Sayyāḥ has is the robe on his body, which also serves as a blanket. Nevertheless, he maintains his hygiene by washing and drying his clothes at the lake every week. The various shortcomings in his life boost his passion for knowledge, eliminate any possible distractions and constantly alert him about his captivity.

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[542] Al-Qushayri, Trans. Knysh 2007: 135.

[543] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 37-38.

[544] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 29.

5.4.3 Poverty

The third chain is poverty, which leads to extreme hunger. Its high importance in training his soul leads SHS to dedicate a section to the issues of poverty and starvation.

دیدم بسیار گرسنه ام. بحدی که بتکلم قادر نیستم. بخیال افتادم که نزد بعضی از آشنایان بروم باز پشیمان شدم. دیدم مردن بهتر است از التجا به خلق بردن. باز با خود گفتم حفظ بدن واجب است. چاره ای باید کرد. باز بدلم گذشت که روزی دهنده می بیند که تو گرسنه و به چه حالتی. ناچار به همان وضع راضی شده و خود را مشغول به کتاب داشتم؛ باز بخیالم رسید که تو نزدیک به مردنی و می خواهی چیز بیاموزی؟[545]

I was very hungry, so much so that I could not speak. It came to my mind that I could go to some people I knew, but I then thought dying was far better than begging. Still I thought that protection of the body was compulsory and I had to do something. But I said to myself that the Benefactor knew in what condition I was. So I resisted and kept busy with my book. I realized that I was close to death. How could I learn?[546]

Notably, intense hunger significantly weakens the body. However, Sayyāḥ will not resort to begging as he considers that the action would potentially distract from the training of his soul. His stubbornness is parallel to the concept of servanthood ('ubūdīyah). According to al-Nibājī:

The root of servant hood is in three things: you must not oppose any of His rulings; you must not withhold anything from Him; you must never be heard asking for something from someone other than Him.[547]

In this case, Sayyāḥ refuses to seek for help from others, despite his hunger, as he only depends on God. However, this does not mean that he does not have to exert

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[545] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 51.

[546] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 41.

[547] Al-Qushayrī, Trans. Knysh 2007: 212.

any effort. At one point, he uses the barter system by exchanging small handkerchiefs made from his turban for yogurt and bread.

5.4.4 Loneliness

As a solo traveller who embarks on a solitary journey in distressing conditions, Sayyāḥ does feel isolated. Despite the pain of isolation, he shackles his soul with the fourth chain, which is "loneliness". Remarkably, Sayyāḥ finds a travel companion (ṣaḥabah) who is willing to undergo both the hardship and the good times with him during several parts of the expedition. Even so, he is still alone for the majority of the travel period, accompanied purely by solitude. This occasionally transforms into homesickness.

<div dir="rtl">

از آنجا به اردو باد معاودت نموده واز اردو باد به جانب نخجوان. چون راه هموار است سوار عراده گردیده روانه شدم. در عرض راه که می رفتم ایران نمایان بود زیرا که نیم فرسخ مسافت داشت به رود ارس. آنجا به دلم گذشت که سیاحت بس است، بیایم به ایران. رفته رفته دیدم خیال قوّت می گیرد، چشم از ایران گردانیدم و به خود گفتم حال که قدم در وادی سیاحت نهادی، جهد کن بلکه بعون الهی بیشتر آبادی عالم را تماشا کنی، هر چه مقدّر است خواهد شد، اگر قسمت مراجعت به ایران داری بعد از سیاحت برو که کور نباشی واگر عمرت بسر رسد خدای هر دو جهان یکی است وهمه جا ملک اوست. به همین خیالات خود را سر گرم داشته تا از دره ای که ایران از نظر محو شد گذشتم.[548]

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I returned to Ordubad and then to Nakhichevan. I went by cart. The road was smooth. As the cart moved on, at one point, my country Iran came in view. It was only three kilometres away from the Aras River. The view of Iran tempted me to go back to my country. I thought it was enough traveling. Gradually the idea of going back to Iran became stronger, "As a traveller I should try to see more of the world and then go home with a better knowledge of the world; and if I don't survive there is no difference where I die. I believe that God

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[548] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 382-383.

in unique and all the world is His. With those reflections, I amused myself until I passed the valley and there was no more sight of Iran.[549]

As he moves closer to Iran's border, his homesickness leads him to think about terminating the journey. Nevertheless, his self-assurance and determination to be free from the grip of idiocy allows him to ignore the temptation and to continue the expedition. In later parts of his travel, he appreciates the "sweetness" of loneliness, as it provides him with the "chance to live his dream and is like a friend who never offends him".[550]

5.4.5   Illness

Next, "illness" is the fifth chain for the soul when the journey's harsh conditions cause Sayyāḥ's health to deteriorate rapidly.

<div dir="rtl">

ولی من چنان در ضعف بودم که گمان بودم که گمان به منزل رسیدن نداشتم و بسیار دلتنگ بودم که اینقدر ذلت چرا. چرا نمی میرم. اجل مرا می گذارد وجوانهای با وجود را می برد. در اینحال گفت شما را چه می شود. گفتم اگر قدری بیاسایم خوبست و سر را برمیز نهادم. نفس شمار ، چنانچه گویا الان تسلیم می کنم.[551]

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I was so weak, I imagined I would never be able to reach home. It was very sad that I had to bear so much suffering. Why didn't I die? How could it be explained? I lived despite my condition while healthy capable youths died. My host asked me what was wrong with me. I put my head on the table and told him that I had better rest for a while. It was hard for me to breathe, and I thought my life would end there and then.[552]

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[549] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 282.

[550] Ibid: 346.

[551] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 56.

[552] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 45.

Consequently, the weakness ignites Sayyāḥ's sadness and doubts; his questions echo tones of regret and surrender. Loneliness and helplessness, coupled with little to no strength, make him feel stuck between life and death. However, the comparison between his weak, yet living, self and the healthy, yet dying, youth indicates his undying spirit. Weakness encourages him to be more passionate about knowledge.

5.4.6 The Verge of Death

In SHS, the concept of death is never portrayed as being frightening. This is because the "brink of death" is the sixth chain for the soul. Sayyāḥ fakes his death to his family members in order to gain the freedom to pursue his dreams and to save them from the misery of waiting. A few times in the travelogue, dying is shown to be preferred over living as an ignorant person or a flatterer. Apart from that, his awareness about captivity usually increases when he anticipates death.

> با هزار زحمت خود را بسرا رسانیده با نهایت صعوبت از پاه ها بالا رفتم
> به نحوی که دستی به زانو و دستیم به دیوار بود. در را گشوده به روی تختهٔ
> مرحمتی دربان افتادم وابداً خیالی به غیر مرگ متصورم نبود. لهذا در را
> بستم که کسی نیاید و آزارم نکند و خیال می کردم که منتهای زندگی من در
> این عالم چند ساعتی خواهد بود و دلم را به محسنات مرگ خوش می کردم
> و شکر می نمودم. چون عالم غریبی آنوقت مشاهده می نمودم و با خود
> گفتگوها داشتم. شرح آن مطالب بی لطف نیست، شاید دیگران را تجربتی
> حاصل آید. بالجمله همهٔ خیالم متوجه مرگ بود و فوائد آنرا بخاطر می آوردم.
> مثلا خیال می کردم احتیاج بهتر است یا مرگ؟ حبس بودن بهتر است یا
> مرگ؟ حمل بار گران کردن بهتر است یا مرگ؟ به این خیالات رفته رفته
> شوق بی اندازه ای به مردن بهم رسانیدم.[553]

I climbed the stairs by having one hand on my knee and the other on the wall. I opened the door and fell on the board that the gatekeeper had given me. I had nothing in mind but waited for death. I locked the door so that nobody would bother me. I thanked God and consoled

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[553] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 52.

myself in considering good points of death. I imagined a strange world at that time. I believe it is proper to mention my experience for others. All I had in mind was death and the benefits of dying. I compared, for instance, indigence versus dying, and which was preferable; imprisonment or dying; carrying heavy burdens or dying. These comparisons gave me an eagerness of death. [554]

The vivid description provides the melancholic tone of someone who is simply waiting for death. Even though the condition is depressing, the voices of contentment and serenity resonate loudly. The comparisons of death with other elements highlight Sayyāḥ's preference towards the former. This also connotes high levels of captivity consciousness, which makes him willing to sacrifice anything for liberation. In other words, death is more desirable than letting himself become a prisoner of any condition or ideology.

Overall, SHS presents six chains for the soul in preparing for refuge from idiocy. In no particular order, they are physical hardship, renunciation, poverty, loneliness, sickness and the verge of death. Notably, the physical body plays a vital role, as each chain tests the physical body to its extreme limits. Tarek El-Ariss in his book *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Polittical* also views the haggard body of a traveller as depicted in Arabic travel narrative as a site to solve and create the complicated modernity encounter between the East and the West. For him, "the body signifies, performs, and breaks down by collapsing as well as dismantling the master narratives of European civilization and of Arab modernity alike".[555] In the case

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[554] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 42.

[555] Tarek EL-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Political,* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 176.

of SHS, both the body and the soul are training hard to prepare for breaking out from the prison of ignorance, before the mind is ready to absorb all the wisdom. In other words, the six chains are in harmony in using the body as a training tool in the path towards freedom.

From another perspective, the chains of the soul, which portray acute hardship, are similar to the stages in Sufism known as *maqām*. The 'stage' (*maqām*) is gained through actions, as opposed to the 'state' (*ḥāl*), which is linked to supernatural gifts.[556] In order to experience the light of God, Sufis undergo several stages, in an orderly manner, namely (i) repentance, (ii) fear of the Lord (*warāʿ*), (iii) detachment (*zuhd*), (iv) poverty (*faqr*), (v) patience *(ṣabr)*, (vi) trust or self-surrender, and (vii) contentment (*riḍā*) .[557] Similar to a Sufi master, Sayyāḥ also experiences numerous difficulties, or stages, while heading towards the light of knowledge. However, his version of stages is different and is not in a particular order, as he does not fit the characteristics of the common Sufi.

No specific rules or numbers are set for the criteria of *maqam* or *hal;* however, practically, the number is known to be seven. For instance, ʿAṭṭār – the distinguished Persian Sufi poet – introduces his version of stages in his famous piece, *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (The Conference of Birds). He combines the states and stages, presenting seven valleys for the birds' journey which are (i) questing and seeking, (ii) the vale of love, (iii) the vale of knowledge, (iv) detachment, (v) pure unification, (vi) bewilderment, and, finally,

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[556] Rice Cyprian, *The Persian Sufis*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012) 32.

[557] For detailed explanation of the seven stages according the Persian Sufism, see: Idries Shah, *Sufi Thought and Action*, (London: Octagon Press, 1990).

(vii) poverty and utter loss of self (*fanāʾ*).[558] Attar incorporates Sufi elements in his narrative, but he creatively blends them into his version. Similarly, SHS integrated the Sufi elements of stages in its journey towards freedom, in its own particular style.

5.5   THE JOURNEY TOWARDS FREEDOM

Al-Qushayrī defines freedom (*ḥurīyah*) as not allowing oneself to become a slave to others, with the exception of God.[559] SHS displays extreme determination in gaining independence from being a slave to ignorance. Its narration of an escape route from conceptual captivity, in the form of actual physical travel, can be linked to the Sufi concept of the human conditions in the odyssey towards God. No specific names are available for each condition, but they are generally represented in four parts:[560]

1) Humanity (the common condition)

2) Discipleship (the presence on the path)

3) Actual capability (the beginning of advancement)

4) Unison with the Almighty (the absolute circumstance)

In SHS, these four stages of the journey to freedom can be symbolised by the elements of earth, water, air, and fire, which is further explained below. Throughout the expedition, Sayyāḥ has the opportunity to taste fragments of freedom, before he experiences his full version of freedom as a wise man in the final stage. SHS's portrayal of a journey towards knowledge might not be similar to a voyage towards the divine.

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[558] Cyprian 2012: 36-38.

[559] Al-Qushayri, Trans. Knysh 2007: 230.

[560] Shah 1990: 12.

However, from another perspective, both journeys signify a mission towards liberation from conceptual captivity by striving meticulously to achieve the goal.

5.5.1 Earth

Earth is the first stage, as it is a traveller's regular condition. The earth also connotes immobility, where a person is stuck in a state without any progress, as it is the notion of captivity in an unwanted condition. Referring to SHS, it is displayed in the condition prior to the start of Sayyāḥ's impromptu expedition, when he becomes aware of his own imprisonment and decides to travel the world.

In addition, he realises that the education system and tradition dialogically strengthen his captivity. Sayyāḥ is educated at schools that are limited to religious matters only, therefore he feels that knowledge diversity is not achievable. Meanwhile, he perceives the tradition in his society of marrying a cousin as limiting and interfering with his intention to find freedom in knowledge. To that end, he is determined to escape his community to undergo a journey towards liberty, with a mission to gain plenty of knowledge and experience.

5.5.2 Water

The second stage is water, which is defined as being on track. This is displayed when "fluidity" towards capability building begins to happen. In this stage, the process might be represented as a plant that starts to grow flowers. The Sufis view this level as "the vegetable stage", depicting the process of vegetable growth from the earth.[561] This level is illustrated in Sayyāḥ's lonely journey when he is faced with various difficulties. During this journey, Sayyāḥ imprisons his soul with the six chains explained in the

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[561] Shah 1990: 13.

previous subchapters. Notably, he expresses hints of depression several times

throughout the journey and he even contemplates drinking poison if he reaches his

limit.

5.5.2.1   First Liberation

The tone of the narration of this phase in SHS is a juxtaposition of melancholy and

dejection; however, it is gradually lifted upon entering the next phase. In fact, through

the intense discomfort, he gets his first taste of freedom.

> دیدم باز پاها پر آبله شده. حالت سابقه ام مجسم شده قدری با خود صحبت
> داشته از جهت یادآوری زمان گذشته. بعد برخاسته روانه براه اولسبرح شدم.
> راه همواری بود.
> قریب نیم فرسخ راه در دو طرف خیابان وباغات واشجار وانهار و جنگلهای
> فراوان. ولی تعریف کلی آزادی آنجاست که ابداً کسی را با کسی کاری نیست.
> شب وروز وبیابان وآبادی همه یکسان بودند. فی الواقع لذاتی داشت قدم زدن
> وتنها روی. بشخصی رسیدم، قدری میوه خریدم وآنرا شام خود قرار داده،
> در نهایت امنیّت در همان بیابان بدون بالا پوش راحت خوابیدم.[562]

> I noticed that I had blisters on my toes, and this reminded me of my
> condition in the past. After resting I continued walking to go to
> Adelsberg. The road was level and smooth. On the two sides of the
> road for about three kilometres there were garden, streams, and
> woods. What should be mentioned was the freedom I enjoyed there.
> Nobody bothered me. Night or day, in wilderness or town, it was the
> same. It was such a pleasure to walk there all alone. It was so safe that
> I slept in the open air without any bedding.[563]

No tones of regret or sadness are present, despite the hardships of travelling

in a worn-out physical state. On the contrary, the voices of happiness and

contentment are actively echoed. His observation of his surroundings become sharper

and he manages to enjoy and appreciate nature better. The limitations in his getaway

expedition provide a paradoxical reward, namely the serene loneliness, which is an

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[562] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 103.

[563] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 83.

intoxicating freedom that he has never tasted before. He is no longer bound to any

tradition, expectation or worldly need, since he is committed to his journey, where

only God matters. With a little taste of freedom, his determination to face all

hardships is increased and he strives to maintain this momentum throughout the

voyage.

5.5.3   Air

The third level is air, where the real potential evolves and, compared to the previous

stages, this is where the progress increases rapidly. Therefore, this position is

symbolised by the animal, which has more active and complicated movements

compared to the vegetable.[564]

5.5.3.1   Second Liberation

Specifically, Sayyāḥ's main concern is to be knowledgeable and his ultimate strategy

in achieving this is by learning various languages. He openly confesses his weakness:

بالجمله بجز جهت زبان ندانی از همه بابت آسوده بودم.[565]

My only handicap was the ignorance of the language[566]

Sayyāḥ regards language as a vital tool in an individual's development; therefore,

illiteracy is a chronic disability for him. This explains his dedication to learning as many

languages as he can, in whatever circumstances. He repeatedly promotes the

importance and benefits of multilingualism. As a dervish who cannot afford classes,

he adopts a tutorship exchange, where he trades teaching one language for being

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[564] Shah 1990: 13.

[565] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 44.

[566] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 35.

taught a new language. In the air stage, one of his amazing advancements is his ability to master different languages, including Turkish, Armenian, Russian, Ottoman Turkish, French and English. This achievement might be perceived as Sayyāḥ's second taste of a freedom fragment, due to its significance in escaping the prison of ignorance.

5.5.3.2   Third Liberation

Travelling becomes a platform for Sayyāḥ to gain experiences that shape his maturity and intelligence. The rate of evolution improves rapidly during the learning and experimenting process and, therefore, Sayyāḥ experiences the third fragment of freedom through his observational maturity. This is shown through the choice of the discussion themes in the text. Sayyāḥ always has his own way of viewing the world, be it unpleasant or pleasurable. During his journey to Paris, he describes:

<div dir="rtl">

در تمام آن شهر یک نفر با لباس چرکین ندیدم. در دل خود شکرها داشتم که البته هر گاه سلطان بودم بدان خوبی سیاحت نمی نمودم زیرا که سلاطین را به مقام گدایان راه نیست ولی درویشان می توانند سیاحت حالات ایشان بنمایند، چه سلاطین را مقصود نمود خود است به مردم وفقرا را منظور دیدن مردم است بحدّ مقصود، بی ترس وبیم بهرجا ه خواهندمی روند کسی ایشان را نمی بیند وایشان همه کس را چنانچه باید می بینند. 567

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In all Paris, I did not see anyone with dirty clothes I thanked God that I could watch and see everything the way I wanted. This is the advantage of being a common man. If I were a king, I could never see things that way, because kings cannot be in the society of the poor, but the dervish can observe everything well. The reason is that the purpose of the king is to show his appearance to the people, but the purpose of the poor is to see the people the way they are. They move about freely without fear. Nobody notices them, but they see everything and everybody.[568]

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[567] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 159.

[568] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 126.

The journey to opulent Paris has put Sayyāḥ in awe of the city's modernity and advancement. The experience deepens his gratitude towards God and his perspective of freedom is represented by the hidden voice underlying his comparison between a dervish and a king. To him, detachment from worldly links provides him with the flexibility to become a unique individual. This enlightened perspective upon life is the result of the challenging voyage that has steered him towards sophistication. With the knowledge and experience he has gained, Sayyāḥ is eventually put to the test through his observations. The people he meets become "case studies" for him to analyse. As he becomes more insightful, the narration of his perspectives presents deeper meaning, triggering the readers' interest and thoughts.

5.5.3.2.1 Religion

For instance, Sayyāḥ touches on the concept of religious captivity through his conversation with a Frenchman.

> بعد از من پرسید از عجایب چه دیده ای؟ گفتم علی النقد اینکه کلیساها فراوان
> می بینم وهیچ مدرسه ای مرئی نمی شود. معلوم می شود این مخلوق چندان
> در فکر تحصیل هنر وعلوم نیستند. مثل گل شکفت و گفت نوعی کشیشان
> اینان را در قفس محبوس کرده اند که ابداً فرصت اطلاع این امتیازات ندارند
> می گویند دنیا ابداً لازم نیست، باید به فکر آخرت بود و بهشت را می
> فروشند وسند می دهند. چنانچه حدود آن خانه ها مرقوم است. از این مقوله
> سخنان خیلی گفتگو کردیم، امّا در نهایت آهستگی که مبادا کسی بشنود...[569]

> In conversation, he wanted to know what I had visited there worth mentioning. I answered: "I have seen many churches and no schools. It seems that the people do not care for education, arts, and science." Hearing this, he looked at me with delight and said: "The priests have imprisoned them in cages and have made them believe that life in this world is useless. So, they only think about life after death. The priests sell them paradise and give them written documents for it."

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[569] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 275.

We spoke about this subject, but in very low voices for fear of being heard.[570]

On the surface, the excerpt provides an impression about the misunderstood dogma of religion as being a prison that oppresses and restricts people's development. However, the double-voicedness emphasizes that it is not religion that is the problem. In fact, it is those who are in charge of spreading and leading ambiguous religious ideologies who should be responsible for the misery caused. Furthermore, the abundance of churches becomes one of the factors that contributes towards the image of a religious monopoly. Therefore, Sayyāḥ emphasizes the idea of building more educational institutions, which can offer a variety of knowledge, rather than only building churches. Religion should not become the solitary driving factor of knowledge seekers. Moreover, the dialogue, which is represented with low voices, denotes another notion of captivity, which is the limitations in freedom of expression.

5.5.3.2.2   Gender

As well as the above, Sayyāḥ also addresses the gender issue:

از حالاتش جویا شدم معلوم شد معلم اطفال است ودر هر درسی پنج فرنگ
حق الزحمه می گیرد ونیز مذکور داشت که هیچکس را ندارم، از ولایتش
پرسیدم، گفت بازل ونیز گفت ساکن خیروز می باشم وگذرانم از همین مشغله
می شود واز تکلّم آن شخص نیز مشخص شد که دختر است. بسیار حیران
وافسرده شدم از وضع آنجا و وضع ملک خودم که او در آن مملکت تنها و
بی کس بدون قراسوران و مستحفظ راه و صاحب مشخص در نهایت اطمینان
و آسودگی در آنجا ها گردش می کرد و با کمال جمعیّت حواس تحصیل و
تدریس می نمود.[571]

In conversation with her I found out that she taught children and that she earned five francs for every lesson. She didn't have any close relatives. She was from Basel but lived in Zurich and her only income was from teaching. From her talk, it was obvious that was she was

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[570] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 205.

[571] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 245.

still unmarried.[572] Again, I thought of the people in my country and felt sad. In Europe, a girl was safe and secure and lived and travelled freely, unlike the poor women of my country.[573]

He identifies Western women as being independent, intelligent and brave, indicating the milestone of the nation's advancement and success. This is different in comparison to Iranian people, particularly women, who have fewer opportunities and facilities. In contrast, Western women are exposed to education that helps shape them into becoming intelligent and sophisticated. Sayyāḥ's acknowledgement of being sad while thinking about his people indicates his awareness of the captivity that shackles the women of his native country.

Additionally, SHS displays difficult tests for Sayyāḥ, when he falls hopelessly in love. He admits:

وقتی از یکی راه عمارات بالا می رفتم، دختری قریب به سن هفده یا هیجده
سال داشت از بالا به پائین می آمد، تبا رک الله احسن الخالقین، تا آن ساعت
در هیچ جا صورتی بدان تمامی وزیبائی و طنازی ندیده بودم، با کمال
وارستگی وآزادی، چنان حالتی به من دست داد که قدرت رفتار از زانوی
من رفت نتوانستم خود را نگاه دارم تکیه به دیوار کردم تا از من گذشت، هر
چه خواستم از خادمۀ او جویای نسب وحسب او شوم که اسمش را در سیاحت
نامۀ خود بنگارم ممکن نشد به این معنی که زبانم از گفتار بسان پایم از رفتار
مانده شده بود، دیر گاهی به هکان حالت ماندم بعد کم کم به بالا رفتم. ولی
آنروز تا شام محو ومتحیّر بودم سبحانه الله

زآب و گل چنین صورت که بسته تعالی خالق الاشیاء من طین

از سلاطین زادگان ومعارف نیکوان عالم که شنیده ودیده بودم کمال امتیاز داشت.[574]

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[572] For this sentence: واز تکلّم آن شخص نیز مشخص شد که دختر است

I inserted my own translation: "From her talk, it was obvious that was she was still unmarried". The original translation from Deyhim was: "She worked as a teacher and at the same time studied, and no one bothered her".

[573] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 182.

[574]Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 241.

When I was taking a road uphill one day I encountered a girl of seventeen or eighteen years of age, who was walking in the opposite direction. I had never seen such a beautiful face before. She walked freely and coquettishly like a bird. Her beauty had such influence on me that I could not continue walking. I felt weak and leaned against the wall watching her. I wanted very much to ask her name from the maid accompanying her to put in my travel account, but I was tongue-tied and could not open my mouth and speak. There are many beautiful faces in the world, faces of princes and princesses, but none was comparable to the beauty of that girl.[575]

The exaggerated description of the lady and his mesmerised condition implies his deep attraction towards women. Similar to the story of Shaykh San'an and the Christian maiden, which is famous in Sufi literature, Sayyāḥ also faces obstacles during his journey towards freedom, in the form of the opposite sex. Despite the intensely disciplined regime, as a normal human being, he still cannot deny the feelings of attraction. Nevertheless, unlike Shaykh Ṣan'ān, who leaves everything for the girl and becomes a swineherd, Sayyāḥ successfully passes the test. The expression of love towards the opposite gender appears only a few times in SHS and is expressed as a temporary and trivial distraction that fades away.

5.5.4   Fire

The final stage is fire, which indicates arrival at the destination. The element symbolises the human being, after passing the previous levels of the animal and the vegetable. It is where a traveller gains unity with God, which is the final condition in the odyssey.

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[575] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 179-180.

5.5.4.1 Genuine Liberation

In SHS, Sayyāḥ is finally enlightened with wisdom that liberates him from the prison of ignorance that he utterly despises and fears. He develops into a wiser person through his improved knowledge and experience, as well as the constant tests that he has faced during the journey. In other words, he tastes the complete version of freedom (for this particular travel) through his establishment as a wise man. This is evident in his description of the greater amount of respect and recognition that he receives.

قریب عصر هشت نفر اهالی مدارس به منزلم آمدند، خیلی صحبت کردیم، خاصه از جغرافیای بلاد و ممالک مختلفه. اگر اختلاف قولی به میان می آمد در نهایت ادب و انسانیت تصدیق به قبول حقیر می نمودند و در کمال مهربانی و محبت می گفتند حق با شماست، زیرا که ما شنیده ایم و شما دیده اید. البتّه شنیدن که بود مانند دیدن. بعد متفق القول گفتند برخیزید برویم به تفرّج باغچه ای در شهر قدری گردش کنیم. قبول کرده سوار به کالسکه شدیم. دیدم به راهی می روند که دیده ام، گفتم بهتر آن است از راهی برویم که ندیده باشم. روانه شدند، به باغچه ای رسیدیم که ندیده بودم. در حین تفرّج به سخنان دلکش و محبت انگیز متکلّم بودند. هنگام مراجعت رسید، هر یک از بغل خود دفتری بیرون آوردند، در تمام آنها اسم خود را به زبان های مختلفه نوشتم.[576]

In the afternoon eight school teachers came to meet me. We spoke together on different subjects especially on geography-the cities and countries of the world. If there was any difference of opinion about a subject they would politely agree with me and tactfully say, "You are right. We have only heard about it but you have seen it."
Afterwards, they suggested that we all go to the park. While roaming about in the park we had a pleasant conversation, and I listened to their fascinating and amicable way of speaking. At the time of returning home each one of them gave me a notebook and asked me to write my name it in the different languages that I knew.[577]

The respectful treatment shown by the teachers, and their requests for Sayyāḥ to demonstrate his multilingual ability, denotes their admiration of him and proves his

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[576] Sayyāḥ, Ed. Dihbāshī 1984: 474.

[577] Sayyāḥ, Trans. Deyhim 1998: 342.

freedom from ignorance. Sayyāḥ no longer feels afraid or ashamed to mingle with people, especially intellectuals, and proceeds to learn from them. In fact, he is acknowledged and recognised as a credible, wise person due to his extraordinary ability to master many languages. He manages to finally find his ultimate liberation by becoming wiser, more knowledgeable and more mature. In general, the link between Sayyāḥ's voyage towards freedom and the Sufi concept of humanity's journey can be summarised as in Figure 12.

Figure 11: Comparison between the Sufi concept and SHS's journey towards freedom
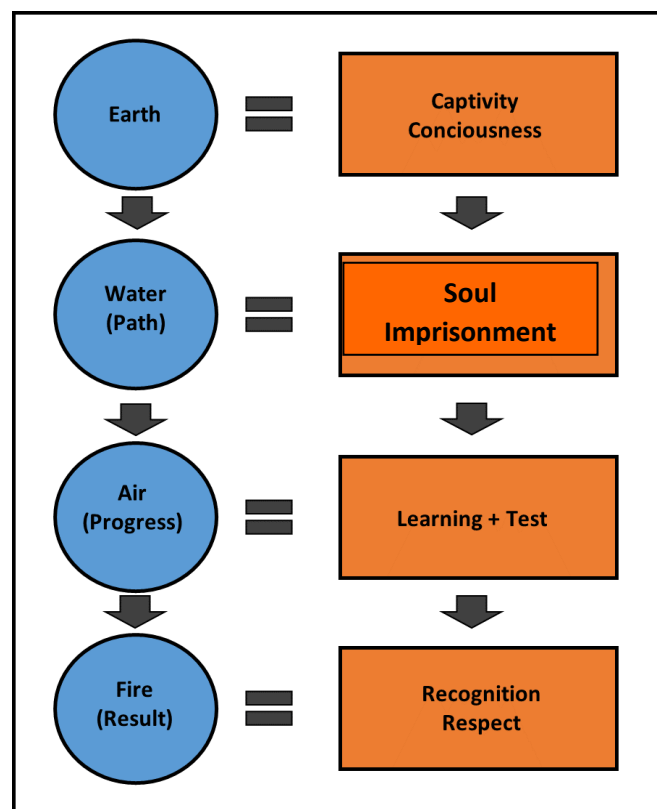
The two sets of individual development are in conversation for the constructive progress towards the main mission. Although the two journeys are dissimilar, they still demonstrate the identical theme of escaping their own version of captivity in order to gain liberation. A Sufi master fights through various notions of inner captivity to gain the freedom of loving God at the highest level that can be

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achieved. On the other hand, Sayyāḥ breaks out from the prison of ignorance by imprisoning his soul to achieve the freedom of being knowledgeable.

6 CONCLUSION

Captivity, analysed in comparison with travel writing from three different cultural backgrounds, *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah,* requires knowledge of literature, history, sociology, culture and critical analysis. As the first attempt to combine all three in a study, it has not been an easy task, especially when the scholarly study of them has been imbalanced. Nevertheless, the combination provides a rich and compelling medium to explore the notions of captivity in the realm of travel. Travel is recognized as a gateway to freedom; hence, humans declare their freedom through travel narratives.[578] However, at the same time travel also provides opportunity to discover, express or demonstrate captivity from various perspectives. Therefore, travel writing becomes a potential site to discover and understand various concepts of captivity either directly or indirectly. This leads to the question of why this study has explored the notions of captivity in travel narratives. Through the discovery of the numerous concepts of captivity, we can understand the author's mind, the gist of the world during the author's era and the process of various hybridizations of wonderment, resentment or ambivalence. Not only this, hopefully this study's findings will be the catalyst for various discoveries, as it is intended to be useful in interdisciplinary studies.

The corpus of this research crosses the fine line between factual and fictional when it combines captivity narratives or travel stories, travelogues and fictionalized travelogues in one study. Since travel writing is a diverse genre, this study gathers all the corpus as narratives with a major travel theme. The concepts of captivity explored

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[578] Thompson 2011:6.

are physical, where people have their rights restricted and are bound to a master; mental, where people are free physically but are entrapped in certain ideologies, beliefs or conditions in their minds; and conceptual, where the captivity transcends the body and mind, for instance involving time and space, such as in the imprisonment of the nation.

The concept of captivity is abstract, as it might be seen as a type of imprisonment or, paradoxically, a liberation. Therefore, the various possible interpretations are according to a person's preference or background. Regardless, this study explores the notions of captivity in travel narratives by applying Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism. The narrations are analysed to look for elements that contribute towards a type of captivity or, as the opposite, towards freedom. The analysis is not limited to captivity within the characters in the narratives only, but it also involves the substance of the texts and even us, as the audience. The heteroglossia and polyphony elements suggest dialogism towards a concept of captivity or freedom but sometimes, in truth, it is a monologism that leads to the opposite result.

In this chapter, I will summarise each chapter's findings. Then I will present the overall findings from the analysis of the 7 corpuses from *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah*. Finally, I will provide suggestions and recommendations for future study.

6.1 NOTIONS OF CAPTIVITY

In *al-Iksīr fī Fikāk al-Asīr (1779–1780)* and *al-Badr al-Sāfir li-Hidāyat al-Musāfir ilá Fikāk al-Asārā min Yadd al-ʿAduw al-Kāfir* (1781–1783), al-Miknāsī's role as the author and ambassador provides engaging observations of someone who is dealing

with physical captivity while witnessing and narrating types of mental captivity. At the same time, the mission travelogues feature the imprisonment of the mind that binds al-Miknāsī himself. Therefore, for Chapter 2, I chose the mission accounts of ransoming captives as the pioneer corpus that could lay the analytical framework for captivity within travel.

The prominent notions of captivity explored in the travelogues are religion, nostalgia and gender. The travelogues leave a strong impression of being strictly 'religious' manuscripts, due to elements of glorifying Islam and denigrating other religions, especially Christianity. The representations of brief tolerance, depreciation and criticism in terms of religion are in dialogism to illuminate the author's religious intolerance. In other words, al-Miknāsī's mind and gaze seem to be stuck in a rigid structure of religiosity.

The accounts also feature a strong essence of nostalgia, especially the memories of al-Andalus seen through a double lens, by which I mean the interpretation of layers of captivity. The Europeans are described as being trapped in the enchanted memory of al-Andalus, due to their extreme attentiveness to its Muslim heritage. However, at the same time, the narrations about searching for any possible Islamic traces in the Christian kingdoms and the constant focus on history feature the author's imprisonment in the nostalgia of al-Andalus, whereby it remains an idealized kingdom, despite having been overthrown centuries before.

Meanwhile, the noble ladies, common females and nuns are portrayed as being stuck in the gaze of men, since the women's value in society is associated with the respect and attention they receive from them. From another perspective, the

female gender overall is evaluated in a rigid framework of religion, as the opinions about them in the accounts are generally unfavourable, according to religious standards. In short, the accounts seem to be restricted to strict binary divisions, such as Islam versus Christianity, right versus wrong and Muslims versus infidels.

Chapter 3 focuses on physical and mental captivity by featuring the Malay and Arab captivity narratives or travel novels, *Panglima Awang* and *Leo Africanus*. Since the main characters are captives, both narratives provide exclusive observations of the physical captivity element, while presenting various kinds of imprisonment. Moreover, the advantage of having multivoices and multiperspectives in novels is that they provide a broader interpretation of captivity. Interestingly, the main characters are described as physical captives who gradually achieve mental advancement through the experiences and the knowledge gained during their periods of captivity.

Through the representation of society's value and integrity between noble women and slave females in *Leo Africanus*, they are pictured as being repressed by the patriarchal community system. Regardless of their status in society, the ladies are repressed in various prison houses, such as by marriages of convenience, polygamy and confinement in harems. Meanwhile, *Panglima Awang* demonstrates the tendency of othering through the division of Eastern versus Western ladies and the preference for Eastern ladies, despite the favourable impressions of both.

Despite the loss of religious expression during captivity, religion is described as the gateway to freedom in terms of upgraded identity, maturity and spirituality. Despite being forced to convert to another religion or camouflage their existing one, the protagonists, in contrast, become more attached to their original religion, which

provides them with the opportunity to be tolerant towards religious diversity. In other words, religious camouflage or baptism, during the period of physical captivity, become the key to a deeper understanding of the original religion.

In both narratives, nostalgia is related to the sense of belonging and nationalism, but it is presented differently. *Panglima Awang* highlights the issue of homecoming, while *Leo Africanus* features the adaptation to various locations by building mini heterotopias. Interestingly, *Panglima Awang* reflects the historical warriors in the characters as a way to 'lock' the readers into the spirit of nationalism befitting the book's publication to commemorate the Malayan Independence Day. From another perspective, both narratives provide diverse interpretations of captivity through the main characters, the side characters, the author and even us, the readers.

Chapter 4 shows how the Malay travelogue, *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah,* and the Persian fictionalised travelogue, *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*, demonstrate the nation in layered imprisonment. It is layered due to the hierarchy of captivity, which involves the imprisonment of the leaders and the society in various prison houses, such as ignorance, filthiness, idleness, indifference and greed that finally drown the nation in deep captivity. The harsh and melancholic narrative tones serve as a wake-up call and tool to spread awareness of the imperceptible imprisonment that binds the nation in backwardness. Both narratives propose the proper understanding and implementation of Islam in life and the search for diverse knowledge as being the keys for freedom from the prison houses.

Between the two travelogues, *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg* presents a deeper captivity, involving the nation, when it pictures the protagonist, *Ibrāhīm*, as the victim that falls into the deepest pit of imprisonment. The protagonist is stuck in

the nostalgia for a nation that transcends the borders of time, where he 'wanders' through the past, the present and the future, which finally brings misery to him.

The travelogues are not just a criticism, as they also attempt a rescue mission for the nation through their text. The suggestions for liberating the nations are presented through the dialogues with the leaders and the displays of nation management strategies. In other words, the seemingly acerbic texts work hard to spread the awareness of the nations' captivity to the readers generally, or the targeted audience specifically, and to show their efforts to liberate nations through the medium of literature.

After the portrayal of the notions of captivity in the body, the mind and the nation, the question arises about the possibility of gaining freedom and the ways in which to attain it. Undeniably, freedom is an abstract concept that is open to unlimited interpretation. Nevertheless, this study features the ways of liberation by returning to its basic essence, which is the inner self. When the inner self is liberated, any notions of captivity just appear to be mere distractions. Chapter 5 features the Persian travelogue, *Safarnāmaḥ-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang,* which portrays the journey to self-freedom in a Sufistic way. Before the expedition starts, the protagonist's awareness of his own captivity is already high, hence the decision to immediately pursue a journey, without sufficient preparation.

The main captivity in this narrative is ignorance and, therefore, the author embarks on a journey of knowledge, seeking to gain freedom. Interestingly, the narrative demonstrates the training towards liberation by imprisoning the soul using a vigorous routine of disciplining the self. The soul is chained and the body become the training site, through six conditions, namely physical hardship, renunciation

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(*zuhd*), poverty, loneliness, illness and the verge of death. The knowledge-seeking journey to Europe is interpreted as travelling towards freedom, which passes through four stages, which are the earth, the water, the air and, finally, the fire. In between, the author tastes fragments of freedom and is frequently tested through his observations of the world. Finally, he experiences his most personal and authentic liberation by becoming a wise man.

6.2 CAPTIVITY AWARENESS/CONSCIOUSNESS

Physical captivity is very obvious, hence the straightforward recognition of it. However, mental and conceptual captivity are abstract ideas and the perceptions of them are flexible and wide, which is why I describe the ability to recognise or acknowledge notions of imprisonment as captivity awareness. After analysing 7 corpuses from *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah*, I discovered four ways in which to be aware of the various types of captivity in the narrative. The first way is through the direct mention, which is the declaration of being imprisoned. The second way is through the identification of the various voices in heteroglossia narrations, which can unleash the 'silent declaration' of imprisonment. The third way is through the power of interpretation, for instance by seeking the elements of dialogism and monologism that can lead to the discovery of captivity or freedom. The fourth way is through the writing style, or tone, that mostly represents the author's mind whether in captivity or freedom. In other words, these are the ways for us, the readers, to become aware of captivity.

Furthermore, this study has helped me to discover that the concept of captivity awareness is not limited to the readers but, instead, involves various types of perspectives, which are:

1. The Characters: Either in factual or fictional travel narratives, the side characters' awareness of captivity helps us to produce deeper interpretations of imprisonment. For instance, the character of Salmá in *Leo Africanus*, who is a noble woman, acknowledges the paradoxical condition where she is trapped in tradition, while female slaves are free to express themselves. This awareness then helps us to realise the patriarchal system in which the ladies were living in that era.

2. The Main Character: For instance, Ibrāhīm Bayg, as the protagonist in *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*, is not aware of his entrapment in blind love and devotion towards his nation of origin, Iran. His low level of captivity awareness helps us to interpret his imprisonment in nostalgia.

3. The Narrator: At the beginning of *Siyāḥatnāmah-ʾi Ibrāhīm Bayg*, the story's narrator, Uncle Yusuf, declares his awareness of Ibrāhīm's involvement in fanaticism. This aids us in preparing our analysis of Ibrāhīm's type of captivity from the beginning of the story.

4. The Author: For instance, in the travelogue *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, Abdullah Munshi demonstrates his awareness of his nation's imprisonment, thus, making an effort to transmit this awareness to the readers.

5. The Reader/Audience: For instance, from al-Miknāsī's acerbic tone in his ambassadorial travelogues, we become aware of his imprisonment in his rigid views on religion and nostalgia.

In other words, the low or high level of captivity awareness provides the opportunity to discover other perspectives of captivity. In this study, the awareness is expressed in the medium of travel writing. However, there are also factors that determine the ability to express the awareness:

1. Travel purpose: This refers to whether the purpose is an ambassadorial journey or not. A mission account has more limitations and, therefore the chance to spread captivity awareness directly is restricted, except through the application of heteroglossia and interrelation dialogues.

2. Audience: Having a specific audience, especially people of high status, will definitely create an obstacle for freedom of expression. Therefore, the differences in the direct description and expression of opinions sometimes create a dialogism that provides the public with a hidden message.

In the case of *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah*, I realised that Islam becomes the bond that ties them together, as it usually becomes the protective framework in a journey full of uncertainties, develops the lens of observation and becomes one of the main factors that affect the type of expression.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is my wish that this study should spark interest for future comparative studies involving Arab, Malay and Persian literature, as they illuminate each other cross-culturally and cross-linguistically throughout history.[579] Not to mention the

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[579] For instance, to see the influence of Arabic in Malay, refer to:

Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Beg, *Arabic Loan Words in Malay: A Survey of Arabic and Islamic Influence Upon the Languages of Mankind*. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1983).

parallel religion factor that influences various aspects in Arab, Malay and Persian. In fact, Arab-Malay-Persian comparative studies can be considered as innovative and novel as for now, the research gap is undeniably huge and it needs serious attention from scholars. As a Malay native who studied Persian literature in Tehran and who teaches Arabic literature in Malaysia, I find the combination of Arab, Malay and Persian in research not only very appealing and unique but also crucial in exploring other hidden findings of interdisciplinary studies. Arab and Persian literature has always attracted scholars and I hope that Malay literature could also be more exposed in the world's comparative arena.

I started with small efforts by writing articles comparing Arab, Malay and Persian short stories and novels during my Masters period. I also assisted my father in editing a trilingual dictionary (Persian-Malay-English) some years ago.[580] This current effort is relatively minor compared to other comparative studies but, hopefully, my hard work over the last four years might ignite curiosity and interest and I will no longer be alone in this endeavour.

One of the most important tools in comparative studies is translation. Arabic books have been translated into Malay and, recently, I have noticed the appearance

Salahuddin Mohd. Shamsuddin & Siti Sara Hj. Ahmad, "Influence of Arabic Language and Literature in the Languages and Literatures of Islamic People in South Asia and Malay Archipelago in Southeast Asia" in *IJRDO-Journal od Educational Research*, Volume 2, Issue 5, (2017): 118-132.

Meanwhile, for examples to see the influence of Persian in Malay, refer to:

G.E. Marrison, "Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280-1650)" in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. 28, No. 1 (169) (March, 1955): 52-69.

L.F. Brakel, "Persian Influence on Malay Literature" In*: Abr-nahrain*. Edited by J. Bowman, vol.9, 1969-1970 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970): 1-16.

[580] Hakimeh Dabiran, *Kamus Padanan Tiga Bahasa: Melayu-Inggeris-Parsi,* Ed. Muhammad Bukhari Lubis and Firuz Akhtar Lubis. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2012).

of translated Persian works. Last year in 2017, I attended the launch ceremony of the Malay translation of Saʿdī's masterpiece, *Gulistān*.[581] This is a very positive sign in encouraging greater awareness and study of Persian works in Malaysia. Although I was informed that most of the Malay translations were carried out from the English translations, it is still a good effort in introducing the gist of Persian literature to the Malays.

In terms of travel writing, it is also an attractive field to be studied futher. In my opinion, travel narratives are one of the best site through which to explore the diversity of various concepts and findings, especially when travel provides the opportunity for unimaginable discoveries through experience. Therefore, the study of travel writing is beneficial since it opens doors to interdisciplinary collaboration. It is my desperate wish to see *Kembara* stand as a valid genre in Malay literature. *Kembara* needs serious attention from historical, data and literary studies and, to ignite greater interest, *Kembara* should appear in more comparative studies with *Riḥlah* and *Safarnāmah,* which are already well-known in world literature. With different approaches to reading and analysing the narratives of *Riḥlah, Kembara* and *Safarnāmah*, more interesting studies will be discovered.

The approach to the notion of captivity within the site of travel is not new especially from the aspect of physical captivity. However, the study of captivity within travel that goes beyond the traditional concept is relatively fresh, particularly mental and symbolic captivity. For instance, the notion of captivity in genre; which explores

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[581] Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Saʿdī al-Shīrāzī, *Gulistān Taman Mawar*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2017).

the idea within the restraints of genre that is closely related to the readers'
expectation. As a result, the restriction then shapes the writing and the understanding
of the text. In other words, captivity is an interesting notion to be be explored deeper
in order to bring wider and more complicated understandings and thoughts related to
it. As a suggestion, the notion of captivity should be studied in various kinds of literary
genre to discover various dimensions of it.

For an immediate recommendation of project that involves Arab-Malay and
Persian comparative work, I propose an intensive exploration into travel literature.
Nabil Matar, who has been studying Arabic travelogues, wrote about the
representation of the self and others in his book *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-
1727.* Here, I would like to recommend an extensive study into the representation of
Malays, or the Malay Archipelago, in Arabic and Persian travelogues. This study has
never been carried out and, hopefully, it might be the start for future collaborative
studies of Arab, Malay and Persian works.

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